
**IMPACT OF BUREAUCRATIC ELITE ON CONSTITUTIONAL
DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN (1947-1956)**

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ABSTRACT

The research has explored the impact of the bureaucratic elite on constitution making of Pakistan during 1947-56. It elaborates the causes of the emergence of bureaucracy as ruling authority that restrained the constitutional development in Pakistan in the specific period. While assuming the hypothesis that uncontrolled bureaucracy created hurdles in the development of constitution making in Pakistan. This paper explores the constitutional history of Pakistan during the first decade (1947-1956). Historical analysis of constitutional development presented in this paper will help students of politics and history to learn about the dominant role of bureaucracy. Mixed approach method has been adopted to describe and analyze the facts and figures related to the topic for providing the readers thorough information about the set-up and impact of bureaucracy in Pakistan that caused a delay in the formation of the constitution during the period of 1947-56.

Keywords: Bureaucracy, Political Elite, Political System, Constitutional Development.

INTRODUCTION

Generally, the political system is composed of different components i.e. bureaucracy, religious and political elites etc. All these components are interdependent and are assigned specific roles to play within the prescribed jurisdiction. If any component deviates from its prescribed function, the balance is disturbed which further leads to disharmony. Bureaucracy is supposed to implement the laws made by the legislature or the representative government. If it interferes with the power of politicians it will affect the smooth functioning of the political system. The same case has happened with the Pakistan, where the bureaucratic elites during 1947-58 assumed the role of ruling elite in the real sense. The effects of this use of

power gave birth to so many crises in Pakistan during the first decade soon after its inception in 1947. Pakistan had to face problems like the absence of sincere leadership, Kashmir issue, economic turmoil, political chaos and the issue of national language. Most importantly the domination of the political institutions by the bureaucratic elite caused a delay in constitution making in Pakistan. So the underlying study aims to highlight the role of the bureaucratic elite in constitution making in Pakistan during 1947-56. The works consist of three sections.

Section-I explains all those factors responsible for the ascendancy of the bureaucratic elites in the politics of Pakistan which creates hurdle in the constitutional making process. The Colonial legacy of the CSP in Pakistan, their recruitment and training, their strict discipline and organization on the one hand; and the lack of Political experience in Pakistan, Unity among their ranks and the initial gigantic problems of Pakistan made the latter dependent on the bureaucracy.

Section-II covers the role of bureaucratic elites in policymaking in Pakistan (1947-54). Jinnah's personal decision to become Governor General of Pakistan relatively than Prime Minister and after passing Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act (PRODA) weakened the position of the public representatives. This era is revolving around a single bureaucrat Ghulam Muhammad who never allowed the growth of the political and constitutional development process by dismissing the Government of Nazim-ud-Din, the dismissal of the Fazl-ul-Haq Ministry in East Bengal and finally the dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly.

Section-III covers the era of bureaucratic ascendancy during 1954-56 during which another person with a long bureaucratic experience emerged in the shape of Iskandar Mirza. To counteract the hegemony of the elites in East Pakistan and dislodge the Muslim League in West Pakistan, he undertook three major decisions i.e. the formation of One Unit Scheme, the establishment of the Republican Party and enforcement of the first constitution in 1956 respectively. Thus, by manipulation of the Political process, the bureaucratic elites in Pakistan not only its prescribed deviated from function but they also assumed the dual role of policy making and policy implementation and thus surpassed the process of constitutional development in Pakistan.

MAX WEBER'S CONCEPT OF BUREAUCRACY

A bureaucracy is an institution and important ingredient of government in which positions of officeholders are defined for particular motives. According to the formal duties and rules of the office barrier, their personal differences are commonly discharge. As far as Max Webber's concept of bureaucracy is concerned, "Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge, this is the feature of it which makes it specifically rational" (Max Weber, 1921/1968:223-226).

Emergence of Bureaucratic Power in Pakistan: There were various factors behind the ascendancy of the bureaucratic elite as ruling authorities in Pakistan during 1947-56. Most important ones are discussed here. The key factor was that at the time of the creation of Pakistan we are facing the problem of trained and organized political leadership. Mostly members of the cabinet were not having experienced related to public and government affairs. Mostly politicians belonged to landed elites they were not as such organized. In 1953 Rowland Egger's stated, "Pakistan shortage of politicians skilled in political and administrative management is even more serious than its shortage of administrative officials for the top posts" (Asaf Hussain, 1979:74). Due to the lacked of political and administrative experience of the politicians they easily became tools in the hand of organized, experienced and trained bureaucrats. In the same politicians are basically public representatives and the main power behind the politicians is public. But in the early years of Pakistan, most politicians belong to the landed aristocracy, professional, lawyers and they don't have much social interaction and communication among the common masses of Pakistan and most of them were migrated from India at the time of inception of Pakistan. The constitution assembly has a dual responsibility at that time first to make the constitution for the country and secondly to legislate the government. The members of constitution assembly are mostly those who were elected during the 1945-46 election because after the establishment of Pakistan no general elections were held before 1970. So, the main representatives of the assemblies were not directly elected vis-à-vis not public representative and not elected from elections. The first constituent assembly working during the time of (1947-54) stayed without any renewal of its mandate. In this way, they don't have any popular public support. In case of dismissal of the

