



Unfolding the Role of Bureaucracy and a Setback to the Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan from 1947 to 1951

Zulqarnain Haider

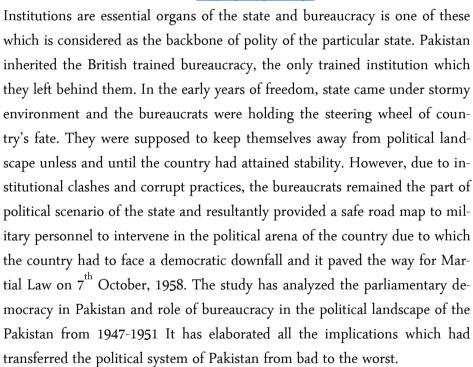
Ph. D Scholar at Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

Email: zulqarnain9038@gmail.com

Amjad Abbas Khan

Associate Professor at Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

Email: Amjad.psc@pu.edu.pk



Keywords: Pakistan, Bureaucracy, Parliamentary Democracy, Administration, Civil Services.

Introduction:

Majority of the Asian and African countries was composed of European colonies during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and first quarter of the twentieth century and it was a time of significant social and political transformation. A number of historical events had a significant impact on how people in Asia and Africa thought, including the Industrial Revolution (1750-1850), the French Revolution (1789), the Soviet-Japanese War of 1904, the First World War (1914-18), the Russian Revolution (1917), the Se-





Journament













cond World War (1939-45), and the rise of communist China as a global power. These significant historical occurrences had a global impact and gave the oppressed around the world hope for a better future. People's dreams and aspirations got new energy as the idea of social equality and a shift towards egalitarianism gained strength. The long-enslaved population developed an idealized vision of the post-independence society. In general, the severe economic realities that must necessarily shape any transition from a colonial to a modern state were ignored, and those, who led the independence campaign, frequently presented an idealized version of a post-colonial society. As a result, when they gained their independence, they discovered that they had a trained bureaucracy and an organized army, but no political leadership had experience in statecraft. Therefore, it was not surprising that the political establishment found itself at the whim of the military and the bureaucracy, and with the passage of time, their vulnerability grew up.¹

Pakistan emerged on the map of world on 14th August1947. The newly born state faced a series of challenges after its inception. Pakistani administrative system was the result of Indian civil service which came into existence with the partition of India in two separate parts. British India's government was run by bureaucracy, one of the most impressive and effective bureaucracies have been ever created. It proved sincere, devoted, reasonably spirited, and, on the whole, effective. It was developed to satisfy the unique requirements of British administration in India. The dominance of final control from London was to remain in the hands of a limited group of British officials so that it might not be contested. The system was not restrained by any sense of obligation to an Indian assembly or electorate prior to World War I. Even after the Acts of 1919 and 1935, the central government remained independent of an elected legislature, and throughout the provinces, the Governors' unique powers and statutory provisions served to safeguard the Services' prerogatives.

The British Indian government was allegedly a bureaucracy. The Indian Civil Service, also known as the "greatest civil service in the world," was established to meet the particular demands of British rule in India. Over the course of its history, members of the I.C.S. have alternately been criticized as the "heaven born" and the "kept class"

-

¹ Mohammad Asghar Khan. *We've Learnt Nothing from History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 89-91.

and praised as the "steel frame of the Government of India." There was a small group of officers who nevertheless held the last say.²

Furthermore, every province was aware that a return to irresponsible bureaucracy under Governor's control was always a viable alternative to cabinet government. In Keith Callard's book Pakistan: A Political Study, he writes: "After India was partitioned, Karachi, then Pakistan's capital, took the place of London, but the bureaucracy's operations largely stayed the same. The rest of the 1320 civil workers remained in India, while just about 80 of them travelled to Pakistan." As Callard noted, "these officials have solid credentials, but democracy didn't take hold, the military dominated the civil bureaucracy. They benefited from the mindset and culture of the bureaucracy because they could now influence the executive's functioning as much as the British did". India, on the other hand, was able to create a system where the political government and parliament controlled the executive. However, the appointment of civil bureaucrats along ethnic lines using a quota system made matters worse because merit was no longer the main factor. In the developed world, these projects would be finished in that time, but in the bureaucracy, there is a prevalent culture of red tape that makes it to take months, sometimes even years, to receive approval for public sector initiatives.³ The bureaucratic apparatus assisted in keeping the country alive throughout the difficult times following independence. Being the only unified and competent institution in the nation, it established, interpreted, and protected the state's policy. Only a few of the were decisions made on the split of assets, records, and office equipment between Pakistan and India in July 1947 were really carried out. The sparse records and office supplies delivered from Delhi were destroyed by fire. The central government was forced to occupy a number of buildings dispersed throughout Karachi since it lacked any records or office supplies. While the West Pakistani provincial governments were, in comparison, in better shape because of their properties.⁴

