

**Failure of Democracy its Causes and Consequences
from 1947 to 1958**



Session 2012-2014

M.Phil Thesis

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Abstract

This study deals with the Failure of Democracy in Pakistan, its causes and consequences from 1947 to 1958. In all these were the key issues involved in the failure of the democracy. This nexus of Politicians, Military and Civil Bureaucracy contributed with all their potentials to flourish any political system in Pakistan except democracy. Surely democracy was at divergent interest with them and possible threat to their stakes. This contributed negatively for the fortune of Pakistan; a newly born state that lasted only 24 years and dismembered due to instable political system. Need of hour is that lesson should be learnt from the history and memories the history, as the nations who forget their history, history forget them.

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Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Democracy was believed to be the best political system in the world and newly emerged states of post WWII international system mostly opted democracy but Pakistan was systematically deprived from democracy for more than 25 years after its creation. Despite founder of the nation was a truly democratic leader who achieved Pakistan in a democratic process without firing a single bullet but with ballot and dialogue. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had a valiant and intelligent personality who faced politically both Hindus and British government united to apply all possible means in the achievement of Pakistan. In the Lahore session of 1940, the idea of Pakistan was formally adopted by the Muslim League. The Muslims of British India proved that they were the spotters of All India Muslim League which resulted in the formation Pakistan on August 14, 1947. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was selected of as the first Governor General of Pakistan. During his lifetime all the important decisions were taken under his guidance.¹

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah wanted to see Pakistan as a democratic state. On February 1948 Quaid-i-Azam expressed his views to the newspaper about democracy.

“In proposing this scheme, I have had one underlying principal in mind, the principle of Muslim democracy, it is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law giver, the prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic Ideals and principles our Almighty has taught us that our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations”²

Another occasion Quaid-i-Azam Said:

¹Shaikh Rafiq,(2007), *Stander History of Pakistan: 1947 to 1999*,Lahore: Standard Book House, 47

² Dr. Zawar Hussain Zahdi, (2007), *Irshad-i-Qauid-e-Azam, Islamabad, Culture division government of Pakistan*,41.

“The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State-to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslim—Hindus, Christians, and Parsis – but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan”.³

So it is clear, he wanted to see Pakistan make a democratic country. Unfortunately, he passed away on September 11, 1948 and the nation deprived of his great leadership. Liaquat Ali Khan was the most reliable companion of Quaid-i-Azam. After his death, he was led the nation towards democracy till his martyrdom on October 16, 1951.⁴ A huge political vacuum was created after his death and government had gone into the hands of ineligible and parasites politicians who created the environment of Martial Law and destroyed the real image of democracy as well as the Muslim League.

Significance of the Study

A systematic study of the failure of democracy and its Causes and Consequences is very rare in Pakistan. Though few studies highlights the reasons of failure of democracy in Pakistan during this period but this study point outs key areas of weakness of the political system and central factors who were the cause of this letdown The study traces the failures of democracy in pre partition as well as post partition reasons.

³ Dr. Zawar Hussain Zahdi, op., cit, 42.

⁴ Shaikh Muhammad Rafiq, op., cit, 95.

Scope of the Study

As far as the scope of the present study is concerned, it is obviously limited to the failure of democracy: Causes and Consequences from 1947 to 1958. The major emphasis of this study is on the role of the leaders of Muslim League and their strategies of political mobilization were based on gluttonous. In this context, the study highlights the geographical economical and political aspects in which the causes of the failure of democracy could be observed during the first decade of Pakistan.

Methodology

It is a historical study and tries to make use of all primary and secondary sources available on the subject to asses the failure of democracy causes and consequences from 1947-58. It also depends on qualitative and quantitative research process.

Review of the Literature

There exists considerable literature on the failure of democracy in Pakistan causes and consequences from 1947 to 1958. But material related to failure of democracy: causes and consequences especially in the first decade is scarce in spite of the fact that useful primary source material about the politics of Pakistan the failure of democracy causes and consequences is readily available.

