



RESEARCH PAPER

The Iron Lady: Assessing the Fatima Jinnah's Role against Ayub Khan's Dictatorship

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ABSTRACT

Ayub Khan was primarily an autocrat who governed with cruelty and an iron fist. Fatima Jinnah, often referred to as the mother of the nation, reentered active politics and formed a coalition with various political parties. Despite being a woman, she gained the support of religious leaders in opposition to Ayub Khan. This study explores Fatima Jinnah's resistance against Ayub Khan and analyzes the consequences of her actions on the future of Pakistani politics. This study aims to underscore Fatima Jinnah's contributions to the reestablishment of parliamentary democracy, delving into her actions in response to military rule and the subsequent evolution of her stance during the Martial Law era. Additionally, it will shine a light on her significant presidential campaign during the 1965 Presidential Elections. Let's see how Fatima Jinnah resisted against Ayub and how her efforts to restore democracy ignited hope for future women leaders and paved the way for other democratic forces.

Keywords: Ayub Khan, Combined Opposition Parties (COP), Fatima Jinnah, Presidential Elections

Introduction

Fatima Jinnah, sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, came under the guardianship of her brother Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1901 after the death of their father. Jinnah induced Fatima to take admission in Bandra Convent School in 1902 and later enrolled in Dr. Ahmad Dental College Calcutta in 1919, despite the clamant family opposition as it was against the tradition of Khoja family to send a girl in British school in broader, or launching upon a professional course (Jinnah, 1987, p.viii). In 1918, Jinnah married Rattie Bai and Fatima separated him for eight years up to 1929, until Rattie died. In 1929, Fatima abandoned her well flourished dentistry practice and took the charge of her brother's house. The death of Mrs. Jinnah had a great effect of the time when Jinnah needed a companion not only to look after his domestic problems but to assist in the great track steering Indian population toward political emancipation. Miss Fatima Jinnah's "active political companionship" with Jinnah started and she accompanied him to attend Round Table Conferences in London (Malik & Awan, 2003, p.38; Pirbhai, 2018, p.66). As Stanley Wolpert writes, Miss Fatima Jinnah became his sister, confidante, nursemaid, sounding board, and defender-against-the-outside-world (Wolpert, 1985, p.150). The companionship of brother and sister lasted for twenty-eight years including last nineteen tiring years of Jinnah's life. The image of Miss Fatima Jinnah in narratives usually underlined as a devoted, life-long and loyal sister and companion of Muhammad Ali Jinnah who supported him in the struggle for a great cause but this is the single aspect of her life.

As a woman, she attributed a multi-dimensional personality. She not only supported Jinnah in domestic affairs but equally accompanied in heroic struggle for Independence. She was nucleus of women activism in Pakistan movement and developed coordination between

women and their leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah. On the return from London, Miss Fatima Jinnah joined Quaid's efforts to revitalize All India Muslim League in 1934. In 1938, she practically involved in politics when she appointed convener of Muslim League Woman's Sub-Committee in Patna session. By 1939, she also became actively engaged in the Bombay provincial branch of sub-committee. These tasks brought Fatima, for the first time, into direct, working contact with all the major Muslim women's organizations across South Asia. Their members became known to her and she to them, creating a network of organizations (Pirbhai, 2018, pp.80-81). It was mainly due to Miss Fatima Jinnah's efforts and encouragement that a considerable gathering of Muslim women was observed in Lahore session Muslim League in 1940 (Malik & Awan, 2003, p.39). She had a great contribution in formation of Muslim Women Student Federation in 1941. Shaista Suhrawardy, who was the convener of this organization, told that it was Miss Fatima Jinnah's idea behind the formation of this federation. She urged Muslim girls who found it difficult to see eye to eye on many matters with their fellow Hindu-students (Ikramullah, 2017, pp. 92-94). It was mainly due to Miss Fatima Jinnah's efforts to form such organization for Muslim girls where they could put forward their demands. During the final phase of the struggle for Pakistan, Miss Fatima Jinnah contributed remarkably to the success of Muslim League in 1945-46 elections.