Restructuring of Civil Service:

The Pakistani government has resolved to more centralize the organization of the senior-most civil service cadres after consulting with the provincial governments. The new Pakistani Civil Service would be made up of the officers currently employed

² Zarina Salamat. *Pakistan1947-58: An Historical Review* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1992), 146-150.

³ Afnan Ullah Khan, *Pakistan The Way forward* (Lahore: Jumhoori Publications, 2014), 28-31.

⁴ Salamat. Pakistan 1947-58, 150-159.

in the Pakistan Administrative Service and the Political Service, as well as a specific number to be chosen from the Pakistan Army and the various Provincial Civil Services. It is intended to replace the current Pakistan Administrative Service and the Political Service. The fundamental characteristic of the plan is the elimination of the provincial cadre or commission and the general availability of all officers to serve and be transferred anywhere in the country.

The equivalent of the deputy commissioner in the district was the deputy secretary in the secretariat. He had been described as the operation's lynchpin despite the fact that the British had no such position in their own country. In addition to the Foreign and Civil Service, the Central Superior Services (CSS) included cadres like the Information Service, Military Accounts Service, Income Tax Service, Office of the Controller of Imports and Exports, and Police Service, (where recruitment was central and posting was provincial). Perhaps these elite services were not appropriate for those in the fields of medicine, education, archaeology, or geological survey.⁵

If the decision to exclude the judiciary from the current Pakistan Administrative Services (PAS) from the Pakistani Civil Service may be seen as a first step towards a complete separation of the judiciary and executive, then it will be applauded. The planned Judicial Service shouldn't be limited to the PAS class of judicial officers if such a desirable reform is to be implemented. All magistrates and the lower layer of judges should be its part and executive oversight should be fully removed. This senior Civil Service division may make it easier to educate and select the relevant officers, but it won't bring about the much-needed reform in our current judicial system if it isn't carried up to its logical end.⁶

Around century Britain was trying to separate the officials from the governmental issues. Through political attachment nepotism emerged. By departing the politics out of administration efficiency was assured. ⁷By adopted prominent feature Pakistan's civil service started its working. Promotions were made on the regular basis in the civil service cadre instead of others. In rural areas, officials enjoyed a huge volume of powers. Bureaucrats adopted the same style of colonial mentality and they acted according

⁵ Muḥammad Razā Kāzmī. *A Concise History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 50-58.

⁶ Mazhar Ali Khan. *Pakistan, the First Twelve Years*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 90.

⁷ Mazhar Ali Khan. *Pakistan, the First Twelve Years*, 90.

to their previous nature. Selection and training process made them completely a different man of their old background.

A strong and reliable component of Pakistan's decision-making process was given by the bureaucracy. The Governor-General emerged as the head of state of independent Pakistan, much like the Viceroy before partition. Only the Muhammad Ali Jinnah had the grandeur and reputation needed to win the public support for his political agenda. Instead of relying on political backing, his successors relied on bureaucracy to run the state affairs. The Governor General misused his authority and the administrative structure made it simple for the military to exert influence over the central federation. When the Governor General and President took office after 1951 and were former civil officials, the powers of bureaucracy were considerably increased. Both the President and the Prime Minister in 1956 had previously worked for the government.⁸

Political philosophy of former civil servants was largely shaped by their time serving under British, when the government was more focused on upholding law and order and collecting taxes than it was on operating within the framework of democratic institutions. Due to the legislatures' weak constitutional standing, which allowed the President or Governor-General to bypass the elected assemblies, Pakistan's legislatures were ineffective. Ordinances issued by the Governor-General or President had the same legal weight as those passed by the National Assembly. Between 1947 and 1958, the central legislature approved 405 acts, while the governor general or president issued 165 ordinances. At least eight different types of emergencies were declared in Pakistan over the same time period, either nationwide or in specific regions. There were twenty-eight months between meetings of the legislature. As a result, ordinances were frequently used.⁹

Relation between Bureaucracy and Chief Executive:

Depending on the demands of the chief executive, whether they were arbitrary and capricious or not, the interaction between the top executive and the upper bureaucracy tended to be diverse. From the perspective of the bureaucracy, it also depends on the decision of when to oppose and when to submit. Individual service members gradually developed personal relationships with the chief executive for their own satisfaction

⁸ Salamat, *Pakistan*, 1947-58, 150-158

⁹ Salamat, *Pakistan*, 1947-58, 150-158

as well as the benefit of the group. Such actions frequently have a negative impact on society.

