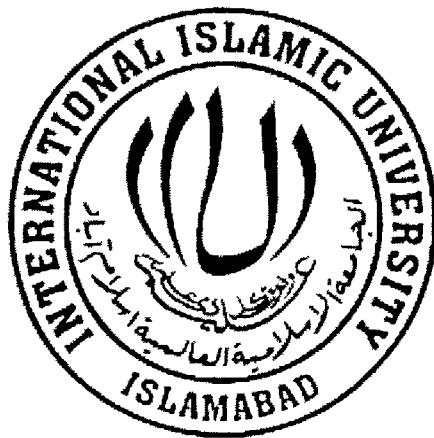


A Political Study of Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan (1910-1967)



Submitted by:

Javid Raza Naseem

MS History

(Reg. # 47-FSS/MSHIS/S14)

Department of History and Pakistan Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences

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Supervised by

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Associate Professor

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2016

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ
الْحٰمِدُ لِلّٰهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْمُبَارَكِ
الْمُبَارَكُ بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

Pir Syed Ghulam Shabbir Ali Shah Taqvi al-Kirmani Qadiri (Rehmatullah aleh)

(1937-2016)

Approval Sheet

A Political Study of Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan (1910-1967)

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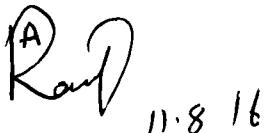
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Javid Raza Naseem

May 27, 2016

List of Abbreviations

ADC	Agriculture Development Corporation
A-D-C	Aide-de-camp
BD	Basic Democrat
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
C-in-C	Commander in Chief
COP	Combined Opposition Parties
EBDO	Elective Body Disqualification Order
MLCF	Maple Leaf Cement Factory
MLR	Martial Law Regulation
NAP	National Awami Party
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
PAFL	Pak-American Fertilizer Limited
PIDC	Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation
PPO	Press and Publication Ordinance
SHO	Station House Officer
TB	Tuberculosis
TDA	Thal Development Authority
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
UNO	United Nations Organisation
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WAPDA	Water and Power Development Authority
WHO	World Health Organisation

GLOSSRY

<i>abyana</i>	A tax on irrigated land.
<i>begar</i>	Forced labour without or with little wages.
<i>budhi</i>	Old woman.
<i>crore</i>	A cardinal number used in Indian Sub-continent, equal to 10 million.
<i>darbar</i>	Royal court.
<i>darbari</i>	Courtier.
<i>hari</i>	Tenant, farmer.
<i>jagir</i>	Fief, estate.
<i>jihad</i>	The Holy War.
<i>khan bahadur</i>	An honorific title conferred on Muslim senior civil servant in British India.
<i>khussa</i>	A traditional footwear used in Punjab.
<i>kisan</i>	Farmer, peasant.
<i>kullah</i>	A headgear, mostly used in rural areas of Pakistan.
<i>lakh</i>	A cardinal number, one hundred thousand.
<i>Maliya</i>	Land revenue.
<i>namazi</i>	A Muslim while saying his prayers.
<i>marla</i>	Land measure equivalent to thirty square yards.
<i>paisa</i>	A decimal coin equal to 1/100 th of a Pakistani rupee.
<i>patwari</i>	An official of the revenue department who keeps land record of a village.

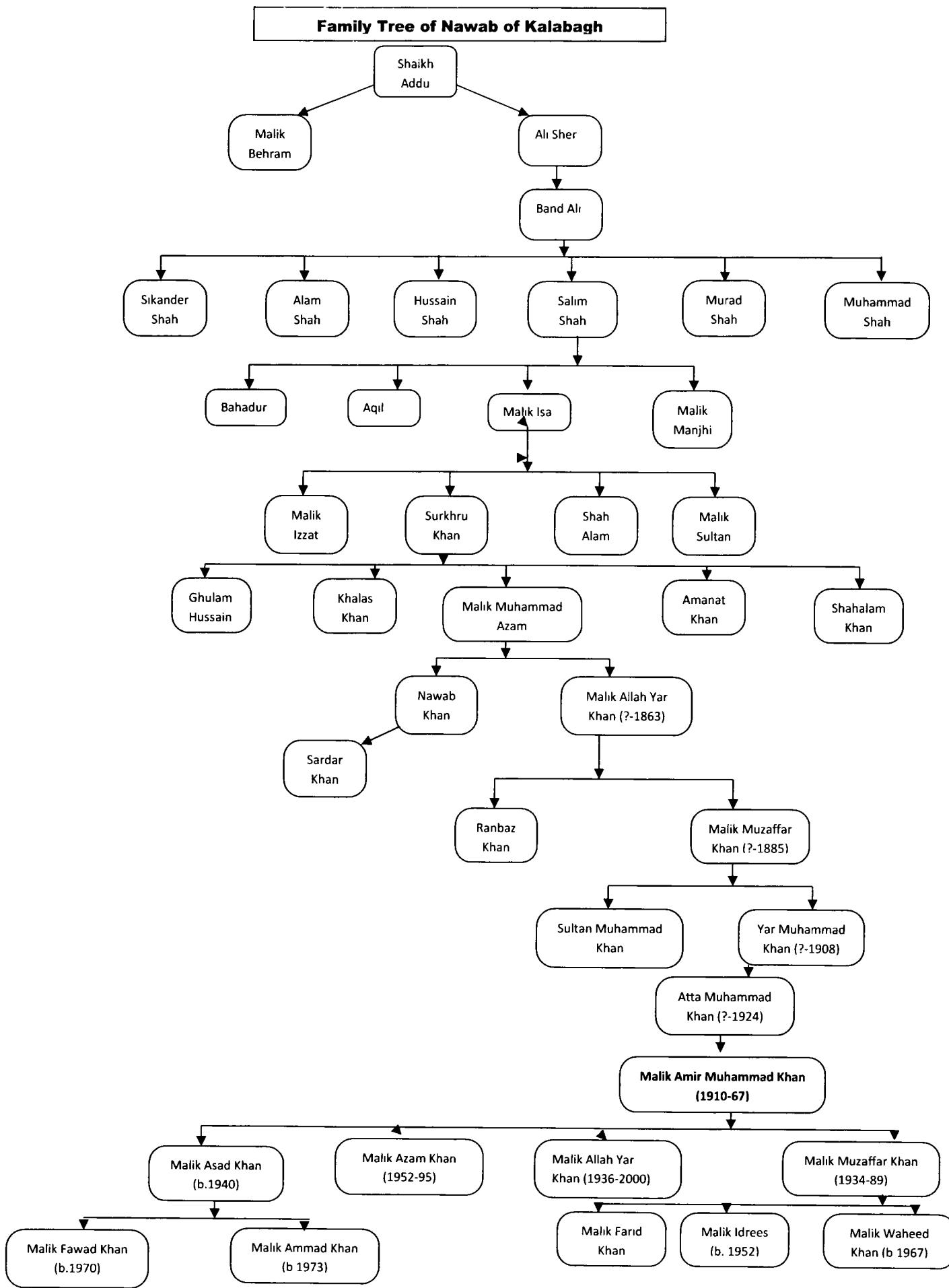
<i>pir</i>	Spiritual leader.
<i>pohli and piazi</i>	Two of the wild herbs, injurious to crops.
<i>rai's</i>	Nobleman, chief, magnate.
<i>raj</i>	Government, reign, domination, royalty.
<i>sardar</i>	Chieftain, tribal head.
<i>sahib</i>	Title of courtesy usually used as suffix to name.
<i>seer</i>	Former unit of weight, approx. equal to two pounds.
<i>shalwar qamis</i>	A loose shirt and a pair of loose trouser, dress of a common Pakistani.
<i>shudra</i>	The lowest caste in Hindus
<i>ulama</i>	Scholars (mostly of theology).
<i>umrah</i>	Pilgrimage to Makkah at any time of the year except Hajj days.
<i>wadera</i>	Chief, magnate.

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Introduction

Pakistan had to face many severe problems right after its birth but it survived due to extra ordinary efforts of Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), the Founder of Pakistan, and his team. The challenges at that time were of many types like debate on the structure of future constitution, adoption of national language, Kashmir dispute, and influx of refugees. Nascent Pakistan remained endangered due to the consecutive blows it had to face in the form of deaths of the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in September 1948 and of Liaquat Ali Khan (1895-1951), the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, in October 1951. Leadership crisis was the main reason that not only intensified these problems but also jeopardized even the very existence of the country. Fragile democratic traditions and parliamentary politics were banished by the military coup of Ayub Khan (1907-74) in October 1958. His so-called autocratic rule of eleven years is considered as the most important phase of Pakistan history. The ‘Revolution’ introduced many kind of reforms to change the complexion of society.¹ Elective Body Disqualification Order (EBDO) was implemented to oust the seasoned politicians from the political arena of those times.² Land Reforms, Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, reforms in the field of education, and new Labour Laws were some of the innovative steps taken by the government. Industry expanded on the large scale and the goal of self-sufficiency in food was zealously pursued. To some it was a ‘golden decade of progress and prosperity’³ while, on the other hand, there are many who think that the ‘sinister’ tenure laid the foundation for the separation of East Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh.⁴ Press was chained through the nationalization of Progressive Papers,⁵ and the implementation of Press and Publication Laws Ordinance.⁶ Family Planning Program and imposition of Family Law Ordinance⁷ made the religious-minded common man and especially the *ulama* indignant.⁸ Ayub

Khan was lucky enough as he found some bureaucrats like Qudratullah Shahab (1917-86) and Altaf Gauhar (1923-2000); and administrators like Malik Amir Muhammad Khan (1910-67) and General (R) Azam Khan (1908-94). As Governor of West Pakistan, Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan displayed the talent of governance in such a way that Ayub Khan had been quite successful in fortifying and extending his rule. Nawab of Kalabagh took every apt measure to hush all type of opposition to Ayub Khan.⁹ It was no other than Nawab of Kalabagh who made it possible for Ayub Khan to win presidential election in 1964-65.¹⁰ For this Malik Amir Muhammad Khan used, in West Pakistan, all type of legitimate and illegitimate political maneuvering and all sorts of manipulation. However, some analysts are of the view that ‘absolute’ and ‘tyrant’ governance by Amir Muhammad Khan was the main reason behind the subsequent downfall of Ayub Khan.¹¹ To them, that ‘outrageous’ rule was one of the main factors, which though, for the time being, silenced the bereaved majority but later the lava of dissatisfaction erupted and swept away the dictatorial regime in March 1969. They are of the view that Nawab of Kalabagh had all the vices of feudal mindset that had no space for freedom of any kind.

On the contrary, some authors were of the view that Nawab had responded to the call of the time. He ran the West Pakistan in ‘efficient’ and ‘disciplined’ manner. Had there been no Nawab, Ayub Khan would have not been able to rule effectively. It was not an easy task to run the One-Unit as it was not only a vast area, comprised of almost today’s Pakistan, but also there had been very strong opposition of One-Unit since its inception. Nawab took the challenge and, by any means, governed the province with a skillful manner. Sympathizers of the Nawab applaud him by saying that if War of 1965¹² was fought by the Pakistan Army on battlefield then the civilians

were led by chivalrous Nawab all over the West Pakistan. He managed to keep the peace and tranquility in the country during the War. There was no dearth of commodities, and Army, on the front, was provided with every necessity of life without any delay or interruption. Mechanism of price control was excellent and it left no room for hoarding or rationing.¹³

If Nawab of Kalabagh governed the One-Unit with 'oppressive' hand then he cannot, probably, be blamed for it as it was not an easy task to rule so vast territory. West Pakistan was the composition of different ethnicities and had the politicians with their own stakes who were always at the daggers drawn among them. Use of 'iron hand' by Malik Amir Muhammad Khan might be justified as he was given the assignment by an autocratic ruler and not by the people of Pakistan. At the same time, no administrator or ruler can justify his merciless way of governance in the name of peace keeping, patriotism and loyalty to the country. If a governor does not care about the feelings of the governed and is directed by his boss then he deserves no appreciation. General perception is that Nawab never tried to attain the consensus of the public or its leaders and he always tried to curb the freedom of press and never encouraged the masses to be educated. But, is this perception justified? This study is going to be an effort to dig out the heaps of events and bring forth the realities about the Nawab.

Significance and Scope of the Study

No serious and well planned research was done, so far, on Malik Amir Muhammad Khan as a politician. One could find some passing references or impressions by some writers in the books written on Ayub Regime but no authentic, compact and comprehensive work about Malik Amir Muhammad Khan was put into

the black and white. It was needed to fill the gaps and bring forth a complete and clear picture of Nawab as a politician. Personality of Nawab of Kalabagh is also an example of the victimization. He was not dealt with a fair and just manner. Some of his colleagues find no fault with him and praise him for his integrity, honesty, prompt decisions, well planned and speedy execution of the assignment.¹⁴ On the contrary to it, some others see no virtue in his personality and the deeds. To them he was a true representative of feudal mindset with all sorts of cruelties.¹⁵

Ayub Era (1958-69) has its own significance in the history of Pakistan and Nawab of Kalabagh was, no doubt, a key player. Foreign policy of Pakistan was gaining a new shape and ‘total reliance on United States of America (USA)’ was giving way to more realistic approach *i.e.* friendship with China and Soviet Union.¹⁶ This shift of stance was historic one and Malik Amir Muhammad Khan had his inclination in a particular way. Debacle of East Pakistan is the most tragic moment in the history of Pakistan and this topic is, still, being excavated by the historians. If political elite of West Pakistan is blamed for deprivation of Bengalis then study of Nawab’s political career will be interesting one and may reveal some valuable information in this connection.

Working relationship between government and opposition is a basic need to run a government smoothly regardless of its democratic or autocratic nature. Nawab of Kalabagh is still remembered for the ways he adopted to treat his political rivals. This research aims at isolating reality from the myth prevailing about ‘merciless Kalabagh’. Many eyes, still, fell on the personality of Nawab of Kalabagh and the way he handled the same issues as we are facing today. A special focus of the research was to deal with the style of administration at length. So the study in this

perspective will help enormously to bring forth the real picture of the Nawab.

Statement of the Problem

The personality of Amir Muhammad Khan has been either ignored or treated in a biased manner. This study aims at disclosing the real picture of Amir Muhammad Khan as a politician and an administrator; and this is done with exploring and sifting the main events of the era pertaining to Nawab when he actively took part in the political history of Pakistan. Whatever and by whomever has been said about him has blurred the picture as it was either ‘eulogy’ or ‘lampoon’. This problem asked for a research that might portray a real picture of Amir Muhammad Khan without any distortion in historical facts. How and why, in such a manner, he governed the West Pakistan that he has been still regarded as a ‘remarkable political manipulator’ and ‘exemplary’ administrator. There prevails a point of view that Nawab of Kalabagh was the real power behind the Ayub Khan’s stable government.¹⁷ There are some who have altogether different opinion and blame Nawab for his ‘cruel’ rule that cultivated dissatisfaction and anarchy in West Pakistan and later paved the way for dismemberment of Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh.¹⁸ From his start as a member of Muslim League and enthusiast worker of Pakistan Movement to his parting of the ways with Ayub Khan and then his sad demise at the hands of own sons, everything was needed to be explored and put together in an academic and unbiased manner.

This study aimed at either proving or refuting some hypotheses like, ‘Firm administration by Nawab of Kalabagh was real power behind the prolonged rule of Ayub Khan’, ‘He treated his rivals and politicians of the Opposition in a harsh manner and this proved a reason of Ayub Khan’s consequent downfall’, ‘Being a feudal,

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan had no space for freedom of press, education; and had a contemptuous attitude towards Bengalis' and 'Nawab of Kalabagh was pro-West in his approach towards Pakistan's foreign policy'.

Review of Literature

This topic was a unique one as the historians had not touched upon it in a methodical way. We can find some passing judgments or allusions towards the policies and personality of Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan. Some of his colleagues have recorded their impressions and passed their remarks. Many books have been authored about the Ayub Khan and his era but with scant details about style of Nawab's governance. Mostly one can chance upon some biographical sketches in different books which comprise of no more than some pages. Whatever has been written about him is stained with two extreme and opposite mindsets. He has been treated either as a devil or as an angel.

Syed Sadiq Hussain Shah has authored the first and so far only one book about Amir Muhammad Khan, *Swanih Hayat Nawwaab of Kalabagh: Malik Amir Muhammad Khan*¹⁹ This is the first attempt to compile the biographical details of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan. If reviewed by academic parameters it has some serious shortcomings. First, it presents scant details about Amir Muhammad Khan as a politician; secondly, the author has focused his career as a local politician. Moreover, this book aims at fine tuning the prevailing mythical image of Amir Muhammad Khan in his locality. Readers can find details about his disposition, habits, rivalries and enmity towards his political opponents but there is no serious and balanced analysis of his political career. The methodology used to gather information is not satisfactory. Mostly techniques of oral history and interview are applied. Author

should be appreciated for interviewing both relative and rivals of Nawab to present both sides of the picture. The author made no attempt to use the official or archival record and confined himself only to some books in Urdu.

The writers who have sympathetic attitude towards Nawab and admire him as an able administrator can be counted on fingers. Lt. Gen. (R) Jahan Dad Khan (1929-2011) is one of them. In *Pakistan: Leadership Challenges*, he dedicated a full chapter to Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, entitled “Nawab of Kalabagh-Fact and Fiction”. The writer had been military secretary to Malik Amir Muhammad Khan so he was in a position to watch everything keenly and thus provide reliable and accurate firsthand knowledge. Writer has presented the worthy, comprehensive and clear information about Nawab of Kalabagh. Though the chapter about Kalabagh consists of only 35 pages yet is an ample and balanced analysis of the complete political career of Kalabagh. Reader cannot but appreciate the sagacity of foreseeing Nawab who saw through the ‘machinations’ of Bhutto; and who made an accurate prophesy about the “drunkard and debauchee” Yahya Khan (1917-80) at the eve of his appointment of as Commander-in-Chief. It looks as if author is in the pursuit of wiping out stains from the poor public image of Nawab of Kalabagh.

Altaf Gauhar and Qudratullah Shahab are two of those influential bureaucrats who not only remained eye-witness to some most important moments of Pakistan history but also acted as architects of those. Altaf Gauhar had left some well-written books with minute details about Ayub’s era. *Ayub Khan: Pakistan’s First Military Ruler*,²⁰ *Gauhar Guzasht*, and *Likhte Rahe Junun ki Hikayat*²¹ are the books by him which contain some information about Nawab of Kalabagh. He remarked that Amir Muhammad had always looked down upon Bengalis, and had never allowed freedom

of press in West Pakistan. But the writer cannot be relied upon because he belonged to 'progressive', labeled as 'pro-China' group while Nawab had inclination towards the, so called, pro-American club and was of conservative mind. Qudratullah Shahab got a chance to work with Amir Muhammad Khan as well and he, later, recorded his impressions about him in *Shahab Nama* and in his interview²² with Tahir Masood. Shahab did not try to conceal his hatred for Nawab's feudal mindset which had no room for freedom of press and education. *Main aur mera Pakistan* by Amir Abdullah Rokhri (1916-2001) provides some good information about Nawab's political career before the birth of Pakistan. Rokhri worked as a subordinate political worker to Nawab of Kalabagh and remained no more than a yes man to the latter. That is why he has eulogized the Nawab in a submissive manner of a loyal and respectful pupil. Many of his statements are of contradictory nature as well.

Munir Ahmad Munir interviewed some towering politicians of our history who remained active in the political arena of Amir Muhammad Khan's times like Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti (1892-1985), Yousaf Khattak (1917-91) and Syed Murid Hussain (1916-?).²³ These interviews, compiled in a book, entitled, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*²⁴, present a view point of political rivals of Nawab of Kalabagh. Interview with Syed Murid Hussain reveals the tactics applied by Nawab to use the circumstances in his favour but interviewee could not conceal his prejudice and hatred against Nawab and reader gets stunned at obscene language used by him. There are some others books written in a journalistic style and can better serve as propaganda literature. *Pakistan ke Siyasi Waderay*²⁵ is a book of this type authored by Aqil Abbas Ja'fery. This book contains some valuable facts and figure about landed aristocracy including Nawab of Kalabagh.

A trustworthy and reliable work about that time is done by Herbert Feldman (1924-2008). *From Crisis to Crisis: Pakistan 1962-1969*²⁶ has some minute and authentic details about political activities of Nawab's times. Author had been physically present in Pakistan at that time and was well informed about Karachi riots, those had taken place after Ayub's victory in Presidential election of 1965; and the secret hands behind the killing of Zamir Qureshi (d.1965), a journalist. Presidential elections (1964-65) were won by Ayub Khan against Miss Fatima Jinnah. Amir Muhammad Khan is blamed for using governmental machinery in favour of Ayub Khan. *A Journey to Disillusionment* by Sherbaz Khan Mazari (b. 1930) presents some glimpses in this context, and the way Nawab handled the staunch opponents of Ayub regime from Balochistan. *Rudad-i-Chaman* by Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi (1905-87) and biography of Mir Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo (1917-89), *In Search of Solution*,²⁷ provide ample information about the circumstances which created rift between Ayub Khan and Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, and then culminated in the resignation of the latter.

*The American Papers*²⁸ and *The British Papers*²⁹ both these enormous books are comprised of secret and confidential document selected and compiled by Roedad Khan (b. 1923), a renowned bureaucrat, and active in the Ayub Era. These books revealed many things behind the scenes of our history. *Diaries of Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan*,³⁰ edited and annotated by Craig Baxter, provided an ample chance to peep into the mind and mentality of Ayub Khan especially about start of his rift with Nawab which eventually made the latter quit his office. As mentioned before, books provide scant and superficial details about Nawab of Kalabagh so researcher was left with no option but to rely, mostly, on the record of print media of the period underway. Though this has enhanced the value of newspapers, journals, and

periodicals but it asked for a more cautious selection of those as 'progressive' media like *Pakistan Times* and *Imroze*; and *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 'organ of the Right Wing', have portrayed Nawab in their peculiar ways. Newspapers of the period under study provided with authentic, firsthand, and detailed knowledge about gubernatorial and political affairs.

This review of the literature has provided an ample justification and framework to research. A political study of Nawab of Kalabagh can be designed in a manner which had the qualities of the above mentioned literature but do not repeat the errors of it. With the use of authentic material, accurate method and unbiased mind, a true picture of Nawab of Kalabagh can be presented and this study is an effort to fulfill this criteria.

Material and Methodology

Descriptive, historical, empirical and exploratory methods were employed to conduct this research. It is descriptive where facts are narrated in the light of original material. Empirical method was adopted via in-depth interviews and the technique of oral history to collect relevant information and opinion. Comparative method is used to show the changes that had undergone after the resignation of Nawab of Kalabagh on September 18, 1966. As it is mentioned earlier, no serious and authentic research work about Malik Amir Muhammad Khan was done so far, so this study is exploratory in nature as well. Owing to the nature of topic, an extensive search of historical records especially archival material and record of print media of the relevant period proved helpful in peeping into past events and trends, and this enabled to determine the role of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan in the history of Pakistan. Besides, the private diaries and correspondence,³¹ structured, and semi-structured

interviews³² were conducted with the persons who had been involved or were spectators of those historic events of the period under study. Personal record of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, in the form of his diaries and letters, proved a great asset to provide this research with a great deal of authenticity. Interviews helped in ratification and rectification of many disputed facts. Libraries, National Archives of Pakistan, and Press Information Department were visited for books, newspapers, periodicals and other relevant source material.

ENDNOTES

¹Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (Islamabad: Mr. Books, 2002), 70.

²Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) was promulgated in August 1959 and it disqualified 75 elective politicians.

³Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri, *Main aur mera Pakistan* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1994), 108.

⁴Altaf Gauhar, *Gauhar Guzasht* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2003), 106-10.

⁵Qudratullah Shahab, *Shahab Nama* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1994), 809.

⁶Zamir Niazi, *Press in Chains* (Karachi: Karachi Press Club Publication, 1986), 81.

⁷Muslim Family Laws Ordinance was promulgated on March 2, 1961. It addressed some basic but sensitive issues like ‘succession’, registration of marriage’, ‘polygamy’, ‘divorce’ and ‘maintenance’.

⁸Roedad Khan, *Pakistan: A Dream Gone Sour* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 42.

⁹Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 100.

¹⁰This Presidential Election proved not any easy task, for Ayub Khan, because Combined Opposition Parties (COP) brought Miss Fatima Jinnah as their unanimous candidate against him. Though this was an indirect election and 80,000 Basic Democrats served as an electoral college, yet Ayub’s victory was made sure by the use of state machinery and interference in his favour by Governor of the West Pakistan, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan.

¹¹A. B. Awan, *Baluchistan: Historical and Political Processes* (London: New Century Publishers, 1985), 224.

¹²The war, between India and Pakistan, lasted for seventeen day, from September 6, 1965 to September 22, 1965. Mainly West Pakistan had to bear the brunt of this full-fledged war and Nawab, being the chief executive of the Province, played the role of ‘tower of Strength’.

¹³Mohammad Musa, *My Version: India-Pakistan War 1965* (Lahore: Wajid Alis Limited, 1983), 79-80.

¹⁴Jahan Dad Khan, *Pakistan: Leadership Challenges* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 87.

¹⁵Munir Ahmad Munir, *Jo Main ne Dekha: Rao Abdul Rashid Se Interview* (Lahore: Atish Fishan Publications, 1985), 40.

¹⁶Cold War between Capitalist Bloc, led by USA; and Communist Bloc by Soviet Union, was at its zenith in those days.

¹⁷Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman: Asbab-i-Halakat-i-Jamhuriat* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2002), 170-1.

¹⁸Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan, *The Nation That Lost Its Soul* (Lahore: Jang Publisher, 1995), 290.

¹⁹Syed Sadiq Hussain Shah, *Swanih Hayat Nawwab of Kalabagh: Malik Amir Muhammad Khan* (Multan: Sidaq Rang Publications, 2014).

²⁰Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1994).

²¹Altaf Gauhar, *Likhte rahe Junun ki Hikayat* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1997).

²²Qudratullah Shahab, *Shahab Nagar* comp., Shima Majid (Lahore: Jang Publishers Press, 2007), 171-2. This interview was taken by Tahir Masood.

²³Syed Murid Hussain was elected as member of National Assembly in 1962 and 1965 from Sialkot.

²⁴Munir Ahmad Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau* (Lahore: Atish Fishan Publications, 1989).

²⁵Aqil Abbas Ja‘feri, *Pakistan ke Siyasi Waderay* (Lahore: Jahangir Book Publishers, 2012).

²⁶Herbert Feldman, *From Crisis to Crisis: Pakistan 1962-69* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

²⁷Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, *In Search of Solutions: The Autobiography of Mir Ghaus Buksh Bizenjo*, ed. B.M. Kutty (Karachi: Pakistan Labour Trust, 2009).

²⁸Roedad Khan, comp., *The American Papers: Secret and Confidential, India-Pakistan-Bangladesh Documents 1965-1973* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

²⁹Roedad Khan, comp., *The British Papers: Secret and Confidential, India-Pakistan-Bangladesh Documents 1958-1969* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002).

³⁰Craig Baxter, ed., *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan: 1966-1972* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³¹Malik Ammad Khan, ex-Foreign Minister of State (2008-13), and grandson of Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan, provided with an access to the personal record of Nawab of Kalabagh.

Chapter 1

Political Career of Nawab of Kalabagh, 1932-1960

1.1-Family Background

Ancestors of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan belonged to the tribe of Qutb Shah which was known as *Alvi* due to his lineage from Hazrat Ali (599-661). Qutb Shah was conferred the title of *Awan* by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi (971-1030) for his help in expedition of India as *Awan* means helper or supporter. Ghaznavi, after successful raid on India in early eleventh century, and before returning to Ghazni, Afghanistan, rewarded Qutb Shah with the vast area of Salt Range.¹ Later, different heads of the tribe extended their area and strengthened the position. Kalabagh is located exactly on the same place where River Indus enters into the plain from a gorge. It is situated on the bank of the river in the North of district Mianwali. The first settler of the tribe in this area was Sheikh Addu who came here in sixteenth century and got settled on Dingot² or Dhankot³ a natural fortress on the left bank of Indus, few miles up-stream from the present day Kalabagh. Band Ali⁴ or Banday Ali,⁵ grandson of Sheikh Addu, was the founder of Kalabagh.⁶ He and his successors became strong enough to get reasonable income from the neighboring salt mines, making alum, levying toll at the ferry service, and later from judicial fines⁷ or tribute⁸ paid by neighboring Khattaks, Bhangi Khel.

At the end of 18th century, Taimur Shah (1748-93), son of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1722-72), acknowledged the right of Malik Azam Khan, the then chief of tribe, to rule the Kalabagh. Taimur Shah sanctioned Rs. 1200/= per annum for Azam Khan who had to ensure the safety of Kabul-Delhi road. In 1822, Sikhs got hold of the area and gave *jagir* to Malik Allah Yar Khan⁹ or Ali Yar Khan¹⁰ who had to pay, apart from *maliya*, two horses, eleven camels, five dogs, 2/3 of salt tax and 2/5 of

maliya of Massan to Sikh government.¹¹ The *Awans* of Kalabagh were greatly benefited by showing allegiance to Sikh regime (1799-1849) and were able to get hold of *cis-Indus* arid land comprised of the villages of Nikki and Massan.¹²

At the advent of the British, same Allah Yar Khan felt no hesitation in switching over to them. He proved his loyalty by aiding them in the expeditions of Bannu and Dilip Garh in June 1848. Herbert Benjamin Edwards (1819-68) was provided with un-broken chain of supply of horsemen and all sorts of commodities. Muzaffar Khan, the son of Allah Yar, commanded a cavalry squadron. He was made prisoner of war in Gujrat and was later released for the payment of Rs.5000/= as ransom.¹³ During the upheaval of 1857, Muzaffar Khan and his son, Yar Muhammad Khan recruited 100 soldiers for Edwards who served bravely in Peshawar and thus Muzaffar Khan earned the title of *Khan Bahadur*. Malik Yar Muhammad Khan carried on this policy of loyalty towards the British and was successful in gaining not only *jagirs* of Isa Khel and Mianwali but contractual rights of Kalabagh mines also. He was made Honorary Magistrate in the life time of his father and later, in 1907, was entitled *Khan Bahadur* as well.¹⁴ A sketch of Yar Muhammad Khan's personality has been given in District Gazetteer of Mianwali, 1915 which says,

He was a fine specimen of an old country gentlemen, a hard taskmaster but very generous, a careful manager of his property, but extravagant at the same time, fond of sport, keen on horses and hounds, and above all most hospitable and fond of entertaining. He was enamoured of his land to a fault, and even in old age rode regularly out in the mornings to some part or the other of his domains, and personally superintended the operations of ploughing, sowing, reaping, embanking or leveling up lands.¹⁵

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan looked almost a 'facsimile' of Yar Muhammad Khan if judged by the traits of personality. Malik Atta Muhammad Khan, father of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, became the chief of Awans of Kalabagh in 1908.¹⁶ He was given the title of *Khan Bahadur* in 1911. He inherited the seat of Provincial *Darbari* and powers of 2nd Class Honorary Magistrate.¹⁷ Malik Ata Muhammad

presented the British, for World War I (1914-19), with one *lakh* in advance, seventy-five thousand for the maintenance of ships, thirty-five thousand for the Cavalry and seven thousand for the rehabilitation of War affectees besides thousands of recruits.¹⁸ In 1916, his services were acknowledged in *Darbar* and he was given a certificate and some medals. He was the first chief of Kalabagh who was given the title of *Nawab*, before they were called *Ra'is* of Kalabagh.¹⁹

1.2-Early Life

When Malik Ata Muhammad died in 1924, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, a school going boy, was made *Ra'is* of Kalabagh. He was born on June 20, 1910 at Kalabagh, Mianwali. His estate was kept under the supervision of Court of Wards till 1932. Malik Amir Muhammad Khan studied in Atchison College till 1928 and then left for England in the pursuit of higher education. After graduation from Oxford University, he came back home in 1931²⁰ and got hold of his ancestral property that was extended over 110 square miles and was comprised of Bangi Khel, Daud Khel, Nikki, and Jalalpur. In 1935, Malik Amir Muhammad was conferred on with the Silver Jubilee Medal by the Government.²¹

There is a bit controversy about the title of *Nawab* for Amir Muhammad Khan. It is said that he found this title in inheritance.²² Amir Muhammad Khan's *protégé* in politics, Amir Abdullah Rokhri said, "He was not entitled Nawab but Khan Bahadur. When a toady of the area was conferred on the title of Nawab then, in retaliation, Muslim Leaguers had started calling Amir Muhammad Khan, Nawab.²³ Some critics of Amir Muhammad Khan had challenged the legality of his title and declared him a self-acclaimed 'Nawab'.²⁴

1.3 Role of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan in Pakistan Movement

Before making the assessment of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan's contribution

in political sphere during the colonial period, it would be better to mention some prevailing impressions about him. Generally it is said that all the land owning class, including Nawab of Kalabagh, was “opportunist and from head to toe loyal to the British”.²⁵ According to Altaf Gauhar, Nawab himself ‘disclosed’ about his political inclination of those times in these words, “We used to contribute fund for Muslim League but our actual politics were under the auspice of Commissioner. We did according to the will of Emerson *Sahib* [he always used the suffix of *sahib* with the name of British high officials].” According to Nawab, all the land lords including Tiwanas, Noons, Daultanas, and Mamdots used to go to Deputy Commissioner House on 1st January of every year, near the Government House Lahore, for New Year’s greetings. All of them including Nawab of Kalabagh would do that in a very submissive and servile manner. Altaf Gauhar further reveals the ‘confession’ of Nawab, “At the end of 1946, Commissioner summoned us and told that British had decided to leave India, and then we joined Muslim League, took part in the freedom movement and did every sacrifice.”²⁶

Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri witnessed Nawab’s sympathy for Muslim League and entrance in Muslim Politics long before the Freedom Movement had gotten momentum. He wrote in his book,

Muhammad Hayat Khan, the father of Amir Abdullah Rokhri, became the President and Attaullah Sunbal as the Secretary of Mianwali Muslim League in 1938. Malik Amir Muhammad Khan and Amir Abdullah Rokhri were the staunch supporters of Muslim League.²⁷