After the creation of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam served as first Governor General of Pakistan and Miss Fatima Jinnah became First Lady of Pakistan. After the death of Quaid-i-Azam, she retired from public life and assumed the sentinel, criticizing those who committed wrong and trying to guard them to the right path. She was also acknowledged for her refugee work and as an advocate of citizens' rights, women's education, and welfare. She devoted her energies to assisting in the habitation of refugees and inaugurated several industrial and welfare centers for the destitute (Tosi, 2004, pp.112-114). Her efforts to abetment Kashmiri immigrants and freedom are unforgettable. She morally supported Kashmiri freedom fighters through her speeches and financially assisted Kashmiri immigrants by collecting money and other important articles for life (Chawla, 2004, p.161). She nourished the whole nation like a mother and they hailed her with the title 'Mother of the Nation'. In 1964, by re-entering into political sphere to protect the democratic values, that were envisioned by her brother, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. She was chosen by a quickly engineered coalition of parties---described as the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) against Field Marshal Ayub Khan. During the campaign, she assumed the role of a practicing politician with enthusiasm with a flair that dazzled her closest observers. Though she didn't win but she exposed Ayub Khan's weaknesses and portrayed the strength of those arrayed against him (Ziring, 1994, pp.71-72). Her popularity did not fade with the defeat of COP but reached its zenith instead. It was another personal triumph as she proved that she being an old lady could fight a political battle as well as any man. Enthusiastic reception that she met everywhere she went during her election campaign, and the riots that took place during her funeral in Karachi in 1967, are an ample reflection of her personality as 'Mother of the Nation'. In a nutshell, Fatima Jinnah's contributions to Pakistan's struggle for independence and her tireless work of social welfare make her an exemplary woman. Most importantly her advocacy for democratic values and struggle for the restoration of democracy set a precedent for other women who fought for democracy in the history of Pakistan.

Literature Review

A significant body of work has been produced that featured various aspects of Fatima Jinnah's life. The majority of this literature was created in 2003, when the government of Pakistan, led by Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, proclaimed it to be the "Madir-e-Millat Year". Among a plethora of literature highlighting various aspects of Fatima Jinnah's life, the last phase of her life that is marked by her heroic struggle against dictatorship always remained a focal point for researchers. In this regard, two scholarly biographies on Fatima Jinnah are worth mentioning. First, Aga Hassan Hamdani's book,

Fatima Jinnah: Hayat aur Khidmat which deals with different shifts of Fatima Jinnah's life and also highlights her struggle against dictatorship. (Hamdani, 2003). Second book is recently appeared authored by M.Reza Pirbhai; *Fatima Jinnah: Mother of the Nation*, is very important source to conceptualize Fatima Jinnah's role in creation and consolidation of Pakistan with gender perspective (Pirbhai, 2017). Similarly, Malik Rizwan and Samina Awan's book *Women Emancipation in South Asia: A Case Study of Miss Fatima Jinnah* reveals the story of women empowerment in South Asia with special reference of Fatima Jinnah. It also acknowledged that how Fatima Jinnah became a symbol of democracy by paving the way for other women who resist against dictatorship (Malik & Awan, 2003). Some other edited works containing Fatima Jinnah's messages, statement and interviews particularly at the time of Presidential elections and her campaign are also helpful to acknowledge her struggle for democracy (Ahmad, 2003, Khan, 1976). Moreover, many articles signified Fatima Jinnah's struggle for democracy. In this regard, Sharif al-Mujahid's article "Pakistan's First Presidential Elections 1965" published in *Asian Survey* has sufficient insight on Fatima Jinnah's presidential campaign and elections (Mujahid, 1965). Lawrence Ziring's article "Political Connections: Fatima Jinnah and Benazir Bhutto" in *Asian Affairs* finds out the similarities between the Fatima Jinnah and Benazir Bhutto particularly in the context to defy the dictators (Ziring, 1993). However, there is a study gap regarding the Fatima Jinnah's struggle to contest presidential elections against Ayub Khan and aim of this article to fill this gap by consulting unpublished primary sources in shape original documents of Fatima Jinnah, letters and diaries of prominent personalities who shared this democratic struggle with Fatima Jinnah.

