

**EARLY MINISTRIES 1947-58
& THE EVENTS LEADING TO
MARTIAL LAW IN PAKISTAN**

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1947-1958)

When Pakistan was established it had no constitution of its own and in Independence Act of 1947 it was decided that the Government of India Act 1935 would be used as the constitution for both the countries unless they make their own constitution. It could not fulfill the requirements of an independent Islamic state, so Quaid-e-Azam formed a constituent assembly and he himself was its president. The committee was assigned a dual job:

- a. To frame a new constitution
- b. To act as a constituent assembly or parliament till the completion of the new constitution

The committee met in August 1947 to start its work. The constitution committee faced many problems.

Practice Question: Why was it so difficult to agree on a new constitution in 1950? [7]

Problems in constitution making:

1. Death of Quaid-e-Azam

Quaid-e-Azam died on 11th September 1948 and it was a blow to the process of constitution making because he was the president of constitutional committee and had a clear idea about the future constitution of Pakistan.

2. Controversy between East and West Pakistan

At that time there were many problems b/w east and West Pakistan; the people of East Pakistan were more than the people of West Pakistan so they demanded more representative and more seats in federal legislature while the people of west also demanded the same due to better socio-economic condition and a specific role in the state of Pakistan.

3. Islamic Concept of State

Pakistan was established on the basis of Islamic ideology that's why it was essential for a constitution committee go with a due place to the Islam in the constitution.

4. Language Problem

In East Pakistan people used to speak Bengali that's why they demanded that Bengali to be the national language while the people in West Pakistan used to speak Urdu that's why they demanded the same status for Urdu. To choose a national language for the constitution was also a problem.

Prime Ministers of Pakistan (1947-1958)

Liaquat Ali Khan: (August 1947-October 1951): He was the first prime minister of Pakistan.

Although he was unable to solve many problems, he wanted to see Pakistan as a developed country. He got popularity after the death of Quaid as he also had played an important role in Pakistan movement. As prime minister of Pakistan he kept the economy working and produced a surplus budget. He could not frame the constitution of Pakistan but "Objectives Resolution" was passed during his govt. in 1949, which was the first step towards constitution making in Pakistan. In January 1951 he appointed Ayub Khan as C-in-C of Pakistan Army after retirement of Douglas Gracey. He was assassinated on 16 October 1951 while addressing a public rally in Rawalpindi. He was given the title of "**Shaheed-e-Millat**".

Khawaja Nazimuddin (Oct 1951 – April 1953): He was from East Pakistan. He could not stop the influence of executive branch of govt. in the politics. He was appointed as the 2nd Governor General of Pakistan in Sept. 1948 after the death of Quaid. After the death of Liaquat Ali Khan, the Finance Minister Malik Ghulam Mohammad persuaded him to step down, as the governor-general and become the prime minister and Ghulam Mohammad himself became the governor general. In 1953 Pakistan faced a severe food crisis and economic problems leading to civil unrest, which was exploited by religious elements who wanted Ahmedis to be declared as non-Muslims. The government of Nazim-ud-din was criticized for lacking firmness in law and order

and dealing with economic situation so Malik Ghulam Mohammad dismissed Nazim-ud-din govt. and appointed Mohammad Ali Bogra as the prime minister of Pakistan.

Mohammad Ali Bogra (Apr 1953-Aug 1955): He belonged to East Pakistan and had little knowledge about practical politics. He wanted to cut down the power of the governor general which was not tolerated by Malik Ghulam Mohammad who forced Mohammad Ali Bogra to resign from his post but later on he re-appointed him with a chosen cabinet of his own choice including **Iskander Mirza** and **Ayub Khan**. This step was challenged in the court by **Maulvi Tamizuddin** and Sindh High Court declared it illegal but afterwards federal court under **Justice Munir** decided that governor general had the power to take such action in national interests. Iskandar Mirza replaced Ghulam Mohammad as governor general and he dismissed Bogra in August 1955 and appointed Chaudhry Mohammad Ali as the PM of Pakistan.

