Special Report: The Changing of the guard

(1958-1969)

BY: Akbar S. Chaudhry

INTRODUCTION:

This story is part of a series of 16 special reports under the banner of '70 years of Pakistan and Dawn', written by Akbar Chaudhry published in "The Dawn", who is a political economist based in Karachi. He has a PhD in History from the University of Cambridge. He teaches at Columbia University in New York, and at the IBA in Karachi. The Article critically evaluates and undermines the era of Ayub Khan and the steps taken towards development along with policies adopted. The author also highlights the consequences that the country had to face during the military regime.

SUMMARY

President General Muhammad Ayub Khan's decade from 1958 to 1969 in the original Pakistan, the country that existed before it lost its eastern part in 1971, was fundamental in many important ways and set the course for Pakistan for years to come. It fostered the development of military dictatorship models, US reliance, regional disparities, and an overly centralized administration. The first military dictator of Pakistan established the basis of a capitalist economy while in power. This period is frequently referred to as the "Decade of Development" or as "Pakistan's Golden Years" of a "Socially Liberal Military Dictatorship." Numerous economic and social contradictions were created as a result, which manifested themselves not just in the 1960s but also later.

Before 1969 all the Commander in Chiefs of Pakistan Army had no political ambitions. But when General Ayub Khan became the army

chief in 1951 under the prime minister ship of Liaquat Ali Khan, he immediately showed some signs that he was willing to play his part in the country's politics. He was termed as the perfect political soldier by some of the theologists.

• The Rawalpindi conspiracy case:

Ayub served as C-in-C for less than two months before being invited by the prime minister to assist with the investigation of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, which involved an alleged plot to topple the government by a group of communists and other senior military officials.

With no political leadership in place after the killing of Liaquat in 1951, the Pakistan Army, together with a slew of bureaucrats, emerged as the country's sole organized and stable organizations. The army saw first blood when martial law was imposed in parts of south Punjab in 1953.

• From 1953 to 1958:

In the early years of Pakistan's existence, there were several leadership transitions. In 1953, pro-US Mohammad Ali Bogra became prime minister, and in 1954, the sitting C-in-C of the Army joined the government as the minister of defense.

Ayub was the only sitting chief of the army in Pakistan who had served in a civilian ministry before taking office. The different administrations at the period made several decisions over the next four years that would have an influence on what happened after 1958 until he finally took control in a coup in October 1958. Pakistan joined the regional coalitions organized by the US to fight communism and the Soviet Union's threat.

Pakistan made the decision to follow the road of reliance, which has persisted up until recently, by joining the Southeast Asian Treaty

Organization in 1954 and the Baghdad Pact in 1955. To combat "provincialism" and cope with the bulk of East Pakistan's perceived danger, the One Unit in West Pakistan was established. The foundation for the ensuing years was laid by an extremely centralized form of government with a concentration of power mostly in the hands of the military and bureaucracy, as well as US interests in the region.

• Policies under Ayub Khan:

Ayub Khan deployed a modernization setup by his authoritarian mindset. His policies are taken to be more for the welfare of his government than the people.

Like the Basic Democracy System in which 80,000 members (about the seating capacity of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum) formed the electoral college and unanimously elected him as the president of the state.

Some of his policies were proven to be fruitful such as the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961, now regarded as one of the more progressive sets of family laws in comparison to many Muslim nations even after 56 years, provided some protection to women by granting them significantly greater rights, raising the marriageable age, demanding greater documents to petition for divorce, or required men to get permission from their existing wife if they sought a second marriage.

Ayub's family planning regulations in Pakistan were among the most progressive at the time, and religious organizations who saw them as un-Islamic were quite critical of them. Even though he eventually gave in to pressure from the ulema and religious political leaders, especially Maulana Maudoodi, Ayub was able to remove the word "Islamic" from the name of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, demonstrating how

different the times were back then compared to how they have changed since 1977.

• Economic Growth:

The economic growth during the 1960's was stellar, and it was written in the New York Times as phrased "Pakistan would be on its way to become the economic powerhouse of the world in the coming years."

The remarkable growth of Pakistan was put into highlight and taken as an example of nation building and development in the post war era.

Following large-scale land reforms in 1959, the Green Revolution in agriculture in central Punjab fundamentally altered the social and economic relations of production. Both the agricultural and industrial sectors had double-digit growth rates. A large amount of US funding and support was used to help develop dams, roads, and other infrastructure. Pakistan was moving toward economic development.