Fatima Jinnah's Response to Martial Law

At the time of independence of Pakistan, there was no doubt in anybody's mind that Pakistan would be a democratic country where authority would be exercised through the chosen representatives of the masses. Sadly though, due to the incapacity of political parties, the civil-military bureaucracy assumed a dominant role in decision-making. The political pendulum in Pakistan swung after Quaid-i-Azam's death, and the bureaucracy and political leadership began to clash. As a result, it adopted a negative stance toward political actions that it deemed to be conspiratorial, egotistical, factional, and even anti-national. (Zain, 2003, p.19). Fatima Jinnah was extremely worried about the government's policies in her early years and occasionally expressed her mistrust of political regimes and politicians. She considered that the practice of 'wheeling and dealing' was established in the early days of Pakistan and now it has become a part of national identity. In her opinion, politicians were self-centered, flatters and time-servers, who were prisoners of their own wishes and interests. Fatima Jinnah's mistrust of politicians prompted her to welcome the Martial Law in 1958. Moreover, after a week of promulgation of Martial Law, when Iskender Mirza was exiled by General Ayub Khan, she expressed her satisfaction with his exit who was, in her opinion, a sycophant and responsible for the political confusion in the country (Khurshid, 2008, pp. 63-64). In a press statement, Fatima Jinnah on the behalf of the people expressed that "the exit of Maj-Gen Iskandar Mirza from the political scene has brought a general sense of relief to the people of Pakistan." Furthermore, she also stated with optimism and full confidence in the military regime:

"a new era has begun under Gen. Ayub Khan and the armed forces have undertaken to root out the administrative malaise and the anti-social practices to create a sense of confidence, security and sensibility and eventually to bring the country back to a state of normalcy... During the last three weeks, the people have remained calm, composed and steady which shows that they are sound at heart and understand things. The object before us all is to clear all the evils perpetrated on the country and bring it back to stable conditions so that it may safely march to its good democracy" (Ahmad, 2003, p.108).

Unfortunately, General Ayub Khan did not intend to restore parliamentary democracy which Miss Fatima Jinnah and the people had hoped for. In public and private

spheres, Ayub Khan exposed his real contemplations that he was not ready to restore parliamentary democracy. In his point of view, parliamentary democracy was not suitable for the country (Khan, 1967, p.206). He accused politicians and political parties of an unstable political system in the country and considered political parties as personality-centered without any particular principle. In later years, commenting on politicians of Pakistan, Ayub Khan wrote in his diary: that they were either political goondas (thugs) or blatant opportunists and self-seekers. This is particularly true after the freedom war of 1857 when Muslim intellectual, political, and spiritual giants were produced. However, when Pakistan was founded, we most needed such individuals. They have no personalities if they have a brain (Baxter, 2008, p. 312). Ayub Khan's approach to the politicians and political system of Pakistan was clearly reflected in all the measures that he took to curb the politicians and political parties. Soon after the imposition of Martial Law, Ayub Khan took some immediate steps against politicians and political parties. Elective Body Disqualification Order (EBDO) was introduced, that applied to any person who hold the public office or had been a member of any elective body, including a legislature, municipal corporation, municipal committee, cantonment board and a district board. On March 5, 1960, EBDO was amended and include all people who had retired, resigned and been disqualified from government services. About 3,000 politicians from East Pakistan and more than 3000 from West Pakistan were disqualified under EBDO. Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy and Muhammad Ayub Khuhru, two prominent politicians, were also disqualified under EBDO (Ziring, 1971, p.14).

