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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF GOVERNANCE AND POLITICS IN ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN 1947-1971

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ABSTRACT

The paper is primarily dealing with the governance and politics in Pakistan after its emergence in 1947. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah tried his best to set up a good governance system in the country as a founding father. Muslim League as dominant political party formed its government but different conspiracies and involvement of undemocratic forces affected the governance and politics during this era. Non-elected behaviour created un rest in the country and due to the behavior of the political leaders, Ayub take over, his political and administrative strategies, 1st Martial Law put its influence on politics not only but the EBDO also destabilized democracy in Pakistan. This paper is an attempt to high light the governance and politics of Pakistan 1947-1971 how political leadership and military intervene influenced on governance and politics.

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the politically history of Pakistan 1947-1971. This is a brief discussion about the governance and politics in Pakistan from 1947-1971. The major points of discussion include the role of Political Parties of Pakistan, behavior of the political leaders, Ayyub strategies, Bhutto emergence and his policies, analysis of the governance and politics to elaborate governance and patterns of politics of this period.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is an analytical study focuses on governance and politics in Pakistan 1947-1971, applying by method of qualitative approach and with the help of documentary sources based on primary and secondary books, articles, essays and newspapers.

DISCUSSION

Pakistan emerged on the map of the world on 14th August 1947 under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam. The initial position of the government was not very sound due to the poor economic condition and the system of governance was not strong. The immature attitude of the political leadership did not provide the strong breath to politics. The undemocratic attitude and conspiracies created a political gap in the country. The chronological position of the government and events explains the governance and politics as following.

Pakistan First Phase 1947-58

Jinnah took charge of the country as first Governor General and the Government of India act 1935 was adopted as interim constitution with some minor changes. At that, time country was passing through a hard period, facing refugees issue due to large-scale migration and administrative problems. Jinnah being an old and ill person, tired of long political struggle, had to deal with these problems. Pakistan rushed in to independence but Muslim League had no homework about how to run the newly independent state.¹ The last session All India Muslim council in Dec.1947 gave birth to Pakistan Muslim League (PML) when it decided to divide the party in two parties one for India and the other one for Pakistan. PML constitution banned ministers from enjoying any office in PML organization. As a result, Jinnah resigned from the president ship of PML because he was working as governor general. Khliq-u-Zaman was appointed as chief organizer of the party who was later on elected as president by the office bearers of PML but he lacked leadership qualities of Jinnah. He indulged in petty intrigues and patronized his supporters in provinces as a result² the federalized structure of Muslim League changed into a provincial one. Controversies aroused among the members of PML and their clashes diverted Jinnah's attention from the much-needed reforms of the country. In order to deal with these multiple issues Jinnah adopted the vice regal system of pre-partition time i.e. a powerful Governor General having full administrative and political authority, secondly Jinnah relied heavily on bureaucrats rather on his fellow politicians. Jinnah gave immense powers to Governors and in three provinces appointed British as governors. He also gave them free hand in provincial political matters especially in Punjab province. So from the very beginning centralized system developed in the country which was totally against the

federal and parliamentary rules. Than Prime Minister Liaquat Ali khan, one of the loyalists of Jinnah exercised no real executive powers and even defended Jinnah's authority on the floor of assembly. This vice regal set up greatly embarrassed him as Prime Minister. Jinnah's dominating personality did not allow anyone to dominate the country administration³ As a result when Jinnah died in 1948, there was no prominent political leader to replace him and to fill the leadership vacuum created with his death. Muslim leaders of that time were not familiar with western style of democracy and they had no experience to work in coordination and to take decisions unanimously⁴. In fact, the formative phase of Pakistan history was valuable to set patterns of governance and function of State institutions to convert the colonial system in to a democratic one. After the departure of British, Pakistan had security threats from India and at the same time faced administrative, political and economic challenges. In Pakistan a multi-cultural and multi- ethnic country, state building and national building became a very tough task. Pakistan Muslim league did not change according to the need of time and failed to rebuild its political vision of economic and social advancement of common people.⁵ It was remarked that the foundation party of Pakistan was like a caravan without any destination. It became an incapable party having no program and just threw dust in the eyes of common man.⁶

