Stability after Jinnah's Death

The ministries of 1948–58, the Objectives Resolution, the constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973, Ayub Khan and the Decade of Progress, and Yahya Khan.

Stability after Jinnah's death

Timeline of leaders, 1947–71

Years	Leader	Notes
1947–51	**Liaquat Ali Khan**	first Prime Minister; assassinated in 1951
1948–51	**Khwaja Nazimuddin**	Governor-General; then PM 1951–53
1951–55	**Ghulam Muhammad**	Governor-General (finance minister before)
1953–55	Muhammad Ali Bogra	Prime Minister
1955–56	Chaudhry Muhammad Ali	Prime Minister; the 1956 Constitution
1956–58	H.S. Suhrawardy, I.I. Chundrigar, Feroz Khan Noon	the last Prime Ministers
1955–58	**Iskander Mirza**	Governor-General, then President (1956–58)
1958–69	**Ayub Khan**	martial law; President
1969–71	**Yahya Khan**	martial law

Between **1947 and 1958** Pakistan had **seven Prime Ministers** and several Governors-General. There was **political instability**.

Note Academy

The achievements of the ministries, 1948–58

Liaquat Ali Khan (1947–51)

- **Achievements:** helped the country survive its first years: settled **refugees**, set up the **army**, built the **government**; the **Objectives Resolution (1949)**; and he made foreign visits (to the **USA** in **1950**).
- **Other measures:** the **Liaquat–Nehru Pact (April 1950)** to protect minorities in both countries after riots; the **Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, PRODA (1949)**, to remove corrupt officials; and work on the constitution through the **Basic Principles Committee** (reports of 1950, 1952 and 1954).
- **Foreign policy:** stayed **neutral** between the superpowers at first, visited the USA in 1950 (accepting an invitation before the USSR's), which began the **US connection**.
- **Failings:** he did not call **elections**; the Muslim League was weakened by **quarrels**; he faced the **Rawalpindi Conspiracy** (1951); he was **assassinated** in **Rawalpindi** on **16 October 1951** (at a public meeting) by a man named **Said Akbar**, who was shot at once; he is remembered as **Shaheed-e-Millat**.

Khwaja Nazimuddin (1948–53)

- Governor-General after Jinnah, then Prime Minister (1951–53). He was a **Bengali** and was **respected**, but he was **weak** and could not control the **Punjabi** civil and military leaders.
- **Problems:** the **Language Movement** in the East (1952), **food shortages**, and **Ahmadiyya riots** in the Punjab (**1953**). He was **dismissed** by **Ghulam Muhammad** in **April 1953**, even though he had the Assembly's support.

Ghulam Muhammad (1951–55)

- A former civil servant; as **Governor-General** he **dismissed** Nazimuddin (1953) and in **October 1954 dissolved the Constituent Assembly**, which was about to limit his powers. This was a **turning point**: the **Federal Court** upheld him (the **Maulvi Tamizuddin case**, 1955), which weakened **democracy** in Pakistan. He joined **SEATO** and the **Baghdad Pact**.

Constitutional proposals and One Unit (1953–55)

- The **Bogra Formula** (October 1953) proposed two houses: a lower house based on population and an upper house with **equal** representation for the units, to balance East and West.
- **One Unit** was announced in **1954** and came into force in **1955**: the provinces and states of the West were merged into a single **West Pakistan** to match East Pakistan, so that the two wings were equal ("parity").
- The crisis of 1954–55: the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly (October 1954) and the court case that followed (see above) delayed the constitution until 1956.

Note Academy

Iskander Mirza (1955–58)

- A former soldier and civil servant. He was **Governor-General** and then the **first President** (1956). He **made and unmade Prime Ministers**, and on **7 October 1958** he **abrogated the 1956 Constitution**, declared **martial law** and appointed **Ayub Khan** as chief martial law administrator. **Ayub** removed him on **27 October 1958** and sent him to exile in England.

Others (1953–58)

Muhammad Ali Bogra (1953–55), **Chaudhry Muhammad Ali** (1955–56; the **first constitution**, and the **One Unit** plan, merging West Pakistan provinces into one, 1955), **Suhrawardy** (1956–57), **Chundrigar** (1957), **Noon** (1957–58; he bought **Gwadar** from Oman in **1958**).

> NOTE
>
> The ministries **achieved** the first **constitution (1956)**, the **One Unit**, **Gwadar** and **joined defence pacts**, but the **instability** (seven prime ministers in 11 years), **power struggles** between the Governor-General, the civil service and the army, and **East–West tension** led to **military rule**.

The Objectives Resolution (1949)

Origin. Presented by **Liaquat Ali Khan** and passed by the **Constituent Assembly** on **12 March 1949**.

Reasons. To state the **aims** of the new state and give principles for the future constitution, by making clear that Pakistan was founded in the name of **Islam**.

Main principles.

- **Sovereignty** over the entire universe belongs to **Allah**; the people are trustees, exercising authority within **limits set by Him**;
- the state will be run by the **chosen representatives of the people** (democracy);
- **principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice** as taught by **Islam**;
- Muslims to be able to live their lives according to **Islam** (the **Quran and the Sunnah**);
- **minorities** to be able to practise their **religions** and develop their cultures;
- the **fundamental rights**, an **independent judiciary**, and a **federation** with autonomous units.

Reactions. Most Muslim members welcomed it. The **non-Muslim** members (mostly Hindu) **opposed it**, fearing that they would be second-class citizens. It has been included in the Constitution's Preamble (the 1956, 1962 and 1973 Constitutions, and as a **substantive part** in 1985 (**Article 2-A**)).