Maleeha Lodhi's "*Pakistan: Beyond the CrisisState.*"¹ This is a good work related to my topic. This book briefly discusses the various crises in Pakistan, especially the

political crisis. It's also through lights on the role of military in the politics along with the causes of failure of democracy in Pakistan.⁵

Mushtaq Ahmaad's "*Government and Politics in Pakistan.*" It is another good work related to my topic. This book discusses the parliamentary democracy and martial law in Pakistan. Its also discuss system of democracy, its Department and their role, political parties and crises of democracy. ⁶

Chudri Muhammed Ali's "*The Emergence of Pakistan.*" It is briefly discussed the background history of Pakistan, and achievements of Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim League. It's also discussed the early political career of the newly born state and more over discuss its economic, financial and political problem.⁷

Allen McGrath's "*The Destruction of Pakistan's Democracy.*" This study deeply discussed the History of Pakistan from 1947 to 1958. It also brightly discussed the Quaid-i-Azam, Liaqat Ali Khan, and Ghulam Muhammad period. It is related to my topic specially the clash of ideas and judicial politics also.⁸

Meer Noor Ahmad's "*Marshal Law se Marshal Law Tak.*" This is a good work related to my topic. This book clearly indicates the role of military in Pakistan, its deals with the politics development and the role of political institutions. The process of the development of democracy along with its ups and downs is also briefly discussed.⁹

Dr. Manzoor ud Din Ahmad's "*Contemporary Pakistan.*" This book is consisted of various kinds of articles related to Pakistan. These articles discussed the Politics, economy and society of contemporary Pakistan. The Norman D. Palmer's article, changing patterns

⁵Maleeha Lodhi, (2011), *Pakistan: Beyond the Crisis State*, Karachi: Oxford University Press.

⁶Mushtaq Ahmad, (1970), *Government and Politics in Pakistan*, Karachi, Royal Book Company.

⁷Chudri Muhammad Ali, (1967), *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Lahore, Columbia University Press, New York.

⁸Allen McGrath, (1998), *The Destruction of Pakistan's Democracy*, Karachi, Oxford University Press.

⁹Meer Noor Ahmad, (2003), *Marshal Law se Marshal Law Tak*, Lahore: Iblagh Publishers.

of politics in Pakistan; an overall view, briefly Discussed the Political and democratic development in Pakistan.¹⁰

Ayesha Siddiqi's "*Military INC. Inside Pakistan's Military Economy.*" In this Book the writer clearly elaborate the history, developments and functions of military in Pakistan. Moreover the political crisis and the interest of army in the politics of Pakistan discussed. The early phase of Pakistan (1947-1957), Politics is briefly highlights the crisis of democracy in Pakistan.¹¹

Raymond A. Moore, Jr.'s "*Nation Building and the Pakistan Army*" during the period of 1947-1969 is related to my work. This book is explained the role of army in Pakistan and in NationBuilding and more over, why they interrupted in politics of Pakistan.¹²

Wakeel Anjum's "*Seyasatdanon ke Kala Baziyan.*" The Part I of this book is related to my topic. This book briefly discussed what our political Problems are and why we were failed in democracy. It's also discussed the causes of Martial Law and alongwith failure of democracy.¹³

S. Shahid Hamid's "*Early years of Pakistan: Including the period from August, 1947 to 1959,*" As it is obvious from the topic, this book deals with the early years of Pakistan since 1947 to 1959. How Pakistan survived after getting independence and the role of the different institutions in its survival is briefly discussed. The emerging of the military and the Ayub Khan in the politics of Pakistan it's also momentarily highlighted.¹⁴

An other important work is Oleg V. Pleshov's "*Islamism, and travels of Democracy in Pakistan.*" In this book the writer tried to analyze the problem of interaction between Islam by its most politically active functionaries, Ulema and different state and no-governmental Structure in different political circumstances. The conflict between the

¹⁰ Dr. Manzoor ud Din Ahmad,(1982), *Contemporary Pakistan*, Karachi, Royal Book Company.