assembly there was no chance of any public resistance and uprising against their dismissal because they do not come through the process of direct election, no general and popular elections took place during this period; as well as mostly were selected or imported from abroad for example Muhammad Ali Bogra was among one of them. Thus, these politicians had to depend on the bureaucracy, which was much organized, competent, and had knowledge of constitutional powers for the extending of their regime. This can be one of the major caused due to this the bureaucrats dominated both policy making and policy implementation process (Asaf Hussain, 1979:75).

Likewise, mostly political leaders of Muslim League the dominant political party in Pakistan and a sole representative party of the Indian Muslims during Pakistan Movement were segmented and like seasonal birds, having no unity among their rank. During the time of struggle for Pakistan these politicians which belong to diverse socio-economic and ethnic groups were united under the single umbrella of Muslim League due to charismatic leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. But soon after the formation of Pakistan and especially when Jinnah died it became very difficult for its leaders to maintain the unity of these diverse groups. Thus, this creates a golden opportunity for bureaucrats to take advantage of the internal instability of the politicians and control the administrative and legislation process of the government (Khalid bin Saeed, 1967:62).

Accordingly, bureaucracy in Pakistan became dominant partly because we inherited it from the colonial infrastructure of British India, where Indian Civil Service (ICS) were considered as the most distinguished civil services in the world. The colonial bureaucratic system had operated under a vice-regal system in which the viceroy was the representative of the British government. Their superiority was because of the following reasons:

Firstly, the system of examination for bureaucrats was so designed that only those with superior education could get through and thus it became the service/profession of only elite class because only elite class had the access to such education. Secondly, the natives who were accepted into the Indian Civil Service (ICS), not only identified themselves with the institutions they belonged to, but also with the colonial political system. Thirdly, their relatively high salaries, tenure-ship, and the power rested in their hands were factors which reinforced their alienation from the masses. Fourthly, the ICS

developed a paternalistic attitude towards the masses, which was often authoritarian in tone and content. As a consequence, the civil servants of British India had no experience of working on an equal basis with politicians so they consider themselves as superiors. Fifthly, the administrative powers of the ICS were generalized to cover a variety of areas, from supervising land revenue collection to the maintenance of law and order and enjoying judicial power. At the time of Indo-Pak subcontinent partition, there were total 1157 ICS officers in which 448 were Hindus, 608 British, and 101 Muslims, later on only 83 were decided to live in Pakistan. Among them officers no one had a rank of secretary at that time. So, in the newly established state higher ranking posts were vacant and these were rapidly filled by promotion of CSP as well as some prominent posts were filled by the appointment of British Officers until 1957 due to their bureaucratic acumen and experience. After that bureaucracies in Pakistan took a strong hold and control the policy making process (Bukhtiar, 2005:209).

In the same pattern, after selection of civil servant recruits they were sent to the Academy of Civil Service for training where he was taught about their elite's status, the consciousness of group, utilization of jurisdiction and power. After the completion of their training, they were well aware of their prestige of position. Because of their specific training that CSPs considered themselves superior to the politicians (Bukhtiar, 2005:207).

Closely, under the Government of India Act 1935, the real powers remained with the viceroy, who ruled with a powerful bureaucracy that was free from parliamentary limitations. The executive supremacy was perpetuated over the legislature. Being the founding father, Jinnah chose to become the Governor General instead of Prime Minister to create the administrative structure of the new state. This set certain precedents which later determined the role of bureaucratic elites. Prime Minister was overshadowed by the focal authority of the Governor General. Consequently parliamentary politics remained peripheral. Khalid Bin Syed has asserted that Jinnah perpetuated the vice-regal tradition of political rule in Pakistan and Liaqat Ali Khan continued it. Had Jinnah handed over the powers to the popularly elected Prime Ministers, the bureaucrats like Ghulam Mohammed and Iskandar Mirza would not have been able to

confiscate the powers of Prime Ministers or constituent assembly and derail parliamentary democracy.

In a similar fashion, as a result, of the partition of India, Pakistan inherited dozen of initial problems like the framing of the constitution, center-provinces relations, rehabilitation of refugees, administratively set up etc. These problems were not properly anticipated and planned to tackle, therefore, it made the politicianslacked in administrative experience dependents on bureaucratic elites. In those chaotic days, it was difficult to replace the comparatively stronger bureaucracy by the entirely new pattern (G.W. Chudhry, 1969:67).