However, his debut at the national level politics was his participation in the historic session of Muslim League on March 23, of 1940 in Lahore where Pakistan Resolution²⁸ was passed.²⁹ For the arrangement of this meeting, from Punjab, Sir Shah Nawaz Mamdot (1883-1942) contributed Rs.700/=; Nawab Jamal Khan Leghari

(1894-1960), Rs.1000/=; and Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh, Rs.5000/=.³⁰ Jinnah appealed to all the land owning gentry of Punjab for generous monetary help for Muslim League. His call was responded enthusiastically and people contributed munificently. Youthful Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, seated on one of the rear chairs, offered the amount equal to the whole contribution by rest of the donors. On asking by Quaid-i-Azam, Amir Muhammad was introduced to him. He was very pleased with Nawab so thanked him for his ardent support of Muslim League.³¹ Nawab of Kalabagh's political exposure was not limited to the platform of All India Muslim League. He had strong and cordial relations with Pandit Hathhi Singh, brother in-law of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) due to their common interest in horses. This relation earned him a great deal of exposure to political circle of All-India level. He was at good terms with the Muslim Leaguers and Congress members of Calcutta (now Kolkata), Bombay (now Mumbai), and Bihar including Hussain Shaheed Suherwardy (1892-1963).³²

Malik Amir supported the candidate of Muslim League, Mawlana Muhammad Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi (1915-2001), against the Unionist's candidate in the historic and decisive Elections of 1946.³³ At the eve of Direct Action, Nawab returned his title to the colonial government as a token of protest against the unjust stance of Indian Viceroy Lord Archibald Percival Wavell (1883-1950) in August 1946.³⁴ Riots of Nuakhali, Bihar in October-November of 1946, brought great atrocities upon Muslims of the area. Hindus were armed with modern and lethal weapons so Suherwardy appealed to Nawab of Kalabagh for the supply of weapons made in Darra Adam Khel, a tribal area of North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This assignment was accomplished with the help of Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri, Abdul Ghafur Khan Niazi and Azim Khan. Nawab of Tank Qutbuddin Khan and

Nawab of Kalabagh provided with lavish funding; and armorers of Kalabagh, working in Darra Adam Khel's weapon factories, cooperated in their own way. Due to the efforts of Nawab of Kalabagh and Nawab of Tank, many people from Mianwali, Kohat, Bannu, and tribal areas donated their illegal and un-licensed weapons as well.³⁵

1.4-Nawab of Kalabagh in Local Politics

After completion of his studies, he started taking interest in local politics. His nominees were elected in local bodies' election at different levels in pre-partition period. This provided him political base and prepared him for his debut at country level. There were four prominent families on the political horizon of Mianwali; *Nawabs* of Kalabagh,³⁶ *Khwanin* of Isa Khel, *Bhachars* of Wan Bhachran, and *Khwanin* of Piplan.³⁷ The political leadership of District Mianwali remained in the hands of *Khwanin* of Isa Khel for a long time. Nawab Ghulam Qadir and Saifullah of this family were elected in Provincial Assembly.³⁸ Earlier, Malik Amir had good relations with *Khwanin* of Isa Khel but, later, the rift was created during the Presidential elections of 1965. *Khwanin* supported Miss Fatima Jinnah and opposed Ayub Khan.³⁹ Isa Khel family could not abstain from intriguing against Nawab. Colonel Muhammad Aslam Khan of Isa Khel (1912-2004), along with Sher Ali Pai Khel, used to meet Muzaffar Khan (1934-89), the eldest son of Nawab, and conspire against the Nawab.⁴⁰

Lot of things has been said about the use of oppressive measures by Kalabagh family and the atmosphere of extreme fear in Kalabagh. In fact, some employees of Nawab misused the name and power of Malik Amir and that caused a lot of unrest and rebellious feeling in the hearts of local people. Dr Ghulam Haidar and Noor Muhammad Azad founded an organization, *Ahrar*, to agitate against the atrocities

brought by the employees of Kalabagh estate. This organization was strengthened by some 700 members. Khuda Dad Khan of Isa Khel sponsored this movement. In local bodies' election, candidates of this organization were defeated by group of Nawab, so this movement could not last long. Some retired soldiers made *Fauji Tanzim*, in the command of an Honorary Captain, Nizam Din, against Nawab of Kalabagh. Captain Khalim Gul, Captain Baz Gul and Lieutenant Meraj Gul were its ardent and active members. This organization was supported by the Colonel Attaullah Sunbal of Mianwali but it could not lessen the influence of Nawab so died out gradually. Most of its members, later, adopted the course of reconciliation towards him.⁴¹ Nawab of Kalabagh had political rivalry, apart from *Khwanin* of Isa Khel, with Sherman Khel tribe of Mianwali city as well. Afzal Khan Dhandla, Fateh Sher Jhamat, and Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri were members of Nawab-led faction. They had agreed upon that seat of National Assembly would remain with Nawab of Kalabagh while Chairmanship of District Council and seat of provincial assembly for Rokhri family.⁴²

Many welfare works were done for the people of his area due to his interest and influence. Central Model High School Mianwali (1964), Government High School Kalabagh,⁴³ High School of Tabisar (1961), Government Higher Secondary School Isa Khel (1963), and science block of Government College Jhang (1963) are few of the educational institutions setup by his efforts. Kalabagh-Shakar Darra Road (1963),⁴⁴ Tabisar Rest House (completed in 1967), Chachali Dam (completed in 1967), Tabisar Hospital (1963), Tari Khel Lift Irrigation Scheme (its foundation stone was laid by Nawab in 1964), and R.C.D Road from Pakki Chowk to Massan railway station were constructed because of his keen interest. Kalabagh, his hometown, was benefited with the construction of dykes, to save it from erosion by River Indus, a veterinary hospital, water supply system, and a fifty-bed hospital.⁴⁵ Thal Development

Authority (TDA), though established in 1952, completed many fruitful projects due to great efforts made by Nawab. It flourished during his governorship. In 1946, Thal canal was taken out from Jinnah Barrage Daud Khel to Chowk Munda and it helped in converting thousands acres of barren area into cultivable land. Nawab played main role in transmission of electricity to Piplan, (now Liaqatabad), a tehsil of District Mianwali.⁴⁶

1.5-Parliamentarian Period, 1947-58

Liaqat Ali Khan visited Kalabagh, in 1948, as a gesture to acknowledge the services of Nawab for Muslim League. When Kashmiri Muslims stood against the aggressor Indian Army in October 1947, *Pashtuns* of NWFP went to Kashmir to help their Muslim Brethren and participated in the *Jihad*. These *Mujahidin* used to come from Bannu to Mari Indus by narrow gauge train. Nawab of Kalabagh provided them with food-stuff and clothes. He sent, of his own, a convoy of 500 warriors, and a truck full of essential commodities to Kashmir as well.⁴⁷

He was elected in Punjab Assembly on March 10, 1951. This was the only occasion in his political career that he had to contest a direct election on the basis of adult suffrage.⁴⁸ Nawab has made his own group in assembly comprised of Amir Abdullah Rokhri, Afzal Dhandla, from District Mianwali; Khwajah Muhammad Safdar (1914-91), Abdul Ghani Ghumman, and Abdur Rahim from Sialkot District.⁴⁹ After the formation of One-Unit in 1955, the West Pakistan Assembly was elected through indirect election. Nawab was elected, on January 13, 1956, by these eight electors; *Khan Bahadur* Malik Muzaffar Bhachhar, Muhammad Afzal Khan Dhandla of Bhakkar, Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri, Chaudhri Abdul Ghani Ghumman of Sialkot, Chaudhri Siddique Wahla of Shaikhupura, Chaudhri Naseer Ahmad Malhi (1911-91) of Sialkot, Sheikh Zafar Hussain Advocate of Lahore, and Sardar

Muhammad Nawaz (1901-68) of Kot Fateh Khan.⁵⁰

On the issues of dissension between Centre and Provinces, Nawab proved a man of principle and always supported the Center and Muslim League. When Chief Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon (1893-1970) deviated from the party line on the issue of election of Constituent Assembly by provincial assemblies, in May 1955, Nawab opposed him and sided with Abdul Hamid Dasti and Muslim League. His support not only made Noon quit his office but enabled Dasti to succeed him as Chief Minister.⁵¹

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan kept himself aloof from the factionalism and conspiracies. His attitude was that of a graceful politician.⁵² An introductory article, in *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), portrayed his style of politics in these words,

Though never a politician, in the correct sense of that much abused term, his interest in national affairs has been lively and abiding. He was a member of the National Assembly as well as the West Pakistan interim legislature. But the wranglings of the M.Ps and M.P.As so sickened him that he kept himself severely aloof from active participation in the proceedings or the backstage going on.⁵³

His diary reveals that he, despite his 'graceful' way of diplomacy, was quite active and well aware of the currents in politics of that period.⁵⁴ Nawab played an active role in formation of Republican Party⁵⁵ as Mian Mumtaz Ahmad Khan Daultana (1916-95) deviated from the party line and did not vote for Dr Khan Sahib (1882-1958).⁵⁶ Nawab voted for Chaudhri Fazal Elahi (1904-82), nominee of Republican Party for the speakership; Sardar Bahadur Khan (1908-75) was the candidate of Muslim League under the leadership of Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani (1905-81) and Mumtaz Daultana.⁵⁷ Some evidences show that announcement was made on radio about the Nawab of Kalabagh's becoming minister in Dr Khan Sahib's cabinet but this could not happen in reality.⁵⁸ He fully supported Dr Khan Sahib, in house, during his Chief Ministership, but later he with Iskander

Mirza, Col. Abid Hussain and Makhduzada Hassan Mahmud (d. 1986), came to conclusion that Dr Khan Sahib had become too old to run the office efficiently. Nobody had courage to ask Dr Khan Sahib to relinquish except Malik Amir. Besides many other reasons, it was insistence by Malik Amir which convinced Dr Khan Sahib to quit his office.⁵⁹ Kalabagh was offered ministry by Chief Minister Abdul Hamid Dasti which he declined on the excuse of his vast business.⁶⁰

1.6-West Pakistan Agriculture Federation

To counter the suggestion of land reforms by Daultana, *Anjuman Tahaffuz-i-Haqiq-i-Zamindaran teht-u-Shari'at* was formed by Pir Syed Naubahaar Shah. There were nine members of legislative assembly in this organization; Col. Abid Hussain, Major Mubarak Ali, Muhammad Afzal Dhandla, Fateh Sher Jhamat, Makhduz-ul-Mulk Ghulam Miran Shah, Atta Muhammad Leghari (1913-92) and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan (1916-2003). This organization was countered by a more progressive one *i.e.* West Pakistan Agriculture Federation with Nawab of Kalabagh as its President, Nawabzada Muhammad Khan as General Secretary and Fateh Muhammad Khan Tiwana as treasurer. This federation gave representation to the small land owners and peasants like Sufi Fazal Elahi Comrade, an active revolutionary, and *Hari* leader Muhammad Husain Sathi.⁶¹ A weekly *Zar'i Dunia*, with Ghulam Yazdani Malik as editor and publisher, was started too. This organ vociferously declared that government had every right to confiscate any piece of land in public interest.⁶² In February 1958, in a convention of this federation, some revolutionary demands were made by its General Secretary, Nawabzada Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari. He suggested to Government that elimination of poverty and problem of peasants would be solved by giving the lands of Taunsa Barrage, Guddu Barrage and Ghulam Muhammad Barrage to the tillers on the convenient and lenient conditions. Another

radical demand made by this federation said that for the interest of country, an upper limit of income should be fixed with the consultation of economists. Nobody, including traders, common citizens, industrialists, government employees, ministers, ambassadors, governors and president should be allowed to exceed that limit. Amir Muhammad Khan presented a resolution which demanded the exemption of income tax for those land owners who had been earning less than Rs.5000/= per annum. The same relaxation and exemption was already being enjoyed by the government employees and business community.⁶³

1.7-Acquaintance with Ayub Khan

It is a general perception that Nawab of Kalabagh got acquainted with Ayub Khan via Iskander Mirza who had been a friend and class fellow to Sir Muhammad Nawaz Khan of Kot Fateh Khan, brother in-law of Nawab of Kalabagh. Iskander Mirza worked as Deputy Commissioner of Mianwali and used to visit Jaba, private hunting ground owned by Nawab of Kalabagh.⁶⁴ Personal diary of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, of January 1955, reveals that Ayub Khan, when was C-in-C, was a frequent visitor of Kalabagh. He, with his staff, used to go on shooting excursions in Jaba, and stayed in Kalabagh for some days.⁶⁵

Herbert Feldman is, perhaps, the only writer who has deviated from this ‘general perception’ and revealed that “the relationship between Ayub Khan and himself (Nawab) was very close and dated back to the friendship between their respective fathers.”⁶⁶ Feldman wrote, “It is said that Kalabagh’s father paid for Ayub Khan’s education at Aligarh because Ayub Khan’s father might not in a position to afford.⁶⁷ Malik Ammad Khan, grandson of Nawab, denied this ‘disclosure’ and ratified the prevailing notion *i.e.* Iskander Mirza was the mutual friend of Nawab and Ayub which introduced them to one another.⁶⁸

Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri said that he and Nawab of Kalabagh were invited by Iskander Mirza in Karachi four days before the Coup of 1958. They were asked to come and conceal the plan of that meeting. They stayed in Palace Hotel, Karachi where Mirza talked about the imminent Martial Law.⁶⁹ The British High Commissioner was confided by General Ayub, right after the promulgation of Martial Law, about the inclusion of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan in the cabinet as a Federal Minister of Food.⁷⁰ But he refused to accept this offer. On asking, he replied to Ayub Khan that it would not be possible for him to reply the question of petty members, worth of few pennies, in assembly.⁷¹

1.8-As Chairman of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation

Nawab was reluctant to accept any kind of official assignment under Martial Law. When Iskander Mirza, accompanied by Amir Abdullah Rokhri, visited Kalabagh with the offer of Chairmanship of Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), Amir Muhammad Khan avoided to see him as he was not able to spare his time due to his own business in his estate. Later, he had to accept it on the insistence of Ayub Khan.⁷² Nawab was assigned the Chairmanship of PIDC with the status of Federal Minister. His job was to setup public sector industries that asked for the special expertise and where private sector was reluctant to invest. He made the PIDC a ‘success story’ with his ability.⁷³

He worked as Chairman PIDC from December 9, 1958 to May 24, 1960. His efficiency can be judged by the fact that, on October 5, 1959, government announced that production in industrial sector had been enhanced due to new industrial policy.⁷⁴ Many foreign oil companies had contracts with Government of Pakistan to install oil refineries in Pakistan. Four of those got into agreement to install refinery at shore in Karachi on September 18, 1959; some others on November 28, 1959.⁷⁵ Earning by

exporting jute products was enhanced sizably, from 133.296 million rupees in 1957-58 to 233.129 million rupees in 1959-60.⁷⁶ First made in Pakistan ship, *Al-Abbas*, was constructed by PIDC, with the cost of 2.2 million rupees, and was put into sea on September 28, 1959.⁷⁷ Khulna Newsprint factory was completed in August 1959 at a cost of 148 million rupees.⁷⁸ In the field of heavy chemicals, PIDC set up plants producing Caustic Soda, Dichloro Diphenyl Trichloroethane (DDT), Sulphuric Acid, and Superphosphate. DDT factory Nowshera, set up with the collaboration of United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), saw gradual rise in its per annum production, 553 tons in 1958-59 and 697 tons in 1959-60.⁷⁹ Construction of two 'gigantic' chemical fertilizer factories based on natural gas and each with production capacity of 2.5 million tons, were started, one in West wing, Multan, and the other in Eastern wing, Fenchuganj.⁸⁰ Two steel plants, one with 2.5 million ton capacity at Karachi and the other with 0.1 million ton capacity at Chittagong were planned but with the imported raw material.⁸¹ A survey of iron-ore deposits in Dammer Nissar (Chitral) was done and an all-weather road and tunnel project in Chitral was carried out in 1958-9. Talpur Textile Mills, Tando Muhammad Khan, Indus Gas Company Ltd., Hyderabad, PIDC Medical Center and PIDC Printing Press (Pvt.) Ltd. in Karachi were the industrial projects established in Sindh.⁸² According to Malik Amir's son, Malik Asad Khan, "He visited Japan as the Chairman PIDC and signed agreements for hydro-power projects.⁸³

1.9-Industrial Units installed in Daud Khel

He played a key role in the establishment of Daud Khel Industrial Estate, in vicinity of his hometown, Kalabagh. He utilized his personal relations with Iskander Mirza and persuaded him to do so as the raw material for these industries was in abundance in the area. Maple Leaf Cement Factory (MLCF) and Pak-American

Fertilizer Factory Limited (PAFL) became operational before his becoming Chairman of PIDC.⁸⁴ His Chairmanship of PIDC proved good fortune for the common man of his area. Industrial Units setup during his tenure brought prosperity to him. Railway track, from Makarwal Coal Mines to Mari Indus Railway Station, was laid during his tenure. Makarwal collieries were developed to meet the coal requirement of the Maple Leaf Cement factory and Pak American Fertilizer factory, both located at Daud Khel.⁸⁵ Pak Dyes and Chemicals was set up on February 1, 1960 with the cost of six million rupees with the partnership of famous German company, Bayer. This factory was set up with the production capacity of 250 tons of Red Congo and 300 tons Sulphur Black per annum.⁸⁶ Anti-biotic or the Penicillin factory Daud Khel was established with the cooperation of UNICEF. A sum of 0.587 million dollars was provided by UNICEF. This factory started production in February of 1960 and went into full production, 10 million mega units of crude penicillin per annum, in a week.⁸⁷

1.10-Issue of Installation of Steel Mill at Kalabagh

Malik Amir had planned to set up a steel mill at Chachali, near Kalabagh and use the deposits of iron-ore, found there, as raw material. An exploratory survey of iron-ore deposits in Kalabagh area was completed in December 1953 with the help of foreign experts that revealed the possibility of up to 100 million tons deposit of iron-ore but not of very fine quality. 16000 ton capacity plant at Kalabagh, using its own iron-ore as raw material, for the production of luppen, was proposed. A lot of advance was made in this project like demarcation and acquisition of land for worker colonies and site, in Kot Addu, Muzaffargarh. Later in 1965, a West German Firm offered her cooperation for steel mill in Kalabagh which had to produce 0.5 million tons steel and 60 thousand tons of chemical fertilizer per annum. This proposal could not get the concrete shape due to some 'mysterious' reasons. Malik Ahmad Khan said that poor

quality of iron-ore proved the hindrance in the way.⁸⁸ According to the editorial of *Nawa-i-Waqt* of November 22, 1965, it was due to the influence of importers of steel, and America as Pakistan had become a big consumer of her steel.⁸⁹

As a Chairman of PIDC, 'he acquired the reputation of a man of quick and firm decision'. This job earned him 'the reputation-which never left him- of being personally incorrupt'.⁹⁰ This 'success story' was made possible with "farmer's down-to-earth common sense, rugged shrewdness, a sharp eye for details, capacity for hard work, a 'no non-sense' attitude, and the proverbial penny-pinching housekeeping habits."⁹¹ Overall assessment of PIDC, with the help of facts and figures, was summed up in an esteemed newspaper of that time,

There was a marked improvement in the operating results of the PIDC's completed projects during the year 1959-60 when their total value of production stood at Rs. 58.37 *crores* as against Rs. 48.34 *crores* in the previous year, showing a significant rise of 20%....Better production results were obtained in commodities like jute products, board paper, fertilizers, natural gas, sugar, cement, rosin and turpentine, and cotton yarn.⁹²

1.11-As Chairman of Food and Agriculture Commission

This Commission was appointed on July 16, 1959 with Malik Amir Muhammad Khan as Chairman. The Commission aimed at:

- I- Thorough study and evaluation of past and current developmental activities and methods in the field of agriculture;
- II- Finding out the reasons of slow progress, up till then, in production, particularly of the food crops;
- III- Setting targets and fixing production goals for food-grains and major non-food crops.⁹³

The Commission presented its detailed report on November 29, 1960. As for as method to carry out the study and then prepare report is concerned, not only questionnaires were circulated amongst the government agencies, officials and public which had expertise in the field of food and agriculture; but also extensive tours were made to agriculture colleges, research institutes, experimental stations and, seed and livestock farms, to get first-hand knowledge about the problems. Commendable

feature of procedure was the formation of seventeen advisory panels comprised of professionals and experts of different fields. Before making recommendations, food problem was discussed at length and different factors like population growth, population engaged in agriculture, the drain on foreign exchange due to the large imports of food grains, low standards of nutrition, and low income of agriculturists, were pondered upon by members. Serious issues like 'systems of land tenure', 'problem of marketing and communication', and the 'problem of salinity, water logging, and soil erosion' were discussed in the report.⁹⁴

In the light of study and evaluation with close collaboration of Planning Commission, some very innovative and useful recommendations were made like;

- 1- Responsibilities of center and provinces should be redefined; (for this purpose, bifurcation of Agriculture Development Corporation, and making two provincial corporations, one in each the wing, was suggested.⁹⁵
- 2- For the achievement of greater output, it was suggested that cultivators should be provided with incentives like just and fair taxation, reasonable pricing, better facilities of procurement, subsidies, credit and marketing;⁹⁶
- 3- Improved agricultural education and research was needed. Commission recommended the setting up of five institutes of agriculture research; three in West Pakistan and two in the Eastern wing, besides two full-fledged Agricultural Universities. Moreover many training schools for the production of Field Assistants were proposed;⁹⁷
- 4- Conveyance of latest knowledge of farming and agricultural machinery to cultivators through agricultural extension services and village aid organizations;
- 5- Policies of colonizing the lands be revised and maximum cultivable land should be brought under plough to achieve the food targets;
- 6- Administration will have to convince the cultivators for cooperative farming and other forms of profit sharing schemes;⁹⁸
- 7- Effective system of supply, storage and distribution of food must be insured for the stable and reasonable price for consumers. Food Price Stabilization Board was proposed for this purpose.
- 8- An innovative recommendation was presented which asked to form labor corps for the better utilization of surplus manpower.⁹⁹

Though this Commission was meant for finding ways for rapid growth in the field of agriculture but it had extended its inquiry into the related fields like forestry,

animal husbandry and fisheries as well.¹⁰⁰ Professor Abul Fazal Atwar Hussain (1918-87), Head of Commerce Department, Dacca University analyzed the report in a very comprehensive way,

The Report of the Food and Agriculture Commission' is the most comprehensive official study of the problem of food and agriculture undertaken in Pakistan since independence...But this analysis is 'sketchy' and without proper references to literature of the subject...Perhaps the weakest part of the Report is its failure to consider economic propositions and apply economic reasoning in making policy recommendations. In short, the Report fails to give proper guideline to Pakistan's planners.¹⁰¹

1.12-Land Reforms

Ayub Khan appointed a land reform commission headed by Malik Akhtar Hussain, Governor of West Pakistan on October 18, 1958.¹⁰² After three months, report was presented to Ayub Khan who promulgated Martial Law Regulation 64 (1959), the West Pakistan Land Reforms Regulation on February 7, 1959.¹⁰³ Objectives of reforms were: to convert 'occupancy' into 'ownership'; abolition of *begar*; and to set limit for individual land holdings. These reforms allowed holding only 500 acres irrigated or 1000 acres un-irrigated land for any individual. But it could not bring the desired and drastic change in rural areas and agriculture of Pakistan due to some loopholes.¹⁰⁴ Later, MRL 64 was amended into MLR 64-B (1959) and provided with some other exemptions. Large owners had already distributed their property among their as many "real or imaginary heirs as they could trust to hold the land."¹⁰⁵ Ghulam Ishaq Khan (1915-2006)¹⁰⁶ rightly said that concentration of land had shifted in families from individual hands.¹⁰⁷ That's why many critics of Ayub Era viewed these reforms no more than "Window dressing" and "Cosmetic" change.¹⁰⁸

Before the implementation of Land Reforms, Nawab offered the peasants of Patti¹⁰⁹ to purchase his land which, otherwise, would be confiscated by Government. Thousands of *kanals* was sold and then transferred to the peasants by Nawab.¹¹⁰ At

first, the reforms were implemented without any discrimination and he had to surrender over 22000 acres.¹¹¹ Bhag Bharri, mother of Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh, was deprived of 246 acres due to these reforms.¹¹² But this deprivation did not last long as Government soon found out a way to compensate and ‘solace the injured feelings of big land lords.’ Para. 9(d) of the Land Reforms Regulation was added to allow the nine persons to retain additional areas on lease out of property lands. One of these nine was Nawab of Kalabagh who with his sons retained 18619 acres.¹¹³ This lease agreement put no financial burden on any of these allottees because they had to pay nothing for these vast tracts of land. When M. Hamza, a legislator, asked in West Pakistan Provincial Assembly if the lease money would be paid by the land retainers, Malik Khuda Bakhsh Bucha (1906-2002), Provincial Revenue Minister, replied, “No”¹¹⁴

No further development was made in the name of land reforms till Nawab of Kalabagh had been in power. 3rd Five-Year Plan (1965-70), discussed in Budget Session of 1965, suggested that ceiling for land owning would be 250 acres irrigated and 500 acres un-irrigated. Perhaps this was “the sentence which had made Nawab Kalabagh furious”, and Planning Commission had been compelled to withdraw this revolutionary suggestion.¹¹⁵ Nawab was man of *status quo* and was so touchy in this matter that, to him, Mumtaz Daultana was ‘a traitor to the landlord class’ as latter had “antagonized his own landlord class by pushing land reforms and trying to organize the peasant and small land-owners.”¹¹⁶

Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, a scion of feudal family, was educated in the modern institutes of British India (1858-1947) and the United Kingdom. He made his debut as a politician at national level with affiliating himself with Muslim League. At the same time, he kept himself busy in the affairs of his

estate, Kalabagh and the politics of his native area. After the independence and partition of India, he started his career as a legislator in nascent Pakistan. Besides parliamentary politics, he worked for the cause of his community of landlords. Before the coup of 1958, he had got a lot of exposure and influence in the power circles. His intimacy with Ayub Khan made him to accept the official assignments in the new regime. He, as Chairman, first of PIDC and then, of Food and Agriculture Commission; earned the fame of a firm, an honest and an able administrator. Ayub Khan was so impressed with his managerial skills that he appointed him as the Governor of West Pakistan.

ENDNOTES

¹Shah, *Swanhayat*, 19.

²*Gazetteer of the Mianwali District 1915* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2008), 66.

³Shah, *Swanhayat*, 22.

⁴*Gazetteer of the Mianwali*, 66.

⁵Shah, *Swanhayat*, 22.

⁶A.R. Shibli, *Pakistan ke Deh Khuda* (Lahore: Atish Fishan Publications, 1994), 66.

⁷*Gazetteer of the Mianwali*, 66.

⁸Shibli, *Deh Khuda*, 66.

⁹Ja'feri, *Siyasi Waderay*, 424.

¹⁰Shibli, *Deh Khuda*, 66.

¹¹Ja'fery, *Siyasi Waderay*, 423.

¹²*Gazetteer of the Mianwali*, 66.

¹³Shibli, *Deh Khuda*, 66.

¹⁴*Gazetteer of the Mianwali*, 67.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶Shibli, *Deh Khuda*, 67.

¹⁷*Gazetteer of the Mianwali*, 67.

¹⁸Shah, *Swanhayat*, 27. When Malik Ata was asked why he helped the British so generously, he replied that the British had helped them in getting rid of cruel Sikh Regime.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 70.

²¹*Ibid.*, 21.

²²Shibli, *Deh Khuda*, 67.

²³Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 123.

²⁴Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 329. Syed Murid Hussain, Member of National Assembly from Sialkot, bitterly criticized Nawab of Kalabagh and told his interviewer, Munir Ahmad Munir, "Before partition of Indian sub-continent, Dr Abdul Aziz, Assistant Surgeon

in Kalabagh Hospital was made terrified on not providing false medical report for Nura, a famous henchman of Nawab. British Superintendent Police came from Mianwali to Kalabagh and threatened Amir Muhammad Khan to mend his ways as he was no more than an illegal and self-acclaimed Nawab.”

²⁵Wakil Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun* (Lahore: Feroz Sons (Pvt.), 1992), 425.

²⁶Gauhar, *Junun ki Hikayt*, 61.

²⁷Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 68.

²⁸This historic resolution was passed in the 27th Annual Session of All India Muslim League, presided over by M.A. Jinnah on March 23, 1940 in Lahore. This resolution demanded for the separated homeland for the Muslims of India.

²⁹Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 74.

³⁰Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 51.

³¹Shah, *Swanih Hayat*, 123.

³²Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 68.

³³Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 425.

³⁴Shah, *Swanih Hayat*, 123.

³⁵Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 69.

³⁶Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 100. Mazari remarked, “Awans of Kalabagh were the most prominent family to hail from Mianwali district. The Awan had come to possess the Mianwali Salt Range for a number of centuries and, with time, had extended their influence over their area.”

³⁷Shah, *Swanih Hayat*, 240.

³⁸Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 21.

³⁹Shah, *Swanih Hayat*, 178. An effigy of Ayub Khan was burnt and Yasin Qasai, with artificial moustaches, was seated on a donkey and was called as Nawab of Kalabagh. This humiliation was retaliated by Kalabagh family in a particular way. A First Information Report (FIR) was registered, at the behest of Governor Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, against Mumtaz Khan, Khurshid Khan and Maqbul Khan for murdering a Station House Officer (S.H.O), Chaudhri Mahmud but later, Nawab was requested for reconciliation and he conceded.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 193.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 57.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 234-5.

⁴³Actually Kalabagh High School was established in 1932, Nawab of Kalabagh told Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan, during their visit to Kalabagh, about the poor condition of the building. So the building was demolished and the new one was constructed in 1956.

⁴⁴This 26-mile long road lessened the distance between Mianwali and Peshawar by 41 miles.

⁴⁵Shah, *Swanih Hayat*, 208.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 233. Nawab accompanied Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar (1897-1968), Prime Minister of Pakistan, at the eve of its inauguration in November 1957.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 122-3.

⁴⁸Sajid M. Awan, "Elections, Political Parties and Political Development in the Punjab: 1947-1988", *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* 34, no. 2 (2014): 451.

⁴⁹Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 326.

⁵⁰Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 25.

⁵¹Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 127.

⁵²Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 425.

⁵³Special Correspondent, "The New Governor", *The Pakistan Times*, June 01, 1960.

⁵⁴According to the diary of Nawab, on January 1, 1956, he reached Jhang to respond to the urgent call of his close friend Colonel Abid Hussain (1915-71). There, he met with some other prominent politicians of his times; Major Mubarak Ali, Ali Akbar (1911-67) and Sir Feroz Khan Noon. He confided to Abid Hussain about his impression of "his (Abid's) being double crossed by boss (Iskander Mirza).

⁵⁵Republican Party was a break-away faction of Muslim League and was formed in October 1955.

⁵⁶Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 178.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 176.

⁵⁸Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 111.

⁵⁹Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 183-4.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 200.

⁶¹Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 129.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 82-5.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 134.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 111.

⁶⁵Personal Diary of Nawab of Kalabagh of January, 1955. Provided by Malik Ammad Khan.

⁶⁶Feldman, *Crisis to Crisis*, 56.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸An interview with Malik Ammad Khan on February 18, 2016.

⁶⁹Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 104.

⁷⁰Khan, *British Papers*, 37. High Commissioner's Comments on post-coup situation, Inward Telegram, from Karachi to Delhi, Commonwealth Relation Office, 9th October, 1958.

⁷¹Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 429.

⁷²Shah, *Swanih Hayat*, 88.

⁷³Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 75.

⁷⁴Daily *Mashriq* (Lahore), October 6, 1959.

⁷⁵Daily *Dawn* (Karachi), October 28, 1960.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷Daily *Jang* (Lahore), September 29, 1959.

⁷⁸*Dawn*, October 28, 1960.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²www.pidc.com.pk/.../1_LIST_OF_UNITSPROJECTS_OF_PIDC_TRANSFER.

⁸³Shah, *Swanih Hayat*, 207.

⁸⁴*Ibid.* When Mirza came to inaugurate this project he stayed at Nawab's bungalow in Kalabagh.

⁸⁵*Dawn*, October 28, 1960.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷*Dawn*, January 22, 1961.

⁸⁸Interview with Malik Ammad Khan on February 29, 2016.

⁸⁹Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Lahore), November 22, 1965.

⁹⁰Feldman, *Crisis to crisis*, 56.

⁹¹*The Pakistan Times*, June 01, 1960.

⁹²*Dawn*, October 28, 1960.

⁹³*Dawn*, November 30, 1960.

⁹⁴Abul Fazal Atwar Hussain, Review Article “Report of Food and Agriculture Commission” www.pide.org.pk/index.php/pdr/article/view/31

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶*Dawn*, November 30, 1960.

⁹⁷Hussain, “Review on Report”. Agriculture University of Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) was setup in West Pakistan where ‘more emphasis was to be laid on practical side of agricultural education with special reference to the modern methods of cultivation than on mere theoretical knowledge.’ *Dawn* Karachi of 16th August, 1965.

⁹⁸*Dawn*, November 30, 1960.

⁹⁹Hussain, “Review on Report”.

¹⁰⁰*Dawn*, November 30, 1960.

¹⁰¹Hussain, “Review on Report”.

¹⁰²Razi-ud-Din Razi and Shakir Hussain Shakir, *Pakistan: 14 Agast 1947 se 14 Agast 1997 tak* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1997), 251.

¹⁰³Matthew J. Nelson, *In the Shadow of Shari‘ah: Islam, Islamic Law and Democracy in Pakistan* (London: Hurst & Company, 2011)148-9.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.* Apart from holding of 500 acres irrigated or 1000 acres un-irrigated land, 150 acres for ‘orchards’, almost unlimited for ‘livestock farms, ‘stud farms, and *shikargahs* (hunting grounds). Limit of 36000 Production index Units (PIU) provided with another loophole as it might parallel with more than 500 or 1000 acres depending on soil quality, cropping patterns and irrigation system. Many of land owners conspired with local *patwaris* who helped them to conceal the actual value of land. This tempering with record enabled them to retain much more land than the fixed limits. Permission for alienation of land as a Gift to(i) the ‘relatives’ (ii) to ‘ heirs’ up to 18000 PIUs.(iii) to ‘female dependents’ like unmarried daughters or widowed sisters up to 6000 PIUs, was another big loophole.