¹¹ Aysha Siddiqi,(2013),*Military Inc. Inside Pakistan's Military economy*, Newyark, Oxford university Press.

¹²Raymond A. Moore, Jr. (1979), *Nation Building and the Pakistan Army*, Lahore, Aziz Publishers.

¹³Wakeel Amjum,(1994), "*Seyasatdanon ke Kala Baziyan*" , Karachi, Feroz Sons.

¹⁴ M.G.S. Shahid Hamid,(1993), *Early years of Pakistan: Including the Period from August, 1947 to 1959*, Lahore : Feroz Sons.

Islamists and secularism and its impacts on the democracy of Pakistan is also briefly discussed here.¹⁵

Aqeel Abbas Jafri's "*Pakistan ky Seyasi Wadayray*." This is another good work related to my topic. It is briefly discussed the politician families which are governed in Pakistan. Especially reference for my topic this is related to land lord or industrialist families which are the basic caused for failure of democracy.¹⁶

Mahrnunisa Ali's "*Politics of Federalism in Pakistan*." This is good work related to my topic. It described the federalism in Pakistan and moreover its effect on constitution and our political system. This book is also through lights on federalism and affects of the federalism on our political system.¹⁷

Professor Muhammad Usman's "*Pakistan ki Seyasi Jamatain*." It is also a good work related to my topic. It's described the Parties particularly All India Muslim League and manifesto of Pakistan Muslim League also and its role in the development of democracy in Pakistan.¹⁸

Safdar Mahmood's "*Tarikh-o-Siyasat: 1947 to 1988*." It is a superior work related to my topic. It described the history of Pakistan 1947 to 1988. The history politics, constitution and specially the development of the democracy in Pakistan is also discussed.¹⁹

¹⁵ Oleg V. Pleshov, (2004), *Islamism and travails of democracy in Pakistan*, Kolkatq: Greenwich Milinium press.

¹⁶ Aqeel Abbas Jafri, (1994), *Pakistanky Seyasi Wadayray*, Karachi, Mass Printers.

¹⁷ Mehrunisa Ali,(1996), *Politics of federalism in Pakistan*, Karachi, Royal Book Company.

¹⁸ Professor Muhammad Usman(1988), *Pakistan ki Siyasi Jamatain*, Lahore, Sang Mail Publications.

¹⁹ Dr. Safdar Mahmood, (1989), *Pakistan Tarikh-o-Siyasat*, Lahore, Jang Publications.

Research Questions

- (1) What is democracy, its scope and nature?
- (2) What was the nature of democracy in Pakistan (1947 to 1958)?
- (3) How use of Political Islam hampered democracy in Pakistan form 1947 to 1958?
- (4) What was the role of Civil Bureaucracy in politics of Pakistan?
- (5) What was the role of Military Bureaucracy in politics of Pakistan?

In one sentence the study traces the role of Notorious Troika of Politicians, Civil Bureaucracy and Military Bureaucracy along with the help of Political Islam.

Organization of the Study

This study will organize on the following lines.

The “Introduction” will covers the main statement of this thesis and moreover the “scope of the study”, the “significance of the study”, along with the “review of the literature”. On the end, the organization of the study will be discussed.

Chapter 1 “Explaining Democracy: Origin, Nature, Types and Kinds of Democratic Structures”. In this chapter a detailed discussion is made about the origin, nature and types of democracy. It focuses on evolution of democracy and its kinds.

Chapter 2 “Nurturing Democracy: Genesis of Democracy in Pakistan”. This chapter discusses the steps taken by the political elite for the nourishment of democracy. It traces what were the problems in the establishment of truly democratic system in Pakistan.