Relationship during Period of Quaid and Liaqut Ali Khan (1947-51):

As Khalid Bin Sayeed defines, "It was believed by the Jinnah that there should be rule of law everywhere. In this situation, the rule of law meant what was already in position, including a provisional constitution based on the Government of India Act 1935, the British-inherited legal system, and the vice-regal system of political institutions. He was concerned of the actions of politicians, who were regarded to be typically self-centered and lacking in democratic spirit, based on his own observations. Quaid-e-Azam counselled public workers to be receptive to the requirements of the general population rather than submitting to the demands of the politicians as early as 1948. The administration must be fair, he said. You must resist being swayed by political pressure from any political party or leader, regardless of affiliation. If you wish to increase Pakistan's stature and greatness, you must resist any pressure and instead carry out your duties as state officials bravely, honestly, and in accordance with your moral convictions".

He said, keeping in mind the British pattern of politics, "Governments come and go, but you stay on." As a result, you shouldn't participate in supporting one political party over another or one political leader over another. You have no business with this. Avoid giving in to political pressure or allowing politicians to meddle in your official business since doing so only breeds corruption, bribery, and nepotism, which is a terrible sickness and a disservice to Pakistan.

After gaining independence, "Pakistan kept control of the British government in India, as well as its administrative structure. Here, you must take a big. Even though none of the approximately 105 junior ICS officers deserved to be posted as the federal secretary of a sovereign State, they were all given enhanced promotions. Quaid-i-Azam had frequently ruled over the bureaucrats in direct language, violating the subtlety of the situation. On February 14, 1948, he advocated in a speech to a gathering of Baluchistan Civil Officers.

"We met here today, without distinguishing ourselves from being big or small, as servants of the country to believe out alternative ways to advance the interests of the people and our nation. From the largest to the smallest, we are all State servants".

(Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah).

During address at Chittagong to Gazetted officers on 25 March, 1948,

"You are not of the dominant class; you are of the servants. Make people feel you are their servants and mates, uphold the highest level of honesty, dignity, equality and fair play".

(Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements, 1947-48., 1989). In a speech to civil servants at Peshawar 14 April, 1948.

"Do your work, courageously and sincerely, as servants to the people and the government. Operation is the Government's backbone. Governments are created, governments are destroyed, prime ministers are coming and going, ministers are coming and going, but you are holding on, and so there is a very big responsibility on your hands. You should have no hand in endorsing this political party or faction, this political leader or that political leader—this is not your business."

(Quaid-i- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements, 1947-48). Such independence gave the bureaucracy an unmatched chance to demonstrate its strength. Millions of refugees were waiting at the city gates as communal rioting tore across the countryside. The few officials who picked Pakistan offered the direction and rose to the occasion. They created an administrative framework and contributed to the restoration of some semblance of public order. The importance of Pakistan's former civil service in the early years was described in this way by a researcher who published a book on Pakistan's public affairs in 1970: "It is not an overstatement to say that the dedication and esprit de corps of the public services enabled Pakistan to survive the first chaotic months of post-partition confusion."

Post – Independence ICS Officers Role:

The Civil Service had 146 employees in total in 1947; all of them were ICS officers, and 51 (34.2%) of them were British officials who had selected to work for the new State. As they built the Pakistani Civil Service, these British officers in particular and the ICS as a whole contributed significantly to upholding British imperial traditions. The first year saw the greatest level of British influence, but by 1950, it had significantly decreased. Only Sind had a Muslim governor during the first two years of the four province governors; nevertheless, his principal secretary was a British officer.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah Papers/ vol. 7, Pakistan; Struggle for Survival, 1 January-30 September 1948. Islamabad: National Archives of Pakistan, Quaid-I-Azam paper project.