¹⁰⁵Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi, Mahmood Hassan Khan and M. Ghaffar Chaudhry ed., *Land Reforms in Pakistan: In Historical Perspective* (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1987), 27. *Zamindars* distributed the rights to their wives, unborn children, servants, even livestock.

¹⁰⁶Ghulam Ishaq Khan, later became Federal Finance Minister, and Chairman of Senate in Zia Era (1977-88); and then the President of Pakistan (1988-93); worked as secretary to Land Reform Commission in 1958.

¹⁰⁷Nelson, *Shadow of Shari 'ah*, 150.

¹⁰⁸Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 218.

¹⁰⁹A vast arid area of Nawab's estate comprised of many villages.

¹¹⁰Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 67.

¹¹¹*The Pakistan Times*, June 1, 1960.

¹¹²Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 61.

¹¹³Feldman, *Crisis to Crisis*, 6.

¹¹⁴Sadiq-ul-Hassan Gilani, "Faqat aik Sarmayadaar ki Khatir," *Weekly Zindagi* (Lahore), September 15, 1969, 36-7.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹¹⁶Khan, *British Papers*, 677. N.J. Barrington, British High Commissioner in Rawalpindi to D.A. MacLeod, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Office, September 19, 1966.

Chapter 2

Nawab of Kalabagh as Governor of West Pakistan (1960-1966)

2.1-Assumption of Governorship

Famous journalist Mim Shin (d.1993) wrote on the nomination of Amir Muhammad Khan as governor that he had been offered the governmental offices not for the first time. The news was in the air, before the Martial Law, in the times of Republican Raj,¹ to make him first, Federal Minister and then, Governor of West Pakistan but he declined.² He assumed the charge as Governor of West Pakistan on 1st of June 1960; this was ‘the most important office next to that of President.’³ Apart from the governorship of West Pakistan, he had to work as Agent to President of Pakistan for the federal territory of Karachi. He resolved to develop Karachi in a way that it might become “not merely as an aggregate of scattered colonies but a well-knit city with a highly-developed civic consciousness and a pride of its own.”⁴ Karachi Division was included in West Pakistan on March 26, 1961.⁵

2.2-Basic Democracy

When Malik Amir Muhammad Khan took oath as the Governor of West Pakistan, the country was deprived of any kind of constitution and was being run by Martial law. He discharged his gubernatorial duties for two years under the umbrella of Martial law, though government had ‘legitimized’ itself by adoption of Basic Democracy system, a unique version of ‘guided democracy’. The Basic Democrats were elected, for the first time in Pakistan, on December 26, 1959 by adult franchise. Those BDs, as they were called, had to serve not only as representatives of public but as Electoral College for legislative assemblies and, the President also. Malik Amir Muhammad Khan had complete faith in the validity and effectiveness of BD system. This was not only because of his loyalty with regime but it suited his disposition and

manner of administering things also. It does not mean that he was in favor of controlled democracy as an ultimate goal in itself. He favored it as a transitional solution which had been necessary to reach at the goal of total responsible government. The governor told a questioner, while addressing to the annual prize distribution ceremony and Golden Jubilee of Agricultural College Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) on January 3, 1961 that the system of the nomination to the basic democracies would be done away with the due course of time when the aim of inculcating democratic spirit among the public was achieved.⁶ He supported this system whole heartedly, and encouraged and strengthened the BDs so that they might feel confident in dealing with civil administration. He emphasized, "Basic Democrats are true representatives of the public as they had been elected on the basis of adult franchise. They deserve the respect of Civil servants and the latter should have to bear the criticism of the formers."⁷

2.3-Conduction of 2nd Decennial Population Census in 1961

First immense administrative task fulfilled by his provincial government was the conduction of 2nd Census of Pakistan though Nawab, as governor, was responsible only for his province. It was carried out from January 12 to 31, 1961. Housing census was done, before Population census, in August 1960. The country was divided into Provinces, Zonal areas, Administrative districts, and Census districts, Charges, Circles and Blocks. A unified location code was devised for the whole country so that any small village or Census Enumerator's Block anywhere in Pakistan could be located through a simple series of nine figures.⁸

New constitution was promulgated on June 8, 1962. Though apparently it gave the regime a constitutional, democratic and civil countenance but most of the political aristocracy, like Chaudhri Muhammad Ali (1905-80), described the new constitution

as 'Government of the President, for the President and by the President.'⁹ Provincial governments were structured in a manner similar to the central government. The governor, like the president in Center, was the chief executive of a province, and selected his council of ministers.

The governor was not merely a figurehead but the holder of the real executive power in the province...He could appoint Parliamentary Secretaries and the Advocate General. However the Governor, being the appointee of President, had to work under the direction and the supervision of the President.¹⁰

2.4-Elections

New Constitution brought new changes to support the prevailing political culture and to appease the opposition of so-called democratic leaders. In the same June, Political Parties Act was implemented and later, on September 29, 1962, Convention Muslim League was made to function as 'King's Party'. When it was decided to conduct the non-party elections of BDs in November 1964, Nawab went to stay at Kalabagh and Makhdumzada Hassan Mahmud of Bahawalpur was made in charge of election in West Pakistan. All the secretaries of West Pakistan were put at his disposal and he made full use of official machinery in favor of official nominees.¹¹

According to Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan's (1915-98) accusation, there was only one Muslim Leaguer, Khwajah Safdar, who was 'permitted' by Governor Kalabagh to succeed from Punjab and later was made the Leader of 'loyal' opposition.¹² Nawab of Kalabagh connived at it altogether so the credibility of the election is still called into question. Jama'at Islami published and circulated at large scale, a thirty-four page white paper about the elections in Karachi with ten charges of grave malpractices in election and demanded for judicial inquiry by a High Court Judge but the demand was rejected.¹³

2.5-Presidential Election of 1965

Though Presidential Elections of 1965 brought victory to Ayub Khan but it

earned a bad name to Malik Amir Muhammad Khan. Appearance of Miss Fatima Jinnah as unanimous candidate of the Opposition made the Ayub and his companions highly alarmed. Altaf Gauhar, a cherished subordinate of Ayub, wrote about the panic in the official circles at that time.

I saw the Nawab worried only once when Fatima Jinnah decided to contest against Ayub Khan in Presidential elections. He was totally embarrassed. For some days in Government House, it was rejoiced that such an old and physically weak lady would not be able to stay against the Commander like Ayub Khan. But when public participated in the gatherings for Fatima Jinnah with full zeal and zest, the Government had been totally bewildered. Nawab was very indignant over it as Ayub Khan was being bitterly criticized for his sons' corruption. He was of the view that if the leader was abused then Government could not carry on its business.¹⁴

Combined Opposition Parties (COP) was comprised of the Council Muslim League, led by Khwaja Nazimuddin (1894-1964) and Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana; the Awami League, led by Shaikh Mujibur Rehman (1920-75); the National Awami Party (NAP), led by Mawlana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (1880-1976); the N.W.F.P group of the National Awami Party, led by Khan Abdul Wali Khan (1917-2006); the Nizam-i-Islam Party, led by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali and Farid Ahmad; Jama‘at-i-Islami, led by Mawlana Syed Abu'l A‘la Maududi (1903-79). All these veteran and seasoned politicians convinced Miss Fatima Jinnah to contest against Ayub Khan.¹⁵ Allegedly, many tactics were used by the government to win the election for Ayub Khan. Faulty voters' lists were published. Name of voters antagonized to the Government were omitted and many fictitious names were added with the aim at bogus voting.¹⁶ Opposition blamed the state machinery for bogus voting with the help of 'hired professional',

In fact, batches are believed to have gone round in urban localities day after day from one station to another to vote in the name of different persons at the same station. Women from red light areas were used to impersonate the ladies' votes.¹⁷

Allegedly, misconduct of the Presiding Officers was counted as one of the

major causes of the defeat of Miss Jinnah in Presidential elections. COP had demanded the appointment of Presiding Officers from among the judicial officers and not from the executive but Election Commission did not agree.¹⁸ All these factors can be used as charges against the Election Commission of Pakistan and Provincial Government might be absolved on the technical grounds. Central Government and its departments contributed as well.

2.5.1-Use of State Machinery

Misuse of Official Machinery and Public Money was another allegation on Ayub Government. Miss Fatima said in a message to East Pakistanis, “The most unfortunate aspect of the present condition is that the administrative machinery of the country is identified with Mr. Ayub Khan’s election campaign.”¹⁹

2.5.2-National Electronic Media

Ayub Khan had Radio, Pakistan Television and government controlled agencies at his disposal and all these were utilized to propagate the ruling party’s cause. “Radio Pakistan served as the mouthpiece of the party in power and blocked the opposition’s view point.”²⁰

2.5.3-Lavish Funding

In fact the foundation-stone of the victory in the Presidential election was laid in the elections of BDs in November 1964. Ayub Khan had not only state machinery at his disposal but was provided with huge sums of funds also. For BDs’ election, financial resources were provided in a very generous manner. In a time of few weeks, official party was provided with fifty million by industrialists and businessmen in Karachi.²¹ Piles of these resources enabled the ruling party to purchase 1000 jeeps to use in campaign while opposition, in contrast, could not buy more than twenty-seven.²² Two secret letters of 6 and 12 November of 1964 sent by All Pakistan Textile

Mills Association to its members asking for contributing Rs.2/= per installed spindle and Rs.25/= per installed loom to the funds of Convention Muslim League.²³ Amount of money available for Ayub and his party can be estimated by the style of this 'Fund Raising campaign'. Only the above-mentioned instance if examined carefully reveals that '37340 cotton looms and 29, 52,580 spindles at that time might have contributed almost 15 million rupees.'²⁴

2.5.4-Role of Provincial Government of West Pakistan

Governor of West Pakistan and his administration played its role in a particular way. Malik Amir as the chief executive of the province "was in complete control of the official machinery in the province to give a landslide victory to his friend and benefactor Ayub."²⁵

2.5.4.(a)-Police and Bureaucracy

Police and Criminal Investigation Department (CID) gathered information about BDs to test their inclinations so that disloyal ones might be traced well in time.²⁶ Deputy Commissioners arranged meetings with BDs and canvassed for Ayub Khan.²⁷

2.5.4.(b)-Role of Land Owning Gentry

Nawab played a major role in manipulation of the circumstances in favor of Ayub Khan. Mazari, being a land-lord himself, has judged the circumstances with a good deal of accuracy,

Not surprisingly, in Sindh and Punjab the politically powerful and influential land owning classes had aligned themselves with the Government. The Governor of West Pakistan, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan Kalabagh, was a man of their own class and knew how to forcefully enlist their support. Consequently the *pirs*, *mukhdooms*, *maliks*, *waderas* of Sind and southern Punjab, safeguarding their self-interest, had assisted their local deputy commissioners and police officials in loyally assembling pro-government votes.²⁸

All these factors left question mark on the credibility of the Presidential

election. “In a 1,300 words resolution passed on January 5, 1965, the COP alleged that the rigging was done through an “administrative interference unheard of in history.”²⁹ This allegation by COP cannot be ignored altogether as report, analyzing the election campaign, prepared by Altaf Gauhar, too, reveals that government machinery was used in favor of Ayub Khan.³⁰ Malik Ahmad Khan, grandson of Nawab of Kalabagh, openly admitted that the bureaucracy of the West Pakistan, on the behest of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, had used every possible mean to ensure the victory of Ayub Khan.³¹

2.5.5-After the Victory in Karachi

On January 4, 1965, Gauhar Ayub (b. 1937) led a procession in Karachi to celebrate the success of his father, Ayub Khan, in Presidential election. Riots broke out due to this ‘style of celebrations’ and were resulted in heavy toll of death. Government had to impose curfew for the restoration of law and order in Karachi. The very next day, ‘Shoot at sight’ was ordered by government to control the lawlessness. On 7th of January, a three-member Inquiry committee was appointed by Governor to see through the matter. The Governor of West Pakistan gave an assurance that the ‘guilty would be punished’ but ‘highly suspect proceedings’ of that committee left no hope of justice for the aggrieved party.³² Role of provincial government in this context can be better judged by the statement of Roedad Khan who was Commissioner of Karachi at that time. He has disclosed that celebrating procession, led by Gauhar Ayub, deviated from the authorized rout. Moreover, Ghulam Nabi Memon, West Pakistan Law Minister, made an effort to temper with the police record after the gory incident.³³

Though much has been said about the rigging, malpractice in this election, and role of Nawab of Kalabagh in this context but it would be better to include the

impressions of some opponent politicians of Nawab.

2.5.6-Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti

Abdul Hamid Dasti and Malik Amir Muhammad Khan had been old friends and colleagues for almost last two decades before the conduction of this election. Nawab sent Amir Abdullah Rokhri to Dasti to convince him about favoring Ayub Khan and deserting Fatima Jinnah but he did not acquiesce. Dasti campaigned for Miss Fatima Jinnah and so sacrificed his relation with Nawab.³⁴ He blamed that success of COP meeting in Dera Ghazi Khan had compelled Nawab of Kalabagh to appoint a special task force. Pir Salahuddin, Deputy Commissioner of Muzaffargarh, arranged rigging in favor of Ayub Khan under the order of Nawab.³⁵ After elections Dasti was victimized and canal water to his fields was cut off which was restored after a meeting with Governor arranged by Muhammad Khan Leghari.³⁶

2.5.7-Sherbaz Khan Mazari

When Mazari decided to support Miss Jinnah, he was admonished by Nawab with a clemency of ‘an uncle’ but then, was dealt according to his part played in favor of Fatima Jinnah. He has shared some experiences of that time as following:-

- To handle the opposition in Dera Ghazi Khan, a task force comprising of Muhammad Khan Leghari, Ashiq Mazari, local Deputy Commissioner, Chaudhri Bashir Ahmad, Nawazish Ali, the local Police Superintendent, and Mian Samad, Political Assistant for Dera Ghazi Khan tribal areas, was appointed. This task force disconnected the canal water supply to Mazaris’ lands in Sonmiani.
- Several criminal case involving murder, dacoity and abduction were instigated against the Mazaris.
- Another Mazari, employed in border military police was dismissed from his service.
- Shopkeepers of Rojhan were harassed.
- “In north, from D. G. Khan to Taunsa”, on Election Day, BD members were kept in Police custody and were forced to vote for Ayub Khan.
- Miss Fatima Jinnah’s election agent was prevented to go Dera Bugti. The presiding officer in Bugti-Marri tribal area, a local *Tehsildar*, stamped all the ballot papers

himself.

- Same methods of intimidation, alongside the bribery, were used by the presiding officer, *mukhtarikar*, in Kashmor.
- A BD, Huzur Baksh, was tempted with an offer of reinstatement of his brother, a *patwari*, dismissed on the charges of corruption.
- Mazari himself, as a polling agent of Miss Fatima Jinnah for Rajanpur *tehsil* (Punjab) and Kashmor *Taluka* (Sindh), was charged with sedition and anti-state activities because he had objected to the photo of Ayub Khan displayed on a wall in polling station and one of his supporter had ‘desecrated’ the photo by tearing that into pieces.³⁷

2.5.8-Sardar Shaukat Hayat

Sardar Shaukat Hayat supported Miss Fatima Jinnah whole heartedly and worked diligently during the election campaign. He has bitterly criticized Nawab of Kalabagh and did not hesitate even to use obscene language for him.³⁸ His grudges can be summarized as under;

- When Sardar Shaukat was contesting for the legislative assembly through the indirect election by BDs, Kalabagh shifted his headquarter from Lahore to Rawalpindi to oversee the election and arrange ‘his phoney defeat by keeping his more than 200 supporters away from the election process, many were incarcerated in Governor House’.³⁹
- Sixteen years old son of Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Sikander Hayat, was abducted from his bedroom and taken to torture chamber of Lahore Fort on the charge of writing, “Quit or we will make you quit” on the wall of Governor House. The boy was kept awake for several hours and was tortured. Court ordered to send him hospital but “Nawab Kalabagh viciously, to please his master, sent the boy to a lunatic asylum...These were the methods used by the so-called President and his loyal Satraps”⁴⁰
- Authority Letters, given to Election Agents and signed by Miss Fatima Jinnah or her appointed representatives, were bought by henchmen of the Government.
- Army Units were deployed near polling stations to overaw the voters with the show of force.⁴¹
- License of his under construction cinema, was revoked under the order of Nawab Kalabagh. Shaukat Hayat had to bear the loss of millions that had been invested.⁴²

- Contractual rights of Wah Cement Factory were usurped for opposing Ayub and supporting Miss Jinnah. He had put this allegation more on Ayub and less on Nawab.⁴³

2.5.9-Nawab's Behavior towards Miss Jinnah during Election

When Ayub was being advised by his companions to deal Miss Fatima Jinnah in a harsh manner, Nawab asked him to do in an altogether different way. When a letter from Ayub to Fatima Jinnah, written by a loyal officer in a very derogatory and harsh tone, was discussed, Nawab of Kalabagh opposed it on the ethical ground.⁴⁴ In a meeting, in March 1964, Nawab openly opposed and advised Ayub to establish a working relationship with Miss Jinnah on the basis of respect and honor.⁴⁵ Nawab allowed, without consulting with and seeking permission of Ayub, the saloon of Miss Jinnah to be parked in Governor's saloon yard. Moreover Miss Jinnah was granted permission for her stay in any governmental rest house of her choice.⁴⁶ Malik Amir Muhammad Khan was compelled to do that unpleasant job for Ayub due to his friendship and loyalty. He did not side with Ayub Khan "happily but with a heavy heart."⁴⁷ He could not desert his friend but, at the same time, maintained respectful attitude towards mother of the Nation, Miss Fatima Jinnah.

2.6-Indo-Pak War of 1965

Ayub Khan was tempted by some members of his political team and civil servants to act upon a fanciful plan of liberating the Occupied Kashmir. Operation Gibraltar and Operation Grand Slam were launched by Pakistan Army in July-August of 1965 respectively. The aim was to infiltrate Indian Occupied Kashmir and provoke the insurgency there but the mission was failed due to poor coordination. Enraged India attacked West Pakistan on September 6, 1965. It was a full-fledged war and to conquer Lahore had been the first and foremost target of the aggressors. India justified it by declaring it retaliation and a way to teach Pakistan a lesson for its mischievous

interference in Indian Occupied Kashmir. For this reason, Golam Wahed Choudhury (1926-98), popularly known as G.W. Chaudhri, has adjudged this War as ‘the biggest mistake of Ayub Khan’s rule.’⁴⁸

Ayub Khan asked Nawab not to leave Nathia Galli for Lahore as Lahore was under the Indian attack and Governor House would not be a safe place. Nawab declined the offer by saying, “If I stay in Nathia Galli while my peoples are dying in Lahore then it will be better to go abroad.”⁴⁹ He prepared his will at the same night that said, “If I am killed in this battle then be buried on top of the Governor House’s hill instead of taking away my corpse to Kalabagh.”⁵⁰ On reaching Lahore, he found the high officials of provincial civil service, with their staff, lying on their stomach under the tables due to the fear of Indian air attack and shelling. He made them ashamed, threatened to stand up and asked them to go to their respective duties.⁵¹ On the very next day after the start of war, a broadcast message was delivered by Governor West Pakistan which said, “Victory will be ours”, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan applauded the people of West Pakistan in general and of Lahore in particular on living up to their traditions of valor and patience in the face of peril and atrocity. He resolved to maintain “the supply line, in the fields, in the factories, in the offices, in the trade and in the day to day administration.”⁵² Muhammad Musa Khan (1908-91), the then Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army has paid tribute to Nawab of Kalabagh for his excellent administration during war. “In West Pakistan, under the dominating personality of Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan, the then governor, the civil administration played an impressive part in the war.”⁵³

2.6.1-Arrangements by Provincial Government

Malik Amir as Governor of West Pakistan made best use of his administration and government employees. He took care of even the minutest detail while discharging

his duty. This can be judged by the following steps his government had taken during the War;

- Civil defense administration was alarmed and enlivened to organize and make the public safe. Civil defense training and exercises were conducted to face any kind of situation. Civil defense terms were explained via print and electronic media.
- Governor strictly disallowed hoarding and high pricing. His Military Secretary, Colonel Sharif, mustered all the traders of Lahore city in a big hall. Nawab said to them in a threatening tone that time for sacrifice had come and anybody found in black marketing and profiteering would have to face the grave consequences. "His shop will be sealed forever and the goods in the shop will be distributed among the public without paying any price."⁵⁴
- First Aid posts were setup in all the major cities and the War hit areas. Thirty Casualty Centers were established in Karachi alone.
- Volunteer medicos were requested to assist the civil hospitals.
- Appeal was made to fire fighters, Social welfare workers and technicians to report and put their expertise at the disposal of provincial government.
- Anti-paratrooper squads were proposed to counter the aggressors if the situation would deteriorate.⁵⁵

2.6.2-National Defense Fund

Governor made an appeal for donation on 13th of September with a motivating message,

Quaid-i-Azam, by grace of Allah, gave us Pakistan and it has fallen on our lot to defend and protect it. This is the time for making sacrifices-big sacrifices. Let us demonstrate to our valiant brothers at the front that we will do everything humanly possible to back up their heroic actions.⁵⁶

Amir Muhammad Khan contributed his full pay of one month to National Defense Fund, all the ministers Rs. 1000/= each; employees receiving Rs. 2000/= or more 10% of their pay; those receiving less than Rs. 2000/=, 5% of it; and Class IV employees donated their one day salary. These deductions continued till the end of emergency.⁵⁷ As Governor led from front so lion-share of Defense Fund was accumulated in his province, the West Pakistan. The statement of West Pakistan

government issued on December 7, 1965 said that out of total 350 million rupees of National Defense Fund, 270 million were raised in West Pakistan.⁵⁸

2.6.3-Maintenance of Supply Line

Then main focus of the government was on maintaining supply lines not only for soldiers on war front but also for the public so that dearth of commodities would not create panic. Malik Amir said in his mid of the month broadcast from Lahore Radio Station,

Present day war is not fought only on the battle ground but at every level and on all fronts. It is duty of every citizen irrespective of his position and nature of his work to discharge his duty and maintain supply line.⁵⁹

Requisition was made for civil Lorries and civil drivers to ensure the consistent and without delay supply. Civil drivers discharged the duty with zeal and zest but in a disciplined manner.⁶⁰

2.6.4-Situation of Law and Order

All the Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police were sent for and were reminded of their duty of maintaining law and order in the country during that time of turmoil. The officers of secretary level were warned of the consequences if found indulged in orgies like wine and woman.⁶¹ Public was strictly ordered to observe the rules to avoid any kind of panic and chaos. Crime rate, during seventeen days of war, remained almost negligible.⁶²

2.6.5-Effects on Morale

He showed great regard to the sacrifices and the value of the soldiers. One day, during the course of War, Nawab's car was hit by some Army jeep near Ravi Bridge.⁶³ Resultantly Nawab was injured and the car was damaged. When Colonel Sharif, Military Secretary to Governor, scolded the men, the Nawab forbade him to do so and said, "Let them go as they are discharging even more important duty then

ours.”⁶⁴ He was so worried about the morale of public during the war that he had refused to be treated in the hospital as it might give birth to rumors of all kinds and thus public would be demoralized.⁶⁵ General Sher Ali, who was examining the Wahga border and hovering up in a helicopter, found Nawab distributing biscuits among the soldiers right in the mid of battlefield.⁶⁶ Public responded with equal sincerity and enthusiasm.

- Shopkeepers resolved not to indulge in profiteering.⁶⁷
- Queues of blood donors were seen, it can be gauged by the fact the Lahorites donated twenty-eight *munds*⁶⁸ of blood in one day.⁶⁹
- ‘Artists-poets, writers, composers, painters and newspapermen-made inspiring contributions’.⁷⁰
- During the war, hardly any serious anti-social activity was reported from any part of the country. Markets remained stable. Prices of many essential commodities came down. Nothing was hoarded.⁷¹

2.6.6-Ceasefire and Nawab of Kalabagh’s Opinion

Though the War lasted for almost three weeks but different countries had immediately started making efforts, on the forum of United Nations, to stop the War. Nawab played the same role and convinced Ayub Khan to adopt the way of ceasefire.

By this time, the pro-western lobby within the government, comprising Nawab Kalabagh, Muhammad Shoaib, etc. became active and came closer to Ayub, advising him to agree to a cease-fire. The Bhutto group, which was hawkish, supported the continuation of war till victory.⁷²

Ayub Government had to concede to the request of international community. A meeting was called on September 21, 1965 to finalize the draft of resolution for this purpose. “The Governor of West Pakistan, Nawab of Kalabagh, had been especially invited to the meeting”⁷³ Kalabagh strongly favored the immediate acceptance the resolution because the soldiers, fighting and dying in battlefield, belonged to his area.⁷⁴ Air Marshal (R) Muhammad Asghar Khan (b. 1921) has, in a way, tried to show that Ayub Khan could not sustain the pressure of war and accepted the cease

fire in a hurry. He has concluded that Ayub's colleague and advisors like Nawab of Kalabagh, C.in.C General Musa Khan and Air Marshal Malik Nur Khan (1923-2011) provided no boost to his morale.⁷⁵ Nawab of Kalabagh had apprehension that continuation of war might cause collapse of social structure.⁷⁶

2.6.7-Rehabilitation of the War Affectees

After the eviction by forces, peoples of the war-hit areas were provided with transportation, construction material, food stuff or *guzara* allowance for six months, and farmers with easy loans.⁷⁷ Many of Kashmiri migrants and homeless war-affectees were settled in Thal with the help of Agriculture Development Corporation. India pushed 0.125 million Kashmiris who were kept in camps at union councils.⁷⁸ Government of West Pakistan sanctioned amount of Ninety million rupees on March 10, 1966 for the dislocated and homeless people of Sialkot sector.⁷⁹

2.6.8-Responsible for War: Nawab of Kalabagh's Opinion

Nawab of Kalabagh was extremely suspicious of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto for he believed that Bhutto had led Ayub Khan into a misadventure in occupied Kashmir. S. M. Zafar⁸⁰ wrote in the Foreword to *Pakistan: Leadership Challenges* that Nawab Kalabagh was convinced that Bhutto had done it to get rid of Ayub Khan and 'reach the pinnacle of power himself'.⁸¹ Nawab once confided with Jahan Dad Khan that War of 1965 was a trap, laid by Bhutto, for Ayub Khan.⁸² Nawab disclosed, before Qudratullah Shahab, the names of other 'accused' as well.

Dear Shahab! This War was fought not for the sake of Pakistan but was initiated by General Akhtar Hussain Malik, Mirza Muzaffar Ahmad, Bhutto, Aziz Ahmad and Nazir Ahmad to put Ayub Khan into quagmire, and for this purpose they did not hesitate even to put Pakistan at stake.⁸³

2.6.9-Acknowledgments for Malik Amir's Administration during War

The role of Nawab and his administration was acknowledged and appreciated

by the President Ayub Khan in a letter of February 10, 1966,

I have been apprised of the prompt and timely support and assistance rendered by the officials of the West Pakistan Government to the Armed Forces during the war with India in September last under your instructions in different directions e.g. raising of additional force for West Pakistan Rangers, additional police staff for the protection of key points, maintenance and improvement of communication, clothing and equipment for Mujahid Force and relief operation. Considerable expense was, doubtless, incurred by the Provincial Government on several items including minor and major works without entering into lengthy correspondence with the Central Government.⁸⁴

C-in-C Musa Khan, in a letter of February 9, 1966, to Nawab, remarked,

If I may say so, during the war, we all found you a tower of strength. You stood like a rock in the midst of bitter fighting next door to you. In a way, you were in the battle-field. The residents of LAHORE were greatly encouraged by your presence there throughout the hostilities and did not vacate the city...Our attention was not diverted to the kind of problems panic among civilians creates.⁸⁵

2.6.10-Agitation against Tashkent Accord

Ayub Khan visited United States of America and Europe after ceasefire for diplomatic help but was disappointed at being thrown into the lap of Soviet Union for accord with India. Before going to Tashkent, Ayub Khan called a meeting which was held on December 31, 1965 in Rawalpindi. This meeting was attended by all the members of Central cabinet except Altaf Hussain (1900-68); C-in-C General Musa Khan, Speaker of National Assembly Abdul Jabbar Khan (1902-84) and Governor West Pakistan Malik Amir Muhammad Khan.⁸⁶ Nawab of Kalabagh was not hopeful about Indian attitude during that negotiation. He opined that few Indian leaders "who had been talking in terms of a peaceful settlement of Kashmir, certainly did not represent the mainstream of Indian opinion"⁸⁷ Despite ground realities like these, public was reassured that the peace talks would bring victory for Pakistan on the table and "there shall either be a solution of Kashmir problem or Pakistan army would not withdraw."⁸⁸ When joint statement was released at Tashkent on January 11, 1966, Kashmir was mentioned only in the preamble and that too 'obliquely'.⁸⁹ Different

reactions came from different factions. Almost all the political parties, including National Awami Party, in East Pakistan welcomed it but in West Pakistan, this accord acted as ‘ice-cold water upon the feelings’.⁹⁰ Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri (1910- 87), President of NAP, criticized Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani and Mawlana Bhashani on January 26, 1966 for their stance in that affair. Executive Council of West Pakistan NAP, considered as pro-Moscow, expressed its on Tashkent Agreement on January 29, 1966.⁹¹ Mawlana Maududi rejected every justification and said, “Sentiments of Muslims are being hurt by declaring Tashkent Accord analogous to *Sulah Hudaibiah*.⁹²

Resentment throughout the West Pakistan, against Tashkent Declaration, resulted in strikes and protests. Provincial government dealt it with iron-hand by imposing Section 144. Sardar Shaukat Hayat defied it, and was arrested at Mochi Gate on January 16, 1966. Muhammad Hussain Chaththa (1914-2001) and Khwaja Muhammad Rafique (d.1972) with many political workers were imprisoned as well. Allegedly, oppressive measures were applied against all the protestors mainly the students. Students were fired upon in Lahore on January 13, 1966. Resultantly, two students lost their life and all educational institutions were closed for undetermined period.⁹³ Shaukat Hayat blamed that Nawab Kalabagh ordered of mixing ground glass with his flour. Later a medicine took him almost to the death bed in Mayo Hospital Lahore.⁹⁴ Many politicians were detained for two months, for breaching Section 144 under the Defense of Pakistan Rules. They deprived of all sorts of facilities and were allotted class ‘C’. Allegedly the detainees were not allowed even to see their lawyers and relatives.⁹⁵

2.7-Parting of the Ways with Ayub Khan

Authority of Nawab was at full swing for first four years of his tenure but later

his opponents had become successful in eclipsing his power. He had close personal relations with Ayub who respected him for his “sagacity, efficiency and integrity.”⁹⁶ Their cordial relation eclipsed with the passage of time due to some unforeseen factors. First reason was that Nawab of Kalabagh had been kept unaware of the plan of 1965’s war until the ceasefire and this surely was painful to him.⁹⁷ This cause of mistrust was ratified by some other sources too.⁹⁸ Nawab got disappointed as Ayub Khan had kept on playing in the hands of civil servants. Bureaucrats made Ayub Khan to do many things which were against the temperament and disposition of Nawab.⁹⁹ Bureaucracy used the technique of taping the telephones of his colleagues even of Nawab Kalabagh. Civil Servants convinced Ayub Khan that Malik Amir Muhammad Khan and General Azam Khan were the only threat to his position as the President.¹⁰⁰

Nawab was fed up with the persistent unauthorized favors asked by Ayub’s relatives, especially his sons. He felt pain over the notoriety brought by the President’s sons to their father. When he complained about it to Ayub Khan, the latter was displeased over it.¹⁰¹ The people like Amir Abdullah Rokhrhi talk about the role of America and CIA in that affair because Ayub Khan had dismantled the American base from Budh Ber, Peshawar and that made the American authorities indignant over it. Nawab of Kalabagh was great source of strength to Ayub’s regime so it was prerequisite to remove Nawab from the scene to weaken Ayub Khan.¹⁰² This writer also unfolded the ‘machination’ of Iran, for the sake of helping Bhutto, to create suspicions between Ayub and Nawab.¹⁰³ Some subordinates and colleagues of Kalabagh, like Khuda Bakhsh Bucha, fanned the fire of differences.¹⁰⁴ Jam Ghulam Qadir (1920-88), ex-Chief Minister of Balochistan, and Mahmud Abdullah Harun (1920-2008), the Home Minister of West Pakistan, are considered responsible for

creating mistrust between Ayub Khan and Kalabagh.¹⁰⁵ Ayub was made to believe that the towering personality of Nawab was overshadowing him and that the Governor was running an independent empire of his own in West Pakistan.¹⁰⁶ Some critics of Nawab pointed towards his ‘ambitions’ to get hold of the Presidentship.¹⁰⁷ Ayub Khan justified his decision to fire Nawab by saying that Nawab forgave his (Ayub’s) utmost enemy, Bhutto, rather had become sympathetic towards him.¹⁰⁸

By-election of Lyari, Karachi in May 1966 between Khan Bahadur Hafiz Muhammad Habibullah Paracha (1896-1988) of Convention Muslim League and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo candidate of Opposition proved a last straw on camel’s back. Two provincial ministers, Mahmud Harun and Ghaffar Pasha, openly sided with Bizenjo and made the official candidate defeated. Governor’s connivance was taken as a tacit support for Bizenjo. Governor was declared, at least, the guilty ‘of acts of omission rather than commission.’¹⁰⁹ Ayub, himself, took it as an effort to ‘demolish his image’. He blamed Nawab for openly operating against the Muslim League candidate though he (candidate) was nominated with his (Nawab’s) concurrence.¹¹⁰ Ayub went to Balochistan to attend the Sibi *Darbar*. Kalabagh, not Ayub Khan, started talking about the story of the by-election and offered to sack the two accused ministers. Ayub replied that ‘it was of no use to wash the dirty linen in the bazar.’¹¹¹ Altaf Gauhar’s version of the story says that Nawab requested for three months extension before being relinquished but Ayub did not acquiesced. Though governor made Mahmud Harun and Jam Sahib of Lasbela resign and took over their portfolios himself but it could not make up the loss to the prestige of official’s party. Nawab resigned and retired ‘for private reasons’ on September 18, 1966. Ayub Khan accepted this “very reluctantly and his personal regard was in no way diminished.”¹¹²

If critically examined, they had nothing in common as Ayub Khan was

progressive, enlightened, and keen to restructure the feudal society for the future's demands while on the other hand, Nawab was a pro-West, standard bearer of conservatism of feudal class and was stuck to the old traditions and 'socio-economic order'. So they were not on the 'same wave length' or better to say in the today's term, on the same page, on many issues of their times. Jahan Dad Khan has inferred, "There friendship was a matter of convenience and self-interest. When the President thought that the Nawab was no longer useful to him, he decided to part with company."¹¹³

After his resignation Kalabagh was greatly troubled by Police and enquiries.¹¹⁴ Inspector General police, Salah-ud-Din Qureshi and Superintendent Police of Mianwali, Syed Muhammad Naqi Zaidi were asked by both central and provincial governments to harass Nawab, and lessen his influence. Inspector Manzur Ahmad Khan, known for his strictness, was appointed in Kalabagh police station with the special task of creating problem for the management of Kalabagh estate.¹¹⁵ Despite these facts, both Ayub and Nawab remained at talking terms till the last.¹¹⁶ They used to share about the things of mutual interest via correspondence.¹¹⁷

2.8-Assassination

Nawab's death is a sad example of patricide. Jahan Dad Khan said about the relation between sons and father,

The Nawab was strict to his sons, never allowing them to exploit his official position throughout the time he was Governor. He maintained the old traditions in his dealings with his sons and other close family members, which meant that the present day sense of closeness between father and sons was not there.¹¹⁸

There were some issues and persons who had been the cause of rift between the Nawab and his family. Family property was the real bone of contention. His brother in law, Malik Sher Muhammad, played a pivotal role in poisoning the minds

of Nawab's wife and his sons.¹¹⁹ Nawab's sons did not like his intimacy with Dr Hafiz Tusi (d. 1982) and his son, Dr Tahir Tusi. Estate manager, Nur Muhammad *alias* Nura, was another factor of tension. To Nawab, *Nura* was more trustworthy than the sons. The sons sought the help of Ayub Khan to make their father disappeared from the scene. Ayub Khan offered him the advisory of International Food Agency but Nawab saw through the plan and declined the offer. He was fed up with the machinations of his family members so he decided to transfer the property to his grandson, Malik Idrees (b. 1952). This situation led the sons to physical elimination of their father and thus one of the great characters of our political history met with a fateful end. Jahan Dad Khan alleged that the entire plot was executed with the covert help of and before-hand assurance of government.¹²⁰ He was shot dead by his eldest son Malik Muzaffar Khan (1934-89) on November 26, 1967.¹²¹

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan served as governor of West Pakistan for almost six years. During his tenure, Ayub Khan remained successful in solving some grave problems. Had there been no Nawab, it would not easy for Ayub Khan to face the crises of the Presidential Elections and Indo-Pak War in 1965. He ensured the victory of Ayub Khan in Presidential election by using his talent of political maneuvering, and state machinery. Indo-Pak War of 1965 jeopardized the safety and integrity of West Pakistan. Pakistan Army had to fight against the gigantic Indian Army which had large resources at its disposal. Nawab supplied every necessity of life to the armed forces fighting on front. His civil administration managed the things in an effective way and public remained safe, calm and content during war. Protest against Tashkent Pact was dealt strictly and all sort of opposition was hushed by using the technique of arrest and imprisonment. His services for the country were acknowledged by awarding him *Hilal-i-Pakistan* on August 13, 1963 by the President

of Pakistan.¹²² Nawab employed a result-oriented mean of administration. His innovative way of using civil service and the resources of his province made him a legendary administrator in the political history of Pakistan.