Chapter 3 “Religion and its Impact in Failure of Democracy in Pakistan”. This chapter discusses religion as the key source of anti-democratic political system in Pakistan. It rightly point out how Political Islam was used by the notorious troika of Military, Politicians and Civil Bureaucracy.

Chapter 4 “Civil Bureaucracy: An Anti-Democratic Force in Pakistan”. Role of civil bureaucracy as an anti-democratic force is discussed in this chapter. It highlights that how the well-organized bureaucracy founds its place in power politics because of incapable politicians.

Chapter 5 “Coup D’état and Politics of Pakistan: Role of Military Bureaucracy in Politics”. This chapter described why the military interventions were started in Pakistan, its effect on democratic system and what the implications of this intervention on democracy were.

Finally the “Conclusion” sums up the whole discussion and explains the whole discussion in a systematic way. Conclusion provides recommendations and suggestions for the future as well.

Conclusion

Since its inception the human has been experiencing and innovating all ways of life from its individual life to its role in the society. In the formation of society several political system has been introduced and practiced, among them democracy is believed to be the best one by the political scientists. Democracy has attained a marked popularity in the world. Almost all leading countries have opted for democracy. Democratic form of government is an efficient form of government. It is rightly said that popular election, popular control and popular responsibility” are more likely to ensure a greater degree of efficiency than any other system of government. According to Lowell, “in a complete democracy, no one can complain that he has no chance to be heard”. Democracy is sensitive to the wishes and suffering of the individual, bureaucracy or autocracy does not have to be responsive to the aspirations and desires of people. In the words of Professor Hearnshaw, “Democracy ties a nerve to every individual. It makes a connection between him and the center”. The suggestion of individual are likely to receive due consideration. It assures equality. Democracy is standing for quality both in economic and political fields. It assures the right to vote, the right to contest election and the right to hold public office without any discrimination on the basis of caste, colour, creed or sex. C.D. Burns has rightly pointed out, “All government is a method of education, but the best education is self-education therefore, the best government is self-government which is democracy.” Democracy instills patriotism in the people by making them feel for their country. When they are given an opportunity to choose their representatives, they start feeling that they have stakes in their country.²⁴³

When Pakistan came into being the most important task of creating constitution of the newly emerged state was delayed due to several reasons. This was resulted in fragile political system and weak institutions in Pakistan. Initially parliamentary democracy was introduced in Pakistan. It was indirect type of democracy and 1935 act was promulgated after some changes.

²⁴³ Vishnoo Bhagwan & Vidya Bhushan, cit,opt, 225-26.

Unfortunately this system was high jacked by civil and military bureaucracy of Pakistan and the state became a toy at their hand, heading towards a long saga of military rule and dictatorship.

After the formation of Pakistan the first Governor General and founder of Pakistan Quid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's concept about form of government was cleared that he said,

“Democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen and our arteries are not functioning. But thank God the blood is circulating again thanks to the Muslim League efforts. It (Pakistan) will be people's Government.”²⁴⁴

However this was challenged and opposed by the religious clergy and they demanded a theocratic state of Pakistan. Interestingly they were against the creation of Pakistan and they stood with the Indian National Congress. They demanded an Islamic model of government but did not have one to implement. According to Dr. Noor-ul-Haq that after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, Pakistan is now at cross-roads, whether the country should adopt the system of governance prevalent in the developed world or should it revert to the past Muslim rule in India? Should Pakistan be a theocracy or a secular state? Should it be an Islamic caliphate or a modern democratic state? The conflict of ideas makes Pakistan is a vibrant nation provided, as a civilized people, they welcome dialogue, are not divided and amicably arrive at a solution with consensus.²⁴⁵ The religious scholars forced that the Pakistani system of government should be Islamic formed. The religious scholars were highly against the democratic system due to which the work of constitution was delayed even the Liaquat Ali Khan introduced Objective Resolution in 1949 and announced basic principles for constitution of Pakistan. That was first pressure group believed to be against democracy.