As well as Fatima Jinnah's response to the military regime and her relations with Ayub Khan was concerned, It is earlier mentioned that Fatima Jinnah enthusiastically welcomed the new era with firm belief in General Muhammad Ayub Khan who would root out all administrative malaise and anti-social practice to bring the country back to a state of normalcy. Fatima Jinnah not only publicly endorsed Ayub Khan's assumption of power but also received him from Flagstaff House. A few days later after their meeting in Flagstaff House, Ayub Khan requited Fatima Jinnah's good gestures. Ayub Khan through a letter showed his concerns about the interminable delay in the construction of Quaid-i-Azam's tomb as Fatima Jinnah had been criticizing previous governments for this incessant delay (MFJP, File, 763. p.1). The letter showed that Ayub Khan wanted Miss Fatima Jinnah on his side. But these cordial relations between the two did not last for a long time. Fatima Jinnah, who was a staunch advocate of democratic ideals like her brother, soon realized the intentions of Ayub Khan that he would not restore parliamentary democracy. In early 1960, the cordial relations between General Ayub Khan and Fatima Jinnah turned sour when Miss Jinnah challenged Ayub Khan for the first time during a public address about the prolonged martial law and its ineffectiveness (Pirbhai, 2017, p.219).

Fatima Jinnah's Struggle for Restoration of Democracy

After the death of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah Fatima Jinnah isolated herself from politics and devoted herself to the welfare cause but time to time provided a direction to the nation through her speeches. She was disappointed in politicians and their political intrigues therefore she welcomed the military regime with the hope that under the leadership of General Ayub Khan, Pakistan would back toward its good democracy. Soon after realizing the intentions of Ayub Khan that he was not ready to restore parliamentary democracy, Fatima Jinnah restored her public activities and began to criticize publicly his anti-democratic tact. She was deeply concerned about the delay of the Constitution making. In May 1961, on Eid-ul-AZHA, in her message, Miss Fatima Jinnah criticized the delay of the Constitution. She said;

“Constitution is one of the first essentials on which our future progress is based. Our Constitution was abrogated in October 1958. Nearly three years have gone by and the nation is impatient and must have its constitution without any undue delay.”

Furthermore, she indirectly blamed Ayub Khan's regime that "subtle attempts are being made to attack our sovereignty, universally recognized at the birth of Pakistan. --- However people stirring of a new life and fresh determination to claim and exercise the sovereignty which they achieved at the outcome of a hard and bitter struggle under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam" (Khan, 1976, p. 289).

In 1962, finally, a constitution was promulgated and under the Political Parties Act, all political parties began to revive. At that time, the Muslim League split into two factions by adopting the names of its two organs: Council Muslim League and Convention Muslim League. Convention Muslim League was the pro-government and Council Muslim League was comprised of former Leaguers. Although, Miss Jinnah did not want to join any political party not even the Muslim League she was still concerned with the future of Quaid-i-Azam's Muslim League. Fatima Jinnah recognized the Council Muslim League as a 'genuine League' (Afzal, 1998, p.73). Although she was not involved in active politics but she resumed her public activities and spent the months of October and November touring the Punjab and NWFP. The purpose of returning to public life and connecting with people was to convey a message to Ayub Khan that he could not snub the voice of the people. In a reception arranged in her honor at Gulistan-e-Fatima, Lahore, she spoke that;

"people of Pakistan were wide awake today and no power on earth could stand in their march to a fully democratic government of their own. They wanted to achieve democracy, as the rule of the people, for the people and by the people" (Ahmad, 2003, p.134).