Note Academy

The constitutions

	1956	1962	1973
Date	adopted **23 March 1956**	announced by **Ayub Khan** on **1 March 1962**, in force **8 June 1962**	adopted **10 April 1973** (in force **14 August 1973**)
Name of the state	**Islamic Republic of Pakistan**	**Republic of Pakistan** at first (Islamic Republic restored in **1963**)	**Islamic Republic of Pakistan**
System	**parliamentary**; one chamber; President as a head	**presidential**; strong President; **indirect elections** through the **Basic Democrats**	**parliamentary**: a **strong Prime Minister**, **bicameral** (Senate and National Assembly), a **President** as ceremonial head
East and West	**parity** between East and West in the National Assembly	the same parity	the **four provinces** (the East had gone)
Languages	**Urdu and Bengali**	**Urdu and Bengali**	**Urdu** national language
Islamic provisions	**Islamic Republic**; President to be a **Muslim**; **no law against the Quran and Sunnah**; **Islamic Research Institute**; the aim of **Islamic provisions** to be in the **Directive Principles**	**Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology** and **Islamic Research Institute** set up; the **Objectives Resolution** was in the **Preamble**	**Islam the state religion**; **President and Prime Minister** must be **Muslims**; a **Council of Islamic Ideology**; laws to be brought into accordance with **Islam**; **non-Muslim** minorities protected; an **oath**
Fate	**abrogated** by **Mirza** and **Ayub**, **1958**	**abrogated** by **Yahya Khan**, **1969**	**suspended** by **Zia** (1977), **restored** in **1985**; **amended** many times

Ayub Khan and the "Decade of Progress" (1958–69)

Coup. Ayub took over in **October 1958**. He was an army general who had ruled as a **Field Marshal** and later as **President** after the **1960 referendum** and the **1965 election** (against **Fatima Jinnah**).

Domestic reforms.

- **Basic Democracies (1959):** a system of **80,000 Basic Democrats** (elected local councillors) who formed the **electoral college** for the **President** and assemblies.
- **Land reforms (1959):** limited the holdings of landlords to **500 irrigated acres** (1,000 non-irrigated).

Note Academy

- **Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (1961):** controls on **polygamy** and divorce, and the registration of marriages.
- **Industry and agriculture:** big **growth** in industry (the "**22 families**" got richer), the **Green Revolution** (new seeds and fertiliser), **tubewells**, and dams: **Mangla** and **Tarbela** (after the **Indus Waters Treaty**, 1960).
- **Capital: Islamabad** began as the new capital (Rawalpindi as temporary capital, 1959).
- **Education:** a new education commission and a growth in colleges.

More detail on Ayub's rule.

- **1962 Constitution:** a **presidential** system; the President chose the cabinet and the governors and could stop laws; both **Urdu and Bengali** were national languages; the Assembly would meet in both Dhaka and Islamabad.
- **Basic Democracies:** four tiers of councils from the **Union Council** up; the **80,000** elected councillors also formed the **electoral college** that gave Ayub his **vote of confidence (1960)** and later elected him.
- **1965 election:** Ayub won by about **64% to 36%** against **Fatima Jinnah** (the Combined Opposition); the opposition claimed that the electoral college system was **rigged** in his favour.
- **Economy:** growth of about **6–7% a year**; new industry (for example an oil refinery at Karachi and the Mineral Development Corporation), but **22 families** were said to control most industry, banking and insurance, and the profit went mainly to the West.
- **Fall:** after Tashkent, protests spread in **1968**; Ayub was the target of an **assassination attempt** at Peshawar; in January 1969 the opposition formed the **Democratic Action Committee**; a **round table conference** at Rawalpindi in March 1969 failed; Ayub resigned on **25 March 1969**.

Foreign policy. Joined **SEATO** and the **Baghdad Pact (CENTO)** (US allies); later improved relations with **China** (boundary agreement of **1963**), **the USSR** and Iran, and the **RCD** (1964). The **1965 War** with India over **Kashmir** (Operation Gibraltar and the **Rann of Kutch**) ended with the **Tashkent Declaration** (**January 1966**), which angered many Pakistanis and led to **Bhutto's** break with Ayub.

Why it ended. The "**Decade of Development**" celebration of 1968 coincided with **protests**: **economic inequality** (the "22 families"), **regional disparities** (East Pakistan), the **Tashkent Declaration**, **press controls**, and demands for **democracy**. **Bhutto** (PPP) and **Mujib** (the Six Points) led opposition. In **March 1969** Ayub **resigned**, handing over to **General Yahya Khan**.

Yahya Khan (1969–71)

- **Imposed martial law** (25 March 1969), **abolished One Unit** (1970), and issued the **Legal Framework Order (LFO)** for **elections**, held in **December 1970**: **one man, one vote** for the first time.
- The elections were fair, but **the transfer of power failed** (see chapter 13). He **resigned** in **December 1971** after the defeat of Pakistan's army in East Pakistan and the **creation of Bangladesh**.

Note Academy

TRY IT

What attempts were made to establish a new constitution in the years 1949–73?

Outline. Objectives Resolution (1949); the **Basic Principles Committee** reports (1950, 1952 and 1954); the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly (1954); the **1956 Constitution** (first); its abrogation (1958); the **1962 Constitution** under Ayub (presidential); the **1973 Constitution** (parliamentary, Islamic). **Comment:** it took **nine years** to write the first constitution because of disagreement over **East–West representation**, the role of **Islam**, and the **powers** of the centre.

Note Academy