Chaudhry Mohammad Ali: (Aug 1955 – Sept 1956): He was a civil servant and former finance minister. He played an important role in helping to draft and pass the first constitution. In 1956, he had to deal with many problems in East Pakistan both political and economic. A food crisis took place in Bengal due to floods and there was a disagreement among the Bengali political leaders and Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, so he resigned and Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy replaced him.

Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy (Sept 1956 – Oct 1957): He was from East Pakistan and he had been the premier of united Bengal. He played an important role in Pakistan Movement and after independence he moved to Pakistan from Calcutta. He was a real politician and wanted to have some control over the govt. machinery but the constitution gave decisive powers to the president so he was asked to resign by Iskander Mirza to hand in his resignation.

I.I Chundrigar (Oct – Dec 1957): After the resignation of Prime Minister Suharwardy in 1956, Chundrigar was nominated as the Prime Minister and was supported by Awami League, Krishak Sramik Party, Nizam-i-Islam Party and the Republican Party. However, this coalition of mixed parties weakened him to exercise his authority to run the central government, with reaching a compromise with the Republican Party led by its presidents Feroze Khan and Iskander Mirza to

amend the Electoral College. His tenure of 55 days is the shortest span of any premier in Pakistan.

Feroze Khan Noon (Dec 1957 – Oct 1958): He was a landlord from Punjab and managed to oversee one of the chaotic administrations. He kept his govt. going by appointing too many ministers from different parties and they could not agree on most of the matters. This created chaos in the country which was beyond Mirza's control so he was dismissed too. Mirza then invited Ayub Khan as chief martial law administrator. On October 7th, 1958 Mirza abrogated the constitution and imposed first martial law in Pakistan. His success, however, was short-lived and 3 weeks later he too was dismissed by Ayub Khan.

Governor Generals of Pakistan (1947-1958)

- 1. Quaid-e-Azam (August 1947 - September 1948)**
- 2. Khawaja Nazim-ud-din (September 1948 – October 1951)**
- 3. Malik Ghulam Mohammad (October 1951- August 1955)**
- 4. Iskandar Mirza (August 1955 – October 1958):** He had joined Indian Army but had been sent to political service by the British so he was the perfect bridge between the military and the civil service. He was the 4th and last governor general and first president of Pakistan because 1956 constitution declared Pakistan a Republic. On 5th October 1955 he introduced "One-unit scheme" which integrated all the areas of West Pakistan into a single province. The main reason for this was given to improve the efficiency but it was criticized by East Pakistan as it affected the number of seats of East Pakistan. During his govt. there was an uncertain political situation and he dismissed many prime ministers. On 7th October 1958 he imposed first martial law in Pakistan and Ayub Khan was appointed as chief martial law administrator who later forced Mirza to leave Pakistan for an exiled life in London.

CAIE Exam Questions:

1. (b) Why did General Ayub Khan declare Martial Law in 1958? [7]

2. (b) Why was Martial Law declared in 1958? [7]

REASONS FOR IMPOSING MARTIAL LAW

On 7th October 1958, Iskander Mirza imposed the first martial law and Field Marshal Ayub Khan became the first Chief Martial Law Administrator. The main reasons behind the imposition of martial law were as follows:

1. Weakness of political leaders and lack of commitment leading to political crisis

After Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan Pakistan could not get sincere leaders and the leaders who came afterwards could not handle the political situation of the country. Even the Pakistan Muslim league had lost its control in various areas of Pakistan as a result of that the govt. became powerless. The political leaders of Pakistan could not manage to perform their duties according to the requirements. They were least concerned with the national interest while they were keen to gain personnel gains. There was great uncertainty during the govt. of Ghulam Muhammad & Iskander Mirza various leaders that led to the dismissal of many a prime minister. Eventually military had to take over.

2. Delay in framing the constitution and economic crisis

Various governments that came into power could not frame the constitution of Pakistan after nine years which created great problems for the administrative machinery of Pakistan and proved inefficiency of various ministries. Moreover, Pakistan suffered food crisis in 1953 that further weakened political governments. This condition gave a chance to the military to interfere in the political affairs.