ENDNOTES

¹Its *raj* on the West Pakistan lasted from October 14, 1955 to October 7, 1958 and Dr. Khan Sahib, Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan (1906-95), and Nawabzada Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash (1908-82) acted as Chief Ministers respectively.

²Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 425.

³Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 75.

⁴*Dawn*, November 30, 1960.

⁵Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 300.

⁶*Dawn*, January 4, 1961.

⁷*Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 27, 1963. Governor's address to the conference of Divisional Commissioners.

⁸*Dawn*, February 9, 1961.

⁹Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 105.

¹⁰Khan, *Constitutional and Political History*, 269.

¹¹Munir, *Jo main ne dekha*, 213.

¹²Khan, *Nation Lost Soul*, 268.

¹³M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1958-69 Vol. II* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1987), 151.

¹⁴Gauhar, *Junun ki Hikayat*, 63.

¹⁵Afzal, *Political Parties*, 149.

¹⁶Khan, *Constitutional and Political History*, 360.

¹⁷*The Pakistan Observer*, November 12, 1964.

¹⁸Khan, *Constitutional and Political History*, 309.

¹⁹*The Pakistan Observer*, December 7, 1964.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 310.

²¹Ralph Joseph, 'Pakistan's First General Election', *Eastern World*, February 1965, Vol. XIX No. 2, 10.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Weekly Mail of Karachi*, December 5, 1969.

²⁴Khan, *Constitutional and Political History*, 313.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 310.

²⁶*The Pakistan Observer*, November 14, 1964. Statement of Zahir-ul-Hassan Lari, a member of National Assembly, one of the veteran Muslim Leaguers and staunch opponent to Ayub Regime.

²⁷*The Pakistan Observer*, December 28, 1964.

²⁸Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 123.

²⁹Afzal, *Political Parties*, 159.

³⁰Gauhar, *Ayub Khan*, 286-7.

³¹Interview with Malik Ammad Khan on February 29, 2016.

³²Feldman, *Crisis to Crisis*, 81-2.

³³Khan, *Constitutional and Political History*, 316.

³⁴Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 197.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*, 199.

³⁷Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 119-22. Mazari wrote about the reaction of Nawab at the incident, “Nawab of Kalabagh was aghast at the news and said, “How dare anyone desecrate the picture of the father of nation in this manner!”

³⁸Khan, *Nation Lost Soul*, 259-60. According to Sardar Shaukat, harsh words were exchanged between him and Nawab of Kalabagh in Governor House, Lahore. Malik Amir said, “Sardar Sahib! I am a dog and I bite whomever my Master orders me to do.” In reply Sardar Shaukat said, “And before leaving now let me make a prophecy that you will die like a dog. Either your retainer or your son will eventually kill you.”

³⁹*Ibid.*, 268.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 258.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 260.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 261.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 266.

⁴⁴Weekly *Zindagi* (Lahore), June 1, 1970. Wrote by Abdul Wahid Khan, General Secretary of Convention Muslim League.

⁴⁵*Zindagi*, June 8, 1970. As said by Abdul Wahid Khan.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 173.

⁴⁸Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy: 1947-77* (Lahore: Afrasia Publications, 1980), 86.

⁴⁹Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 120.

⁵⁰*Ibid.* Rashidi quoted almost the same thing in these words, “the enemy would have to lift my corpse from the stairs of the Governor House. Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 175.

⁵¹Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 175.

⁵²*Dawn*, September 8, 1965.

⁵³Musa, *My Version*, 80-1.

⁵⁴Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 118.

⁵⁵*Dawn*, September 9, 1965.

⁵⁶*Dawn*, September 14, 1965.

⁵⁷*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 14, 1966.

⁵⁸Daily *Imroze* (Lahore), December 8, 1965.

⁵⁹*Dawn*, September 17, 1965.

⁶⁰Musa, *My Version*, 80-81.

⁶¹Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 118.

⁶²Musa, *My Version*, 86.

⁶³Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 120. Rokhri has mentioned it as Ravi Bridge while Sadiq Shah declared it, mistakenly, Kohala Bridge.

⁶⁴Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 117.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 119.

⁶⁷*Dawn*, September 19, 1965.

⁶⁸*Mund* is a unit of weight used in Indian Sub-Continent. One *mund* is equal to 40 *seers* or approximately 80 pounds.

⁶⁹*Nawa-i-Waqt*, November 12, 1965.

⁷⁰Musa, *My Version*, 80.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁷²Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 63.

⁷³Gauhr, *Ayub Khan*, 355.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

⁷⁵M. Asghar Khan, *The First Round: Indo-Pakistan War 1965* (London: Islamic Information Services Ltd., 1979), 98. “There was also the very weighty advice of Nur Khan’s uncle- Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh, the Governor of West Pakistan-to whose charm both he and Ayub Khan were susceptible.”

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 17, 1966.

⁷⁸*Nawa-i-Waqt*, December 22, 1965.

⁷⁹*Jang*, March 11, 1966.

⁸⁰S. M. Zafar was recommended by Nawab of Kalabagh as Federal Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, the office he assumed on March 25, 1965.

⁸¹Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, xvi.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 83.

⁸³Shahab, *Shahab Nama*, 932.

⁸⁴Letter written by Ayub Khan from President House, Rawalpindi, on February 10, 1966, to Malik Amir Muhammad Khan. (Provided by Malik Ammad Khan.)

⁸⁵Letter of February 9, 1966, from C-n-C Mohammad Musa to Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, Provided by Malik Ammad Khan.

⁸⁶Gauhar, *Ayub Khan*, 377.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 378.

⁸⁸S. M. Zafar, *Through the Crisis* (Lahore: Book Centre, 1970), 71.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 72.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹*Nawa-i-Waqt*, January 30, 1966.

⁹²*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 7, 1966.

⁹³*Nawa-i-Waqt*, January 14, 1966.

⁹⁴Khan, *Nation Lost Soul*, 271-2.

⁹⁵*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 22, 1966.

⁹⁶Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 87.

⁹⁷Gauhar, *Junun ki Hikayat*, 57

⁹⁸Khan, *British Papers*, 443. “President did not consult him until the ceasefire was in the wind.” E. L. Sykes, British High Commissioner in Pakistan to A. A. Duff, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations Office, on 22nd January, 1966.

⁹⁹Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 173-4.

¹⁰⁰*Zindagi*, October 6, 1969, 15-6. As said by Abdul Wahid Khan.

¹⁰¹Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 8. When Nawab complained about the misconduct of Ayub’s sons, he replied, “Nawab Sahib, don’t my children have a right to live in this country?”

¹⁰²Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 118.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 124. Shah of Iran, Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (1919-80) sent his special envoy to Nawab with an offer [later, same offer was made to Yahya Khan] to take place of Ayub as the President of Pakistan but Nawab declined the offer out of loyalty. Another mission came to ‘inform’ Ayub about the ‘conspiracy’ of Nawab.

¹⁰⁴Khan, *British Papers*, 689. “..He (Bucha) is said to have preserved his position on Kalabagh’s departure because it was he who reported to the President the critical remarks made about him in private by Kalabagh.” British High Commissioner in Rawalpindi to R. M. Purcell, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Office London, dated: 11th November, 1966.

¹⁰⁵Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 119.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷Awan, *Baluchistan*, 243. “The disloyalty he (Ayub) had seen in the Nawab of Kalabagh,” because “Nawab was also, in a different context, building up his claims for the same throne.”

Ibid., 245

¹⁰⁸Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 180. Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi said to Ayub Khan that his decline was due to sacking of Nawab Kalabagh, Ayub justified it by saying so.

¹⁰⁹Khan, *British Papers*, 637 N. J. Barrington, British High Commissioner in Rawalpindi to R. W. Whitney, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations Office. 8th July, 1966.

¹¹⁰Baxter, *Diaries of Ayub Khan*, 5-6. September 8, 1966.

¹¹¹Gauhar, *Junun ki Hikayat*, 58.

¹¹²*Dawn*, September 19, 1966.

¹¹³Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 88.

¹¹⁴*Dawn*, December 15, 1966. Haji Nawab Khan, maternal uncle of Nawab, applied for bail before arrest and complained about the false charges of murder, theft and possession of unlicensed arms.

¹¹⁵Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 194.

¹¹⁶Baxter, *Diaries of Ayub Khan*, 135. Ayub mentioned in his diary of 15th August, 1967, that Nawab had come to stay for a night and complained about the rumors about their deteriorated relations. In reply, Ayub assured him that he had no grudge against him despite his ‘betrayal’

¹¹⁷In a letter of 6th October, 1967, almost a month before the Nawab’s death, Ayub thanked him for the ‘kind letter of 20th September enclosing a photograph of sesame crop field’, and shared about his ‘very successful visit to the Soviet Union.’ (Letter in the custody of Malik Ammad Khan.)

¹¹⁸Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 71.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, 98.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 98-100.

¹²¹Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 198.

¹²²Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 342.

Chapter 3

Administration

3.1-Style of Administration

Nawab was a great admirer of the British administrative style and policies they adopted during the colonial period. He wanted to imitate them and create a transparent, firm and principles-based system. But he was continuously embarrassed by the persistent interference of the bureaucracy.¹ To administer the province like West Pakistan was not an easy task as it was an amalgamation of three provinces and many princely states. There was a heterogeneous society comprised of diverse linguistic and ethnic groups. For this, he had to adopt a peculiar and innovative style of administration. He evolved a result-oriented and unconventional approach to administer the things. The mechanism of his system was simple. He liked to deal the executive directly at district and division level. His military secretary Jahan Dad Khan observed that,

He ran his administration through the Commissioners, Deputy Inspector Generals of Police (DIGs), Deputy Commissioners (DCs), and Superintendents of Police (SPs), and dealt with them directly for all administrative functions.²

He was a strict and firm disciplinarian.³ He was an early riser⁴ so his gubernatorial business started early in the morning.⁵ He never allowed inept and inefficient persons on the key political posts. He played a major role in sacking of Khurshid Ahmad, Federal Law Minister. He was replaced by S.M. Zafar on the grounds of his incompetency.⁶ Posting and promotion was done after careful deliberation. Officers were posted, on the key positions, after keen study of their service record, general reputation, and their family background.⁷ He was very sensitive about the lineage and pedigree while selecting someone for any assignment. Once he remarked that Pakistan Army would never be able to find good leadership as

there had been no extra weightage given to good caste and family background during selection process.⁸ His critics say that he used to post the officers of two types, either too weak and without any mentor or lobby in the circles of power; or very pious ones.⁹

After selection, executives were provided with complete guidance through a detailed briefing and instructions by Governor. They were not only exposed to the expectations of governor but were given complete freedom of action within their jurisdiction. The key officials were protected against the political pressure and interference of central bureaucracy.¹⁰ Jahan Dad Khan remarked, "He had paternal rapport with all officials, particularly those who were clean and competent. They held him in high esteem as a firm, fair, and affectionate senior."¹¹ They were so confident and easy that they dared to do the 'necessary and inevitable deviation' from normal course of rules and regulations but after intimating it to their Boss. Corrupt and non-competent officers were often in state of moribund due to the fear of being caught and punished.¹² He put full trust in his team and did not use to interfere with their working.¹³ Giving free hand to his officers within their jurisdiction and taking full responsibility of the consequences was his style of governance. He sent S.P. Habibur Rehman (later became I.G in February 1978) to Kohistan Tribal area to establish the official writ by any means. Miscreants Kohistanis were punished and dealt in harsh manner. Death toll of Kohistanis reached to eight in a confrontation but law and order was restored altogether. Habibur Rehman received a letter of appreciation from him.¹⁴ He did not allow anyone, especially the politicians, to meddle into the official and routine work of administration. Sheikh Mas'ud Sadiq, Finance Minister in his cabinet, was scolded for favoring political workers against the executive. He encouraged the officers for not surrendering before the illegal and unwanted demands made by

politicians and their henchmen.¹⁵

He could not tolerate the indulgence of his administrative team in politics.¹⁶ There was no space for nepotism or recommendations in his style of administering the things. Only once in his tenure as governor, he took Captain Sher Muhammad, a son of his Atchisonian friend, as his aid-de-camp (ADC) on recommendation but when found him sitting with an air-hostess, during a PIA flight; asked his military secretary to relieve him from his duty as soon as the aero plane landed.¹⁷ He had developed his own system of intelligence which played a pivotal role in maintaining transparency in financial affairs of government, and corruption could not flourish at large scale. Though his own family was strictly restricted to get benefit of his official position but Ayub Khan's relatives had been constant problem in that context.¹⁸ He appointed special inspection teams to have check and balance, and keep vigilant eye on the proceedings of different tasks and projects. These teams were "empowered to inspect any office or project or work, consult any record, and examine and associate any official in connection with their work." Government officials were "directed to comply most promptly with any requisition made by inspection teams in connection to their work." These inspection teams had to measure, in the field of development, 'performance against promise' especially actual expenses against the estimated ones.¹⁹

He was very quick in disposing of his office and file work and that speaks volume of his decision power. Extensive travelling and tiresome tours could not fatigue him for pending his routine work.²⁰ Another reason of speedy execution of the tasks was that he used to order at spot after discussing the matter with concerned official; or passing it on via telephone. The same method of administering the affairs was prescribed for his ministers and secretaries by him.²¹ Sometimes he suggested

some awkward but 'practical' methods to solve the problems faced by his subordinates. Salahud Din Qureshi, I.G. Police, complained about the leniency of some judges for the habitual criminals. According to I.G., these criminals were released on bail on the very next day of their arrest and used to start their un-wanted activities again. Nawab suggested that I.G should dislocate the police posted in the court on the pretext of rapid increase in crime rate. I.G. did the same and told the judges that he needed the extra police to hunt down the habitual criminals that had been released on bail by their courts. This proved a perfect solution and judges discarded the policy of leniency towards the criminals.²² He believed in prompt decision and quick disposal of the matters.²³

He had full confidence in his team and never bothered about the petty affairs and minute details. After assigning the duty to his staff, he used to give them full freedom of action to execute the plan. When Chinese President Liu Shaoqi (1898-1969) visited Pakistan after the Indo-Pak War of 1965, he was welcomed in Lahore with such warmth and enthusiasm that it had become impossible to arrange his security properly.²⁴ The Pakistan Chief of Protocol, Major-General Shaukat Ali Shah, tried to approach Nawab via his Military Secretary Jahan Dad Khan and to convey the apprehension of Chinese who had suggested canceling the remaining program if fool proof security was not assured. Military Secretary took the full responsibility, on the behalf of Governor without even intimating him, of safe conduction of the program and made proper arrangement as well. After seeing off the guests, Nawab was informed about the whole story who appreciated the confidence and efficiency of his Military Secretary.²⁵

He was a stern administrator who could not tolerate mismanagement. Once, on Lahore Railway Station, a high official requested him to divert his convoy as there

had been a group of miscreant students on the way to Governor House. Nawab stared him angrily and said, "Then what are you doing here? You should better dispose them of as I can not deviate from my route." The officer, shivering with fear, managed in such a way that Nawab found no student on the way.²⁶ He did not like any pomp and show in the name of protocol. He ordered his divisional commissioners to do away with all type of formalities and 'superfluous arrangements'. In fact, his military secretary issued a letter on his behalf to all the Divisional Commissioners. The letter conveyed these instructions.

1. The governor will not accept the invitations to meal or reception from any official or non-official.
2. He does not want any flags, bunting or erection of gates.
3. Any crowd or school-children should not be collected to welcome him.
4. He does not like to be garlanded on his arrival anywhere.²⁷

Nawab Asad Khan, son of Malik Amir, summed up the efficiency of administration of that time by saying,

One-Unit, the West Pakistan, was comprised of twelve divisions with twelve Commissioners and twelve Deputy Inspector Generals as their administrative invigilators. Fifty-two districts were supervised by fifty-two Deputy Commissioners and fifty-two SPs. Provincial Cabinet consisted of eight ministers only. Each minister was given only one police constable for security. Azad Kashmir Government was run by a joint secretary. West Pakistan Rangers, established during the times of Nawab, served from Kashmir border to Karachi but in the command of a Brigadier. Frontier Corp performed its duty in the area stretched from Sakardu to Gawadar and was looked after by a Brigadier too. There was minimum staff but with maximum output.²⁸

3.2-Provincial Cabinet

Though he had full-fledged cabinet but provincial ministers were not allowed to interfere with the administrative affairs. Most of the time, they were kept busy in touring different places of the province with different political assignments to be disposed of.²⁹ If one gets a closer look of his cabinet one will infer that the ministers had no extra ordinary level of competency. His administration looks like a 'one man

show' and that definitely was his own ability which supported the edifice of government. He had no difficulty in keeping them under his thumb. Khuda Bakhsh Bucha, the education Minister, who happened to be a petty revenue officer before his induction in Nawab's cabinet, was warned by Governor to mend his ways on the matter of protocol. This warning proved so horrible for him that he had to see a doctor. Muhammad Hayat Tamman, another cabinet member, remained busy in conspiracies with Nawab's sons against him but Nawab, though was aware of that fact, did not sack him for his utility of being used against another minister, Bucha. Caliber and capability of his team can be gauged by the remarks of a member of West Pakistan Assembly from Pakpattan. He complained to Ayub Khan in the presence of Nawab, in a jolly mood, that three ministers of Nawab's cabinet, named Shaikh Mas'ud Sadiq, Khan Habibullah Khan (1901-78) and Malik Qadir Bakhsh Jakhar, were representing the lunatics, the only 0.5 % of the total population of West Pakistan.³⁰

3.3-Bureaucracy

He had firm grip over bureaucracy, and his gubernatorial duties were started, often, by seeing Chief Secretary.³¹ Bureaucracy tried to get supremacy and convinced Ayub Khan that President should be approached through the Home Secretary. Malik Amir and his counterpart in the East Pakistan, Abdul Monem Khan (1899-1971) were not ready to adopt and allow this channel. He, in a meeting, bitterly criticized civil servants for their sycophancy.³² His predecessor, Akhtar Hussain, complained about the arrogant behavior of the Chief Secretary, B.A. Qureshi. At this Nawab said, "I can accept the Qureshi as a Governor and I myself as his Chief Secretary but up till my Governorship he will have to be my Chief Secretary in the true sense."³³ He used to get hold of 'restive' civil Servants by blackmailing them for their misdeeds and

corruption. This technique was coined as “*Kalabaghiana*”.³⁴ Nawab attained influence over civil servants to such an extent that they started wearing *Shalwar Qamis*, Pakistan’s national dress, to please him.³⁵

It was made obligatory for Class I and Class II officers to pass the test of regional languages. The purpose was to eliminate the gap between administration and the illiterate public.³⁶ He was furious at the news of burglary in the Commissioner House of Qalat. He suspended the Commissioner at once as, to him; a head of Division had no right to retain his post if he had not been able to secure his own house.³⁷ He continued his efforts to curtail the power of this class. The senior bureaucracy at the federal level did not like him as he prevented any interference in his administration. Furthermore, being a well-informed person, he always kept himself aware of all the intrigues and irregularities. He was bold enough to tell the President, in the presence of such bureaucrats, about all their misdeeds especially in the period 1960 to 1965 when he enjoyed the credibility with the President. The Nawab was in fact, the first person to cut the bureaucracy to size.³⁸ Hamid Khan has remarked about the immorality of civil servants of that time in these words, “The stories of their corruption, graft, and bribery could put to shame those of Byzantine rulers³⁹ or the Kuomintang regime⁴⁰ of China.” After him, Bureaucracy gave itself airs to such an extent that they

... cared little for the ministers or members of the National and Provincial Assemblies. They had become so drunk with power that in 1967, Ghulam Yazdani Malik, Commissioner of Bahawalpur Division, openly abused and slapped a member of the West Pakistan Assembly from Bahawalpur.⁴¹

During his tenure, some Central departments like Water And Power Development Authority, PIDC, Agriculture Development Corporation, and Pakistan Railway were bifurcated to enhance their performance. His performance, as administrator, in different departments is shown as under.

3.4-Health

Provincial Government took many steps to control epidemics and make the health situation better.

- A ten-year project against malaria was approved in Governors' conference in Dhaka on July 27, 1960. This project played very important role to control this lethal disease in both the wings of Pakistan especially the West Pakistan.
- 1.6 million rupees were kept for the treatment of leprosy in 2nd Five-Year Plan (1960-65). A leper Hospital with the capacity of accommodating 500 patients and a leper colony, for the treatment of outdoor patients, were set up in Karachi.⁴²
- A survey was conducted, on the recommendation of World Health Organization (WHO), in West Pakistan to control trachoma. UNICEF allocated 49000 US dollars and six survey teams examined almost 2, 40,000 persons in June 1961.⁴³
- Tuberculosis (T.B.) was spreading swiftly. Many T.B. hospitals and T.B. treatment centers were set up in different areas of West Pakistan.⁴⁴ A tuberculosis sample survey was carried out by a four-man World Health Organization team led by Dr K.O. Jensen, Senior WHO Advisor, with his Pakistani counter-parts, in West Pakistan to formulate preventive measures and effective treatment.⁴⁵
- Infectious small pox proved so fatal for many years in West Pakistan that Planning Commission launched a 2-year preventive drive against it in West Pakistan, with the help of UNICEF.⁴⁶ Next year, the allocation for the purpose was increased from Rs. 15000 to Rs.51000/= and 160 vehicles and 2000 bicycles to be used. Aim was to make each and every person of the province to be inoculated and made immune.⁴⁷
- Governor issued an order on August 8, 1964 which included a condition for the admission in any medical college of West Pakistan that it would be mandatory for every medical graduate to serve in rural area for the first three years.⁴⁸
- Nawab of Kalabagh opposed the creation of Pakistan Medical Service by central government as it would hamper the proper arrangement of health facilities in the provinces.⁴⁹
- Numbers of medical school were established in many districts of the province. Qualified medical personnel, trained in these schools, served efficiently in the rural areas.⁵⁰

Better output of all these efforts can be gauged by the facts and figure about the health condition in Pakistan. Life expectancy rose from 38.9 years in 1950-55 to 45

years in 1960-65. Increase in Total Fertility Rate (TFR) per woman was noted from 6.5 to 7. Decrease in Child Death rate per 1000 from 28.5 in 1950-5 to 21.6 in 1960-65 was seen. Mortality rate was considerably decreased from 190 per thousand in 1950 to 155 in 1960-65.⁵¹ Family Planning, in a systematic way, was introduced in Ayub Era for the first time in the history of Pakistan. In 1960, government health clinics began to provide some family planning services. In 1965, the government launched comprehensive family planning program which resulted in a little success. Child birth rate per 1000 from 49.5, in 1950-55 to 48.4 in 1960-65 was recorded.⁵²

3.5-Food and Agriculture

Nawab of Kalabagh himself was a progressive farmer and used to 'put in sweat and toil to develop his land.'⁵³ During his governorship, "he gave highest priority to the development of agricultural sector. The price structure was rationalized, agriculture research was supported, anti-logging projects were vigorously pursued, and crop protection was given special attention."⁵⁴ In Nawab's own words, "Government prefers progress in Agriculture after Defense so that country might become self-sufficient in food."⁵⁵ Agriculture Development Corporation (ADC) was set up on 1st October 1960 and it played pivotal role in the progress of agriculture in West Pakistan. Ministry of Food and Agriculture started the work of agricultural census in 1960, under the direction of Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. 6865 villages of West Pakistan were selected for the survey and the data was collected within six weeks. That survey revealed that out of forty million acres of cultivable land only twenty-five million acres was under plough and 2.2 million out of 3.8 million peasants had no land of their own. This data was utilized to prepare and sponsor the government schemes of agricultural development and extension of irrigation system.⁵⁶

Food and Agriculture Commission had recommended the cooperative farming and the provision of finance to farmer for this purpose. In October 1960, 12000 Primary Credit Cooperatives were working and providing forty-five million rupees to farmers annually. West Pakistan government, at that time, was aiming to enhance these credit Cooperatives up to 50,000 Primary Credit Cooperative and provision of five hundred million rupees annually by 1965.⁵⁷ Agriculture Development Finance Corporation sanctioned loans to the farmers for the purchase of bullocks, tube wells, seeds, fertilizers, tractors and setting up dairy farms, fisheries and tea estates.⁵⁸ He was of the opinion that “Cultivation methods must be revolutionized” and this was possible only by bridging “gulf between laboratory and field.” Nawab suggested that new tools of research such as the “use of radiation and radioactive isotopes must be initialized to solve the agriculture problems.”⁵⁹ Many institutions of modern Agricultural Sciences and Research were setup during his tenure.

- Up-gradation of prestigious Agriculture College of Lyallpur into an autonomous university was started by Amir Muhammad Khan on November 1, 1961 and was completed in a few years.⁶⁰
- National Training Center on Wheat and Barley at Tando Jam Agriculture College (Hyderabad) was inaugurated by Dr J.B. Harrington, wheat and barley specialist of Food and Agriculture Organization.⁶¹
- Three seed-testing laboratories, equipped with qualified technical staff, were set up at Peshawar, Lyallpur, and Tando Jam⁶² for the preparation of high quality seeds.⁶³
- The Seed Syndicate was setup with the help of private sector and this served, with the collaboration of Agriculture Development Corporation, the purpose of production, procurement and distribution of better seeds in the West Pakistan.⁶⁴
- ‘Agriculture’ was introduced as a subject at school level with the consultation of Agriculture University Lyallpur.⁶⁵

He was an ardent advocate of mechanized farming to get self-sufficiency in food. He imported some wheat threshers from India for use on the tentative basis. When farmers complained about the poor performance of those thrashers, modified

machines according to the demand of Pakistani farmers were prepared in an indigenous foundry.⁶⁶ He ordered to earmark 35000 acres of land in Ghulam Muhammad Barrage Project for mechanized farming.⁶⁷ Use of Chemical fertilizer was encouraged as well. Rapid increase in the use of chemical fertilizer can be measured by the fact that 58000 tons fertilizer was commercially distributed in 1962 and the demand raised to 3.5 lakh tons in the next year.⁶⁸ Nawab urged on cooperative farming as an effective mean to attain self-sufficiency. It could enable farmers, with small holding, to be benefited from agricultural machinery.⁶⁹ Field assistants were appointed, one in each Union Council, to advise the cultivators on the use of modern implements and chemical fertilizers. Pakistan had gained the name of 'graveyard of tractors' as there was no arrangement for the regular supply of spare parts. Governor allowed importing tractors to only those companies that would ensure the supply of spare parts and mobile workshops for repair.⁷⁰ Pest Control Ordinance 1959 was enacted to eradicate unwanted weeds from the crops. Period of November to March was reserved for the eradication of *Pohli* and *Piazi*. Formers not complying were liable to penal action.⁷¹

Horticulture shows were conducted and prizes were distributed to encourage the increase in fruit, vegetables and honey production. Nawab said in one of such horticulture shows that fruit growers could meet the demand of fruit in the markets of Ceylon, Middle East and Far East. He encouraged introducing the new fruits like "cashew nut, avocado, West Indian cherry, pecan, durian and other kinds."⁷² West Pakistan in Ayub Era saw "introduction of high yielding varieties of seeds of wheat, rice and cotton and supplies of fertilizer and pesticides brought about "the green revolution" providing the base for the expanding agro-based industries."⁷³ Progress in agriculture sector can be judged by the fact that in 2nd Five-Year Plan, 3.4% per

annum growth rate was achieved which was quite remarkable as compared to 1.3 % per annum since independence.⁷⁴

3.5.1-Control over Salinity and Water Logging

Salinity control project was launched on a massive scale and the help of international consultants was sought. Dr Roger Revelle was sent to Pakistan by the United State government to investigate the problem and make recommendations. 'His report became the hallmark for an extensive program of land reclamation.'⁷⁵ For the reclamation of water logged and salinized land, schemes of tube-well installation were introduced at a large scale. Loans were acquired from different countries like U.S.A and Yugoslavia. The agency for international development of United States sanctioned 10.8 million US \$ for the installation of 815 tube-wells in the area of Chaj Doab. Messer Ingra, in a tube-well barter deal with Yugoslavia, installed 160 tube-wells in the same area.⁷⁶ Government of West Pakistan set up a board, on 29th February 1964, to solve the problem of water-logging and salinity.⁷⁷ 1, 41,445 acres in Ghulam Muhammad Barrage Project was allocated for the allotment to the victims of water-logging and salinity.⁷⁸

3.5.2-Export of Food Crops

Fine quality rice was exported under the policy to earn maximum foreign exchange. The public in Pakistan had to face the rationing of fine quality rice and was provided with fine quality broken rice produced in abundance.⁷⁹ Actually he issued an order on March 13, 1961 which forbade selling more than five *seer* rice in certain areas of West Pakistan.⁸⁰ At the same time, he was in the favor of farmer-friendly export policy. He suggested that monopoly of rice exporters should be broken. Farmer must have his share in the profit in the form of bonus vouchers as till then it was middle man who ate the share of farmers' profit.⁸¹

3.5.3-Provision of Pure Food

Grading centers were established all over the province to ensure the supply of pure food. These centers equipped with laboratories and trained chemists were meant for grading and marking the edibles like ghee, butter, edible oil, eggs, spices, wheat, and citrus fruit under ‘standard specification’ with the purpose of providing pure and un-adulterated food.⁸² Pure Food Rules were promulgated in 1965 and traders and shopkeepers were ordered to obtain licenses with paying fees at different rates. Instructions were given for the use of food colors and preservatives. Conditions about labeling and packing of different food items were announced. Stress was on cleanliness in food factories and no person with infectious disease was allowed to work there.⁸³

3.5.4-Price Control

Stern administration of Nawab left no room for hoarding and high pricing.⁸⁴ Provincial government used to keep a vigilant eye on the price of wheat and other food crops. District Food authorities were asked to prepare data about crops in their respective areas. If the upward trend was seen in the price the government would, in no time, release stocks of wheat from its reserves.⁸⁵

3.5.5-Livestock

His personal dairy farm was one of the earliest and most organized ones in the Punjab which kept every fine local and foreign breed of animals. His animals won many trophies at different times in Horse and Cattle Shows.⁸⁶ He was an “excellent horse, sheep and cattle breeder and knew as much as about animal husbandry as most veterinary surgeons.”⁸⁷ Livestock department progressed at rapid pace. Farm of superior breed of buffaloes was set up in Bahadur Nagar, and cows of fine quality were kept in Qadirabad.⁸⁸