British personnel held the key positions of secretary of finance, food, and agriculture, as well as secretary of evacuation and rehabilitation for a single year. In provincial governments, ten British officers served as secretary or deputy secretaries. The Establishment Division's dominance of British officers contributed to maintaining the ICS's longstanding culture. With the exception of a brief period in 1959, the establishment was led by British officers from 1947 until 1961. The former ICS officers were in a different class in the CSP. They had a big impact in shaping government policy through holding important positions. The ICS officials passed forward the British Raj's bureaucratic ideals through the ministries they were responsible for in the province and the centre, as well as through the divisional commissioners. In fact, the central cabinet had overall control over the civil servants working for the central government from 1947 until 1958. Except when acting on cabinet recommendations, the president did not use his or her authority. The primary agency in charge of central staff was the Establishment Division within the Cabinet Secretariat. The Federal Public Service Commission was consulted by the Establishment Division regarding civil servant hiring, promotion, transfer, discipline, and pension. It oversaw the Civil Service Academy in Lahore where CSP were trained. From the centre to the provincial and from one province to another, it moved CSP members.¹¹

Their social upbringing was another component that helped them achieve their distinguished position. With the exception of a handful, they had all been selected from prestigious families and stood out for having received an English education. The ICS operated under a distinct set of regulations, providing them advantages over their younger counterparts, such as higher pay grades. As a result, the ICS officers joined their own ICS officer's association. The new recruits residential training at the Academy in Lahore, followed by advanced courses in England, continued to implant the British bureaucratic principles and social manners. As a result, the CSP became more cohesive with the ICS officers and became distinct from the rest of the bureaucracy. Except for engineering and survey, all higher-level positions were filled through nationwide competitive exams that included both written and oral components. Candidates between the ages of 21 and 24 were welcome to apply as long as they had an academic degree from an accredited institution. ¹²

¹¹ Salamat, *Pakistan 1947-58*, 158-162.

¹² Salamat, *Pakistan 1947-58*, 148-158.

Civil Services after Partition:

At the time of its inception positions were vacated by the Hindu officials who were actually more trained due to colonial masters. These vacancies were filled by newly recruited through Civil Service of Pakistan which was derived from ICS these candidates were promoted to higher ranks very quickly. Muslim League was not well enough trained to run the affairs of the state effectively. Therefore, it wholly relied on the bureaucrats. After Liagat, s departure bureaucracy exploited the country under the directions of Ghulam Muhammad. He not only derailed the government of Muhammad Ali Bogra but also the formation of one unit was the historical blunder from his side. K.B Sayeed wrote down in his book: The political Side of Pakistan's Civil Services, "Today is the government of Pakistan the civil servants often play an even more powerful role than that of their imperial predecessors (British). This ascent of power has been steady and dramatic. In the initial years, either it was military or bureaucracy both had firm control over the political system of Pakistan." The early laws and acts passed by the Pakistani government made clear the growing significance of bureaucracy in the country's administration. Sayeed used the Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, (PRODA) 1949, as an illustration. According to Section 92 A of the Act, the central government had the authority to remove rebellious or dishonest regional legislators. This act contributed significantly to the bureaucracy's ability to maintain its grip. According to Saeed, this act gave the bureaucracy the impetus it needed to fire the west Punjab ministry in January 1949 and several other ministers and dismiss the premier of Sindh in April 1948 over allegations of corruption and misconduct.

Pakistan generally keeps its pre-partition service structure. However, several adjustments were made in light of the immense burden of establishing a new administration in a new capital. First Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs of Pakistan was Ghulam Mohammad, a senior member of Audit and Accounts Service. He assumed control as Governor General and chief executive when he appointed senior military and civilian leaders to the positions of defense, interior, and finance, Also from the Audit and Accounts department, Chaudhri Mohammad Ali was given the position of secretary general.¹⁴ He was in charge of keeping the cabinet and the administration in close con-

¹³Sumrin Kalia. "Bureaucratic Policy Making in Pakistan." https://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue /The% 20Dialogue/8_2/Dialogue_April_June2013.PP.156-170.pdf.PP. 161-162. Accessed online: 1July,2023.

¹⁴Salamat, *Pakistan 1947-58*, 148-151.

tact. The Secretary General made sure that the administrative machinery ran smoothly by coordinating the work of the ministries to eliminate conflicts, prevent overlapping of duties, and prevent these things from happening. The entire central secretariat was organized by him.