In a like manner, the bureaucrats like Ghulam Mohammad and Iskandar Mirza were not ready to compromise on the elite status of bureaucracy. In order to safeguard their personal interests, they not only prolonged their rules by the undemocratic way but also institutionalized bureaucracy through illegal ways. They did not allow the politicians to curtail their powers and even extreme steps like the dismissal of Prime Ministers and dissolution of constituent assembly were taken to retain them in power.

Last but not least, bureaucratic elites considerably controlled the political process with the help of various regulations and preventive laws, enforced in Pakistan like the criminal procedure code and panel code which imposed severe restrictions on the political activities. Under these laws, the bureaucratic elites detained the political activities by simply asserting that the detainee has acted in a manner which was prejudicial to the public peace and order. For example under PRODA which gave Governor General extraordinary power of disqualifying the ministers and victimized many politicians.

Bureaucratic Elites and the Process of Policy-making in Pakistan During (1947-51): After the inception of Pakistan, Jinnah's prefer to become Governor General rather than Prime Minister. As the head of state, he personally controls all the powers and promotes the tendency of bureaucratic dominance instead of parliamentary supremacy, in this way he dominated the Prime Minister. Furthermore, Jinnah's preferred to become Governor General as compared to Prime Minister and he control all the power as the executive head of the state and also reinforced the bureaucratic ascendancy. He had appointed the British Bureaucrats as governors of two main provinces like, in NWFP currently KPK Sir George

Cunningham and Sir Francis Moody as a first governor of Punjab, believing that their bureaucratic expertise and administrative experience were essential for the survival of Pakistan in its initial phases. These governors had enjoyed the domination of authority over public representative and also mail secret reports to Jinnah against the political activities of the Chief Minister in the province. These things lead towards 'strong centric' approach over the provinces.

After the demise of Jinnah, this pattern was not only followed but also misused by the coming Governor Generals (Bureaucrats) against the elected governments. During the short time of 1947 to 1954, nine provincial governments were terminated. After Jinnah's demise, Pakistan Prime Minister tried to solve the problems of refugees, constitution making, economic and foreign policies etc., but he was unable to resolve these issues without depended on the bureaucracy (Khalid bin Saeed, 1960:264).

Ghulam Mohammad became first Finance Minister (1947-51) having a bureaucratic background increased the bureaucratic powers by indoctrination of new economic policies. He entered the CSPs in the main posts of secretary, joint secretary and deputy secretary in the planning commission. Furthermore, he promoted the newly emerging merchant and trading class who were hesitated to invest their money due to the unstable conditions of the country, for example, Bohras, Ismailis, and Memon. He also encouraged investor by taking a decision like privatization, tax holidays and tariff safety. In this way secured their support vis-à-vis established a patron-client relationship between the industrial elites and bureaucratic elites.

Liaquat Ali Khan administration faced two major challenges to tackle with a different faction which emerged in provincial branches of Muslim League after the demise of Jinnah. Firstly, they announced the opposition parties as a 'traitors' it linked the opposition to Muslim League government with the opposition of Pakistan state, which controlled by the campaign of anti-democratic trends and prejudice of opposition in the later years.

Secondly, Liaquat government introduced Public Representatives Offices Disqualification Act (PRODA) in 1949 for the purpose of maintained discipline among factional leaders. The basic aimed behind the imposition of PRODA was to punish the corrupt politicians and misuse of power and position. The rise of dependence on such organized mechanism more influences of

bureaucratic elites and inhibited both the growth of Muslim League into a disciplined political party and the growth of the political parties in general (Muhammad Waseem, 1989:141).

Bureaucratic Elite and Policy-making process in Pakistan During (1951-54): Till 1951, bureaucracy successfully established control and credibility over financial decision making. Once the financial position was strengthened, the bureaucratic elites started working for the control over the political arena after 1951. The decision making was left with the cabinet and the cabinet was comprised of cabinet secretaries and ministers. Every ministry was headed by a minister assisted by different bureaucrats including a CSP Secretary, a Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary and a host of lower level functionaries. These bureaucratic functionaries and officials at the ministries exercised enormous power and influence. The bureaucratic influence was maximum as the Ministers were weak and dependent on their counsel. The pivotal political decisions were made and executed by bureaucracy after the demise of Liaqat. Ghulam Mohammad and Chaudhry Mohammad Ali (a member of the Indian Audit Account Service and later Finance Minister of Pakistan) were the two men who dominated the decision making after Liaqat. Subsequently, the office of the Governor General was limited to an instrument of bureaucratic intervention after 1951 (Mamtaz Ahmad, 1974:36).