²⁴⁴ Bashir Ahmad Dar, (1978) *Why Pakistan*, Lahore: Muhammad Idris & Company Publisher, 69.

²⁴⁵ Dr .Noor ul Haq,(2013) *IPRI Paper 17 : Challenge of identity and governance Quaid Vision: The way Forward*, Islamabad: Policy Research Institute.5.

Feudal, Landlords and Bureaucrats were followers of British legacy. This troika did not want the constitution to be created soon. They were actual hurdles in the process of constitution making in the West Pakistan on the other side in East Pakistan national language controversy created wave of unrest and strife, Bengali should be a National language was a popular demand in the East Pakistan, this issue came even in the life of Mr. Jinnah and prevailed next 24 years till the dismemberment of Pakistan. The demise of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan left with a huge vacuum of leadership which was exploited by the military and civil bureaucracy. The East Pakistan was minor with respect to territory but major wing of the state with respect to Population, this created another issue about distribution of resources and allocation of constituencies in both provinces. This issue was adjusted by Chaudhary Muhammad Ali in the 1956's constitution.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United State said:

“If any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness), it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.”

Liberal democracy, judicial independence and sanctity of human rights have been almost unknown phenomena in the history of Pakistan. With despotism and conspiracies against constitution the state institutions, judiciary and rule of law in particular, have been exposed to severe onslaughts from the growing number of dictators in the country. The process of degeneration has been going on fast to threaten the security and unity of the country. This has produced an atmosphere of deep decadence and general despair across the nation.²⁴⁶ The judiciary was dependence by the government. Its example was Mulvi Tameez ud Din case.

However, though exceedingly democratic and genuine these steps were in their essence, they were not allowed to be substantiated by the Machiavellian distortions of the corrupt bureaucracy and other vested interests dominated by the military and feudal lords. People like Ghulam Muhammad, Ayub Khan and Iskander Mirza were behind these moves which were directed

²⁴⁶ Iqbal S. Hussain, op, cit, 25.

towards distracting the country from the path of democracy and accountability.²⁴⁷ It was cleared that the greedy politicians were crashed the democracy.

According to Keith Collard after the birth of Pakistan, bureaucracy maneuvered to achieve high position in state machinery. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that many of the leading holders of political offices have had previous careers largely or wholly in government service; Ghulam Muhammad, Chaudhary Mohammad Ali, Amjad Ali and Iskander Mirza are examples. The last-named gave his view of the respective position of politicians and civil servants when he was Minister of the Interior. ‘You cannot have the old British system of administration [and] at the same time allow politicians to meddle with the civil service. In the British system the District Magistrate was the king-pin of administration. His authority was unquestioned. We have to restore that.’²⁴⁸

This controlling democracy system was introduced by these civil bureaucrats and these civil bureaucrats were caused by failure of democracy. This system was used for his own purposes. Those bureaucrats were played a totally different role in Pakistan due to which the government departments were not built properly and civil bureaucrats were found a great chance to play as authority. They have authority to makes government and destroy them in their own desire and interest. Malik Ghulam Muhammad was played a significance role in destroy democracy then failure of democracy was happened. He used Iskander Mirza for his own purpose.

According to Allen Mcgrath he wrote that Ghulam Muhammad was extremely skilful in building a coalition of senior civil servants and military officers and thus emerged as the leader of the bureaucratic faction. He was ably assisted by Iskander Mirza and Mirza was Indian army officer graduate from Sand Hurst. He served in constituent Assembly having been elected on the Muslim League ticket and Ayub Khan was his class fellow. According to the Ayub Khan Autobiography

²⁴⁷Ibid, 32.

²⁴⁸ Keith Callard, op., cit.285.

Iskandar Mirza was valuable to Ghulam Muhammad as connection to the army. Latter on Iskander Mirza was become Governor General and first President of Pakistan. He was military bureaucrat and he jointed his friend Ayub Khan in government.