Lawrence Ziring blamed political leaders and structural weaknesses of Muslim league for the decay of party politics. Muslim League totally failed to resolve confusion and to arbitrate between government and people. Party did not hold any general convention since independence. The league leaders could not judge the issues on national level but took them on regional level. Party badly failed to integrate the provinces and distribute resources among them.⁷

The party began to fracture due to the fighting among members of Muslim League. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy deserted Muslim League in 1949 and founded his own party by the name of All Pakistan Awami Muslim League (APAML). APAML was the first faction of Muslim League. After Jinnah's demise Mamdot, the chief minister of Punjab was dismissed by Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in reaction he quitted Muslim league and founded his own party Jinnah Muslim League (JML) in 1949. Later on Suhrawerdy' APAML and Mamdot's JML, merged in each other and Jinnah Awami Muslim League (JAML) emerged in 1950. Mian Iftekhar Ud Din, a leading member of the left-wing of Muslim League due to some ideological difference with the leadership of PML formed his own faction by the name of Azad Pakistan Party in 1949. This faction later on merged with some other leftist parties in 1957 and formed National Awami Party (NAP). In Sindh severe controversies between Khurro (chief minister of Sindh) and central leadership of Muslim league resulted in the foundation of another faction of Muslim League by the name of Sindh Muslim League in 1954. Suhrawardy removed the word Muslim from his party and named it Jinnah Awami League in 1953. In the Provincial elections of NWFP and Punjab, and PML won the majority of the seats. But in the provincial elections of Bengal held 1954, PML just secured 10 seats out of 309 seats and an alliance of United Front comprised of Jinnah Awami league, Democratic Party, Peoples Committee party and Nizam-e-Islam party secured 223 seats. These results cleared that PML had lost its ground in East Pakistan. After this

superb victory in Bengal elections Suhrawardy's party became a Bengali nationalist party and was named as Awami League (AL). The final blow for PML was the foundation of Republican Party in 1955. With the foundation of this party Muslim league lost its majority in the parliament.⁸

During this phase constituent assembly entangled into intrigues and constitution making process had been delayed for a long period. Objective resolution raised the concerns of minorities. East Pakistan had serious concerns on language issue, allocation of seats in legislative assembly, provincial autonomy, distribution of resources etc. When their demands were not fulfilled by government, politics of agitation germinated in East Pakistan.⁹

The slogan of one nation, one religion, one language and one political party on the name of national interests, for national integration negatively affected the process of democratization and institutionalization. So politics of regionalism, factionalism and opportunism became the part and parcel of formative phase. Participatory politics is the key to successful democratic process but no general elections were held in Pakistan after independence. Political parties did not show any commitment to democratic values and norms to set patterns for Pakistan's future political system.¹⁰

In parliamentary setup, head of the state works just as a symbolic head and plays no role in practical politics but in that period, Ghulam Muhammad and Sikander Mirza played a very influential role and developed negative trends in politics. Both of them violated the basic principles of parliamentary government and involved in making and breaking of governments. The dismissal of Nazim's government (although he was enjoying the majority of assembly) and dissolution of constituent assembly on personal issues had been a clear indication of those negative trends. They were involved in making unstable governments. Actually, they were bureaucrats and wanted to handle affairs on vice regal patterns.¹¹

The 1st constitution of the country was promulgated after long 09 year in 1956, was characterized with vagueness and ambiguities. After the enforcement of constitution, four different governments were installed and dismissed. This weak political system gave upper hand to military and bureaucracy to fill the gap created by political parties. Military was actively involved in State administration and then Commander in Chief Ayub khan was enjoying the portfolio of defense minister in cabinet.¹² From 1951 -1958 this country experienced 7 prime ministers. This political instability and deteriorated economy created more uncertainties among the masses. As a result, military justified itself to take the control of the country in October 1958, by dismissing prime minister and dissolving National assembly.