3.6-Irrigation

He was so keen about the irrigation facilities that he established, within a few months after taking charge as governor, a new and autonomous department for the construction of new dams and irrigation projects.⁸⁹ Irrigation department was restructured on 28th of February 1962 for the achievement of better performance. A scheme of installation of tube wells was launched, by agriculture department, for the landowners with less than 250 acres irrigated or 500 acres un-irrigated land. The landowners had to pay 25% of the cost in advance and remaining 75% was to be paid in twenty equal installments. But the beneficiaries of the scheme had to mortgage their land as security for the recovery of cost. Land owners with more than this limit were offered with technical facilities if they had been willing to pay the full cost at once.⁹⁰ Irrigation projects for far-flung dry areas like Qalat Division were also completed.⁹¹ Irrigation facilities helped a lot in overall progress in the field of agriculture,

The most surprising result in the early 1960s was the proliferation of private tube wells throughout West Pakistan. With the government providing major infrastructure, credit, subsidies, price stabilization, and demonstration and extension of services, agricultural development was entering a revolutionary phase.⁹²

Indus Basin Treaty in September 1960 paved the way for construction of several dams on Indus River System. Nawab of Kalabagh supervised the construction of Mangla Dam and facilitated Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Chairman WAPDA, for this task.⁹³ 1700 dislocated families of Mangla Dam were compensated with fifty million rupees.⁹⁴ He used to inspect ‘round the clock work’ on Guddu Barrage as well.⁹⁵ Many small dams like Tanda Dam in Kohat with the cost of 45 million rupees and Habb Dam in Karachi with expenses of eighty million rupees were constructed during his governorship as well.⁹⁶ It is alleged that out of 28,06,210 acres land of Ghulam

Muhammad Barrage, only 3,78,663 acres were distributed among the land-less *haris* and small land owners. Rest of the land was given to army and civil officers. Likewise, tenants and small land-owners could get only 95,867 acres out 37, 53,700 (53,37,700 ?) acres of Guddu Barrage. According to an estimate, revealed in the Budget Session of Provincial Assembly of 1967, eighty-one lac acres were converted into irrigated land by these barrages but the share of the poor peasants was no more than 4, 74000 acres.⁹⁷

3.7-Industry

Amir Muhammad Khan had experience of running PIDC before assuming the office of Governor. He always urged on best possible use of indigenous raw material to reduce production cost and save foreign exchange spent on unnecessary imports.⁹⁸ He set criteria for installation of industrial unit. Required raw material and market for finished product must be available in that area. His reputation earned as Chairman PIDC helped him a lot in this context. The investors and industrialist rushed forth to setup new industries. The Investment Promotion Bureau in the six month period, from June 1960 to December 1960, “sanctioned sixty-three applications involving investment of 262.6 million rupees (85% for setting up new factories and remaining for modernizing and balancing the existing ones; in previous fiscal year from July 1959 to June 1960 it was 182.6 million rupees.”⁹⁹

He took firm steps to break the monopoly, and discouraged the profiteering of local traders and industrialists. On March 30, 1961, he proclaimed that if the prices of cloth were not lessened then government would import it. When the businessmen mended their ways the curb on import of cotton and silk textile items was extended in governors’ conference on June 20, 1961.¹⁰⁰ Pakistan entered into heavy industries era in 2nd Five-Year Plan by setting up machine tool factory, in Landhi, Karachi, with

cost of sixty-eight million rupees. It provided a lot of help in promoting auxiliary industries in “auto motive fields like electrical equipment, radiators, muffles etc.”¹⁰¹ Production of cement in West Wing was shared with East Wing to meet its need. Later, supply of cheaper cement, from Japan to East Pakistan, proved helpful in ending shortage in West Pakistan.¹⁰² Railway Carriage factory with German grant and total cost of 78.2 million rupees was started by his government.¹⁰³ He was in favor of maintaining healthy balance and competition between public and private sectors in the field of industry. Government always encouraged private sector, and public sector became active only when private sector had been reluctant due to need of huge amount of capital or some risk was involved.¹⁰⁴ His policy was that of to ‘Patronize the home industry’.¹⁰⁵

3.8-Education

It is a common perceptions that Nawab was not in favour to educate the masses. Altaf Gauhar espoused this by saying that Nawab had opposed the proposal of Free Primary education and reasonable enhancement in the salaries of Primary teachers as education could do no good to the common man.¹⁰⁶ But it is interesting to note that Primary education was made mandatory in district Lahore on July 25, 1961 by the same Nawab as governor.¹⁰⁷ From the inception of his governorship, lavish funds and grants were provided for the maintenance and renovation of both, the government and private schools.¹⁰⁸ Integrated pay scales were given to teachers in West Pakistan.¹⁰⁹ In 2nd Five-Year Plan technical education was given special attention. Engineering College of Lahore was elevated to the level of West Pakistan University of Engineering and Technology in 1962¹¹⁰. Many polytechnic institutes were established during his tenure while in the first Five-Year Plan (1950-55) only one polytechnic was set up.¹¹¹ Government servants in the education department were

allowed to write the text books, according to the new syllabus, for primary and middle level.¹¹² Twenty-Four training centers for in-service teachers of the West Wing were set up on the line of National Institute of Public Administration and Administrative Staff College, by spending two million rupees, in twelve divisions, two for each division-one for male and the other for female.¹¹³ The amount of 165 million rupees was reserved to provide primary education to 1.2 million children of backwards areas of West Pakistan.¹¹⁴

Pakistan Council established *Sarkari Kitab Ghar* and *Dar-ul-Mutalih* in Rawalpindi, Lahore, Peshawar, Islamabad, and Hyderabad with a purpose of providing text books, besides other extra-curricular books, at affordable prices.¹¹⁵ Government arranged double shifts in the colleges to enhance the rate of higher education.¹¹⁶ A formula of reducing the existing fees of government schools and colleges was evolved and then implemented.¹¹⁷ ‘Drive against Illiteracy’ was launched and, for this purpose, Primary education was started in the mosques of rural areas.¹¹⁸ Money for scholarship was provided and raised annually.¹¹⁹ Fifteen million rupees were earmarked for awarding scholarship in 2nd Five-Year Plan; this amount was raised to Twenty-five million rupees for the next Plan. The priority for awarding the scholarship was given to children of parents with income low than Rs. 500/= per month.¹²⁰ The government employees were allowed, for the first time, to get admission and study in the educational institutions after their office/duty times. The government ordered to cancel the transfer orders of all those employees who were enrolled in any institution till the completion of their course.¹²¹ He was of the view that “our education system did not suit our requirements, and wanted it to be so designed as to turn out skilled manpower which could meet the demands of all the professions.” His plan was to establish Model High schools, in his own district,

Mianwali, for boys and girls. These schools had to offer the curriculum comprising technical, vocational and agricultural subjects to meet demands of rural life.¹²²

Perhaps he was not the zealous admirer of the female education. When public of Kohat demanded a girls college for their area, he showed 'sympathy' but in the same breath, advised them, "efforts should be made to impart such training to our girls that as would make them good housewives and mothers and hardworking citizens to augment family income instead of being a burden in society."¹²³

In 2nd Five-Year Plan, for the opening and upgrading of different educational institutes, award of scholarships, and training of professionals 440 million rupees were spent. 1150 million, with an increase of 161%, were reserved for the same purposes, in 3rd Five-Year Plan.¹²⁴ For the sake of better discipline, the students of schools and colleges were forbidden to wear the teddy dress in their respective educational institutions.¹²⁵ Government educational institutions were over-crowded due to high standard of education and, partly due to low tuition fees. Government schools and college showed better results than most of the private institutions at board and university examinations.¹²⁶

3.9-Transport

In 1962, West Pakistan Road Transport Board was converted into corporation. In 1964-65, it earned 69.317691 million rupees and the expenditure was 62.086206 million rupees so amount of 7.271450 million was earned as profit. The assets of corporation were of the worth of 101.535278 million besides cash and deposit almost seventy million rupees. In 1966, after the resignation of Nawab, the corruption of officers destroyed the corporation, especially after the un-necessary amendment in Motor Vehicles Ordinance which paved the way for corruption on large scale. This amendment assigned the duties of Motor Vehicles Examiners to the Works Managers.

Fitness certificates were issued without examination and that took the vehicles to the workshops before the completion of their life-period. Spare parts were sold frequently in black markets. Many officers were sent on deputation from other departments and that spoiled the morale of the employees of Road Transport Corporation.¹²⁷

During his governorship, Licenses for new transport services and new routes were given to the private sector for healthy competition and better services for the public.¹²⁸ 2266 miles new roads were constructed and 2303 miles existing roads were improved under 2nd five-year plan with the cost 333.65 million rupees. Amount of Rs.1000 million was allocated for the same purpose in 3rd Five Year Plan.¹²⁹ Construction of Karachi-Peshawar new highway (now Indus Highway or N-55), was started to reduce the burden of traffic on Grand Trunk Road and with the aim to shorten the distance by 150 miles than previous Karachi-Lahore-Peshawar route. The new highway linked Karachi with Peshawar via Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismael Khan and Kohat on the western side of river Indus. Grand Trunk Road, from Peshawar to Lahore was merged with existing roads to Karachi. This road which later got the name and shape of N-5 was widened as well. From Hyderabad to Karachi, it was widened by 45 feet and from Peshawar to Hyderabad by 22 feet.¹³⁰ 202 miles long Karachi-Kalat-Quetta Road was also proposed in February 1961 and was completed in 1965 with the cost of 15.2 million rupees. Safety Council, with its branches at division level, was established under the headship of Ayub Bakhsh Awan (1913-2003), a senior bureaucrat, to 'prevent frequent road accident'.¹³¹ Road Transport Board launched home-made double-decker buses in almost all the big cities to solve the problem of conveyance.¹³² Provincial government provided parking places for the good trucks outside the city. It made possible not only conveyance of the goods at the doorstep of the public but also eased pressure on railway.¹³³

3.10-West Pakistan Railways

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan often used to travel by train and this served for the dual purpose. Public felt safe, and regularity and punctuality of trains was ensured by the railway management. Nawab was so particular about the safety of the railway passengers that, once, he telephoned the Inspector General of Railway Police about the complaint of a passenger of Nawab's local area. He alarmed I.G. that without safe and peaceful journey Railway would lose the passengers and be deprived of income.¹³⁴ Many swift trains were started by West Pakistan railway to provide the passengers a better and rapid mean of journey.¹³⁵ Government extended the facilities and luxuries, offered by railway, to government servants as well. On 31st August, 1961, it was announced that officials receiving Rs.600/= per month as salary were entitled to travel in the air-conditioned bogies.¹³⁶ Development in Railways' infrastructure was made as well.

- Construction of Railway Coach Factory was started with the cooperation of Germany and the cost of 782 million rupees. This project had to produce 150 coaches per annum.
- Thirty million rupees were spent to construct 100-bed Railway Hospital.
- Diesel Workshop was established with the cost of 121 million rupees.
- In Chaklala, Railways Yard was setup and it consumed Rs. 5.5 million.

3.11-Housing

Korangi Township was a mega project completed in Nawab's tenure within a record time.¹³⁷ Low income people were provided with these houses. A survey revealed that there were 0.25 million homeless people in West Pakistan. Government decided to set up eleven colonies in Peshawar, Lyallpur, Multan, Sialkot, Hyderabad, Larkana, and Abbottabad to accommodate those peoples. 50% houses were constructed on three *marlas* each. Land was provided by government and cost of construction by the residents.¹³⁸ Project of Kot Lakhpat Housing scheme was

proposed to accommodate 0.2 million peoples near Lahore on August 17, 1961 and later, was completed in Nawab's tenure.¹³⁹ Two National monuments, mausoleum of Quaid-i-Azam,¹⁴⁰ and *Minar-i-Pakistan*, were built by provincial government of Nawab Kalabagh. He approved the model of *Minar-i-Pakistan* on April 11, 1962 and, later on February 6, 1964, levied five *paisas* on every cinema ticket and fifty *paisas* on the ticket of horse race to generate fund for its construction.¹⁴¹

3.12-As a Host to Different Foreign Dignitaries

Being a feudal lord, Nawab of Kalabagh had a vast experience of hospitality and he used to take care of his guests in a generous way. People were deceived with his rough exterior and feudal appearance otherwise he was so polished and polite that he had displayed a great talent of a kind and caring host to many heads of states. He, as Governor of West Pakistan, received and hosted many foreign dignitaries of his times like Queen Elizabeth II (b. 1926) of United Kingdom; American President Richard Milhous Nixon (1913-94); Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru; Zhou Enlai (1898-1976), Premier of China and many others of such a high stature and prominence. Jahan Dad Khan wrote,

He was a consummate conversationalist and took no time in establishing rapport with guest. Shah Faisal after staying for two days with him in the Governor House said in the presence of Ayub Khan, "You are a brother to me. May I invite you to Saudi Arabia for *Umrah*, as my personal guest?"¹⁴²

Letters by different guests to him show their deep sense of gratitude and appreciation. Jacqueline Kennedy (1929-94), in a hand written letter, expressed her thankfulness in these words, "Everything possible had been done to make us feel comfortable and at home. The splendid dinner you offered me, so beautifully arranged in old Mogal style room, I will never forget."¹⁴³ Almost same sentiments were expressed by Mahindra Bir Bikram Shah Dev (1920-72), King of Nepal, in his letter

of September 15, 1961.¹⁴⁴

Nawab adopted a peculiar way to run the administrative machinery of West Pakistan. Members of his cabinet were not allowed to interfere with the administration. Civil service was given full authority to exercise powers but was made responsible and accountable as well. No delaying tactics were applied and Provincial government worked efficiently almost in every department. Industry and Agriculture were given special attention. Self-sufficiency in food was the main objective which urged to progress in the field of Agriculture. Some mega projects of irrigation in the form of huge dams were completed in the tenure of Malik Amir. Efforts were made to convert the water-logged and saline areas into cultivable lands. Rapid growth was seen in the field of industry with the aim to save the foreign exchange. Education and health sectors flourished side by side. Transportation facilities were enhanced by starting swift trains and constructing good roads. Different housing schemes were proposed and then completed to provide the accommodation on cheaper price and to solve the problem of homeless peoples.

ENDNOTES

¹Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 183.

²Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 76-7.

³*Ibid.*, 71.

⁴His engagement diary of May 11, 1961 reveals that he left for Kalra Estate as early as 6:00 a.m. Diary provided by Malik Ammad Khan

⁵*Ibid.*, Chief Secretary visited him seven times fortnight on sharp 7:30 a.m. (according to the engagement Diary, from of May 13 to May 30 of 1961)

⁶Khan, *British Papers*, 261. Because Khurshid proved incompetent “in handling of the Constitution (Second Amendment, 1964), Nawab spent two days in Rawalpindi to persuade Ayub Khan for this change. G. Beer, British High Commissioner in Pakistan to M.K. Ewans, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations 7th July, 1965.

⁷Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 77.

⁸*Ibid.*, 82. Nawab said to his military secretary, Jahan Dad Khan, “While purchasing even a horse or selecting a dog, we are so conscious of their breed and pedigree. You ignore all these factors in the army when selecting leaders of the men.” Nawab dropped the formality of conversation in English and became soft spoken to Altaf Gauhar when the former became aware of latter’s lineage. Gauhar, *Gauhar Guzasht*, 92.

⁹Munir, *Jo Main Ne Dekha*, 45-6.

¹⁰Khan, *Leadership Challenge*, 77-8 when Syed Fida Hussain, Principal Secretary to President Ayub Khan, complained about Commissioner Rawalpindi, M.H. Shah, who refused to comply with the presidential orders via Fida Hussain, Nawab appreciated M. H. Shah. Nawab argued that even Presidency should adopt the proper channel to approach his officers and that ‘proper channel’ was no other than Nawab himself.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Gauhar, *Gauhar Guzasht*, 93.

¹⁴Shah, *Swanih Hayat*, 209.

¹⁵Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 429.

¹⁶Khan, *Leadership Challenge*, 76. He guided his Military Secretary by telling him that the behavior of his previous Military Secretary, Colonel Sharif, was not commendable as he had gotten involved in politics.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 79. Nawab’s policy about all those ‘plot, rout permit and agency hunters’ was that to ‘give them a morsel but no more.’

¹⁹*Dawn*, November 12, 1960.

²⁰Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 87. He did not use to put off his work because he, in his own words, ‘was product of *desi ghee* and not of *Dalda*.’

²¹*Ibid.*

²²Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 214-5.

²³*Ibid.*, 191-2. Muhabbat Khan, Deputy Commissioner of Mianwali met him, after his resignation from Governorship, and told him about the crisis of the sugar in the province. Nawab at once said, “Musa Khan is not capable to cope with this petty affair which can be solved with locking up two big stockists of sugar, one from Karachi, and other from Lahore.”

²⁴Liu Shaoqi visited Lahore on March 28, 1966 and was honoured in Jinnah Garden, Lahore with the Award on March 30, 1966.

²⁵Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 94-5. “Giving a twist to his moustaches, Nawab said, “General Shaukat should have known that you are MS to Amir Muhammad Khan.”

²⁶Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 105.

²⁷According to a newspaper cutting provided by Malik Ammad.

²⁸Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 210.

²⁹Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 77.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 85-6.

³¹His engagements show that Chief Secretary visited him seven times from May 13 to May 30 of 1961 as early as 7:30 a.m. Diary provided by Malik Ammad Khan.

³²Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 121. Nawab said, “If Ranjit Singh is placed in spot of Ayub Khan, civil servants will make his flattery in the same way.”

³³*Ibid.*, 122. He very soon got rid of Qureshi, on the charges of corruption, by using his disciplinarian method.

³⁴Khan, *British Papers*, 262. Saeed Ahmad, General Manager of Gandhara Industries, mentioned this term and related a story as well. Once Nawab intended to sack an official and asked the member of Anti-Corruption Department to frame charges against that official. When that member said that he had found no evidence of his corruption, Nawab threatened him to be charged with the same accusation. The same member found out 21 charges against that official in a few hours.” R.G. Beer, British High Commissioner in Pakistan to M. K. Ewans, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations 7th July, 1965.

³⁵Gauhar, *Gauhar Guzasht*, 91.

³⁶Daily *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 7, 1963. As told by Malik Qadir Bakhsh, provincial minister for Food and Agriculture.

³⁷Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 105.

³⁸Khan, *Leadership Challenge*, 80-1.

³⁹Eastern Roman Empire with Constantinople as her capital (330-1453)

⁴⁰A Chinese political party that ruled China from 1927 to 1948.

⁴¹Khan, *Constitutional and Political History*, 345-6.

⁴²*Dawn*, October 28, 1960

⁴³*Dawn*, August 13, 1961.

⁴⁴*Dawn*, February 15, 1961. This program was of so extensive a nature that 79128 patients of T.B. were treated in 1960 in Peshawar region only. T.B Hospital was setup in Sargodha with bed capacity of 828.

⁴⁵*Dawn*, December 17, 1960.

⁴⁶*Nawa-i-Waqt*, June 7, 1963.

⁴⁷*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 4, 1964. According to Provincial Health Minister, Abdul Qadir Sanjrani

⁴⁸*Jang*, August 9, 1964.

⁴⁹*Civil and Military Gazette*, February 14, 1962. West Pakistan assembly too passed the resolution unanimously which requested the central government to withdraw the Medical Services of Pakistan Order 1962 as that would be an 'encroachment on provincial autonomy'. *Civil and Military Gazette* of February 5, 1962.

⁵⁰*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 4, 1963.

⁵¹Rafi Raza, ed., *Pakistan in Perspective 1947-97* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 280.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 73.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 75.

⁵⁵*Nawa-i-Waqt*, December 22, 1965.

⁵⁶*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 30, 1961. As said by Latif Jalili, representative of census organization of Food and Agriculture Ministry.

⁵⁷*Dawn*, December 21, 1960.

⁵⁸*Dawn*, December 18, 1960.

⁵⁹*Dawn*, January 4, 1961. Nawab said while addressing to Golden Jubilee Ceremony of Lyallpur Agriculture College on January 3, 1961.

⁶⁰This was founded as Punjab Agriculture College and Research Institute in 1906.

⁶¹*Dawn*, March 8, 1961.

⁶²*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 11, 1966. Nuclear Research Centre for Agriculture Tando Jam prepared a seed that was able to successfully grow wheat in saline and water logged land. According to I.H. Usmani, Chairman Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission.

⁶³*Dawn*, November 3, 1960.

⁶⁴*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 5, 1963. This syndicate was consisted of top ranking agriculturists, including Sir William Robert, Ghulam Hussain of Mirpur Khas, Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Saradar Habibullah Khan, Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana (1900-75) and a large number of leading growers, ginners and dealers.

⁶⁵*Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 19, 1963.

⁶⁶Shah, *Swanhayat*, 208. This machine was made more effective with the help of Mian Muhammad Sharif (1920-2004) in Ittefaq Foundry, Lahore.

⁶⁷*Dawn*, February 2, 1961.

⁶⁸*Civil and Military Gazette*, February 9, 1963. Malik Qadir Bakhsh said in a meeting with two-member Indian delegation

⁶⁹*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 11, 1963. He said on the eve of visiting Model Town Cooperative Dairy Farm, Lahore.

⁷⁰*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February, 24, 1966.

⁷¹*Dawn*, October 15, 1960.

⁷²*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 18, 1963 Speaking at the prize distribution of 8th annual Fruit, Vegetable and Honey Show at the Burney Garden Lahore.

⁷³Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Lahore: Academy of Administrative and Social Sciences, 1998), 77.

⁷⁴Khan, *Constitutional and Political History*, 352.

⁷⁵Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 234-5.

⁷⁶*Civil and Military Gazette*, February 24, 1963.

⁷⁷Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 352.

⁷⁸*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 22, 1963. As told by Muhammad Sharif, Parliamentary Secretary (Revenue) in Provincial Assembly.

⁷⁹*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 1, 1963. Governor justified it by saying, "Consumption of superior quality rice was a sheer luxury, and the nation could not afford to enjoy this luxury at this stage of development." *Civil and Military Gazette*, March 4, 1963.

⁸⁰Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 299.

⁸¹*Nawa-i-Waqt*, May 20, 1963.

⁸²*Dawn*, October 28, 1960.

⁸³*Ibid.*, December 30, 1965.

⁸⁴*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 17, 1966. Nawab said, "Government will not bear the trend in soaring prices. Extra and stored wheat to be brought in market, do boycott of the adulterators."

⁸⁵*Civil & Military Gazette*, February 18, 1963.

⁸⁶Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 83.

⁸⁷*The Pakistan Times*, June 1, 1960.

⁸⁸Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 208.

⁸⁹*Jang*, August 24, 1960.

⁹⁰*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 3, 1963.

⁹¹*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 29, 1963. 20 irrigation schemes of 50 million rupees for the irrigation of 0.5 million acres were completed there.

⁹²Khan, *Constitutional and Political History*, 352.

⁹³*Nawa-i-Waqt*, November 14, 1965. Malik was excited about the experience gained by the Pakistani engineers under the foreign experts of Dams.

⁹⁴*Jang*, March 3, 1964.

⁹⁵*Dawn*, December 19, 1960.

⁹⁶*Nawa-i-Waqt*, December 22, 1965.

⁹⁷Shibli, *Deh Khuda*, 41.

⁹⁸*Dawn*, August 16, 1965. Nawab said to a 12-member delegation of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Karachi led by Mr. Kasam Usman Kandawala.

⁹⁹*Dawn*, February 13, 1961.

¹⁰⁰Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 303.

¹⁰¹*Civil and Military Gazette*, February 24, 1963.

¹⁰²*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 1, 1963.

¹⁰³*Nawa-i-Waqt*, January 22, 1966.

¹⁰⁴*Dawn*, August 16, 1965.

¹⁰⁵*Nawa-i-Waqt*, November 19, 1965. WAPDA ordered Messers Atlas Rubber and Plastic Industries, Karachi and Messers Pakistan Cables Ltd. Karachi to provide with three and a half million yards of cable of worth of 4.3 million rupees. WAPDA ordered electric equipment of worth of 70 million rupees per annum for three consecutive years.

¹⁰⁶*Gauhar, Gauhar Guzasht*, 93-4.

¹⁰⁷Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 305.

¹⁰⁸*Dawn*, March 11, 1961. Plans to improve the government and non-government middle schools sanctioned; Rs.1600/= per school for equipment, hostels for high schools preferably which offer technical courses and can provide land free of cost for this purpose, setting up high schools in backward areas Rs.3000/= for furniture, provision of workshops for government and non-government schools; grant-in-aid sanctioned for this purpose was Rs.22500/= per workshop.

¹⁰⁹*Dawn*, January 20, 1961. Orders were made effective from 14th of October, 1955.

¹¹⁰It was setup as Mughalpura Technical College in 1921 and renamed as Maclagan Engineering College in 1923.

¹¹¹Raza, *Pakistan in Perspective*, 255.

¹¹²*Dawn*, December 13, 1960.

¹¹³*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 1, 1963. Teachers were considered 'on duty' during training and provided with lodging and boarding facilities.

¹¹⁴*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 10, 1963.

¹¹⁵*Zindagi*, June 1, 1970, 29.

¹¹⁶*Civil and Military Gazette*, January, 21 1963. Told by Provincial Education Minister, Begum Mehmuda Salim.

¹¹⁷*Civil and Military Gazette*, February 5, 1963.

¹¹⁸*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 3, 1963.

¹¹⁹*Civil and Military Gazette*, February 5, 1963. Number of scholarships was raised from 18000 to 25000 and increase of thirteen million rupees was sanctioned on already reserved ten million rupees for that purpose in the next academic year.

¹²⁰*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 17, 1963.

¹²¹*Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 8, 1963.

¹²²Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 82.

¹²³*Dawn*, October 18, 1960.

¹²⁴*Dawn*, August 29, 1965.

¹²⁵*Jang*, June 23, 1963.

¹²⁶*Dawn*, August 29, 1965. According to Prof. Ghulam Mustafa Shah, Director of Education Karachi, explained the reasons of over-crowding in Government Schools and Colleges.

¹²⁷*Zindagi*, June 22, 1970.

¹²⁸*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 26, 1963.

¹²⁹*Dawn*, February 2, 1965. As said by Dur Muhammad Usto, Provincial Communication Minister's statement.

¹³⁰*Civil & Military Gazette*, February 16, 1963.

¹³¹*Ibid.*

¹³²*Nawa-i-Waqt*, May 18, 1963.

¹³³*Dawn*, August 16, 1965.

¹³⁴Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 112. The passenger, Murid of Mari Indus, was deprived of Rs.3800/= by a pickpocket in a train.

¹³⁵*The News*, August 17, 1961. *Tezgam*, a swift train, was started on August 16, 1961.

¹³⁶Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 306.

¹³⁷*Dawn*, February 10, 1961. 16000 houses were made ready in February 1961. Out of these were; 14094 one-room, 1400 one room with additional shelter, 512 two room with additional shelter.

¹³⁸*Nawa-i-Waqt*, January 5, 1966. As told by Muhammad Khan Junejo (1932-93), Provincial Minister for Housing and Communication.

¹³⁹Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 207.

¹⁴⁰Construction work started on August 1, 1960.

¹⁴¹Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 351.

¹⁴²Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 92.

¹⁴³Letter written from Karachi on October 29, 1962. Provided by Malik Ammad Khan.

¹⁴⁴This letter, too, was provided by Malik Ammad Khan.

Chapter 4

Political Outlook of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan

Being a true feudal, he possessed both negative and positive qualities of his class. He was the embodiment of valour, proverbial hospitality, loyalty to his intimates, transparency in financial matters, and unshakeable confidence. But, at the same time, he displayed the negative traits of his feudal mentality as well like utmost ‘commitment to the maintenance of *status quo*’ and an ‘authoritarian outlook.’¹ He had the same views about the politicians as Ayub Khan had. He, time and again, opposed the rehabilitation of these ‘discredited’ politicians. Once he said that he was personally opposed to the idea of bringing the EBDOnians “back into the power and assigning portfolios to them in the Government.”² Many of those who intended to ‘mend their ways’ were later pardoned and placed under the umbrella of regime by the ‘mediatory skills’ of Nawab.³

4.1-Kashmir Issue and Nawab of Kalabagh

Famous Kashmiri leader Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah (1905-82)⁴ was welcomed in Lahore on May 24, 1964 with so warmth that almost the whole of Lahore flooded to see him. Altaf Gauhar says that Nawab was astonished to see it as ‘Kashmiris had no worth in his eyes.’⁵ But what Malik Amir said in one of his ‘middle of the month broadcasts’ does not espouse the Altaf Gauhar’s impression,

Brave *Mujahids* i.e. freedom fighters were fighting relentlessly against the imperialist power in occupied Kashmir. They have staked their lives in order to liberate their motherland. We regard our own independence as incomplete due to their subjugation. Pakistan is trying to solve this problem through peaceful means.⁶

Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas of Kul Jammun-o-Kashmir Muslim Conference opposed Ayub Khan on the issue of Azad Kashmir Act of 1960 and introduction of Basic Democracies in Azad Kashmir and wrote a letter to Manzur Qadir (1913-74)⁷ to

show his protest and indignation. The letter was discussed, in a cabinet meeting, before Ayub Khan. The cabinet unanimously proposed the arrest of Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, except Nawab of Kalabagh. Nawab strongly opposed the suggestion by saying,

If Maharaja Hari Singh could not intimidate Ghulam Abbas then our jails will not serve the purpose. Even the life imprisonment cannot make him shaky. By arresting him, we will be on the same standing with India as we will not be in a position to condemn India for putting Sheikh Abdullah behind the bars.⁸

His argument worked and Ayub government abstained from arresting Ghulam Abbas. Malik Amir was sympathetic towards the Kashmiris and their cause of freedom but he was not “hawkish” in his approach to resolve this issue. He and Muhammad Shoaib (1907-97), Federal Finance Minister, were “candidates for the doves” in this regard.⁹ He was not so optimist about the solution of Kashmir dispute and better Indo-Pak relations after the Tashkent Accord. He was not hopeful about the productivity of Ayub-Gandhi¹⁰ talks. His opinion about negotiations at minister level in Rawalpindi, in March 1966 was that it would not bring any fruit; later it proved so. This was because representative on both the sides had no flexibility. He objected and said to Ayub Khan that Indo-Pak relations could not be made better by the persons who were simply opposed to that phenomenon. He remarked that to assign Bhutto that job was like to appoint an ‘arsonist to put out fire’.¹¹ He was disappointed from Indian government, in this context, as well. He remarked that it was ‘unfortunate’ to make Swaran Singh (1907-94), then Indian Foreign Minister, as chief negotiator who had been ‘noted for his low brain power’.¹²

4.2- Attitude towards Education

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan was a graduate of prestigious institutions like Atchison College, Lahore and Oxford University. He impressed his visitors all through his life with his vast knowledge on diverse topics. Jacqueline Kennedy’s hand

written remarks on an invitation card, 'to Mrs. John F. Kennedy by Governor Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, on March 24, 1962, say, "with appreciation to the most marvelous history teacher of the all."¹³ Some critics of Malik Amir like Altaf Gauhar insisted on his feudal and conservative outlook in this context and said,

Nawab usually did not use to differ with me except once when I, being Finance Secretary of West Pakistan, proposed Free Primary education and reasonable enhancement in the salaries of Primary teachers but Nawab opposed it and thus the proposal had been dropped. ¹⁴

Nawab argued and narrated the story of a local painter (or mason) Meraj Khan/Muhammad Din whose illiterate son kept on earning with his father but matriculate son became criminal and jail bird.¹⁵ But it is noteworthy fact that Primary education was made mandatory in district Lahore on July 25, 1961 by the same governor.¹⁶ According to Shahab, once students in Lahore created some disturbance and Nawab ordered to close the colleges for undetermined period. Ayub Khan sent Shahab to him and asked to reopen the colleges but he could not convince him to do so. Nawab argued, "If students would not study, there had been no harm in it. Our forefathers were not educated and it had not hampered our progress and achievements."¹⁷ But what he did for his peoples, in the field of education, almost refute the impression recorded by the bureaucrats like Altaf Gauhar and Shahab. He took immense interest in provision of educational facilities to the people of Kalabagh. He took Ayub Khan and Iskander Mirza with him to show the poor condition of Kalabagh High School. President took no time in ordering the construction of new building for the school.¹⁸ Many poor but talented boys were provided with financial help and all the facilities for getting education. Those who desired to go Mianwali city for college education had been given free passes of Indus Bus Company. He offered the educated but jobless boys to be employed either in Jinnah Barrage or factories of Daud Khel Industrial area.¹⁹ Many poor students of

Patti, Kalabagh, Tabisar, and Tola Bangi Khel got educated on the expenses of Kalabagh estate.²⁰ The government employees were allowed to get admission and study in the educational institutions after their duty hours²¹ He was not satisfied with conventional educational system. He desired for a system that might produce skilled manpower to meet demands of all the professions. His proposed schools for Mianwali had to offer the curriculum comprising technical, vocational and agricultural subjects to meet demands of rural life.²² His opinion about female education was not of a progressive man. He thought that girls should be trained in such a way that might make them good mothers and house-wives.²³

4.3-Students' Issue

His provincial government had to face the consistent protests from students throughout the West Pakistan on different occasions. British High Commissioner recorded his impression in these words,

An unhappy feature of this period was the frequent recurrence of the student riots. The students had some grievances of their own, but they seem to have been mainly concerned to embarrass the Government. They were in fact beginning to be used by opposition politicians.²⁴

Sharif Commission, appointed for the reforms in national education, proposed three years degree course which “met with vociferous opposition from students²⁵, parents and teachers.” Apart from resistance to three-year bachelor degree (B.A) course, there was also opposition to the New University Ordinance which, *inter alia*, empowered a chancellor to withdraw the degree of an offending student.²⁶ Students of Lahore passed a resolution in a meeting on April 4, 1963 which said that New University Ordinance had converted all the educational institutions of higher education into larger jails.²⁷ In 1964, another commission headed by Justice Hamud-ur-Rahman was setup and named as ‘Commission on Students’ Problems and Welfare’. It suggested repelling the objectionable provisions of the University

Ordinance. It recommended the restoration of the University Senate and increase in the representative element in the syndicates and the academic councils of universities.²⁸ Malik Amir Muhammad Khan was indignant over Jama‘at-i-Islami for its using students in agitational politics. He accused it of harming the solidarity of Pakistan.²⁹ Involvement of students in politics was painful to him. He discussed this issue with Pir Ghulam Ali Chishti (d.1965), a member of Provincial Assembly from Pakpattan, and told him that it had been unfair that students had become the cat’s paw in the hands of politicians. He opined, “Those were student leaders that deserved punishment and not the innocent students.”³⁰ Agitation against Tashkent Accord disrupted the whole educational system and routine work. Governor conceded to the students’ demands of withdrawal of the cases and the postponement of the examinations.³¹ He ordered administration to treat the students mildly.³²

4.4-Nawab and Freedom of Press

In 1962, Lifting Martial Law and elections of assemblies brought huge change in the nature and tone of newspapers. Oratory of newly coming legislators terrified the bureaucracy and rulers. According to Shahab, Nawab reacted in these words, “In these days, newspapers pour too much dirt on us. I have abandoned to read newspapers in the morning as these spoil my whole day and it becomes difficult to discharge our duties properly.”³³ According to Shahab, in a cabinet meeting, different proposals were discussed to have a tight grip on press. *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Dawn* were the special targets. Finally, it was decided by Ayub Khan and his team including Nawab, to buy a huge lump of shares of these newspapers and thus get control of those.³⁴

4.4.1-Press and Publication Ordinance

Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO) was issued on April 26, 1960, on the

recommendations of Press Commission. It was, allegedly, a brainchild of Federal Information Secretary, Brig. F. R. Khan. In August 1963, it was amended and promulgated as the West Pakistan Press and Publication Ordinance 1963 (XXX 1963) by Nawab of Kalabagh who, allegedly, converted it into “Black Law” in true sense.³⁵ These amendments brought many restrictions for print media.