In his landmark work on the Pakistani bureaucracy, Kennedy explained that "throughout its early formative years, the bureaucracy oversaw the majority of essential portfolios. In 1953, Ghulam Mohammad, a civil servant who started his career in the British Indian audit and accounts office, forced Nazim Uddin's national government to resign. Additionally, civil servants held the top positions in this government administration: General Ayub was given responsibility for the Ministry of Defense, Chaudry Mohammad Ali was appointed Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs, and General Iskander Mirza was given responsibility for the Ministry of Interior and for states and frontier regions",15.

The first governor general Ghulam Muhammad who used all his powers to send constitutional assembly to home. He also invited army personnel for civilian post to help him out in the political affairs. When Ayub Khan given the charge of as a defense minister he was the first who was taking against the parliamentary democracy spirit. The relationships between bureaucracy and civilian were not good at all. One of the major reasons that Quaid himself appoint as governor general. Political development was affected by this step of Quaid I Azam.

Although the Quaid was a staunch constitutionalist, there seems to be a school of thought that claims his belief in the advantages of the parliamentary system of governance was not unwavering. If Sharifuddin Pirzda is to be believed, the Quaid expressed the opinion that the system had not operated satisfactorily anywhere other than in England and that, as a result, a presidential form of government was suitable for Pakistan while writing a note on the danger of parliamentary form of government in July 1947. Perhaps because of this conviction, the Quaid nominated former ICS Englishmen as governors in three of Pakistan's four provinces: Sir George Cunningham was named governor of the NWFP, Sir Frances Mudie and Mr. Ghulam Hussain were named governors of the Punjab. "The prime minister provided a clear response when the Constituent Assembly questioned the practice of selecting British governors. We hired a few Englishmen on a temporary basis since we required experienced men. However, the

¹⁵ Salamat, *Pakistan 1947-58*. 148-151.

Governor General was the person who had been given all authority under the current Constitution. He had completed freedom". 16

The major task which was entrusted in the hands of bureaucracy to rehabilitate the immigrants of the partition, who traveled from India to Pakistan, was not implemented in real spirit. All of the prominent groups dominated the political landscape of Pakistan of that time: audit and account services, railways and other group of civil services. However, politicians were unable to develop a strong political system. Except writing long notes on the files, there was nothing done during this period by the bureaucratic system. There had been also a huge personality gap between the politicians and officials. Lack of proper interaction paved way for the political imbalance in the country.

Numerous episodes of involvement of military and bureaucratic elites were repeated. Statemen were failed to knock the door of elites therefore, political system could not develop in the country. Muslim League was also unable to maintain well developed political infrastructure in the state. There was huge contrast between civil servants and politician former were consider them upper and educated class of Pakistan latter were considered just as a farmer of Pakistan. Political distortion was happened between (1950 -70) due to the marriage of inconvenience of between politicians and bureaucrats. The political gap, political uncertainty and inexperienced and lack of resourceful politicians built a road for bureaucrats to caste their shadow on the political landscape of the country including policy making and other developments, which were occurred right after the independence.¹⁷

The Indian Civil Service was organized into provincial cadres prior to partition; each officer served his whole career in a single province, with the possible exception of brief deputations to the central government. The majority of provincial cadres were made up of British officers with a fundamentally shared worldview; as a result, their allegiance to various provinces had no bearing on the consistency of British India's administrative organization.¹⁸

¹⁶Muhammad Kaleem. "Authority Structure in Pakistan and Its Impacts on Governance and Development", (Published thesis at BZU, 2015), p.193 http://prr.hec.gov.pk /jspui/bitstream /123456789/7884/1.

¹⁷ Maryam Tanwir and Shailaja Fennell. "Pakistani Bureaucracy and Political Neutrality: A Mutually Exclusive Phenomenon?" *The Pakistan Development Review* 49, no. 03 (2010): 239–59. https://doi.org/10.30541/v49i3pp.239-259. 2010.

¹⁸ https://doi.org/10.30541/v49i3pp.239-259. 2010.