First Military Period

After enforcing emergency, Ayub khan portrayed himself as the savior of Pakistani nation and set himself to restructure the system of the country. He abrogated the constitution of 1956 which according to him was not suitable to the Pakistani environment.¹³

Ayub's political strategies made it clear that his foremost objective was to exclude the politicians from political scene. He concluded that they were incapable and responsible for the disturbance of law and order situation in the country. To handle the politicians, he promulgated the famous Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) authorizing the newly formed tribunals to put politicians on trial for their misconduct. About 7000 politicians and officers were put to trial by these tribunals and eminent politicians including Hussein Shaheed Suhrawrdy were disqualified from politics. He also brought media under strict control on the name of national and security interest. In this way he wanted to secure a safe way for his long stay in office.¹⁴

He introduced structural reforms in country's administration by introducing the system of basic democrats. He introduces this system in the name of devolution of powers and to shift governance powers to gross root level but his basic motive behind this system was to prolong his rule. This was basically an attempt to set one man rule in disguise of controlled democracy. These democrats were not only the representative of people but also the Electoral College for the election of president, Central and provincial legislative assemblies. In short through this system Ayub institutionalized the political power of his regime and centralized all the powers in president office. To legitimize his rule he promulgated new constitution in 1962 drafted by his own elected commission.¹⁵

This new constitution was characterized with the concentration of all powers in the office of president and a federal system with strong center and minimum provincial autonomy.¹⁶

His tendencies showed that he wanted to rule like a king and was not ready to share power with political elites. In decision making he relied heavily on bureaucracy.¹⁷

In 1962 indirect elections were conducted on nonparty basis in the country but later on assembly passed the Political Parties Act, 1962 which restored political parties. Soon after that political parties started their activities. PML at its revival split in two factions. The supporters of Ayub's regime formed Convention Muslim League (Con ML) while opponents of regime formed Council Muslim League (CML). Both the factions of PML claimed to be the real PML. Khawaja Nazimud din was elected as the president of CML. This party allied with Anti-Ayub political parties including Jamat e Islami, Nizam e Islam party and Awami League. Government resources were placed at the disposal of pro-Ayub politicians in legislature.¹⁸

Ayub became the head of the Convention ML while Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became the 1st secretary general of the party.¹⁹ Con ML had no specific ideological basis and constructive program of its own for public welfare. Its basic purpose was to give unconditional support to the doctoral rule of Ayub and to secure personal interests.²⁰

On economic front Ayub introduced drastic reforms in economy and in 1960s era Pakistan made a tremendous economic growth. This era was celebrated by

Ayub government as "Decade of Development". But this economic growth confined to central Punjab and Karachi which developed far more than other regions of country especially East Pakistan which had already been felt exploited and deprived. As a result regional and income inequalities grew very sharply giving rise to political category of the super-rich and national wealth accumulated in "Twenty two families"²¹

His political administration and economic policies enhanced the already existed regional and economic inequalities between East and West Pakistan. His introduced system failed to integrate his policies and function of state institutions. He failed to address the reservations of East Pakistan. His centralized rule badly affected the growth of democracy and political institutionalization.²²

Angered by Ayub's authoritarian rule the reputed politicians of East Pakistan presented a notion that 'in Pakistan there had been two nations: one of them was Bengali having a distinct life style and culture. In fact, this was an alarming notion. After some time Mujib presented his Six Points Agenda demanding full provincial autonomy and a loose federation.²³

Ayub with the help of state machinery manipulated the presidential election of 1965 and became president for next term. But opposition parties severely criticized that election. The final blow to Ayub's rule was the agreement with India known as Tashkent declaration of 1966 at the end of 1965 war. This actually proved a swan song for his rule.²⁴ Ayub's close associate Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (defense minister at that time) openly criticized Tashkent declaration and resigned from his post. He started anti Ayub movement and established his own party "Pakistan People's Party" in 1967 on socialist lines.²⁵ Islam is our faith; Democracy is our polity; socialism is our economy; All power to the people' was the motto took up for the party. An explanatory common slogan i.e. '*Roti, Kapra and Makan*' added to the ideological base in order to address common mind set.²⁶