- The power to confiscate the security was taken from Judiciary and given to Executive.³⁶
- Printers/Publishers/Editors could publish only reports of such proceedings of National and Provincial assemblies or courts of law, other than the Supreme Court, as had been officially allowed.
- The maximum limit of security was raised from Rs.10000/= to Rs.30000/=.
- All government Press notes/ Handouts were asked to be published verbatim. Action could also be taken if headline or caption did not correspond to the content published under it.
- Government could set up a commission to enquire into the finances, resources and employee-management relations. On report of the commission, government could suspend or annul the declaration of press/paper.
- Powers of High Court to hear appeal against the government decision was withdrawn and given to a special tribunal set up by government comprising of retired judge of Supreme Court, a government official and a representative of journalists or editors but nominated by government.³⁷

Journalist and editors community protested vehemently so Ayub conceded to nullify the amendments, Nawab of Kalabagh made these amendments null and void with reluctance on November 29, 1964. He remarked, before Altaf Gauhar, about the journalist community, ‘whoever was a musician before has become a journalist now’.³⁸ Majid Nizami (1928-2014) said that Nawab of Kalabagh came to Temple Road for the condolence on the death of Hamid Nizami (1915-62) and threatened to ban *Nawa-i-Waqt*.³⁹ Abdul Wahid Khan says something different in this context,

Press Laws of 1963 were not brainchild of Altaf Gauhar. This is a partial fact. Ayub Khan was responsible for its creation. He sought the advice of Nawab too and latter advised him to adopt a lenient and reasonable way. Nawab argued that most of the newspapers were in the favour of the regime except *Nawa-i-Waqt* and it could not be

tamed through the press laws so it would earn the government nothing else but notoriety.⁴⁰

It is general perception that freedom of press was far less in West Pakistan than in the East Pakistan. *The New York Times* in his issue of August 13, 1964 remarked on the closure of *Outlook*, Karachi and *Iqdam*, Lahore, "This left West Pakistan without a single newspaper or magazine critical of government policy. In East Pakistan, four opposition newspapers continued to appear."⁴¹ On Nov 7, 1963, publication of daily *Kohistan*, from Lahore and Multan, was banned for three months with the arrest of its editor, Nasim Hejazi (1914-96), on the charge of publishing a false and baseless report. On January 3, 1964, Monthly *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* was banned for six months under the Section 27 of PPO.⁴² Declaration of monthly *Ajkar* was cancelled in June 1965.⁴³ National Press Trust was established on March 27, 1964 to run the newspapers and periodicals snatched from Progressive Papers.⁴⁴

Agitation against Tashkent Pact compelled Ayub government to strangle the media so New Press ordinance was issued in February 1966. It further clipped the liberties of press. District Magistrates were given the powers to refuse the renewal of declaration if they can anticipate the mischievous intention of any paper against the defense, law and order, and foreign policy of Pakistan.⁴⁵ Ayub Khan said, "I am sure that Nawab Sahib is going to clutch the newspapers in such a manner that these will come to the senses"⁴⁶ Police was used to hush the media men covering agitation against Tashkent Accord. A police officer named Sipra smashed the camera of a journalist into pieces by running a truck over it.⁴⁷ Malik Amir promised an enquiry which was never conducted.⁴⁸ Journalists, reacted sharply but later, on the assurance of Governor, called off their boycott to cover the official ceremonies and programs on May 1, 1966. A tribunal was appointed by Governor, on August 16, 1966, to hear the

cases about newspapers.⁴⁹

It is alleged that freedom of expression was not encouraged in that era. Shahab wrote that Nawab had been furious at awarding Adam Jee Award to *Udas Naslain*, a novel by Abdullah Hussain (1931-2015) as to him this book was vulgar in nature and four-letter were used in it. He intended to file a suit against Abdullah Hussain for vulgarity and using obscene language but could not do so due to lack of interest on part of the Central Government. He blamed Shahab for the promotion of that absurd and abusive work in the guise of literature so he wrote a letter against him to Ayub.⁵⁰ He tried to convince Ayub that Writers Guild⁵¹ was a detrimental organization that was bringing up some dangerous peoples, like Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-84), Ahmad Nadim Qasimi (1916-2006), Shahidullah Kaiser (1927-71), Shaukat Siddiqui (1923-2006) and Abdullah Hussain with unpatriotic designs.⁵² Habib Jalib (1928-93) was sent to jail on a false charge of murder though he was released when situation was cleared by Altaf Gauhar before Kalabagh.⁵³

According to Abdul Wahid Khan, Nawab was not in the favour of dealing the press so harshly. He persuaded Ayub Khan, by sending a message via Ghulam Nabi Memon, that that would not be conducive to ban *Nawa-i-Waqt*. He refused to arrest Shorish Kashmiri (1917-75) as well.⁵⁴ As for as freedom of press in his own area and Kalabagh estate is concerned, his attitude was a bit different and he was sensitive in this context. He had ordered the news hawkers to put all newspapers, containing baseless propaganda against Nawab, into the river and get the bill from the treasury of Kalabagh estate as there had been no need to create sensation among the people of Kalabagh.⁵⁵

4.4.2-Murder of Zamir Qureshi

Zamir Qureshi, a senior journalist, was killed on January 29, 1965 at the

doorstep of an opposition leader, Malik Ghulam Jilani (d. 1984). He was accompanied by another opposition leader, Mir Baqi Baloch, during that visit. So it is said that Qureshi was unlucky to be killed as he had not been the intended target. 31st of January 1965 was observed as the ‘day of protest’ against the murder. No newspaper was printed and the offices of all the news industry were shutter downed that day.⁵⁶ On March 9, 1965, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan contributed Rs.5000/= and nine provincial ministers Rs.1000/= each for the Zamir Qureshi Fund.⁵⁷ Later, investigation of Zamir Qureshi’s murder was discontinued.⁵⁸ The question was raised in West Pakistan assembly ‘towards the end of 1965 but, on behalf of Government, a reply was given that it would not be ‘in public interest’ to disclose details of the investigation.”⁵⁹

4.5-Nawab of Kalabagh and Bengalis

It is alleged that Nawab of Kalabagh had contemptuous attitude towards the Bengalis of East Pakistan. Altaf Gauhar said, “In circle of Ayub’s intimates, no one bothered to think about the grievances of Bengalis, and Nawab of Kalabagh was not willing even to speak with any Bengali.”⁶⁰ Nawab had to go to Dacca (now Dhaka) in governor conferences. On one such occasion, he invited Altaf Gauhar for dinner saying, “Don’t worry, I have brought salt, chillies, vegetables and even water from Lahore.”⁶¹ Malik Ammad Khan, grandson of Nawab, justified this by saying that Nawab had been cautious about his health and was apprehensive of the un-hygienic condition prevailing in East Pakistan at that time.⁶² About the grievances of East Pakistani settlers in the matter of allotment of the barrages land, Nawab ostensibly expressed his sympathy but, at the same time, said that most of grievances are un-due and the politicians were politicizing the issue for their vested interests.⁶³ He said bluntly that government had spent 1.6 million on those settlers of the Ghulam

Muhammad Barrage but they had not paid even a single pie of *abyana* and *malia*.⁶⁴

It looks as he was apprehensive of Bengalis' numeric strength as he was not democratic in true sense of the term. His mentality, in this context, can be better judged by a note in Ayub Khan's diary which said that once Nawab quoted the remarks of his cousin, Sardar Muhammad Nawaz of Kot Fateh Khan, which he had given in 1946 or so "Do you know what this man Jinnah is doing? He is wanting us to go under the *Shudras* of Bengal."⁶⁵

4.5.1-Six Points of Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rehman

After the Tashkent Declaration, opposition leaders met on February 5, 1966 at the residence of Chaudhri Muhammad Ali in Lahore to ponder over the political situation in Pakistan. Mujib-ur-Rehman did not confine himself to the agenda *i.e.* unanimous reaction to Tashkent Accord. He startled the participants by his Six Points which demanded the provincial autonomy for the East Pakistan on the basis of the draft of Pakistan Resolution of March 23, 1940. Six Points which, afterwards, paved the way for dismemberment of Pakistan were as under;

1. A federal constitution for Pakistan.
2. Central Government portfolios to be limited to Defense and Foreign Affairs only.
3. The two Provinces to have separate currencies or, alternatively, there should be restrictions on the movement of capital funds from one Province to the other.
4. All taxes to be vested in the Province of collection.
5. All foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan to be at the disposal of East Pakistan.
6. An East Pakistan militia to be formed.⁶⁶

There is a lot of controversy about the origin of these Six Points. Some writers think that this document was the result of deliberation of some Nationalist Bengali intellectuals.⁶⁷ There are some who declare it as a political stunt initiated by the Ayub

government itself to sow the seed of dissention among the opposition leaders.⁶⁸ When S. M. Zafar tried to know from Altaf Gauhar if Six-Points had been framed by Government itself, he replied,

One can say more surely that these were supplied to Mr. Mujib-ur-Rehman by the then Governor late Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh. [Because according to Nawab Sahib he could control the West and become its head, but could not be the head of East and West combined].⁶⁹

Zafar insisted that this statement by Altaf Gauhar was “made in all seriousness.”⁷⁰ Nawab confided with Rashidi on the same issue and blamed some civil servants for the creation of Six-Points. He prophesized, with astonishing accuracy, that by using the tool of Six-Point conspiracy would work in both the directions. Ayub will be advised to oppress the Bengalis and the Bengalis would be asked to stick to Six-Points to gain eventual freedom. Nawab expressed his apprehension that there might be bloodshed on large scale in East Pakistan if the situation had not been dealt amicably.⁷¹

4.6-Foreign Policy of Pakistan and Stance of Nawab

Nawab had a special interest in international affairs and always kept himself well aware of the current international situation of his times. His grip and depth of knowledge in this context can be judged by the remarks of a team of senior officers from the Imperial Defense College of London. “Nawab was the best informed person that we had come across in Pakistan. He could discuss any subject, particularly international affairs, with logic and confidence.”⁷² Importance of foreign relations in the words of Malik Amir,

There is no denying the fact that every developing country needs the assistance of developed nations but it may clearly be understood that positive economic assistance is conducive not only to the promotion of world peace but is also in the interest of various nations of the world....The world of today has shrunk considerably and no power, whether big and small can sever its connection with the rest of the world and live successfully in isolation.⁷³

As for as his inclination in particular direction was concerned; he ‘led the

moderate and pro-West faction in Ayub regime.⁷⁴ An evidence of his pro-America inclination can be indicted by his recommendation of S. M. Zafar, as head of delegation to UN Security Council to present the case of Kashmir. Bhutto, too, indicated that he had not been sent because of American pressure and “there is no doubt that top-level American opinion was averse to him.”⁷⁵ S. M. Zafar, however, insists on another story. According to him, he was Bhutto who insisted on his (Zafar’s) departure for U.N Security Council meeting and staying himself in Pakistan for looking after the war affairs in Pakistan.⁷⁶ The Nawab’s opponents accused him of being an “American stooge who had no views of his own and was always tutored by the U.S and British ambassadors to safeguard their interests.”⁷⁷ Jahan Dad Khan disagrees by declaring it as an un-fair charge, “the Nawab was a patriot and too egoist to be dictated by anybody else.”⁷⁸ Nawab of Kalabagh said on August 6, 1965, “If American aid is stopped, we will not starve.”⁷⁹

He was not fervent about the Ayub’s switch over to pro-China policy at the cost of relations with USA. He tried to preclude Ayub from extending his hand to China for help during the War of 1965. According to his point of view, Silk route may become injurious to Pakistan. Pakistan should not open this door as it may enable China to besiege Pakistan. But it was not a wise thing, as well, to unfriend China. He concluded that Pakistan should not play in the hands of both the super powers and should adopt a free and neutral line of action.⁸⁰ He thought that interests of the feudal class would be better served by adopting pro-Western policy, and close links with the Capitalist Block would help a lot in achievement of economic progress, maintenance of security, and preservation of cultural heritage.⁸¹ His stance in the matter of India-Pakistan relations and Kashmir issue was that of moderation and realistic one. British High Commissioner in Pakistan said in this context,

According to our information Kalabagh, like Shoaib and other ‘doves’ in the Government, support the moderate and realistic new policies towards India which were publically endorsed by the President at Tashkent. But he is angry with Ayub for the way he has handled the whole Kashmir affair since August 1965.⁸²

He was careful “to associate him neither with extreme anti-Indian chauvinism nor with what the public considers to have been unnecessary appeasement of Indians at Tashkent; but he reflects the popular mood.”⁸³ He thought that he was not suitable for a diplomatic job. Once, he was offered by Ayub Khan to lead a delegation to U.N but he refused for possibility of being ridiculed for his countenance and dressing.⁸⁴

4.7- Nawab against the Anti-One Unit Politics

He had firm belief in utility of integration of the West Pakistan’s provinces into One-Unit. He was always suspicious of the politicians averse to One-Unit. To him, those ‘disgruntled’ espoused the scheme when they were in power but later started opposing it for their own vested interests.⁸⁵ Integration scheme aimed at getting two major benefits: First, to ensure the speedy development of all the areas of One-Unit with pooled resources of the entire province and secondly, to get rid of regionalism and local prejudices.⁸⁶ When Wali Khan, organizer of National Awami Party, said in a public meeting that Nawab had signed on an anti-One-Unit document before the imposition of Martial Law; Nawab vehemently refuted the allegation. He challenged it and asked for the provision of the said document.⁸⁷ Abul Wali Khan was unable to provide such document.

In Baluchistan, there was more physical resistance to One-Unit than anywhere else and, at one time, “it almost appeared as if Baluchistan had seceded *de facto* if not *de jure* by the open defiance of authority which prevailed there.”⁸⁸ Ex-I.G. of Punjab Police Rao Abdur Rashid (1926-2007) blamed Nawab and his policy for the creation of Baloch Problem. He opined that Baloch issue can be divided in two time periods:

from the creation of Pakistan to the time before Nawab's Governorship; and from his governorship to up till now. He remarked that before Nawab's time, Baloch issue was dealt as a political problem and by the officers of political service but he took it as the problem of law and order and opted for the use of brutal force. Rao Rashid said,

He applied the same ruthless philosophy as he had been using in Kalabagh. It was in his instinct to humiliate the noble and the egoist ones. This was the mentality that hurt the self-respect of Baloch *Sardars* and hatred began to spread.⁸⁹

Uprising in Balochistan can be divided into different phases and with different motives behind those. According to Sherbaz Mazari, the imposition of One-Unit and the brutal hangings of Baloch rebels led by Nauroze Khan Zehri (1874-1964), "had left in simmering discontent in Balochistan."⁹⁰ Actually Provincial government of Malik Amir had to face the rebellious activities by different Baloch politicians in the name of political autonomy and Baloch nationalism. In fact they mentored the armed resistance, in 1963, by so-called Baloch nationalists like Ali Muhammad Mengal, a relative of Attaullah Mengal (b. 1929). That uprising had two reasons; one was a general Martial Law order for the surrender of all firearms without a valid license; and the other was the rumours of land reforms.⁹¹ Nawab of Kalabagh dealt them as secessionists as realty of that 'Baloch Nationalism' and 'anti One-Unit Movement' can be better judged by the demands they made

- 1- Firearms should not be licensed.
- 2- *Riwaj* (the customary law of Baluch) should be restored.
- 3- All police stations should be closed.
- 4- Construction of Khuzdar-Saruna road should be stopped.⁹²

Provincial government was compelled to deal the situation with iron hand because Attaullah Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri (1928-2014), both *Sardars* of major Baloch Tribes and members of National Assembly as well, started openly

defying the government. Nawab Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti (1927-2006) was put behind the bars by the provincial government under the charges of seditious activities as well.⁹³ All these defiant *sardars* were deposed from the chieftainship of their respective tribes and were replaced with such relatives of them as were loyal to Government.⁹⁴ But all those governments' appointees in place of 'legitimate *Sardars*' were killed.⁹⁵ Government had been left with no option except arresting these restive *sardar* one after the other on different charges.⁹⁶ Meanwhile, a loosely based guerrilla force, Pararis popularly known as Fararis, came into being to challenge the writ of government. According to the claims of Pararis, by July 1963, they have established twenty-two base camps, each with 400 full-time warriors and many hundreds as reservists part-timers, over 45000 square miles, from Mengals of Jhalawn in South to Marri-Bugti area in North.⁹⁷ Central Government opted for the military measures and crushed the revolt. Bizenjo asked Nawab to release Attaullah Mengal and Akbar Bugti, and adopt a compromising solution through dialogue. Nawab was sympathetic to all these demands and promised to meet Ayub Khan to get his permission. Ayub did not concede to it so Nawab showed his helplessness before Bizenjo.⁹⁸

That open defiance continued for almost last day of the Ayub regime. When Nawab of Kalabagh tried to seek some political solution, Khair Baksh Marri responded with queer type of claims and demands:

- Minerals belong to *Sardars* of that area,
- Revenue staff and police should be withdrawn by the Provincial government.
- Government must make financial compensation for the Marris killed in 1965-6.
- Right of enlisting levies and Jirga members should be remained with *Sardars* only.
- No more construction of roads will be allowed.
- *Sardars*' privileges should be restored and his uncle's (Doda Khan Marri) murderers be pardoned.⁹⁹

A.B. Awan has rightly remarked, "Fighting for which one of these demands

means fighting for the national identity?"¹⁰⁰ According to Khan of Kalat Mir Ahmad Yar Khan (1902-79), that 'anti-Baloch' policy was adopted by Ayub Khan. In a meeting with Ayub Khan, on January 9, 1967, he 'revealed' that Malik Amir Muhammad Khan used to poison his ears by declaring Ayub as working against the interest of Balochs. Nawab thought that Ayub Khan wanted to please the Afghan government. For this he adopted the policy of crushing the Baloch and giving the Pathan an upper hand. According to Khan of Kalat, Malik Amir remarked that Ayub wanted to see the Pathans as bosses of the Province.¹⁰¹

4.7.1-Mir Abdul Baqi Baloch

Besides Baloch *Sardars*, Baqi Baloch too vehemently opposed Ayub regime and was allegedly victimized by the provincial government. But his opposition to the regime had no such motives as Mengal, Marri or Bugti *Sardars* had. He was in the favour of One-Unit and used to talk about its utility for the progress of Pakistan.¹⁰² It can be said that as he had no vested interest like Baloch *Sardar* so his opposition to Ayub government was on the basis of principles. Baqi claimed that he had refused to embezzle the funds when offered by Malik Abdul Waris, Deputy Commissioner of Makran.¹⁰³ Kalabagh transferred Abdul Waris on Baqi's complaint but later reposed him to teach a lesson to Mir Baqi Baloch as he had become the staunch opponent to Ayub Khan and had started bitterly criticizing his regime. Mir Baqi Baloch talked in Assembly about the scandal of Gandhara Industries, Ayub's offer of joint defense, and his proposal of confederation with Iran and Afghanistan. Baqi, in fact, demanded the impeachment of Ayub Khan. Malik Waris entangled him in a case of breaching the Pak-Iran boundary line and for that he was arrested in Makran on October 31, 1963.¹⁰⁴ In 1963, an intermediate college sanctioned for Turbat was later allocated to Loralai because Mir Baqi had refused to join Convention Muslim League and

preferred to be seated on opposition benches.¹⁰⁵ After the Presidential Elections of 1965, COP appointed a five-member committee headed by Baqi Baloch to prepare a white paper on “rigged elections.” He as an angry young politician became a “minor thorn in the flesh of provincial government”¹⁰⁶. He was, time and again, arrested and fined. He was warned that if he had not “desisted from his activities on the behalf of Awami League something unpleasant would happen to him.”¹⁰⁷ On January 29, 1965, famous journalist Zamir Qureshi was killed but it was generally believed that either Malik Ghulam Jilani or Baqi Baloch was the “intended victim and that the act had been commissioned by Governor Kalabagh himself.”¹⁰⁸ It was conjectured that Baqi was targeted to settle the score of murder of three leading pro-Government elders of the Marri tribes in the Sibi district on 22nd January 1965. But it is hard to believe that “so small a politician would be dealt with in such a shocking manner for murders committed hundreds of miles from his own area.”¹⁰⁹

4.8-Nawab’s Dealing with Opposition and Political Rivalries

Jahan Dad Khan remarked that Nawab’s ‘ruthlessness with his political rivals’ was nothing else but disinformation and propaganda of his opponents. He never involved in direct use of physical force but adopted a rather different policy. His policy, in his own words, was “neither use the physical force nor torture but strike at the pocket.”¹¹⁰ According to some allegations, Nawab of Kalabagh rigidly discouraged meeting of any member of government with politicians of opposition rather he had thought it as disloyalty to the government and Ayub Khan.¹¹¹ A prohibition was declared to invite to or arrange any sort of party, lunch and dinners.¹¹² This was, perhaps, to discourage the Opposition to be gathered and ‘conspire’ against the regime. Some of the steps taken by Nawab to handle the politicians of opposition are as under:

- Name of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din (1907-62) was put into ‘exit control list’ on January 15, 1962.¹¹³
- Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan (1901-81) was precluded to deliver any speech or make any statement for six months by the Governor’s order issued on October 6, 1962. Nawab of Kalabagh withdrew this order after two months, on December 9, 1962.¹¹⁴
- Government of West Pakistan banned the entry of Maulvi Farid Ahmed, a member of National Assembly from East Pakistan, to West Pakistan. Later, this imposition was lifted on March 1, 1965.¹¹⁵
- Allegedly, Regional Transport Authority, at the behest of Nawab, deprived Mian Akbar Pagganwala, a member of opposition in Provincial Assembly from Gujrat and owner of Gujrat Punjab Bus Service; of route permits.¹¹⁶
- Syed Murid Hussain became the target because he refused to vote against Fazalul Qadir Chaudhri in the election of Leader of the House.¹¹⁷
- General Wajid Ali Khan Barki (1900-88), the political advisor of Ayub Khan, lost his position because Kalabagh disclosed his fraud in allotment. Nawab became suspicious of him on the rumours of his becoming governor in place of Nawab.¹¹⁸

4.8.1-Habibullah Paracha

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Muhammad Habibullah Paracha, an old Muslim Leaguer and owner of Paracha Textile Mill, belonged to Makhad Sharif and had good friendly relations with Nawab of Kalabagh. Differences began between Nawab and Paracha on the issue of royalty of Makarwal collieries which developed gradually into enmity.¹¹⁹ In May of 1966, a bye-election was held in Lyari, Karachi. Paracha, as candidate of Convention Muslim League contested against Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo. Nawab of Kalabagh thought of Paracha “as nothing more than a son of petty shopkeeper from Makhud”.¹²⁰ Two provincial minister Mahmud A. Harun and Ghaffar Pasha openly sided with Bizenjo. If it was not on the behest of Governor then he at least connived at it.¹²¹ Yusuf Abdullah Harun (1906-2011) told Sherbaz Mazari that many of the BD members’ votes were purchased ranging from Rs. 1500/= to Rs. 2000/= per vote to defeat Paracha.¹²²

4.8.2-Pir Syed Muhi-ud-Din Lal Badshah of Makhad Sharif

Pir of Makhad Sharif (1908-63) encroached on Nawab's land during his absence in England for higher education. Saghris, disciples of Pir of Makhad, freely used the pastures of Nawab for grazing their herds. Nawab, on his return from England, had sent a message to Pir for retreatment of his men and to vacate his lands but his message fell on deaf ears. Instead rumour of planning a murder of Nawab was in the air. Nawab was left with no option but to shoot the trespassers and he ordered to do so. This incident deprived many Saghris of their lives but established the writ of Nawab over his fief once for all and earned him the title of 'Nawab of terror' as well.¹²³ A person named Imran *alias* Durrani used to create misunderstanding between Nawab and Pir Sahib. His mischievous behavior caused the sad incident of Nikki murder in 1938. A person lost his life and the case was filed against Pir of Makhad, and he had to be imprisoned for six months.¹²⁴ Retired Sub-Inspector Sher Muhammad says that "Nikki Firing Case" was staged, by Nawab, to teach the Pir a lesson. To him, enmity between Nawab and Pir took birth when the latter interfered with domestic affair of the former.¹²⁵ The same conclusion is made by some writers as well.¹²⁶ In fact, "Nikki Shooting Incident" reveals that Nawab could go to any extent to settle the score with his enemies.¹²⁷

Political rivalry had some other motives behind it as well. After the death of Jinnah, Punjab Muslim League split into two factions, one led by Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot (1906-69); and the other in the headship of Daultana, Pir of Makhad Sharif sided with Daultana. Daultana vociferously suggested land reforms and arranged a *Kisan* Conference in Khanewal which proved a great success with attendance of 1.5 to 2 lakh. This conference was presided over by Pir of Makhad Sharif. Success of this conference, under the progressive front of Muslim League,

‘made the big land lords of Punjab shivering.’¹²⁸ To appease the effect of that conference and safeguard the interests of land lords, a delegation¹²⁹ of big land lords, including Nawab of Kalabagh, met Daultana, then Chief Minister of Punjab on September 28, 1951.¹³⁰ Mumtaz Daultana told British High Commissioner about the reasons of enmity of Nawab towards him. Firstly, Daultana’s suggestion of land reforms in which he had suggested to change the whole system of tenure and given the peasant much more security. The second was Daultana’s friendship with influential Pir of Makahad.¹³¹

Pir and Nawab of Kalabagh remained at daggers drawn but when the latter became the Governor he sent a word to the former which said, “I am burying the hatchet till I will be relinquished from the governorship.”¹³² Pir of Makahad’s son and his political heir, Pir Safi-ud-Din (d. 1986) kept the same line of action and sided with Miss Fatima Jinnah in opposition to Ayub Khan in Presidential election of 1965. He opposed Ayub Khan out of his enmity towards Nawab of Kalabagh.¹³³ Muhammad Hayat Taman and Malik Amin sided with Nawab, and Malik Mumtaz Tamman, Malik Auliya Khan, and Malik Sarfarz Khan were in the camp of Pir of Makahad. According to the grandson of Pir of Makahad, Pir Ghulam Abbas Shah, Nawab of Kalabagh victimized Makahad family by depriving their land of canal water in Khanewal.¹³⁴

4.8.3-Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

Nawab of Kalabagh was extremely suspicious of Bhutto. Kalabagh used to call him *Bhatu* and was of the view that Bhutto family was groomed by British Bureaucracy. With the betterment in Sino-Pakistan relations tussle between these factions, pro-America and pro-China, enhanced also.¹³⁵ Bhutto, too, was apprehensive and was on his guards. He knew that ‘certain people in the government, particularly

Nawab of Kalabagh, were keen to see him eliminated.¹³⁶ Nawab of Kalabagh believed that Bhutto had led Ayub Khan into the ‘misadventure in occupied Kashmir.’ He was convinced that Bhutto had done all this to get rid of Ayub Khan and “reach the pinnacle of power himself.”¹³⁷ Bhutto used Fazalul Qadir Chaudhri (1919-73) to humiliate Nawab in the meetings of National Economic Council. Fazal, then Federal Agriculture Minister, used to fall out with the Governor during the course of discussion. When Fazalul Qadir Chaudhri contested for the position of Leader of the House, which became vacant due to death of Muhamamd Ali Bogra (1909-63), against Abdus Saboor Khan; Nawab of Kalabagh canvassed against him.¹³⁸ Later Fazal Chaudhri and Nawab shake hand against Bhutto.¹³⁹

After Tashkent Accord, rift between Ayub Khan and Bhutto took place which resulted in latter’s departure from the cabinet. Though Bhutto later exploited the situation to oust Ayub Khan but he had to wait till the resignation of Nawab. He, in a meeting with the Governor, was “read out the Riot Act and told in no uncertain terms what his future would entail if he decided to publically oppose the government.”¹⁴⁰ Gauhar Ayub said that Nawab of Kalabagh made an offer to Ayub Khan, “if you are ready to connive at I will behead Bhutto” Ayub replied, “If Bhutto gets hurt even slightly I will declare you responsible for it.”¹⁴¹ Allegedly, Ghulam Mustafa Khar (b. 1937) was harassed as he went to see off Bhutto at railway station.¹⁴² Nawab of Kalabagh asked Mumtaz Ali Bhutto (b. 1933), cousin of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, to establish his independent position in politics and this had been to discourage Bhutto and deprive him of the support of his cousin.¹⁴³ It is alleged that Bhutto was being constantly harassed by police on the orders of Nawab of Kalabagh. An F.I.R was lodged by a woman charging Bhutto with abduction and rape which, later, proved to be false and malicious.¹⁴⁴

Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi remarked that differences between them got the form of enmity and this was because both of them had been vying for maximum intimacy of Ayub Khan. Bhutto was not content with being powerful in center rather he wanted to become influential in West Pakistan as well. Nawab of Kalabagh was too sensitive to bear any kind of interference in the administration of West Pakistan. But when Z.A. Bhutto was sacked and went to see Nawab in Government house in shabby clothes.¹⁴⁵ Nawab received him with utmost kindness and tenderness and said, “As you have come to my doorstep [humbly] so I will erase all malice, and promise that there will be no harm done to you by me.”¹⁴⁶

4.8.4- Mawlana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi

It is said that Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi was patronized and supported, for his early education, by the mother of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan.¹⁴⁷ Though Mawlana Niazi was supported by Nawab of Kalabagh during the crucial election of 1946,¹⁴⁸ but later both of them remained at daggers drawn against each other for good. Mawlana Niazi blamed Kalabagh for grooming Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri against him. He accused Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot and Nawab of Kalabagh of depriving him of the Presidentship of District Muslim League of Mianwali. Niazi said that he was punished for he had un-veiled the Mamdot’s role in ‘Sahiwal Firing Case’¹⁴⁹ in 1948.¹⁵⁰

Hakim Anwar Baberi (1922-77), a fast friend of Mawlana, said that Malik Amir Muhammad Khan offered Mawlana Rs. 5,00,000/= for not contesting in the constituency of Mianwali in the proposed election of 1958 because Iskander Mirza had intended to be elected from the same seat and to become the President. On refusal of Niazi, Malik said, twisting his moustaches, in no uncertain words, “O.K, then go ahead with your program, there will be no election at all and Martial law is about to come.”¹⁵¹

Mawlana Niazi contested against Muzaffar Khan, son of Nawab, for the seat of Provincial Assembly in 1962 and was defeated due to the ‘use of state machinery in favour of Muzaffar Khan.’ According to Niazi, Nawab of Kalabagh, at first, made effort on life of Mawlana in Daud Khel during the election campaign and then registered a fake F.I.R against him.¹⁵² Niazi sent a memorandum on August 14, 1963 to Ayub Khan entitled ‘Petition against the criminal governor of West Pakistan, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan [History Sheeter Column B]’, and leveled seventeen accusations against him.¹⁵³ This was, allegedly, responded by two life attempts; one on September 17, 1963 at McLeod Road and the other on 12 October 1963.¹⁵⁴ Mawlana filed a petition in the court of Justice Abdul Qadir Sheikh which said that he had been arrested in November 1963 in students’ riots of Islamia College protesting against University Ordinance. Charges of arson and looting were levelled against him. He was tortured by nine police officers; was not allowed medical treatment despite advice of District Health Officer; was kept awakened for continuous 55 hours; and in severe cold was deprived of warm clothes and proper beddings.¹⁵⁵ Mawlana Niazi sided with Fatima Jinnah during Presidential election of 1965. He alleged that an attempt was made to murder him, during the election campaign, near Musa Khel, Mianwali, in October 1964 and this was followed by another effort of his killing on December 30, in Kalabagh.¹⁵⁶

4.9.5-Chaudhri Zahoor Elahi

Shahab wrote that Zahoor Elahi (1920-81) entered in the arena of politics without getting blessings from Nawab of Kalabagh so was put in his bad books. His growing intimacy with Ayub was frowned upon by Nawab.¹⁵⁷ Ayub Khan, for the sake of fun, promised with Zahoor Elahi to appoint him as the next Governor of West Pakistan. Nawab caught the air of it and started to victimize and humiliate him. He

was summoned on duty as a head constable¹⁵⁸ by Nawab of Kalabagh.¹⁵⁹ Tussle between Nawab and Zahoor Elahi became severe after the latter had gotten the ownership of Progressive Papers Ltd. on September 16, 1962. Some minor news about Nawab's failing health in *The Pakistan Times* made him furious.¹⁶⁰ Chaudhri was arrested on February 18, 1965 on the charge of having illegal weapons but later Bashir-ud-Din Ahamd, Judge of West Pakistan High Court, declared this case null and void on November 4, 1965 as his lawyer put the plea before court that the weapons were licensed and his client, being the legislator at that time, had the amnesty also.¹⁶¹ Later Zahoor Elahi was arrested in a case filed under an 'obsolete and least known' Telegraph Act (1885) and then a lengthy trial tested his patience. According to Shahab, Nawab "unleashed his hound, an S.P. of special branch"¹⁶² on Zahoor Elahi for his corruption. Governor cancelled all his cinema licenses, agencies and transport route permits.¹⁶³ The constituency of Zahoor Elahi was demarcated, in 1964, in such a way as was harmful for his political interests. His brother, Chaudhri Manzur Elahi, was approached in April 1965, only three days before the election, and was offered to surrender the seat of national assembly for two seats of provincial assembly.¹⁶⁴ But all these news of 'bad blood' between Nawab and Zahoor Elahi look suspected when correspondence between them is read. Six days before the departure of Nawab from his gubernatorial post, when Nawab had 'lost his teeth', Zahoor in a letter to Nawab, supplicated and asked him, in a very devotional tone, not to part with governorship as it would be harmful for him (Zahoor Elahi), country, and the President.¹⁶⁵

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan had a specific political ideology based on the perception of a well-educated but conservative feudal lord. He was not in favour of pardoning the EBDOnians but later many of them were convinced by him to join

Ayub's regime. He was a man of status quo in the matter of foreign relationship. He was not in favour of friendship with China at the cost of relations with U.S.A. He was not too optimistic and had a pragmatic and realistic approach about dispute of Kashmir which asked for peaceful solution rather than confrontation. He has been portrayed as a typical landlord who was averse to education and freedom of press. Evidences do not ratify this concept but, no doubt, he liked a responsible press so had not allowed that to be unbridled. Bengalis were majority of Pakistan of Nawab's times. He, being an autocrat and non-Bengali, was apprehensive of their strength in numbers. He dealt the secessionists and the anti-One-Unit politicians severely. His political rivals were treated according to their aims and their strength. Bhutto was suspected and opposed by Nawab because he was too ambitious to be trusted. Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi was allegedly victimized due to his wish to get closer to Ayub Khan. Nawab opposed Pir of Makhad Sharif, Habibullah Paracha and Mawlana A. Sattar Niazi because they had challenged his supremacy in his local area. His political outlook was the reflection of his personality as feudal lord. An overall assessment of his personality can be helpful in determining his role and place in the political history of Pakistan.