The situation got changed once Pakistan was established. A significant shift was made when it was thought that by working in one province, regional loyalties may ultimately triumph over the national vision, replacing the Indian Civil Service with the Pakistani Civil Service. The central government resolved to combine all of the provincial cadres into a single cadre that would serve the requirements of the provinces and of the entire nation on Chaudhri Muhammad Ali's advice, and a training academy for civil service officials was set up in Lahore. There were acute shortages of administrative officers in the Secretariat's middle tier. A General Administration Reserve was established to address this. It was supposed to be a short-term solution for ten to twelve years, or until regular recruitment increased to the point where it could cover all open positions. It was filled in part through ministerial secretariat promotion and in part through new hiring through the Public Services Commission. Those who shown their competence were expected to join one of the regular services. However, in growing bureaucratic practice, as it frequently did, a temporary arrangement remained indefinitely. ¹⁹

Pakistan's foreign service was altogether a new phenomenon. only few had experience. Mr. Ikramullah was appointed foreign secretary. Only 136 officers from Pakistan had pre-partition service, and half of them were under 35 and had an average of ten years' experience. Nearly a quarter of these officers were British, and they remained in the country until 1958. In the early years, they had a significant impact on the administrative structure. The establishment of the administration involved numerous personnel from the Indian Audit and Accounts and the Police Service. Because many members of the ICS and Audits and Accounts Cadres left their jobs to become governors, ministers, or the president, there were shortages. Only 22 Muslim officers had previously held any positions in the provincial secretariats above the rank of assistant secretary.

Authoritative Behavior of Bureaucracy:

The way the district administration was set up in the so-called non-regulation provinces was yet another element that led to an expansion of the bureaucracy's authority after independence. The British had established the deputy commissioner as the head of the district administration in these provinces, as was previously mentioned.²⁰

19

¹⁹ Zarina Salamat. *Pakistan*, 1947-58, 105.

²⁰ Kaleem, "Authority Structure in Pakistan and its Impacts on Governance and Development", 193-192, http://prr.hec.gov.pk/jspui/bitstream/123456789/7884/1.

Combining the duties of collector, district magistrate, and chief administrative officer in one person was done with the intention of better serving North-Western India's unique needs. The deputy commissioner oversaw a wide range of economic and social roles in the regulated provinces in addition to his responsibilities as collector and district magistrate because he was unable to effectively advance the interests of his constituents and had limited access to patronage.²¹

Secretary and Minister Relations after Partition:

An institutional practice that was carried over from the colonial administration that regulates interactions between senior public workers and ministers. When Indian ministers were picked in accordance with the government act of 1919, certain procedures were established. At the provincial level, Indian ministers were initially appointed, but they were given relatively modest responsibilities. For the government officials, the thought of reporting to Indian ministers was offensive; some of them even resigned in protest. It was evident that government workers also instruct Indian ministers in the finer points of administration. The typical relationship between a secretary and a minister was reversed, allowing the former to get orders directly from the provincial governor without going through the ministers.²²

Bureaucracy Paved Way for Military:

The bureaucracy, which was referred to as British India's steel frame before the partition, was the most well-established and strong state institution. Politicians heavily relied on the civil bureaucracy because democratic standards had not yet been created and they did not know how to administer the state. As a result, during the first decade after independence, the civil bureaucracy was under their total control. The majority of the top leaders had left Pakistan and had no support system there, so they carefully postponed the general elections. Professional bureaucrats with administrative experience always preferred ministers; ministries provided services more for upholding loyalty than for effective management. The bureaucracy was able to manipulate events in their favor because of their institutionalized strong group networking and access to relevant information. Along with the army, the bureaucracy was torn between maintaining its own organizational professionalism amid the process of politicization during the

²¹ Kaleem, "Authority Structure in Pakistan and its Impacts on Governance and Development", 193-192, http://prr.hec.gov.pk/jspui/bitstream /123456789/7884/1.

²² Kaleem, "Authority Structure in Pakistan and its Impacts on Governance and Development", 193, http://prr.hec.gov.pk/jspui/bitstream/123456789/7884/1.

transition to national independence. However, in actuality, during the final years of British administration in India, the officers had already begun displaying partisan views. However, their institutional training and practical participation in the maintenance of law and order placed them in opposition to the 'professional' politicians who were believed to have used people for their own selfish benefit. A dichotomous paradigm of politics that was conceptualized in moral terms, as good politics and evil politics, mainly correlating to national and provincial politics, was developed to eventually reconcile the paradox of identifying with the cause of Pakistan while simultaneously disliked politicians.²³ The Muslim bureaucracy that was emerging saw legitimacy in Jinnah, the Two Nation Theory, the Muslim League, and the general anti-Hindu and later anti-Indian attitude, while provincial politicians who spoke of tribal, caste, ethnic, linguistic, and regional rights and privileges were regarded with mistrust.