Massive agitation started in both East and West Pakistan against Ayub policies. Con ML failed to neutralized this agitation and its workers and leaders face public wrath and criticism due to their unconditional support to Ayub.²⁷ During anti-Ayub movement an ex prominent member of PML Qayyum Khan launched his own party Qayyum Muslim league.²⁸

Unfavorable circumstances forced Ayub to render resignation in March, 1969 and hand over power to Yahya. Yahya khan's era was one of the troublesome periods of Pakistan history. In fact, he wanted more and more political authority and centralization of power denying provincial autonomy, which further increased the grievances of East Pakistan. Yahya khan announced the date of first general election of Pakistan. It was worthwhile that after the announcement of elections schedule, Yahya passed Legal Frame Work Order (LFO). That was basically an attempt to prolong his rule and to influence the government which would be formed after elections. In these elections there were two major opponent political parties one was Awami League(AL) from east Pakistan and the other one was PPP from west Pakistan.²⁹ The manifesto of PPP for the 1970

general elections focused on transforming the economy of Pakistan on socialist line, emphasizing that only socialism, the highest shape of democracy, could prevent exploitation, remove barrier of class distinction and privilege and establish social and economic justice while AL speak for a loose federation. The main features of Convention ML manifesto were federal system, decentralization of economic system, autonomy for provinces and nationalization of major industries. CML manifesto focused on the revival of 1956 constitution, provincial autonomy and nationalization of basic industries and Qayyum ML manifesto demanded nationalization of basic industries and a truly democratic constitution. In fact, there was no much difference among the manifestos of all the three factions.³⁰

Awami League got sweeping victory and secured almost all seats of central Assembly reserved for East Pakistan. In West Pakistan Bhutto Party emerged as a major party but its seats were far less than AL³¹. All factions of Muslim League faced crushing defeat in these elections. ConML secured 07 seats, CML secured just 02 seats and Qayyum league secured 09 seats. Factions of PML proceeded in to the background and two new political parties PPP and AL emerged on the political horizon of Pakistan.³² Politicians of West Pakistani denied to recognize the majority of AL in legislature, Bengalis got furious and Yahya tried to control Bengal with force as a result civil war started which resulted in the separation of East Pakistan on 16 December 1971. This tragedy forced Gen. Yahya to resign, he resigned and handed over powers to Bhutto on 20 December 1971.³³

CONCLUSION

The above discussion is concluded that from the emergence of Pakistan, the governance and politics of the country started with conspiracies and was on wrong track. Muslim League as a founding party of Pakistan remained in power from 1947 to 1954 for a long spell of 07 years but it failed to evolve a valuable program for the masses. Actually, the death of Jinnah left Pakistan in critical situation. After Jinnah demise rivalries among various leaders not only undermined the party organization but its performance as well. Different factions of Muslim league emerged with the passage of time. Centralized tendencies of government and unjust division of economic resources enhanced the grievances of East Pakistan. The selfish politicians, industrial class, landlords backed by military and bureaucracy totally ignored the governance of the country, as a result system of country failed to work properly. The structure of the political parties remained undemocratic. Due to weak party structure non-elected institutions enhanced their role in the politics of the country which gave birth to imbalanced relationship among state institutions. Country was encountered with social, economic and political problems; as a result, the very system of the country went undermined. Barraging of interest between elected and non-elected entities remained active. Factions of PML supported the military dictators for maximum personal gains. Violation of human rights, negative role of judiciary, poor law and order situation, poverty, inflation, budget deficit, authoritative rule of military dictators as well as of civilian rulers, undemocratic and negative role of oppositions parties are the part and parcel of Pakistan history from 1947-1971. Elections 1971 also proved of the lust of rule and this approach affected badly the national interests of the state. In short, these

23 years the governance and politics of Pakistan remained without any positive and democratic direction.

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