ENDNOTES

¹Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 82.

²*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 29, 1963. Nawab said when reached at Peshawar railway station to receive Lebanese Prime Minister, Rashid Karame (1921-87).

³Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 433.

⁴Contrary to Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas (1904-67) and his Muslim Conference with his pro-Pakistan political ideology; Shaikh Abdullah led National Conference and had pro-Congress politics and leanings towards India.

⁵Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan: Fauji Raj ke Pehle das Sal* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1995), 270.

⁶*Dawn*, August 16, 1965.

⁷Manzur Qadir served as Foreign Minister, and Chief Justice during Ayub Regime and, is known as the creator of the Constitution of 1962.

⁸*Zindagi*, February 23, 1970, 32. Gulzar Ahmad Fida, Editor of *Jihad* Sialkot.

⁹Roedad Khan, *British Papers*, 333. “Are the Pakistanis united behind the Government’s Kashmir Policy?” N. J. Barrington, September 7, 1965.

¹⁰Indra Priyadarshini Gandhi (1917-84) became 3rd Indian Prime Minister after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri (1904-66) at Tashkent in January 1966.

¹¹Roedad Khan, *The American Papers*, 157. From American Embassy Rawalpindi to Secretary of State Washington D.C. June 17, 1966.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Provided by Malik Ammad Khan.

¹⁴Gauhar, *Gauhar Guzasht*, 93-4.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, It is interesting to note the same story was quoted in two books, *Gauhar Guzasht* pg. 93-4 and *Likhtay rahay Junun ki Hikayat* pg.64, authored by Altaf Gauhar but in one book that painter was named as Meraj Khan and in the other book as Muhammad Din as mason.

¹⁶Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 305.

¹⁷Shahab, *Shahab Nama*, 893.

¹⁸Shah, *Sawanih Hayat*, 121.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 129

²⁰*Ibid.*, 169.

²¹*Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 8, 1963.

²²Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 82.

²³*Dawn*, October 18, 1960. When public of Kohat demanded a girls college for their area he gave this opinion.

²⁴Khan, *British Papers*, 892. F.J. Griffiths to W.D. Bryden, "The India, Pakistan, and Burma Association- Note on Political Development in Pakistan". 30th April, 1969.

²⁵Students' tumults broke out in West Pakistan on September 18, 1962.

²⁶Raza, *Pakistan in Perspective*, 244-5.

²⁷*Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 5, 1963. This meeting was presided over by an opposition leader, Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz (1896-1979).

²⁸Raza, *Pakistan in Perspectives*, 245.

²⁹*Jang*, November 7, 1963.

³⁰Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 118.

³¹*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 15, 1966.

³²*Nawa-i-Waqt*, January 16, 1966. Khuda Bakhsh Buchha said to a student delegation.

³³Shahab, *Shahab Nama*, 808.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 810.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 804.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Zamir Niazi, *Press in Chains*, 98.

³⁸Gauhar, *Gauhar Guzasht*, 102. Nawab's actual words were, "saday ilaqay wich jinay mirasi san o saray hun sahafi bn gaiy ne"

³⁹*Nawa-i-Waqt* (Platinum Jubilee Special), March 23, 2015. Nawab said to Majid Nizami, "God is the King of heavens, and here under the heaven, reigns Ayub Khan. If Ayub wishes so I will not think for a single moment and ban the *Nawa-i-Waqt*.

⁴⁰*Zindagi*, October 6, 1969, 15-6.

⁴¹Niazi, *Press in Chains*, 132.

⁴²Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 349.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴Niazi, *Press in Chains*, 87.

⁴⁵*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 5, 1966, Editorial.

⁴⁶Shahab, *Shahab Nama*, 813.

⁴⁷*Dawn*, April 23, 1966.

⁴⁸*Dawn*, May 1, 1966.

⁴⁹*Dawn*, August 17, 1966.

⁵⁰Shahab, *Shahab Nagar*, 172. He declared the novel as 'Wahiyat and kanjar khana'.

⁵¹A forum for men of letters formed in All Pakistan Writers Convention on 31st of January, 1959.

⁵²Shahab, *Shahab Nama*, 772.

⁵³Gauhar, *Junun ki Hikayat*, 56.

⁵⁴*Zindagi*, October 6, 1969, 15-6.

⁵⁵Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 173.

⁵⁶Feldman, *Crisis to Crisis*, 191.

⁵⁷Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 373.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 379.

⁵⁹Feldman, *Crisis to Crisis*, 191.

⁶⁰Gauhar, *Gauhar Guzasht*, 108.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 109.

⁶²Interview with Malik Ahmad Khan on February 29, 2016.

⁶³*Nawa-i-Waqt*, May 20, 1963. Mujib-ur-Rehman said that those settlers should be sent back so that they might die on their own land.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal*, 312, April 13, 1969. Sir Nawaz of Kot Fateh Khan was like a mentor or, better to say, a tutor to Nawab in the field of Politics.

⁶⁶Feldman, *Crisis To Crisis*, 180.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 179.

⁶⁸Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 181.

⁶⁹Zafar, *Through the Crisis*, 35-6.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 182.

⁷²Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 71

⁷³*Dawn*, August 17, 1965.

⁷⁴Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 64.

⁷⁵Feldman, *Crisis to Crisis*, 154. Bhutto said this in one of his speech made during his election campaign in 1970.

⁷⁶Zafar, *Through the Crisis*, 68.

⁷⁷Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 82.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 82-3.

⁷⁹Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 381.

⁸⁰Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 122.

⁸¹Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 83.

⁸²Khan, *British Papers*, 443. E. L. Sykes, British High Commissioner in Pakistan to A.A. Duff, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations Office, January 22, 1966.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 638. N.J. Barrington British High Commissioner in Pakistan to R.W. Whitney, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations Office, July 8, 1966.

⁸⁴Gauhar, *Junun ki Hikayat*, 55.

⁸⁵*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 26, 1963.

⁸⁶*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 6, 1963. Amir's address at Sibi Jirga.

⁸⁷*Nawa-i-Waqt*, June 14, 1963. "Propagandists against the One-Unit are the same people as were averse to the creation of Pakistan." Nawab was talking to the journalists in Peshawar.

⁸⁸Feldman, *Crisis to Crisis*, 203.

⁸⁹Munir, *Jo Mein Ne Dekha*, 40.

⁹⁰Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 103.

⁹¹Awan, *Baluchistan*, 228-9.

⁹²*Ibid.*, 230.

⁹³Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Baluch, *Inside Baluchistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1975), 189.

⁹⁴Bugti was deposed from the *Tummandari* of the Bugtis and was replaced with his teenage son, Salim on July 5, 1961. Provincial government ordered the administrative council, headed by Political Agent of Sibi, to manage the affairs of Bugti areas. Attaullah Mengal, too, was deposed and replaced with his an elderly relative, Karam Khan Mengal. Kher Bakhsh Marri was dethroned from the headship of Marris, and Doda Khan Marri took his place.

⁹⁵Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 101-3.

⁹⁶Attaullah Mengal was imprisoned for sedition as he made blistering attack on government in his “Kakri Ground speech” delivered at Lyari, Karachi on April 29, 1963. Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo was arrested at Karachi Airport, on his return from a visit to Dhaka, on September 22, 1962. In July 1963, Kher Buksh Marri was arrested on the charge of inciting people for rioting and committing violence. Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 103.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 112.

⁹⁸Bizenjo, *Search of Solutions*, 53.

⁹⁹This murder was allegedly commissioned by Kher Bakhsh Marri himself to eliminate his uncle who was made the Chief of Marri tribe by Government in his place.

¹⁰⁰Awan, *Baluchistan*, 231.

¹⁰¹Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal*, 47.

¹⁰²Tariq Ismail Sagar, *Kort Marshal* (Lahore: Maktaba Al-Quraish, 1996), 156.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 150.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁰⁵*Zindagi*, December 22, 1969, 18.

¹⁰⁶Khan, *British Papers*, 244-5. From O.R. Blair, High Commissioner in Karachi to G.L. Simmons, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relation Office, London, 2nd February, 1965.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 153.

¹⁰⁹Khan, *The British Papers*, 244-5.

¹¹⁰Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 83-4. He said in this context, “*na maar, na kut, peto ghut.*” Same policy was successfully applied against Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi who was vociferously opposing Nawab’s policies.

¹¹¹Zafar, *Through the Crisis*, 52.

¹¹²Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 374.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, 314.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 330.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 373.

¹¹⁶Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 325.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, 327.

¹¹⁹Gauhar Ayub, *Aiwan-i-Iqtidar ke Mushahidaat* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2013), 176.

¹²⁰Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 134

¹²¹Khan, *British Papers*, 637 N.J. Barrington, British High Commissioner in Rawalpindi to R.W. Whitney, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations Office, dated July 8, 1966.

¹²²Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 134

¹²³Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 73.

¹²⁴Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 182-3.

¹²⁵Sub-Inspector (R) Sher Muhammad served Nawab as security in Charge at Governor House, Lahore. Nawab's first marriage, in Gheba family, failed very soon. Pir of Makhad sided with in-laws of Nawab and meddled in the affair that made the Nawab furious.

¹²⁶Philip Edward Jones, *Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 38.

¹²⁷Muhammad Munir, *Highways & Bye-Ways of Life* (: Law Publishing Company, 1978), 44-5. Chief Justice (R) Muhammad Munir has dealt this event at length and showed that Nawab was not hesitant even to arrange fictitious eye-witness with fake evidences to overcome his rival.

¹²⁸Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 52.

¹²⁹This delegation was comprised of Syed Naubahar Shah, Rana Gul Muhammad, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Nawabzada Mehdi Ali, Sardar Mumtaz Ali Khan, Abdullah Khan and Nawab of Kalabagh.

¹³⁰Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 92.

¹³¹Khan, *British Papers*, 686. British High Commissioner in Karachi to R.M. Purcell, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relation Office, London, 11th November, 1966. "Kalabagh no doubt interpreted this as an attack on his cherished feudal order and considered Daulatna to be a traitor to his class."

¹³²Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 117. According to Rokhri, "This can be testified by Muhammad Hussain Chathha."

¹³³Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 414.

¹³⁴Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 249.

¹³⁵Gauhar, *Gauhar Guzasht*, 53-4.

¹³⁶Gauhar, *Ayub Khan*, 291.

¹³⁷S.M. Zafar, foreword to *Pakistan: Leadership Challenges*, by Jahan Dad Khan, xvi.

¹³⁸Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 317-8. As told by Syed Murid Hussain.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, 321.

¹⁴⁰Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, 133.

¹⁴¹Ayub, *Mushahidat*, 167.

¹⁴²Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 336. Khar was groomed by Nawab against the Gurmanis.

¹⁴³Rafi Raza, *Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan 1967-77* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 3.

¹⁴⁴Burhanuddin Hasan, *Breaking Point: Pakistan's Turbulent 62 Years* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2009), 65-6.

¹⁴⁵Students received Bhutto so vehemently at Lahore Railway station that he was left with rags on his body.

¹⁴⁶Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 179-80.

¹⁴⁷Yasin Bahi told about this popular notion. Sadiq Qasoori, biographer of Sattar Niazi, said that he could neither refute nor ratify this. Malik Ammad, too, was of the same opinion.

¹⁴⁸Colonel Aslam Niazi of Isa Khel applied for the ticket of Muslim League for the same constituency of Mianwali but Mawlana Niazi was preferred over him. Mawlana Niazi defeated Deputy Commissioner (R) Khaliq Dad Khan, the Candidate of Unionist Party. Mawlana Sattar Khan Niazi got 8310 and Khaliq Dad Khan 4081 votes. Muhammad Rafiq Dogar, *Chalis Chehray* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1977), 57.

¹⁴⁹In this case some Rajput *Mujahirs* of Rao Rashid Ali Khan's tribe were killed by Police firing. An inquiry committee comprising Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, then Chief Minister of Punjab, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Mawlana Sattar Niazi, was setup to investigate the issue. This committee declared the Provincial Government responsible for negligence. Monthly *Zia-i-Haram* (Lahore), April, 1973, 22.

¹⁵⁰Fortnightly *Naya Piayam* (Lahore), September 15, 1969. Niazi acted as a member of Provincial investigation committee for this case. Interview by Mumtaz Liaqat.

¹⁵¹Weekly *Rafaqat* (Sargodha), November 20, 1972.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*

¹⁵³ This ‘petition’ was comprised of 37 pages and leveled accusations of rigging, murders, smuggling, black marketing, slave-trafficking, corruption, misconduct etc from Mawlana Niazi and ‘the people of Mianwali’ on Nawab of Kalabagh.

¹⁵⁴ *Naya Piyam*, September 15, 1969.

¹⁵⁵ *Nawa-i-Waqt*, December 10, 1965.

¹⁵⁶ *Naya Piyam*, September 15, 1969.

¹⁵⁷ Shahab, *Shahab Nama*, 832.

¹⁵⁸ He started his career in Police before the emergence of Pakistan, later; he started his business in textile industry with the help of his elder brother Chaudhri Manzur Elahi. In 1950s, he entered in the field of politics and, gradually, raised himself to position of General Secretary of Convention Muslim League.

¹⁵⁹ Munir, *jo mein ne dekha*, 205.

¹⁶⁰ Shahab, *Shahab Nama*, 832.

¹⁶¹ *Jang*, November 5, 1965.

¹⁶² Shahab, *Shahab Nama*, 833.

¹⁶³ Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 83-4.

¹⁶⁴ *Zindgi*, “Nawab of Kalabagh: mera dost mera dushman” interview by Mukhtar Hassan.

¹⁶⁵ Letter was provided by Malik Ammad Khan. From Lahore of dated September 12, 1966.

Chapter 5

Different Traits of Nawab's Personality: An Overall Assessment

5.1- Style of Political Interaction with Opponents

Nawab of Kalabagh is still remembered for his so-called harsh dealing with his opponents. His strict treatment with them had not the same motive all the time. He had political and business rivalries in his native area. Some politicians of national level were dealt according to the situation and under the compulsions of his office of Governor of West Pakistan. So this alleged ruthlessness must be viewed in these two different perspectives.

According to Rokhri, there were rumours that declare Nawab of Kalabagh responsible for almost 200 murders. A killer, Muhammad Khan of Dhurnal, was allegedly groomed by him for this purpose. But reality is that Muhammad Khan was henchman of Muhammad Hayat Tamman instead of Nawab.¹ Syed Murid Hussain alleged that one of Malik Amir's relatives in Mianwali city refused to sell his piece of land to him so was killed in broad daylight in August 1965. Amanullah Niazi arranged for his funeral and burial.² Malik Asad Khan refuted this blame and said that Ghulam Ali Alvi, the above-mentioned relative of Nawab, was an employee in the Pindi Gheb Transport Company owned by Nawab of Kalabagh and he had enmity with many other peoples. "Someone else, other than our father, might have settled the score by killing him."³ Many of Nawab's colleagues were terrified of him. Famous journalist Shorish Kashmiri told, in the presence of Khizar Hayat Tiwana, that Altaf Hussain of *Dawn* informed Ayub Khan of the 'conspiracy' between American Ambassador and Nawab to oust Ayub Khan, and seizure of power. Ayub sent for Nawab and asked him to see Altaf Hussain. Nawab was shocked at this fake plot so refused to see his 'heinous' face. Altaf was so frightened of Kalabagh that he always

avoided to face him and did not visit Lahore during the rest of his life.⁴ In 1942, during his visit to Mianwali, Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari (1892-1961) announced and showed his intention to visit Kalabagh next day, draped in shroud and with a large procession, so that ‘Cruel Nawab of Kalabagh’ might be taught a lesson. Kalabagh replied him with greetings and a message that said that he (Bukhari) would be sent back in the same shroud. So Attaullah Shah dared not carry on with his plan.⁵ Ghulam Murtaza Syed (1904-95), popularly known as G.M. Syed, was frightened of and opposed to his nephews as they had criminal record. He apprehended that Kalabagh might use them against him.⁶ Most of the alleged oppressions by Malik Amir were done to gain political gains for Ayub Khan. Rao Abdur Rashid, Senior Superintendent Police Rawalpindi was asked by Chaudhri Niaz, Commissioner Rawalpindi, at the behest of Governor Kalabagh, to tease Ali Asghar Shah by detaining his buses. Ali Asghar Shah was opposed to Ayub Khan, and his candidate, Raja Allah Dad, was contesting against the Sheikh Mas‘ud Sadiq’s candidate in a by-election in 1963.⁷

But there are some evidences that show Nawab as a different person. His subordinates got good impression of his disposition and dealing with them. “PIDC employees speak affectionately of his paternal concern for their welfare.”⁸ Amanullah Khan Niazi, Secretary Industries, too, was an enemy of Kalabagh but latter recommended for provision of all the facilities to him.⁹ According to another incident, he did not permit his men to abduct one of his political opponents in his district as he was not in the favor of such a ‘crude method’. In another event, abduction of a lady teacher made him furious so she was restored to her family and the culprit was locked up within twenty-four hours.¹⁰ A popular story of his slapping a well-known doctor¹¹, which had become unconscious in the result of this ‘cruelty’, was refuted by Rokhri¹² and Jahan Dad Khan who declared it as the part of campaign to defame Nawab. To

Jahan Dad, it was unbelievable as Nawab was too ‘courteous and polished in his dealings’ to do the things like that.¹³ It is obvious from many instances that Malik Amir was not prone to use his official position and power to persecute his personal opponents. For example, he opted for the legal way, instead of bullying, to get back his family property in Kalabagh. His grandfather had given, conditionally, thirty-nine plots to the non-Muslim for construction of houses and shops. The condition was that, on abandonment, they would be entitled to remove debris only and the ownership would remain with the proprietor.¹⁴ Ayub in his diary acknowledged his magnanimity. Nawab declared for his enemies at the eve of becoming governor that there would be no more enmity on his part from that day. “However they could resume *status quo ante* on his retirement.”¹⁵

His way of dealing things, in this context, can be better summed up in the words of Faiz Ahmad Faiz, quoted by Altaf Gauhar,

Oppression is like a science and every power holder may not be well conversant in it. Some of them are sophisticated one and others are *naïve* ones, take the example of Kalabagh, what a fine example of gorgeous oppressor he was who never victimize the petty ones, the whole of West Pakistan was terrified of him. Bhutto tries to imitate him but does not know even the alphabets of this science [of oppression].¹⁶

His so-called strictness has been justified, even by his critics, as his official compulsion. Mazari said,

He was known to crush anyone who opposed or had offended him. However, it must be remembered that whatever was done in West Pakistan during Kalabagh times, was often done at the behest of and with the blessings of Ayub Khan.¹⁷

Almost the same thing was said by another writer,

What was done in West Pakistan, apparently at the instance of and with the authority of Kalabagh, was often at the wish of Ayub Khan himself. In the application of oppressive methods in West Pakistan, the two men worked closely together until they parted... mainly by their reliance on the police as one of the principal instruments by which Ayub Khan’s authoritarian system was administered.¹⁸

Style of dealing with opposition of both, Ayub Khan and Nawab, can be judged and discerned by their treatment of Jama‘at-i-Islami. Jama‘at was denied to hold its four-day convention (October 25 to October 28 of 1963) at Iqbal Park, Lahore¹⁹ but, later, was allowed between Bhati Gate and Taxali Gate but without using loud speaker. This convention was, allegedly, sabotaged by some hooligans who adopted the means of arson, looting the stalls, pelting bricks on the tents of women, desecrating the Quran, and firing upon the participants. One worker of Jama‘at Allah Bakhsh, was killed and many wounded. On January 6, 1964, Jama‘at was declared unlawful, its offices were sealed, publication of its organ, *Tarjaman-ul-Quarn*, was banned, and fifty-nine leading workers with Mawlana Maududi and Mian Tufail Muhammad (1914-2009) were arrested.²⁰ Previously, Mawlana Maududi was fired upon in a public meeting of Jama‘at in Gujranwala in 1963 and had a narrow escape; so he complained in a letter to Nawab about the atrocities brought by the government. Nawab felt embarrassed as he was not behind that dealing of the affairs. He replied to Maududi that that was not his style of politics but brainchild of the *naïve* politicians *i.e.* Ayub.²¹ Ayub Khan was fearful of agitational politics of Mawlana Maududi who had good friendly relationship with Nawab. Ayub sought help of Nawab in physical elimination of Maududi but Nawab did not acquiesce.²²

Many so-called crimes were committed by him to serve the regime. Arrest of Maulvi Farid Ahmad is only one example of those. Farid Ahmad was an “embarrassment to East Pakistan Government and a severe election risk, but his arrest in that wing of country would have created a tremendous uproar.” So Malik Amir Muhammad Khan was “prevailed upon by his East Pakistan counterpart to do the dirty work for him.”²³ Once, while discussing his administrative policy with his Military Secretary, Nawab said,

I have no right to be harsh with my people if I cannot provide security of life and honor to them. I will also not be justified in using force against the people if they protest against hunger, starvation, and injustice. However, I will not accept lawlessness and political agitation.²⁴

His critics opine that his reign was, in a way, peaceful but public was deprived of its rights and peace in atmosphere was like that of silence in the graveyard.²⁵ The sympathizers of Nawab praise and justify his way of governance and think otherwise as to them,

It is unfortunate general impression that the Nawab was a ruthless despot who never spared his opponents and could go to the extent of burning their houses and getting them killed by his henchmen. In fact he did not have to go to such extremes. His personality was so imposing that hardly any person ever challenged his authority.²⁶

Jahan Dad Khan has explained it and concluded that Nawab was victimized and defamed by “Intelligentsia, bureaucracy, urban politicians and some media men that willfully portrayed his horrible picture before public to vent their own grievances and anger.”²⁷

5.2-Political Ethics

Though it is alleged that Nawab had no soft corner for the politicians opposed to Ayub and his government but, in fact, he had belief in courtesy and political ethics. Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi was not in his good books. Nawab thought that Suharwardi had always been using his ‘poisonous tongue’ in assembly debates against the government. When Suharwardi got his leg fractured in an accident, Nawab had felt sorry for him and had prayed for his recovery.²⁸ According to Ghulam Mustafa Khar, when Bhutto was sacked Nawab of Kalabagh assured him that from then, during tenure of his Governorship, no injustice would be done to him. “Nawab kept his word though he was in a position to inflict vengeance on him. Such a large hearted person Nawab was.”²⁹

In Presidential Election of 1965, Nawab left no stone un-turned for the victory of Ayub Khan but his attitude toward Fatima Jinnah was that of graceful and

respectful person. Ayub Khan assaulted on Miss Fatima Jinnah's temperament by saying, "Jinnah used to shut her in a room"³⁰ because "she was of peevish and volatile nature."³¹ Bhutto's attitude, in this context, can be judged by the fact that he "insisted on referring to Miss Jinnah decisively calling her 'Budhi', and his language towards her often descended to the gutter level."³² Once, Sardar Bahadur Khan had remarked that Nawab of Kalabagh was the only person in the whole country who had no belief in democracy. Malik Amir Muhammad Khan refused to comment on it and said that "he was responsible for the administration of the province and preferred to carry out his assignment to the best of his ability rather than enter into controversial discussion on political issues."³³ Ayub Khan expected from Nawab that he would victimize Bhutto, who was fired after Tashkent Accord, for his personal hatred towards him. But Nawab was not ready to target a 'forsaken' enemy and rather assured him of peace and safety during his (Nawab's) reign.³⁴

5.3-Source of Stability behind Ayub Rule or cause of subsequent Downfall?

Critics of Malik Amir think that he, out of jealousy, opposed every person who sought any type of promiscuity with Ayub. Ayub, later, was prone to accept this theory as he wrote in his diary, "But there was a general feeling amongst the people that anyone who came near me was suspected and disliked by the governor."³⁵ An article "What went wrong?" by Zia-ud-Din Ahmad Sulehri, better known as Z.A. Sulehri (1913-99), appeared on February 2, 1969 in *Pakistan Times*. This analysis of agitation and upsurge against Ayub Khan concluded that out of three main reasons one was "harsh and oppressive conduct of affairs in West Pakistan" by Nawab of Kalabagh.³⁶

If viewed in the light of facts it looks that Nawab's presence as confidant and advisor to Ayub Khan remained important till the last day of his governorship. He

was one of the fewest advisors who can give him ‘disinterested advice.’³⁷ The traditional feudal leadership in West Pakistan always depended on state power to preserve its dominant position and to keep the masses under its control. This landed aristocracy in West Pakistan provided most of the members from West Pakistan to national and provincial assemblies.³⁸ Nawab’s talent of political maneuvering is acknowledged by almost every writer, “Though certainly no progressive, he was peculiarly adept in mobilizing the support of landlord politicians, a class to which he himself belonged.”³⁹ This served for the dual purpose. This enabled Ayub Khan to claim about his popularity among the public. His government got, at least outwardly, a countenance of a democratic and elected one. Mawlana Bhashani visited West Pakistan in August 1963 and met with the Governor of West Pakistan. Bhashani, apparently, showed that he had insisted on acceptance of opposition’s demands but from then his opposition to Ayub Khan declined rapidly. Actually he was ‘tamed’ enough to lead a semi government delegation to Peking (now Beijing) for China’s October Celebrations.⁴⁰

Nawab was so trustworthy in the eyes of Ayub that latter had given full authority in the hand of former. Central information minister in Ayub’s cabinet, Abdul Wahid Khan, has remarked that Nawab of Kalabagh was at the zenith of his power in 1965 and someone had to be recommended by Ayub Khan to Nawab instead of recommended by Nawab to Ayub.⁴¹ Decision of ceasefire, during Indo-Pak War of 1965, put Ayub Khan on the horn of dilemma and he sought advice from Kalabagh because he “was the man on whom Ayub could always rely to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for him.”⁴² Almost all the communities of the society at the different occasions protested and went on strike either against the policies of Ayub Khan; or for the demand of their rights. On September 18, 1962, students’ riots broke out against

the recommendations, made by the education commission, throughout the West Pakistan.⁴³ A severe sort of strike was observed by the labourers in Karachi on March 6, 1963. Forty thousand teachers of Punjab Board went on strike on 6th October of the same year in their respective districts till the acceptance of their demands.⁴⁴ Next month saw the protest of university students against the University Ordinance, and many colleges, including Punjab University, were closed after the severe clashes between police and students.⁴⁵ This wave was continued till the mid of next year. Next year brought the unrest among the government employees. In July of 1964, the strike by WAPDA's employees was seen on 5th of the month.⁴⁶ Strike in WAPDA was followed by the agitation of forty thousand employees of Pakistan Telephone and Telegraph on 10th of July of the same year.⁴⁷ On November 16, 1964, 400,000 personnel of Punjab Transport almost shut down the whole system of transportation throughout the West Pakistan to make the government approve their demands.⁴⁸ Another strike by the employees of Telegraph, Telephone and Railway Mail Service, on 19 February 1965, was of such a nature that the mail was distributed next day by the men of Pakistan Army.⁴⁹ All these strikes and protest were amicably dealt by the government of Nawab.

When Ayub Khan saw 'disloyalty' in Nawab of Kalabagh, latter had to resign though "Kalabagh was the one man in the country who could effectively deal Bhutto and his fanciful Peoples Party."⁵⁰ Not only admirers of Nawab say that 'loss of the Nawab was the signal of Ayub's downfall'⁵¹ but his critics have expressed the same view also. Altaf Gauhar had to conclude,

But it was the removal of Nawab of Kalabagh from scene, in September 1966, which deprived Ayub of his most powerful partner in West Pakistan. Kalabagh had kept a firm grip on the province and knew how to deal with the politicians. He was replaced by General Musa who proved singularly inept and ineffective.⁵²

Lieutenant General (R) Gul Hassan Khan (1921-99) thought that removal of Nawab and General Azam Khan was a “blunder which proved to be his [Ayub’s] nemesis. Both able and immensely loyal to him were depicted by his advisers as a potential threat to his person.”⁵³ Sympathizer of Ayub Khan, too, declares it a poor decision of Ayub Khan. Begum Ayub expressed sadly that “Khan Sahib (Ayub) is not well advised to let Kalabagh resign who has been a great source of his strength.”⁵⁴ Perhaps Ayub, himself, concluded the same thing after his departure from the government. Jalil Ahmad, former MNA from Gujranwala, in a meeting with Ayub Khan, assessed the situation which led to the dethronement of Ayub and gave the real reason behind it. He said,

Last agitation in West Pakistan was mishandled because of lack of political acumen on the part of Governor Musa. He did not understand the situation and could not handle it properly besides he was a poor contrast to his predecessor Nawab of Kalabagh who was shrewd politician and a sound and firm administrator.⁵⁵

Worth mentioning thing is that Ayub could not deny or refute this comparison which was made almost three years after Nawab of Kalabagh’s departure.

5.4-Leader, Administrator or Manipulator?