After the Lahore visit, the next destination of Miss Fatima Jinnah was Rawalpindi where she visited the orphanage of Anjuman-i-Faizul Islam. On that occasion, Miss Jinnah spoke to the citizen's reception organized by the Anjuman-i-Faizul Islam; she said that people have to play a very positive and important part in a real democratic society. The only mechanism by which their collective will could be expressed was through representative political parties (Ahmad, 2003, p. 145). During her visit to Peshawar, she received a warm welcome from the people. She clearly spoke in an interview during these visit that she had no intentions to participate in active politics or join a political party but her sympathies and support was always with the Muslim League. On 7 January 1963, Miss Fatima Jinnah formally became a member of the Muslim League (Council). She was the first person who signed the membership form when the membership campaign of Muslim League was launched. Zain Noorani, General Secretary of Karachi Provincial Muslim League (Council), confirmed it. He added that Madr-i-Millat had always been a member of the Muslim League and it was well-known that she supported the Pakistan Muslim League (Dawn, 1963).

Fatima Jinnah as Presidential Candidate in Presidential Elections 1965

By the end of 1965, Ayub Khan's first presidential term was going to be ended and the government had decided to hold the presidential elections on 2 January 1965. As it is previously mentioned all political parties were banned after the imposition of Martial Law and when Martial Law was lifted in 1962, they were allowed to revive and resume their political activities. After two years of the revival of political parties, elections of the president were announced and, in these circumstances, it seemed difficult for political parties to contest elections in their individual capacity. Some parties and their leadership hard-pressed for a common platform against dictatorship. There were five major political parties with divergent ideologies; on one side, there were leftist parties Awami League (AL) and National Awami Party (NAP) while on the other side, there were two rightest parties Jama 'at-i-Islami and Nizam-i-Islam Party and Muslim League (Council) was right centric party. The deliberation among the leadership of these political parties started to form an opposition alliance to contest presidential elections. Khawaja Nazimuddin (President of the Muslim League Council) and Choudhary Muhammad Ali (convener of the Nizam-i-Islam

Party) had played a leading role in convincing the leadership of other political parties to form an opposition alliance (Afzal, 2007, p.266).

Finally, on 21 July 1964, the spokesmen of five major parties assembled at Khawaja Nazimuddin's residence at Dacca; where a united front of opposition formed with the name of Combined Opposition Parties (COP). They announced that they would meet again in mid-September to decide on the joint presidential candidate and related matters (The Pakistan Times, 1964). The next task of COP was to nominate their presidential candidate. It was an arduous task for the opposition because the government claimed that there was no single national-level leader in any political party to solely challenged Ayub Khan. Ayub's associates also assured him that because of his international status and achievements, no one can give a challenge to him (Gauhar, 1993, p. 226). But government surprised when COP announced the name of Fatima Jinnah as their presidential candidate. Miss Jinnah's nomination excoriated by everyone especially in religious circles. Sahibzada Faizul Hassan, President of Jami'at al Ulama-I Pakistan said that Islam did not a woman to assume leadership or president ship to the state. Jama'at-i Islami (ally of COP) had the similar views but it was Choudhary Muhammad Ali from COP met Mawdudi in jail and discussed the upcoming worst situation in future. He got approval for the nomination of Miss Fatima Jinnah from Mawdudi. Mawdudi ratified this decision and agreed to support Miss Fatima Jinnah (Nasar, 1993, p.155).

In terms of the general populace, she was supported by hundreds of letters from all around the nation. They were not all in favor of Miss Jinnah's choice to run for office, but they were not all in support of Ayub Khan either. It's important to note that supporters came from many walks of life. One of them was written by a laborer who supported Miss Fatima Jinnah's nomination and stated, "Now even the labor will come in an open field and eat bread to his heart's content and everyone is well aware of the existing government."(Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah Papers, File, 520, pp. 9-10). Overall public response to Miss Jinnah's decision to contest the election was satisfactory. The political landscape abruptly transformed following Miss Fatima Jinnah's selection. Overnight, anti-Ayub sentiments started to surface. The election of Miss Jinnah gave Pakistan's democratic forces a voice. From one end of the country to the other, protests and demonstrations erupted. Jute workers in East Pakistan, port workers in Chittagong, and transport workers in West Pakistan all embarked on a serious strike. East Pakistan Workers Council, a newly formed labor front, issued a 15-point platform outlining its objectives. Additionally, primary and secondary school teachers as well as students from both wings joined the walkout. (Mujahid, 2004, pp. 35-36). In short, people felt more comfortable airing their complaints about the government when Fatima Jinnah was nominated to run against Ayub Khan for president. Miss Jinnah took advantage of every opportunity to criticize the regime and explain how Quaid-i-Azam's dream was violated. So she thought it would be best to reach out to the masses directly. (Ziring, 1994, p. 72).