On the one hand, Jinnah's charisma served as a barrier of defense. On the other hand, the bureaucracy's efforts to repeatedly postpone elections found natural friends in the migrating elite because they lacked an electoral constituency in Pakistan. As a result of their indirect election by the provincial assemblies, the members of the Constituent Assembly gradually faded from the local political scene. In addition to keeping the initiative in the hands of provincial politicians, this led to the former's subordination to the bureaucracy. The rivalry between bureaucracy and politicians was gradually linked to the division between the centre and the regions.²⁴

In the mind of masses, "it was the Quaid and Muslim League which represented the new state. The transfer of power occurred between two governments the outgoing British government and incoming the government of Muslim league. However, keen observations show that it was exchange of powers between two governments one was British bureaucracy and other was Pakistani Bureaucracy". ²⁵

Three elements which inherited from British were ideology, charisma and political parties these were utilized by the Bureaucratic establishment.

-

²³ Kaleem, "Authority Structure in Pakistan and its Impacts on Governance and Development", 193-192, http://prr.hec.gov.pk/jspui/bitstream /123456789/7884/1.

²⁴ Mohammad Waseem. *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Pakistan: National Institute Of Historical And Cultural Research), 121-128.

²⁵Mohammad Waseem. *Politics and the State in Pakistan* 121-125.

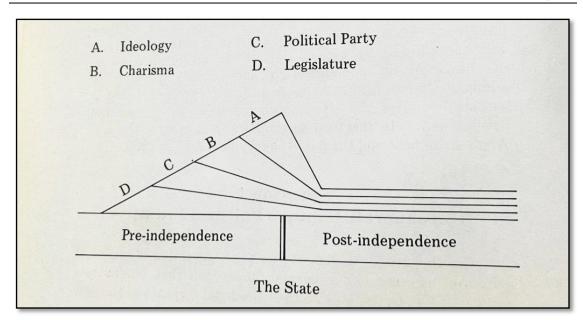


Figure 2.1:

Bureaucrats turned the steering of Pakistan's fate according to their appeasement. Initial years of independence were very crucial regarding the development of state. Politicians heavily relied on the institution of bureaucracy. Due to inability of political parties, parliamentary democracy withered away from the surface. From Top to bottom the leadership was involved in their personal gains. Usually, when personal interests come collective interests of state vanish away from the screen. After the departure of top brass leadership, state came into the hands of elites and bureaucrats, these persons paved way for the armed forces to control the whole scenario. Unlimited powers in the hands of governor general totally disrupted the political strata of the state.

Conclusion

The ship of false dreams, which started its voyage in 1947 with the heavy burden of state building, proved to be inexperienced when this met the catastrophic cyclone. The steering of the ship was not in the hands of staff rather it was controlled by the control room. Military bureaucracy casted a shadow on the political landscape of Pakistan. Even after 75 years it has not reached the beach while the common people are still wait-

²⁶ This is the analysis of the researcher after reading different books and seems building a new opinion based on the opinions of the authorities on the topic.

ing for this. Anyhow, the emergence of institutions can be traced back to the inception of state as it cannot grow properly in the absence of these. Unfortunately, in case of Pakistan, the performance of the institutions, is still a question. People struggled for independent homeland and their intent behind was a peaceful state where they could practice rituals of Islam easily. It was the first ideological state which came into being in the name of Islam but democracy has been facing many challenges since the day of its inception. Those, who were taken the responsibility of renovation of state i.e. bureaucracy, started to destroying its political infrastructure and got involved in personal blame game. Mud-slinging became the common character of the stateman. Since beginning to the end, democracy remained in turbulent waters. Political condition of the country was deteriorating day by day. Democratic system was scraped from the surface. Most importantly, inexperienced political team paved a way for bureaucrats and military personnel to intervene in the political arena. Those who were sniffing power from the window then got a chance to get their own lamb to enjoy it for long period of time. Ultimately, clouds of martial laws were flying high over the sky of Pakistan. The constitution of Pakistan, which it got after untiring efforts of nine years, was abrogated now and again. On October,7 1958 martial law was imposed which set a precedent that none of a single govt has completed its full tenure till today.