If someone wants to put Malik Amir Muhammad Khan in some specific category of politicians; he will have to decide his role first. Had he played the role of a facilitator to Ayub Khan and did political maneuvering only? Should he be placed in the category of a leader and statesman? Was he mere an able administrator? The answer is that he possessed the elements of these all. He was not a man of masses with a gift of oily tongue or talent of oratory. Rashidi has summed up Nawab’s style of politics before his governorship in these words,

In assembly sessions, he normally kept quiet and remained mere a spectator, never participated in the parties, often remained absent from the party meetings and if participated then sat like a fixed statue, mostly kept on twisting his moustaches, most of the members used to run after the ministers and doing flattery but Nawab did not care the things like that, rather he posed as if there was present no minister at all.⁵⁶

Though he was an autocrat but had belief in public welfare. He saw his times as ‘the century of common man’, and, to him, only “the welfare State is here to stay.”⁵⁷ A. Hamid Dasti was asked by Munir Ahmad Munir whether Nawab of Kalabagh was a back bencher. Dasti replied that Nawab did not use to participate in debates because he was influential enough and had the members of Mianwali in his pocket who used to fight for his cause.⁵⁸ In West Pakistan, he arranged friendly opposition to the regime after both the elections in 1962 and in 1965. Khwaja Safdar won against the president of Convention Muslim League, Khwaja Jamil because of Nawab’s manipulation in favor of the former. Later Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz was defeated in the election of Opposition Leader against Khwaja Safdar who was favored by Kalabagh.⁵⁹ Amir Abdullah Rokhrhi was given the task, by Kalabagh, to convince Chaudhri Zahoor Elahi, candidate of Convention Muslim League, not to contest against Khwaja Safdar. Zahoor Elahi was later rewarded, for this submission, with the vice-chairmanship of Sialkot District Council.⁶⁰ He won over many political families, opposed to the regime, and brought them into the camp of Ayub Khan. Many EBDOed politicians were relaxed due to their conversion in favor of Ayub Khan and this was done by the political maneuvering of Nawab.⁶¹ Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari, earlier EBDOed on the charge of extending ‘Gadai Minor’ canal, as the Provincial Minister of Works, for the sole benefit of himself and his family; was allowed rather welcomed in Ayub’s camp.⁶² Some political families, extremely opposed to each other, were convinced by Nawab to support and participate in the government of Ayub Khan. Both Laghari and Mazari were such families that had been won over by statesmanship of Nawab. Qureshis and Gilanis of Multan, despite their rivalry against each other, became the part of Ayub’s political team on the

advice of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan. Makhdum Hamid-ud-Din (1926-94) of Mianwali Qureshian was made provincial minister by the Governor while his staunch opponent, in political sphere, Makhdum-ul-Mulk Syed Ghulam Miran Shah (1905-86) had been helped in being elected un-opposed.⁶³ He had personal relations with politicians throughout West Pakistan. A British High Commissioner remarked about the worth of Malik Amir, for Ayub in West Pakistan, in these words,

Kalabagh's straight dealing and his reputation of being loyal to his friends has created a web of loyalty and respect for him throughout the whole of West Pakistan. There are few important men in politics who do not owe something to him.⁶⁴

His influence and success as manipulator is evident from the fact that “in the National Assembly elections of 1964 (*sic* 1965), Kalabagh's nominees or those of his associates captured 72 of the 75 National Assembly seats from the West Pakistan, whereas Bhutto supporters secured only one.”⁶⁵ It is said that his ability as administrator made him possible substitute of Ayub Khan in case of emergency. He was considered as the ablest of ‘three able henchmen’, of Ayub Khan; Shoaib and Bhutto were the other two.⁶⁶ His best achievement was to manage a province like West Pakistan, amalgamated of “four provinces and a few princely states”, with a population of several ethnicities and languages.⁶⁷ He had vision of a leader, as well, for the solution of problems at national level. When a student of Kalabagh asked him about the reasons of Pakistan's backwardness, in reply, he quoted the example of hardworking people of Japan and made some sound suggestions. According to him tax evasion and habit of slackness are the main reasons behind our failure.⁶⁸ On his becoming Governor of West Pakistan an anticipatory analysis was made about him in *The Pakistan Times* which alluded towards his talent and traits of his personality,

Neither a starry-eyed visionary nor a doctrinaire radical, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh is of the view that the times we live in demand a faster pace of economic development, a more egalitarian society and the provision of wherewithal to the common man to enable him to reach his full stature. In Particular, he firmly believes that Pakistan's problems can be solved by Pakistanis themselves.⁶⁹

5.5-Pragmatic Approach

Being a practical person, he had no time for “intellectual theorists who lived in a world of their own and who would like to swim above the current.”⁷⁰ He did not like Bizenjo for his secessionist activities but felt no hesitation in joining hands with him against Habibullah Paracha in by-election of 1966.⁷¹ He was a bitter opponent to Fazlul Qadir Chaudhri, as well, but later he had not be reluctant in shaking hands with him against Bhutto.⁷²

5.6-Integrity

He is remembered time and again because “the species of financially upright politicians is becoming rare - Nawab Sahib was one of them.”⁷³ Whoever visited Nawab in Governor House was entertained on personal expenses of Nawab. When two guests, Abdur Rehman Shah of Bilot Sharif and Pir Chan Shah of Kathgarh, asked Chief Protocol Officer, Chaudhri Nazir, while departing, “Should we tell our people that we were the royal guests in Governor House?” He told them that whoever visited Nawab had been his personal guest.⁷⁴ Malik Amir refused his son, Muhammad Asad, to lend him the big and costly government car instead of his personal Maurice car because he was not ready to use the official property for the personal use.⁷⁵ He forbade the same son, who was studying in American University of Beirut at that time, to accept any gift from his Lebanese friend because that friend had visited Pakistan, with Lebanese Premier, Rashid Karami (1921-87), as a delegate.⁷⁶ He was opposed to nepotism and favoritism that’s why he declined the request of General Sarfaraz who sought the favor of Nawab for becoming the C-in-C. General Sarfaraz did not deserve, in the eyes of Nawab, as his performance in Lahore sector during the War of 1965 was not up to the mark.⁷⁷ He did not purchase any property or piece of land during his term of office because he was too particular about his reputation to

add anything to his assets.⁷⁸ He entered the Governor House with only one suitcase in his hand and, after six years, left the Governor House with the same suit case.⁷⁹

One of his colleagues, Murid Hussain, was not convinced of his integrity in financial matters. He alleged that Yasin of Kalabagh was his front man who got a license and planted a Coca Cola factory in Sialkot. Chaudhri Zahoor Elahi of Central Cooperative Bank provided an out of the way loan, without any formal documentation like security *etc.* Moreover, Rokhrhi was rewarded with an insurance company by Nawab. He possessed a private treasure of ninety-eight *lakh* guarded by eighty guards and the same deposit was the major reason behind internal rift of his family and later of his murder.⁸⁰ Malik Asad Khan refuted this allegation and told in detail about the Yasin Dhabba, who was bankrupted and his factory was usurped by the Rokhri family.⁸¹ Malik Amir served as a governor for six years without any salary or other financial benefit.⁸² This strictness in financial matters and his aversion to nepotism was of such kind that according to S. M. Zafar,

Even his sons and other family members did not dare to take any advantage of his position. In fact he was harsh to the extent of being unreasonable and was absolutely uncompromising in matters concerning public money. I heard from his staff that if any of his sons or visitors smoked cigars from the Governor's house, his standing orders were to charge this cost from his personal account.⁸³

5.7-Political Acumen

Some on the record evidences show that Malik Amir Muhammad Khan possessed the talent of foreseeing and farseeing. Once, before the partition of India, he finalized a contract with some Sikh tillers about a piece of his land in Sarhi Wanrhin, Kalabagh. According to a condition, tillers were not bound to pay anything to Nawab for the period of first ten year. When some of his employees objected to this condition, Nawab replied with conviction, "Very soon, they are going to leave this area and, surely, they will not take my land away with them."⁸⁴ His mistrust of

adventurous Bhutto who put Ayub Khan in the quagmire of War of 1965 was not baseless as it had been disclosed that Bhutto and Aziz Ahmad were timely informed about the Indian attack on 6 September 1965 by the Pakistan High Commissioner via Turkish Embassy but they suppressed the information.⁸⁵ His allegation was not out of his hatred towards Bhutto but it had been espoused by many leaders of high stature like Bizenjo who remarked, "The 1965 war in my opinion had a lot to do with a gross miscalculation on part of two persons—Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto."⁸⁶ Ayub, too, became aware of the fact and once in a meeting he alluded towards the Bhutto, "I know the people who want to risk Pakistan for the sake of Kashmir."⁸⁷ Bhutto, himself, claimed, in a public meeting at Burki, a border village near Lahore, at eve of third anniversary of September war, that he had been the engineer of the War of 1965. He justified his act by alluding to the step of sending forces in Kashmir by M. A. Jinnah.⁸⁸

When different choices as Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army were under considerations, after the retirement of General Musa Khan, in March 1966; Malik Amir opined that it would be the greatest mistake of Ayub if he appointed debauchee and drunkard Yahya Khan as C-in-C.⁸⁹ Nawab was well aware of the factors leading towards the dissolution of Pakistan and parting of East Pakistan. Rashidi disclosed Malik Amir's views which said that East Pakistan should be allowed to part with West wing amicably. He declared it desire rather plan of central bureaucracy which had been dreaming to rule over Pakistan and Bengalis might resist and hurdle it.⁹⁰ Ayub, too, was convinced of his talent of foresight. In his diary of February 3, 1970, he recalled, "The Nawab of Kalabagh when governor also said to me that sooner or later Bengal is going to separate, but under no circumstances must this come from you. He was a shrewd and farsighted man, an uncanny judge of events."⁹¹ Nawab

indicated the factors which lead to Ayub's decline and said, 'it is all due to his health, his sycophants and his sons'.⁹² He had predicted too about the hasty downfall of Ayub Khan at the hands of EBDOed politicians. In Nawab's words, "EBDOed politicians would now pounce on him and the country would be plunged into new crisis."⁹³ He did not like the division of Muslim League, into Convention League and Council League, and thought that Ayub had been ill-advised to join Convention Muslim League.⁹⁴

5.8-Conservatism

He was proud of his culture and traditional things. He wore traditional outfit and footwear like *shalwar qamis*, *Kullah*, a headgear, and *Khussa* even during his stay in England. He never participated in cocktail parties and club dances.⁹⁵ He had blind faith in purity of blood and always preferred to high caste and noble lineage. He had vast and profound knowledge of different castes and tribes and their traditional merits and demerits.⁹⁶ He showed typical feudal behavior towards woman and believed in gender discrimination. That's why he did not feel happy in the presence of Begum Zahida Khaliq-uz-Zaman (d. 1981) who was made minister to reward Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman (1889-1973) for his loyalty towards Ayub Khan. He refused to shake hand with Queen Elizabeth of England, out of his traditions, while receiving her at Lahore Airport on February 11, 1961.⁹⁷ Poor performance of politicians of his times and most probably the arrogance of a feudal lord made him adopt a contemptuous attitude towards them. Rokhri said that Nawab used to ridicule the ministers of Ayub by calling their names and using a very derogatory language for them.⁹⁸ When Mir Baqi Baloch had court marriage with grand-daughter of Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy, girl's mother, Begum Akhtar Sulaiman (1922-82) took her away from Lahore forcibly. Baqi Baloch sued in the court but Nawab of Kalabagh

had approached Justice Abdus Salam Faruqi and asked him not to summon the girl in the court. Nawab interfered with the business of court as, to him; Baqi had caused opprobrium to the whole of nobility.⁹⁹ He loved farming and all sorts of agricultural activities like a true land owner and had ‘contact with the hallowed traditions of his forefathers.’¹⁰⁰ He used to do manual work in his farms and show blisters on his hands with pride.¹⁰¹ His son, Malik Asad who acquired education in agriculture from world leading universities¹⁰², has the same passion. Nawab, in a letter of May 28, 1963, told Malik Asad, in a very gleeful manner, about the all-time record production of potatoes, 532 *maunds*, in their farm.¹⁰³

5.9-Discipline

He strictly proscribed all the officers to have cocktail and dance parties in their official residences. The entry of a ‘Federal Minister’ was especially banned in Government House for his indulgence in such activities.¹⁰⁴ When he was asked by Abdul Jabbar Khan (1902-84), sixth Speaker of Pakistan’s National Assembly, in a special Governor Conference held on May 22, 1963, to sign the membership form of the Convention Muslim League he refused to do so as governor is a government functionary and representative of Federation so should be apolitical.¹⁰⁵ Once, Nawab accompanied by Ayub Khan was visiting Changa Manga. They came across by some wild pigs. Ayub tried to take the rifle from a police constable but he shirked. Later, on the behest of Nawab, he handed it over to the President. Protocol officer threatened that constable to face the departmental action for contempt of the President. Nawab appreciated the action of constable by saying that police was a provincial subject so answerable to Governor and not to President as the latter had been representative of the Center.¹⁰⁶ Jahan Dad Khan quoted an event, when Nawab’s eldest son, Muzaffar, intended to sit in the rear seat with his father but was not allowed as the seat, with

Nawab, was meant for his military secretary. Nawab asked him to sit in front seat with the driver.¹⁰⁷

5.10-No greed for power

He was of the view that one should give strength to the chair and not derive strength from it. “One, who has nothing to offer to the chair, is a parasite and must quit.”¹⁰⁸ He was not fussy about the matter of protocol and pomp and show. Nawab usually said his Eid prayers behind Mawlana Ghulam Murshad (1895-1979) in Badshahi Mosque, Lahore. He used to get seated wherever he had found the empty place. Many a time, he was found in the last row. He had forbidden his security staff to tease the *Namazis* in the name of his security and protocol.¹⁰⁹ Actually he issued instructions, right after the resumption of his governorship, that there should be no ceremonial decorations and lining up of policemen during his public visits. He justified his instruction by saying, “erection of arches, display of bunting, lining up of police force and such other ceremonial demonstrations should be meant for the head of state and for none else.”¹¹⁰ Colonel (R) Dr Ali Raza Gardezi was an official physician deputed for the service of Nawab. He told about a visit from Rawalpindi to Lahore with Governor that during the journey, Nawab had felt no hesitation in offering his prayers on the roadside.¹¹¹ He was so content that he used to put all the gifts from foreign dignitaries, visiting Pakistan, in *tausha khana* (storeroom) except a carpet from Shah Iran, and an ivory cane and cudgel by Pandit Nehru.¹¹² Iskander Mirza frequently visited Jaba, private hunting ground of Nawab, for recreation. Some civil servants advised Nawab to receive the expenses of those official tours from the exchequer of Government but Nawab declined. He said that as far as the resources of Kalabagh could afford Iskander Mirza would be entertained without any cost. On asking that if resources would drain out, he promptly replied, “then we will say

‘sorry’ to Iskander Mirza.”¹¹³

5.11-High Character

Both foes and friends of Nawab of Kalabagh believe that he possessed high and pious character throughout his life. He abstained from woman and wine even in his youthful days in England.¹¹⁴ His character was reflected in the legislation done and executive orders given during his time as governor.

- On June 23, 1963, government imposed a ban on wearing teddy dress in all schools and colleges of both boys and girls.¹¹⁵
- Ghulam Nabi Memon, Provincial Law Minister announced complete prohibition on use of wine on March 31, 1964 on behalf of West Pakistan government.¹¹⁶
- Anti-prostitution bill was passed in West Pakistan Provincial Assembly on January 18, 1965.¹¹⁷
- Training of dance and singing was banned in schools and colleges on June 9, 1965.¹¹⁸
- Co-education was disallowed, on July 2, of 1965, in Karachi, the most modern city of Pakistan at that time.¹¹⁹

He did not bear unjust manner even of his sons. Malik Muzaffar Khan and Malik Allahyar Khan were fond of wrestling. In Kalabagh, an event is still remembered that one day, Malik Allahyar slapped his coach, Mistri Rab Nawaz. Amir Muhammad Khan compelled the coach to retaliate and slap the young Malik with the equal force.¹²⁰ His staunch opponent, Colonel Aslam Niazi, precluded Abdus Sattar Niazi to say anything foul and dirty about the Nawab as he had stayed in England with him and could testify his immaculate character.¹²¹

ENDNOTES

¹Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 117.

²Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 330.

³Shah, *Swanih Hayat*, 222. Actually a statement was given by Ghulam Hassan Alvi, brother of Ghulam Ali Alvi, in the court of Khalid Pal, Session Judge, Rawalpindi in March 1983 in a case, Malik Muzaffar Khan versus Baghochi Mahaz. According to the statement, Alvi was killed on the behest of Amir Abdulla Rokhri, and Nawab of Kalabagh was not involved in it.

⁴Munir, *Jo main ne dekha*, 126.

⁵Gauhar, *Gauhar Guzash*, 92.

⁶Sardar Muhammad Chaudhri, *Jahan-i-Hairat* (Lahore: Bait-ul-Hikmat, 2007), 96.

⁷Munir, *Jo main ne dekha*, 46. The official candidate had to face the defeat and Raja Allah Dad won this election.

⁸*The Pakistan Times*, June 1, 1960.

⁹Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 117.

¹⁰Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 84.

¹¹Dr Riaz-e-Qadir (1903-96) a renowned surgeon and Principal of King Edward Medical College, Lahore.

¹²Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 118.

¹³Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 81.

¹⁴*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 2, 1963.

¹⁵Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal*, 540. November 6, 1972.

¹⁶Gauhar, *Junun ki Hikayat*, 54.

¹⁷Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 101.

¹⁸Feldman, *Crisis to Crisis*, 58.

¹⁹Iqbal Park was previously known as Minto Park, named after Lord Minto, 17th Viceroy of India (1905-10). It was renamed as Iqbal Park on August 1, 1948 by Lahore Municipal Corporation.

²⁰Mujahid Lahori, *Adliyah ki Azmaish: Pakistan ki Adalti Tarikh ke 14 Ma'ruf Muqaddimat* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1999), 172-4.

²¹Khan, *Leadership Challenge*, 88.

²²*Ibid.*, 90-1, Nawab shared his feeling about the whole episode with Dr Tusi. “I never thought Ayub would assign such task to me. He wants me to be the ruthless to a religious scholar to safeguard his chair. I have lost all respect for, and trust in him.”

²³Khan, *British Papers*, 237. R.G. Beer, High Commissioner in Karachi to G.L. Simmons, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relation Office, London, September 22, 1964.

²⁴Khan, *Leadership Challenge*, 80.

²⁵Gauhar, *Junun ki Hikayat*, 59.

²⁶Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 70.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 81.

²⁸Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 163-4.

²⁹Anjum, *Sindhi Waderay*, 92.

³⁰Yusuf, *Search of Democracy*, 73. Ayub Khan wrote in a letter to BDs.

³¹*Zindagi*, March 9, 1970, 27.

³²Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 119.

³³*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 4, 1963.

³⁴Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 181. Bhutto showed no warmth about Nawab and when Rashidi reminded Bhutto of Nawab's favors for him, he replied, “Yeah, that was his feudal weakness.”

³⁵Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal*, 47. January 9, 1967.

³⁶Feldman, *From Crisis to Crisis*, 262. “Z.A. Sulehri who was considered to be the political confidant and mouthpiece of Ayub Khan might have written this apology by the sanction and prior knowledge of Ayub Khan”.

³⁷Khan, *British Papers*, 667. C.S. Pickard, British High Commissioner in Pakistan to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations 14th September, 1966.

³⁸Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Lahore: The Academy of Administrative and Social Sciences, 1998), 77.

³⁹Yusuf, *Search of Democracy*, 86.

⁴⁰Afzal, *Political Parties*, 109.

⁴¹*Zindagi*, May 11, 1970.

⁴²Gauhar, *Ayub Khan*, 355.

⁴³*Dawn*, September 20, 1962.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, October 7, 1963.

⁴⁵*Nawa-i-Waqt*, November 7, 1963.

⁴⁶Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 359.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Jang*, November 17, 1964.

⁴⁹*Dawn*, February 20, 1965.

⁵⁰Awan, *Baluchistan*, 245.

⁵¹Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 64

⁵²Gauhar, *Ayub Khan*, 415.

⁵³Gul Hassan Khan, *Memoirs* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 220.

⁵⁴Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 64.

⁵⁵Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal*, 346, December 6, 1969.

⁵⁶Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 172.

⁵⁷*The Pakistan Times*, June 1, 1960.

⁵⁸Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 199.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 326.

⁶⁰Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 162.

⁶¹Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 433.

⁶²Mazari, *Journey to Disillusionment*, 151. Nawab of Kalabagh helped him getting back his political power and position because former's son was married to the latter's daughter.

⁶³Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 258.

⁶⁴Khan, *British Papers*, 638. N.J. Barrington. British High Commissioner in Rawalpindi to R.W. Whitney, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relation Office, July 8, 1966.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 261-2. Saeed Ahmad, General Manager of Gandhara Industries in a conversation to R.G. Beer, British High Commissioner, "R.G. Beer, British High Commissioner in Pakistan to M.K. Ewans, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations office, London, dated July 7, 1965

⁶⁶Khan, *British Papers*, 209. “Pakistan a thriving Muslim Near-Monarchy” from Morrice James, British High Commissioner in Pakistan to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations 22nd April, 1964

⁶⁷Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 76.

⁶⁸Shah, *Swanhayat*, 117. He related a story of the laborers of National Highway whom he found slept, instead of working, along the roadside. Nawab was then Chairman of PIDC.

⁶⁹*The Pakistan Times*, June 1, 1960.

⁷⁰Gauhar, *Ayub Khan*, 184.

⁷¹Bizenjo, *Search of Solutions*, 56. In the previous elections Nawab had ordered the officials of Kalat Division to ensure the defeat of the same Bizenjo.

⁷²Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 327.

⁷³Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, xv. Foreword by S. M. Zafar

⁷⁴Shah, *Swanhayat*, 108.

⁷⁵Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 112.

⁷⁶A letter from Nawab of Kalabagh to his son, Malik Asad Khan, dated 21st February, 1963 from Governor House Lahore. Letter provided by Malik Ammad Khan.

⁷⁷Khan, *Leadership Challenge*, 95.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁹Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 171.

⁸⁰Munir, *Siyasi Utar Charhau*, 330.

⁸¹Malik Ammad Khan made it clear by asking his father, Malik Asad Khan.

⁸²Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 75.

⁸³*Ibid.*, xv. Foreword by S. M. Zafar.

⁸⁴Shah, *Swanhayat*, 51.

⁸⁵Khan, *Constitutional and Political History*, 322.

⁸⁶Bizenjo, *Search of Solutions*, 55.

⁸⁷Gauhar, *Ayub Khan*, 379.

⁸⁸Yusuf, *Search of Democracy*, 81.

⁸⁹Khan, *Leadership Challenge*, 95.

⁹⁰Rashidi, *Rudad-i-Chaman*, 182.

⁹¹Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal*, 363.

⁹²Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 67.

⁹³*Ibid.*, 83. Ban on EBDOnians was lifted on December 31, 1966.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 85.

⁹⁵Shah, *Swanhayat*, this was ratified by his political rival Colonel Aslam Khan Niazi who stayed with Nawab in England.

⁹⁶Gauhar, *Junun ki Hikayat*, 60.

⁹⁷Rokhri, *Mera Pakistan*, 113.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 127.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 113-4.

¹⁰⁰*The Pakistan Times*, June 1, 1960.

¹⁰¹Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 67.

¹⁰²He obtained a degree in Agriculture from Royal Agriculture College, England. He, later, did some advance courses in the same subject from American University of Beirut, A.S.M. Texas, Dios University California, and Range and Desert Management Course from a University in U.S.S.R.

¹⁰³Letter provided by Malik Ammad Khan.

¹⁰⁴Anjum, *Siyasat ke Firaun*, 429.

¹⁰⁵Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, Nawab argued, 'why do you want to drag me into this dirt (Convention Muslim League)?'

¹⁰⁶Shah, *Swanhayat*, 211. Told by Asad Khan.

¹⁰⁷Khan, *Leadership Challenges*, 71.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁰⁹Shah, *Swanhayat*, 109. Tanvir Zahur wrote in *Nawa-i-Waqt* of June 30, 2013.

¹¹⁰According to a newspaper cutting provided by Malik Ammad

¹¹¹Shah, *Swanhayat*, 109-10.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 91-2. Nehru insisted on and requested to keep his gift.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, 211.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.* Nawab, on asking by Malik Allahyar Kund, gave credit to Colonel Knowles

who groomed him according to traditions of East and played a great role in his character building during his stay in England.

¹¹⁵Daily *Imroze*, June 24, 1963.

¹¹⁶Razi and Shakir, *Pakistan*, 354.

¹¹⁷*Dawn*, January 19, 1965.

¹¹⁸*Nawa-i-Waqt*, June 10, 1965.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, July 3, 1965.

¹²⁰Shah, *Swanik Hayat*, 142.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, 167.

Conclusion

Personality of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, in the recorded history, is a sad example of distortion and victimization. His poor image as portrayed by the writers is, if not altogether, very different from the real one. Though his misdeeds cannot be, and should not be, justified but the unfortunate stains on his face must be wiped out. This study is an attempt to discern between his mythical image and his actual personality. He started his political career in colonial period of the British India. His sympathies and loyalty towards them was natural as he, being a member of land lord class, could not deny their obligations on his community. But it does not mean that he had no love for freedom, his religion and his motherland. He could be expected to be neither a radical freedom fighter like Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) nor a fiery orator like Muhammad Ali Jauhar (1878-1931) due to the compulsion of his social background and position. So he adopted a different way to serve his nation. Without offending the government and going behind the bars he worked for the cause of Muslims and the Muslim League. He lavishly contributed for this purpose. He covertly helped the helpless Muslims of Bihar by providing firearms against the Hindu aggressors of that area. He supported the nominee of Muslim League, Mawlana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi, in decisive election of 1946.

After the creation of Pakistan, his political career entered into a new and different phase. He was not a man of masses in the true sense. Making speeches before large gatherings and playing with the words to instigate the public was not his style. He was rather a politician with a strategy to settle everything through the meetings in drawing rooms. He was lucky as circumstances favored him and he had to be elected by adult franchise only for once, in the election of Punjab Assembly in

1951. He had been elected, time and again, via indirect elections and by Electoral Colleges with limited number of voters. This not only suited his disposition but played an important role in the formation of his political future also. He became as an effective and excellent manipulator with all sorts of tactics and political maneuverings. Perhaps this was the reason he never felt himself accountable to the public. At the same time, he was running his estate, Kalabagh, in a very successful manner. That experience not only shaped his personality in a particular way but evolved his peculiar style of administration also. Fragile governments and politicians of volatile nature made him lose his belief in so-called democracy of that time. Somersaults of his colleagues on the issue of One-Unit and revolutionary politics by Bengalis on the matter of representation made him suspicious of them.

Era of Iskander Mirza is known for the conspiracies and palace intrigues. Though Nawab, too, played a role in the creation of the Republican Party, a break-away faction of Muslim League, but he did not part with his graceful way of doing politics. He had complete faith in utility of amalgamating provinces of West Pakistan into One-Unit. Perhaps One-Unit was only solution to get parity between two wings of the country, safeguard the interest of the West Pakistan, and avoid the supremacy of majority *i.e.* Bengalis of the East Pakistan. That's why he sided with Dr Khan Sahib whole heartedly though he was not agreed with his political ideology.

Coup of 1958 proved a turning point in his political career. It provided him with an arena where he displayed his talent of administration and managerial skills in an effective way. He was assigned different jobs which were accomplished with perfection and maximum output. First, Chairmanship of PIDC and then of Food and Agriculture Commission earned him a reputation of a good executor of plans with great integrity, discipline and thrift in the matter of public money. Here, it is very

pertinent to mention about the Land Reforms introduced by 'revolutionary' government. Those reforms, if implemented with their true spirit, would have done a great damage to the land-owning nobility. Some of them, including Nawab of Kalabagh, were obliged by giving back the confiscated lands on lease. Prestige and power of landlords remained almost intact. This way of compensation created a sense of gratitude in hearts of all the beneficiaries. Perhaps this disseminated the loyalty in Nawab for Ayub Khan who impressed with his administrative expertise, appointed him the Governor of West Pakistan. During six years of his governorship, he was on the zenith of his political career. This tenure of office was not only his great personal achievement but it left indelible effects on our political history. Though he had no axe of his own to grind but he served Ayub Khan with unbound loyalty. Malik Amir used every licit and illicit tactic to strengthen and extend the regime. Smooth sailing of Ayub Khan was made possible by employing the techniques of temptation, threat, blackmailing and use of state machinery. Controlled Democracy in the form Basic Democracy system suited his temperament and mode of dealing. He not only helped Ayub Khan in creating an electoral college comprising of loyal and submissive BDs but arranged friendly opposition leaders in house also. He opposed the rehabilitation of untamable EBDOed politicians but tractable of them were welcomed and their conversion, in favor of regime, was rewarded accordingly.

Insurmountable challenges faced by Ayub Khan were the Presidential elections of 1965 and Indo-Pak War in the same year. Nawab stood by him and played the role of savior for him. He ensured the victory of Ayub by hook or by crook. Though use of state machinery in West Pakistan and his political maneuvering in favor of Ayub Khan earned him notoriety but his dealing with Miss Fatima Jinnah, was not of disrespect or contempt. Indo-Pak War of 1965 was a misadventure and a

quagmire in the eyes of Nawab. He alarmed Ayub Khan of suspicious and adventurous Bhutto who laid a trap for Ayub in the form of war. No panic was created in the public during seventeen days of the war. No hoarding or profiteering was seen. Supply line continued unbroken to both civil population and fighting forces on the front. Crime rate remained negligible and morale was very high. All of this was made possible by stern and excellent administration of Nawab of Kalabagh who led from the front and proved a tower of strength. Tashkent Accord ensued in a series of students' protests and almost an upsurge by the opposition. The provincial government of West Pakistan took the responsibility of appeasement by using police force against the protestors. Ayub's regime was rescued with implementation of Section 114 and imprisonment of almost every prominent opposition leader.

Nawab of Kalabagh was a farsighted man who was able to foresee many things. He was not in favor of Yahya Khan's appointment as C.in.C due to his immorality. He very rightly indicated the causes of Ayub Khan's consequent downfall *i.e.* his sycophants, his sons and his failing health. EBDOed politicians played a major role in ousting Ayub Khan. They had entered in the political arena as the ban on them was over after December 31, 1966. Nawab had prophesized exactly the same thing. Bhutto played a major role in shattering the image of all powerful and invincible Ayub Khan. His 'charisma' could not get its concrete shape till the end of Nawab's tenure. So it can be concluded that Malik Amir was one of the real powers and major source of strength behind Ayub Regime; and it was his departure from the office of Governor which paved the way for downfall of Ayub Khan.

His differences with Ayub Khan were created and developed gradually which culminated in his resignation. He, being a clean and an honest man himself, was not happy with, and raised his voice over the corruption of Ayub Khan's sons. He

antagonized bureaucracy because he wanted to make them true public servants. His stern, disciplined and practical manner curtailed many powers and deprived them of many luxuries. That clique of sycophants to Ayub Khan created mistrust between Nawab and him. Civil Servants like Altaf Gauhar, Shahab, Rao Rashid and A.B. Awan willfully created a poor image of Nawab in their books. Altaf Gauhar could not preclude himself to create an unfounded but novel idea that Six Points were provided by Malik Amir to Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman. Nawab's grip on West Pakistan and his successful governance made him *de facto* ruler and even more trustworthy than Ayub Khan in the eyes of West Pakistan's public. This impression frightened Ayub Khan and he got rid of his loyal confidant and sincere advisor.

His political outlook must be analyzed by keeping his social background and grooming in the view. He possessed all the traits of feudal mindset. He was known for his generous hospitality, valour, utmost loyalty to friends, and high character. At the same time, his rough exterior showed him as arrogant, revengeful, and extremely ruthless to his enemies. But a keen study reveals that this impression might have partial truth. He was scrupulous in dealing and execution of his plans. He never victimized his personal opponents by using his official position. His strict dealing with his opponents in his native area shows that he tried to keep them under his thumb. He was not ready to allow them to challenge his supremacy. His political rivals were dealt harshly with different tactics like threats, temptation, teasing, and by putting hurdles in their business but he always avoided using technique of their physical elimination. Actually whatever atrocities brought on his behest were due to his official compulsions. His apprehensions and suspicions about some intimates of Ayub like Bhutto were not baseless and unfounded. Regime of Ayub Khan was getting entrenched and solidified but ignominy going to Malik Amir. A general

perception about his aversion to education and freedom of press had the least truth in it. A dictator like Ayub Khan could not afford the unbridled media. Newspapers, both rightists and leftists, flourished despite some minor problems. Usurpation of Progressive Papers, establishment of National Press Trust and implementation of Press and Publication Order were brain-child of the bureaucracy and not of Nawab. Education sector flourished during his governorship even more than previous regimes. It is ridiculous to declare a person antagonist to education who was an Atchisonian and an Oxonian. But, undoubtedly, he was not so enlightened in the matter of female education.

He was a man of *status quo* and the representative of conservatism. His class, upbringing, education and general atmosphere prevailing at that time made him incline towards the Capitalism. Communist ideology which aims at egalitarian society and confiscation of large estates cannot appeal to a landlord. Nawab did not admire the promiscuity of Pakistan and China in Ayub Era. He advised Ayub to stick to the Capitalist bloc without antagonizing Soviet Union. He was not in the favor of confrontation with India that's why he, was known as 'Dove' while Zulfiqar Bhutto led the faction of 'Hawks'. These 'hawks' were pro-China and had tussle with pro-America 'doves'. His point of view about Kashmir issue was though sympathetic but realistic one. He was not so hopeful and optimistic about the better Indo-Pak relations because of rigidity on both the sides.

He developed a sense of mistrust for Bengalis when he had seen their opposition to the Center on almost every issue. This mistrust got the shape of dislike because of their agitational way of politics. Perhaps he was fearful of their numeric strength too as it would enable them to get permanent supremacy over the West Pakistan. He had foreseen the dismemberment of Pakistan due to centrifugal politics

of the Bengalis. Amalgamation of provinces of West Pakistan into One-Unit was done to satisfy both the wings of Pakistan. Nawab, like all the patriots, thought it necessary for the integrity of Pakistan so development and integrity of One-Unit was a cherished goal to him. He dealt the anti-One-Unit movement with an iron hand. Baloch *sardars* and the leaders of National Awami Party were secessionists in his eyes who were working against the federation with un-patriotic designs.

Before determining the place and role of Nawab of Kalabagh in political history of Pakistan, it is an interesting question to ask that whether he was a leader, an administrator or a manipulator. Perhaps he had the elements of all of these. He was a leader who successfully led West Pakistan through many crises like Indo-Pak War of 1965. But he was not a democratic leader with oily tongue and charisma. He never tried to become a public figure and attract the masses. He believed in public welfare and the betterment of commoners but had kept aloof from them. He might have paternal or patronal affectation for them but his blind faith in lineage and caste system precluded him to get mixed with them. His clemency and kindness was that of a king and not of a popular orator. He was an excellent administrator who knew the effective use of the persons and resources at his disposal. From the Chairmanship of PIDC to the Governorship of West Pakistan, he proved himself an innovative and exemplary administrator. His disciplined, scrupulous, and mechanical way of execution earned him title of a legendary administrator. Controlled democracy suits the autocrats and dictators. Basic democracy system, introduced by Ayub Khan, was ideal for a man who had not wanted to deal with public directly. Basic Democrats were generally the persons belonging to middle class of the society and were easy to be tamed by government. They served as the Electoral College for the election of assemblies and the President of Pakistan. Most of the members of Parliament, especially from the

West Pakistan, belonged to land owning gentry. Nawab of Kalabagh was more trustworthy in their eyes due to his rustic and rural background and being a landlord himself. He was such kind of political tactician that Ayub Khan faced no sever problem at least in West Pakistan during his tenure as governor. His political maneuvering hushed all sorts of opposition.

The government of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan looks neither a democratic one nor an accountable to public but, at the same time, was an effective one that aimed at public welfare. Nawab of Kalabagh was a true patriot but of a despotic nature. To him, poor and illiterate public had nothing to do with the state affairs and administration. People should be beneficiaries only and not concerned about the business of government. He, like every sincere autocrat, had a plan with a peculiar way of its execution for the public welfare. For this he never allowed conventional red-tapism in the name of legal procedures. It can be said that for speedy and fair dealings he used the Civil Service as he used to utilize his estate employees in Kalabagh.

As far as his poor image is concerned, it was due to the systematic and malicious efforts of his defamation by the bureaucracy, intelligentsia and some urban politicians who considered him a man of *status quo*. To them, Nawab was the representative of conservatism who had stuck to ancient way of administering things. Nawab, being a man of action, did not like those men of words. He was not a typical henchman of servile nature. Evidences show that he overshadowed Ayub Khan and many a times cared little for the central government. His services as governor were not for his personal gains but for the public interest and due to his loyalty towards his friend, Ayub Khan. History will erect him on higher place than Ayub Khan for his honesty and integrity as his sons earned no Gandhara Industries or things like those.

He will be remembered as a model of upright, effective and excellent administrator and governor who left a pattern of result-oriented governance. His tenure with low crime rate, least corruption, provision of pure food on reasonable prices and exemplary situation of law and order should be an ideal and worthy of emulation for the politicians of today.

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