3. Role of Ayub Khan

During this time period military emerged as the most organized and strongest institution in the country. Ayub Khan was an intelligent and talented military officer. He was observing the situation of the country very critically. He was called by various governments to help in controlling the political affairs but he refused. The political situation of the country had become worst and finally Ayub Khan was invited by Iskander Mirza to take over and impose martial law.

Imposition of Martial Law in 1958

Iskander Mirza called him for the first martial law in Pakistan under the following conditions:

1. The govt. would be dismissed.
2. The constitution of 1956 would be abrogated.
3. Assemblies would be dissolved.
4. Political parties and activities would be banned.
5. Martial law would be imposed until the next govt. was formed.

General Ayub Khan (1958-69)

CAIE Exam Questions:

1. "Constitutional reforms were the most important of Ayub Khan's domestic policies during the 'decade of development' between 1958 and 1969. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]
2. Which of the following was the most important contribution of Ayub Khan's government during the decade of development between 1958 and 1969?
Agricultural and other economic reforms
Constitutional reforms
Foreign policies
Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. [14]
3. Why were the years 1958-69 called 'Decade of Development'? [7]
4. Why did Ayub Khan decline from the power? [7]

Imposition of Martial Law 1958

Liaquat Ali had appointed Ayub Khan as Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army in 1951 after General Douglas Gracey left his job. He was also a Defense Minister from Oct 1958 to Oct 1966. On 7th Oct. 1958 Ayub assumed power as first Chief Martial Law Administrator. He immediately announced that:

- A constitution-making body would be formed to frame the new constitution.
- In 1959 he introduced a four-tier “Basic Democracy” System. In December 1959 and January 1960 elections were held for Basic Democrats and they were asked for confidence in Ayub Khan.
- 95% showed support for Ayub and he was sworn in as President in 1960.
- The constitution-making body formed a new constitution in 1962 and martial law was lifted.
- The President was given sweeping powers. The new National Assembly met for the first time in June 1962 and Ayub was sworn in as President according to terms and conditions of the new constitution and ban on political parties was lifted.
- In 1964 elections to Electoral College took place and opposition claimed for rigging. Elections to National Assembly were held in March 1965 using the electoral college of Basic Democrats and Muslim league Conventional (Ayub Khan’s party) won these elections also.
- In 1965 Indo-Pak War broke out. Bhutto was Foreign Minister during this time and Ayub asked Bhutto to resign in 1966, which grew opposition and dissatisfaction in Pakistan.
- In 1968 to despite of growing criticism Ayub celebrated “Decade of Development” in which he highlighted his reforms.
- Foreign Minister Bhutto was removed from his post and was arrested for creating chaos. Strikes and agitation were started in East and West Pakistan. In 1969, eight opposition parties formed “Democratic Action Committee” in Dhaka. On 25th March 1969 Ayub was forced to resign by C-in-C Yahya Khan, who declared second martial law in Pakistan.

Decade of Development (1958 – 68)

President Ayub Khan's period is said to be an era of reforms, peace and progress. Steps were taken in this period to bring about reforms in various fields. A system of price control was enforced with a view to put an end to the food crisis and saving prices of essential commodities. Suitable measures were taken against the dishonest and corrupt traders and businessmen who used to hoard up food stuff and create artificial scarcity of commodities. As a result of this drastic action corruption and smuggling came to almost a halt. Thus the activity of anti-social elements was curbed. Measures were adopted to collect the arrear land revenue and taxes and as a result the income of the government increased.

Domestic Policies

Economic Reforms

1. Screening Committees:

Screening committees were set up in different stages of administration with a view to remove corrupt and inefficient officials from the government services.

2. Indus Basin Treaty 1960:

Due to initiative of the President Ayub the border demarcation between the two countries finalized. In 1960 Indus Water Treaty was signed through the mediation of World Bank. According to his treaty Indus, Jhelum and Chenab were given to Pakistan while Ravi, Sutlej and Beas were given to India. This treaty solved the water dispute between two countries.