On October 1, Fatima Jinnah launched her election campaign leaving Karachi for Peshawar via PIA flight and addressed a public meeting there. After a day gap, she left Peshawar for Rawalpindi by car and from there she flew for Lahore. She traveled in a car for about 100 miles, from Peshawar to Rawalpindi. Along the way, residents of nearby villages flocked to the road, forcing her cortege to stop and address them before she could address a crowd of hundreds of thousands in the Rawalpindi Park where she was actually scheduled to speak (Pirbhai, 2017, p.232). On October 6, by leaving Lahore in Khyber Mail, she passed through Okara, Montgomery (Sahiwal), Multan, Bahawalpur, and Sukkar on the way and reached Hyderabad on October 7. On next day, a reception was arranged at Hyderabad railway station and after addressing a public meeting like other cities, she left for Karachi by car. The situation was the same in every major railway station between Lahore and Karachi. A large crowd was present at stations to listen to Fatima Jinnah's addresses. By passing from Multan railway station, a large crowd was there to see Miss Fatima Jinnah.

When her polling agent Rizwan Ahmad talked about the people's enthusiasm, Fatima Jinnah replied that these poor people of my country have actually come to demonstrate in such large numbers to bring down a dictator, otherwise I would have passed through Multan station before (Hamdani, 2003, p.99). Fatima Jinnah was the only hope for those people who wanted the substitution of an undemocratic system. The first round of the tour of West Pakistan was completed and Nazimuddin, Choudhary Muhammad Ali and Mahmudul Haq Usmani accompanied her on this tour. Fatima Jinnah's first round of public meetings in West Pakistan had given an open challenge to the government. Ayub and his associates were in a state of confusion and depression. Miss Fatima Jinnah was in full mood to chastise the government. In her speeches, Fatima Jinnah attacked unsparingly on Ayub Khan by rendering him as 'dictator' and 'interloper', and accusing his ministers and governors of being his lackeys and having no real power (Gauhar, 2011, p.276).

After holding a series of public meetings in West Pakistan, Fatima Jinnah traveled to East Pakistan, where she was welcomed with a lot more passion than in West Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman, a well-known leader of the East Pakistan Awami League, traveled with Miss Fatima Jinnah on this trip. They went to Dacca on October 16 via PIA. During her trip to East Pakistan, she was greeted with such a frenzied welcome that entire villages and small towns turned out to show their love. The 196-mile journey, which would typically take seven hours, took more than 28 hours to complete on the Green Arrow fastest train in East Pakistan that brought her from Dacca to Chittagong. The only reason for it was the excitement of the crowd to see their mother, who was their leader. Their spontaneity and genuineness were the most defining aspects of the reception (Mujahid, 1965, p.285). The people of East Pakistan had feelings of deprivation of their rights and they considered East Pakistan as a colony of Islamabad. Fatima Jinnah was the only hope for them who could change this oppressive and unjust system. Miss Fatima Jinnah spread the same message wherever she went: this election is not about people; it is about systems. On another occasion, while addressing the crowd of three hundred thousand in Dacca, she told that "on the one side, is the road to dictatorship, on the other side there is freedom and human dignity. On one side your destinies are in the pocket of one individual, on the other your destinies are in your own hands" (Pirbhai, 2017, p.233). She not only posed a question on Ayub Khan's system of government but also alleged his family for corruption and nepotism (Shahid, 2004, p.83). Moreover, Ayub Khan's land reforms were described as structured to empower the landlords and bureaucrats. His Islamic reforms, particularly Muslim Family Law defined as deviation from Sharia. Throughout her election campaign, Fatima Jinnah's charisma continued to capture the masses. She had adopted the aloof and dominating style of her brother, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. She did not allow any of the COP leaders around her to say anything nor did she follow their advice on election strategy. Moreover, another important thing is that not on a single occasion, Fatima Jinnah projected the Nine-Point program of COP (Gauhar, 2011, p.286). Her main apprehension was to restore democracy and the adult franchise that was a basic right of people.