Ayub Khan interested in government of Pakistan and he changed military roots and get the benefit of emergency clause martial law. According to Hamza Ellwi “if the Ayub Khan was not interested in government of Pakistan and politics so why he introduced new constitution and his basic democracy system was planned clearly.”

According to Hamza Elwi “the Senior Officer of civil and military bureaucracy were belonged to the families of Land Lords. In this way, the land lords were a strong relation both civil and military bureaucracy. Their connection was stronger due to their benefits and these benefits were connected strongly due to allotments of Lands to the civil and military bureaucracy. In the period of civil and military bureaucracy income tax was not adhered to the agricultural amount. Mostly the politicians belonged to Landlords.” It was cleared that the politicians were not inclined towards a society which hold the essence of democracy that is equality and fairness. They tend to create obstacles and hurdles in the way of democratization of the newly born state of Pakistan.

From the British Government legacy Pakistan received areas which were not politically organized and there were less political reforms in Baluchistan, Northwest frontier province and Tribal belt. Sindh remained part of Mumbai residency and only Punjab was a province with full political structure. This pre portioned history had its legacies in coming future and leaders, feudal and lords of these areas were authoritative, corrupt and against and egalitarian society. They contributed negatively on every step whenever it comes to them for the nourishment of democracy.

Another dimension that highlights root causes of democratic failure was use of Political Islam by the religious scholars and their support to feudal lords and leaders .There was a systematic eco of Islam produced to negate democracy and associate democracy with the west and Christianity. On

Islamic platform this was achieved in the Objective resolution and on other fronts by discouraging masses from sense of equality and fraternity. They were thoroughly wrong in their interpretation of the religion as Equality, fraternity and Liberty though popular slogans of French Revolution but more than thousand years before these basic rights were given by the Islam. Though there can be different interpretation of Islamic view about western democracy but surely Islam is never against the prime objective of liberty, quality and fraternity. It was wrong use of Political Islam against democracy.

Among political parties the Muslim League was the leading party in Pakistan. However it was dominated by the Unionist and Congress aligned leaders who were against or not in favor of Pakistan but when it appears that Pakistan would be ground reality they secured their strong position in the Muslim League and dominated this front. They applied all tactics to attain power and hold authority at any cost and have their nexus with Bureaucracy and their modus operandi remained illegal, use of illicit means and unlawful to remain in Power. They used all tools available at their end to remain in Power. Hence it can be said Political Parties and incapable political leaders were the one of main reason of failure of democracy in the first decade of Pakistan's political system.

British managed their system in the subcontinent by the bureaucracy. Through Indian Central Services a bureaucratic system was introduced that regulate and administer the daily affairs of the governments. These bureaucrats were trained and educated to maintain the system. As the British rule ended in the subcontinent this strong bureaucracy was left with power vacuum and incapable political leaders provided them opportunity to interfere in political affairs, gradually this sense of pride and rule become so strong that they also contributed with others anti-democratic forces to retain their position and enjoy power without limits.

Lastly but not least the Military was the only organized institution in the Pakistan. This was part of British Indian army who was in sense of pride to win WWI and WWII and its strong organization structure. This strong organization took the opportunity and managed strong influence in ruling elite. In the process of long rolling Military, Bureaucracy and Politicians, democracy was not a favorable choice hence this troika hampered democracy and democratic forces in Pakistan, resulting a decade long nascent stage of democracy in Pakistan.

In all these were the key issues involved in the failure of the democracy. This nexus of Politicians, Military and Civil Bureaucracy contributed with all their potentials to flourish any political system in Pakistan except democracy. Surely democracy was at divergent interest with them and possible threat to their stakes. This contributed negatively for the fortune of Pakistan; a newly born state that lasted only 24 years and dismembered due to instable political system. Need of hour is that lesson should be learnt from the history and memories the history, as the nations who forget their history, history forget them.