3. Rehabilitation of Refugees:

Effective steps were taken for the rehabilitation of the refugees and for this purpose a committee was formed under General Azam Khan and many cases were solved. Colonies and satellite towns were set up for these homeless refugees.

4. Green Revolution and Land Reforms:

In Punjab and Sindh the feudal landlords dominated the entire social and political structure. Their influence grew everywhere. Ayub's govt. took a bold step to undertake Agrarian reforms. Landlords were not allowed to have more than 500 acres of irrigated and 1000 acres of un-irrigated land. The division of holdings below an economic level was forbidden and provisions made for amalgamation of already existing uneconomic holding to an economic one.

The productivity of the land increased & agricultural output rose by using modern methods of farming, tube wells, more tractors, more chemical fertilizers, use of HYV's and insecticides. As a result of this a **GREEN REVOLUTION** came in the county with maximum crop output.

5. Industrial Reforms:

Due to land reforms of Ayub Khan a green revolution emerged and agro-based industries were set up all over the country. He made efforts to make Pakistan an industrialized nation. For that purpose, he created a favorable environment for investment. PIDC and PICIC were set up to provide loans for setting up industries. There was a shift in establishments of consumer goods industries to heavy industries. Industrial growth increased in terms of exports and productivity. He encouraged local and foreign investors by giving them incentives. He also encouraged exports through 'Export Bonus Scheme'. Domestic industries were protected by imposition of tariff on imported goods. Oil refinery set up in Karachi and Mineral Development Corporation.

As a result of these reforms, there was sharp increase in economic growth at the rate of **7%** per year, three times more than India. However, there was little improvement in the conditions of poor people. His industrial policies created class discrimination. 22 families controlled 66% of industrial assets and 80% of banking and insurance companies. Moreover, all these developmental efforts were in West Pakistan and East Pakistan seemed deprived.

6. Shifting of Capital from Karachi to Islamabad

Ayub Khan shifted capital from Karachi to Islamabad in 1967 after complete construction of a modern city. This would also allow him to stay close to the GHQ in Rawalpindi.

Political/Constitutional Reforms

7. Basic Democracy System:

The idea underlying basic democracies was to guide the people for democracy and political participation. The basic democracies order issued in October 1959 introduced a 4-tier structure of representative bodies, which were:

- i. Union Council in villages**
- ii. Sub-District Council**
- iii. District Council**
- iv. Divisional council**

In this system ordinary people elected Union Council members, who in turn elected district and divisional council members.

These Basic Democrats formed the Electoral College for provincial and central assemblies.

There were total 80000 basic democrats.

Constitutional Reforms (Constitution of 1962):

In Feb 1960 Ayub Khan appointed a constitution commission under Justice Shahab-ud-Din to draft the new constitution of Pakistan. It recommended:

- Pakistan was declared as 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan'.
- President could not be removed unless impeached.
- A cabinet of ministers from national assembly.
- Presidential form of government.
- A single house legislature called national assembly elected for 5 years.
- Provincial assembly for each province.
- All legislative, executive and judicial powers in the hands of president.
- An indirect system of elections by the through basic democrats who will form 'electoral College'. 40000 from East Pakistan and 40000 from West Pakistan.

Social and educational reforms

- Ayub introduced '**Family Law Ordinance 1960**' to give protection to women; polygamy was prohibited except under some special cases. It prescribed a marriageable age for females and males. He tried to control high birth rate through population control program called "Family Planning Program".
- Innovations were initiated in civil & criminal legal system.

Educational Reforms:

- Ayub's govt. started an extensive literary program, which involved the building of schools and colleges in several towns.
- Technical and vocational institutes were opened where both research and training were conducted. He appointed a commission for this and primary education was free and compulsory till class eight. He also recommended 3 year degree program and religious education was also emphasized.