Eventually, on January 2, 1965, 80,000 Basic Democrats decided the fate of the country by their votes. Ayub Khan was elected president for a second term by securing 49,951 (62.7%) votes while Miss Jinnah secured 28,691 (36%) and two other candidates K.M Kamal and Mian Bashir Ahmad got 183 and 65 respectively. In West Pakistan, Ayub Khan won with a great margin securing 28,939 (73.3%) and Miss Jinnah got 10,257 (26.7%). In East Pakistan Ayub Khan secured 21,012 (52.9%) while Miss Jinnah was very close by receiving 18,434 (46.5%) votes (Mujahid, 1965, pp. 280-294). apart from all the hurdles created by the government i.e. threatening during the campaign and rigging, Fatima Jinnah managed to gain a majority in three urban cities from both wings; Karachi, Dacca, and Chittagong. Apart from these major cities, she gained a significant minority from other urban cities. The ruling party completely managed rigging and influenced the elections' results. In West Pakistan, after Karachi, Toba Tek Singh was the second city from where Fatima Jinnah won the election from the lead of one vote from Ayub Khan but the polling agent of ruling

party forcefully cancelled that one vote in favor of Fatima Jinnah and after that votes of both candidates were equal (Diary of M.Hamza, 1965). Fatima Jinnah's defeat in the 1965 presidential election in Pakistan can be attributed to several factors; firstly, she faced strong opposition from the ruling political establishment led by President Ayub Khan. The government used its resources and influence to support Ayub Khan's candidacy. There were allegations of electoral manipulation and unfair practices during the election. This included the use of state resources and the suppression of political opposition.

Secondly, Fatima Jinnah, though respected for her role in Pakistan's creation and as the "Mother of the Nation," had limited political experience. She launched an extraordinary campaign in her round of public meetings but in projection meetings, Fatima Jinnah could not appeal to the members of the Electoral College. The fluctuating stance of Fatima Jinnah and the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) on the Basic Democracy (BD) system had a detrimental impact on their position. Initially, the leadership of COP criticized the BD system, labeling it as a "democratic means of perpetuating dictatorship" and a "fraud" aimed at depriving the common people of their right to elect representatives. They assured the public that they would eliminate the BD system once in power. However, they soon realized that the ruling party was exploiting this promise to turn BD supporters against COP and Fatima Jinnah. Subsequently, COP attempted to reassure BD supporters that they would reinstate the system after assuming power. Unfortunately, this belated assurance failed to restore COP's standing, which had been eroded by their earlier position. Moreover, it's worth noting that Pakistan was predominantly a patriarchal society, and many individuals held the belief that a woman was unsuitable for the presidency. This perception may have influenced some voters' decisions.

Conclusion

This study verifies the basic assumption that Fatima Jinnah was the first prominent female figure who resisted against Ayub Khan's autocratic rule. Her efforts to reestablish democracy ignited hope for future female leaders and paved the way for other democratic movements. This study aims to highlight Fatima Jinnah's contributions to the restoration of parliamentary democracy, delving into her responses to military rule and the subsequent evolution of her stance during the Martial Law era. Furthermore, it will shed light on her significant presidential campaign during the 1965 Presidential Elections. Despite her loss in the election, primarily due to extensive rigging in favor of Ayub Khan, this ultimately led to Ayub's downfall and the reinstatement of democracy in Pakistan.

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