Ayub's strategic objective resulted in the development of industry and industrialization, the expansion of a working class, the riches provided by the Green Revolution in the Punjab's agriculture, and the establishment of Pakistan's middle classes. Many of these alienated socioeconomic groups under Ayub supplied Bhutto with the assistance he utilized to develop his Peoples Party and ignite a social revolution, while in East Pakistan, these same contradictions gave Sheikh Mujib's Awami League impetus.

• Consequences of regime:

There is little doubt that Pakistan's social and economic systems were irrevocably altered by Ayub Khan's Decade of Development, which his administration was honoring in 1968 as dissent to his government was growing. There is no doubt that the economy expanded, because of the ideological factor that drives this expansion, regional and income

disparities increased significantly, giving rise to the governing class of the super-rich, known as the "Twenty-two Families," which serves as a metaphor for accumulation and corruption.

Ayub khan set up a governing system which was based feudal background. The family businesses of saigols, Memons etc., established their monopolies in the trade market. Ayub's decade sparked a period of socio - economic development, produced social and economic tensions that aided in the development of socialist and nationalist ideologies, and contributed to the modernization of several institutions and policies.

Critique

The author uses the statement 'Socially Liberal Military Dictatorship,' in the article but fails to demonstrate his point on it. The military leadership and appointments made in Ayub's phase is well forecasted but the word liberal is not demonstrated or supported by facts. One major negative takeback is that the author fails to give his opinion regarding the topic. Also, there is mention of honorable personalities such as Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto but not much information is available in terms of their linking to Ayub Khan.

Coming towards the positive points of the article, there are multiple takebacks. Firstly, the topic given to the article is well equipped with the points discussed. Secondly, it covers all the important prospects to be covered and the individual points are well summarized along with clear factual details. Thirdly, the whole era is elaborated in a historical fashion with every detail having a past, a present and a future. The transition between the years and the major happenings between them are well connected with the events happening later. There is use of logos and ethos, as the points made relate to logical reasoning and

analysis. Also, the author is well suited for this article because he has a major in political history and is well suited for making comments on a topic for his credibility is not challenged. The thesis of the article is also well linked to all key points discussed and presented. The article is also easy to understand for a person who does not have much political knowledge and a normal person can easily understand the viewpoint of the author. Little or no prior political understanding is required for inheriting the standpoint of the author.

In terms of the frameworks adopted or the research approach adopted I think it could have been better had there been suggestions or reviews given by the public who had seen it from a first-person perspective. The research analysis could also be better if the suggestions of politicians involved in the government in Ayub's time were presented.

The organizational structure of different paragraphs could have been better with the use of modern English involving transitional words. The writing style could have been better with the use of formal vocabulary rather than contractions.

Through the passage we can draw a conclusion that the author is biased towards Ayub Khans political campaign as the consequences discussed are quite more than the ones mentioned.

Apart from this, the author has achieved his purpose in delivering the idea of how Ayub Khan's era was based on a capitalist economy system.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion when it comes to the socio-economic development, Pakistan was seen as a model of economic development around the world. Many countries sought to emulate Pakistan's economic planning strategy. According to the economic survey of Pakistan, the GNP growth during the Ayub's era, 1960-70, was 6.7 percent. In the previous

political decade, the growth was hardly 3.1 percent. But seen from a unique perspective, everything which shines is not gold, same was with the government of the great dictator. He used the policies for the welfare and long-term planning of his government. His viewpoint of a modern state was acceptable only until it was within the Islamic teachings. He tried to play a trump card by introducing presidential system which to this date has a dark shadow on Pakistan's political history.

Though the facts presented by the author lack the proof required, the factors discussed are still logically and critically correct. In the heading "Policies," some of the policies adopted by the dictator are not present or evaluated to the importance that they hold like the Basic Democracy System or 5-year plans which were initially brought up by Ayub Khan.

Overall, the first page of this article is not particularly clear, and it is not until the second page that you grasp where the piece is headed. A fresh, shorter beginning is required if you want more readers to stay interested and finish the piece. Overall, it is a solid piece of writing with a compelling stance and information can be well absorbed. When read as a whole, the essay is pertinent and highly compelling.