Military Reforms:

He made many changes in armed forces according to the demands. He made tours to super powers and defense agreements were signed. Due to his policies Pakistan got military help from China and even we got aircrafts to fight in 1965 Indo-Pak war.

Foreign Policy

- Ayub introduced a friendly foreign policy and he made tours of developed countries and delegates were also sent.
- He got many foreign contracts and loans. Pakistan's industries could not have developed without foreign loans, which were provided by western countries like USA, UK, and Germany.
- In 1964 **RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development)** was signed with Iran and Turkey which improved the relations and trade among the member countries.
- 1960 Indus Water Treaty signed with India.

- Cordial relations with USSR were established by signing Tashkent Declaration in 1966.
- Close military and trade relations with China.

War of 1965

The main cause of 1965 Indo-Pak War was the Kashmir issue. India had occupied the Kashmir valley ever since the partition happened. All efforts for a free plebiscite in the valley had failed. The Kashmiris launched a civil disobedience movement against the Indian government that resulted in further atrocities. Ayub Khan provoked India into war by infiltration of army into occupied Kashmir and in despair Indian troops crossed the cease-fire line and occupied several posts in Pakistan. When Pakistan retaliated a war started between India and Pakistan, which lasted for 17 days. On 22nd September 1965 according to the resolution of the Security Council a ceasefire agreement was signed between India and Pakistan.

Tashkent Declaration – Jan 1966

This nine-point declaration was signed between Pakistan and India at Tashkent (USSR). It contained no reference to solve Kashmir problem. Both armies reverted back to their original position. Z.A. Bhutto who was foreign minister at that time protested against this agreement and was sacked by Ayub Khan. Later he became a focal point for opposition to Ayub.

Causes of Downfall of Ayub Khan

The last quarter of 1968 witnessed a popular movement directed against Ayub Khan and shook the region to its roots. The main causes for the downfall of Ayub were as follows:

1. Dictatorial Policies of Ayub Khan/Undemocratic rule

- Ayub Khan introduced several measures to curb the politicians like **EBDO** (Elected Bodies Disqualifications Ordinance). Press freedom was curtailed to a great extent. A systematic victimization of political opponents was carried out. In fact there was an end to civil liberties in Pakistan.
- Restricted Nature of Franchise/Constitution of 1962: According to the constitution of 1962 the method of indirect election by the basic democrats

generated dissatisfaction among the people. People were not allowed to choose their leaders directly. His constitutional reforms gave immense power to the president, which was not liked by the people.

- Corruption in the BD System and Public Services: The members of the basic democrats were enjoying tremendous power; this led to corruption, malpractice, oppression and suppression.

2. Economic Policies and unrest In East Pakistan

During his govt. 22 industrial families were holding 66% of the country's industrial assets and 80% of its insurance and banking services. Most of the wealth was concentrated in West Pakistan. Most of the capital earned by East Pakistan especially from jute industry was shifted to West Pakistan. He also shifted many prosperous industries from East Pakistan to West. As a result East Pakistanis were not satisfied with the economic policies of the Ayub Government. They organized themselves under the leadership of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman and presented their demands for full autonomy in form of **Six Points**. There was also discontentment in West Pakistan due to growing gap between rich and poor people.

3. Role of Z.A. Bhutto

Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, a man considerably popular with the youth gave leadership to the movement and created the feelings of hatred against Ayub Khan and his govt. He organized student's movement against Ayub Khan. There were infrequent clashes between the police and the students, unrest spread throughout Pakistan among the students.

Other Reasons

- Educational reforms could not get the desired results. The students and student unions were against him.
- The religious people criticized family planning system and they protested on ban on polygamy and considered both of these against Islam.
- In 1968 Ayub celebrated "Decade of development" to divert the growing criticism on his government.

Formation of Democratic Action Committee

The major political parties with the exception of the NAP and PPP agreed to form Democratic Action Committee on the basis of eight-point program. This opposition unity was a decisive factor in the history of the movement. Meanwhile, considering the situation serious the president decided to resign on 25th March 1969.