Governor General Ghulam Mohammad successively used section 92 A and undermined the parliamentary politics and powers of the Prime Minister. Prime Minister was able to stay in office only at the pleasure of the Governor-General. Ghulam Mohammad also aborted the practice of party politics and gear up a paternalistic relationship with the politicians. Bureaucracy, in this situation, intervened rather directed the internal policies and also foreign policy of the country. Prime Minister Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din and Chaudhry Zafrullah, Foreign Minister, were against the close ties between the US and favoured close relation and cooperation with Great Britain, but bureaucratic and military elite never paid heed to their preferences (Muneer Ahmad, 1964:56).

Dismissal of Prime Minister Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din: After the death of Liaqat Ali Khan, Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din became Prime Minister which made Ghulam Mohammad (1951-55), a staunch bureaucrat, the Governor General and this put the political system

under the total control of the bureaucracy. Ghulam Mohammad cleverly manipulated the shortcomings and inefficiencies of the Nazim-ud-Din regime and extracted favour for his own rule. Nazim-ud-Din was having a majority in the National Assembly but The language riots (East Bengal 1952), The Ahmadia riots (Punjab 1953), and the food crisis of 1953 provided him with the opportunity to dissolve the government on April 17, 1953. It proved a decisive blow on the struggling democracy in Pakistan along with the trend of bureaucratic interference in the political administration of the country. It provided an edge to bureaucracy over the political forces and institutionalized bureaucratic rule as the non-democratic forces sidelined and triumphed the popular and elected leadership (Asaf Hussain, 1979:75).

Mohammad Ali Bogra as the Prime Minister of Pakistan:

Setting aside all the parliamentary rules, Mohammad Ali Bogra was made Prime Minister. He was a Bengali and the ambassador of Pakistan to the US but not a member of the Constituent Assembly and, therefore, he had not enjoyed any support in the Muslim League, but his appointment gave Ghulam Mohammad a weak Prime Minister and at the same time placated the Bengalis. Ironically the League leadership showed complete acquiescence in the governor general's will with 9 of the 11 members of Nazimuddin cabinet joining the Prime Minister's cabinet. During Bogra regime, the bureaucratic elites not only maintained their power but it also committed the worst political blunders which resulted in the province becoming ethnically conscious, the growth of nationalistic tendencies and the destruction of the political institutions. The East Bengali political elites had lost their faith in the East Bengali Premiers (Nazimuddin and Bogra), both of whom had succumbed to the political influence of bureaucratic elites. In 1953 Suhrawardi, A. K. Fazlul Haq and Maulana Bashani formed a coalition of their parties—named United Front and were able to mobilize the East Bengali masses with its 21 points manifesto. The result was that in the election of 1954, the Muslim League could only secure 10 out of 309 seats. It was because of the bureaucratic manipulation of the political process which resulted in the crushing defeat of the Muslim League which never regained its footing in that province (Asaf Hussain, 1979:76).

Dismissal of Fazl-ul-Haq the Chief Minister of East Bengal and the Imposition of Governor Rule in the Province: The election

of 1954 was not only a disaster for Muslim League but its outcome also posed a great threat to the Panjabi bureaucrats. The change in East Bengal was also a challenge to their rule and therefore, they refused to concede to any of the provincial representative demand. Also, the alliance with the US had given them a sense of confidence. Ten days after the agreement, the central government dismissed the popularly elected government of Fazlul Haq in Bengal on May 30, 1954, alleging that he had made statements that were prejudicial to the Pakistan integrity. It was subsequently followed by the imposition of governor rule in the province and Iskandar Mirza another bureaucrat was sent as a governor, who threatened that, if necessary, martial law would be imposed (Asaf Hussain, 1979:26).

Efforts for the Reformation of the Bureaucracy: Bogra was interested and tried to point out the problems of the bureaucratic system of Pakistan. In quest of putting the things on the right track, Muhammad Ali Bogra invited Prof. R. Eggar, an American expert to assess the problems in the system. In this regard, Eggar prepared a report which evaluated fault in the functioning of the secretariat system. A CSP was heading the policy making and dominating the political system. It clearly stated: “that the deficiencies in the public administration of Pakistan are not the deficiencies of intelligence or understanding but are the deficiencies inherent in an administrative system designed for a day that has gone by. Both the political leaders and the civil servants are fully aware of these defects”.

Bogra failed to honor the suggested reforms as their implementation was impossible due to the dominance of the bureaucratic elites. Thus, the report was a file without bearing any significant impact on the powers of bureaucracy in Pakistan. Later on, Professor B. Gladieux was also invited to evaluate administration for the purpose of reformation. The bureaucratic elite on this issue remain rigid and showed a clichéd response that the system is working perfectly and does not need any reformation. B. Gladieux disagreed with the colonial working of bureaucracy and administration he declared it unfit for the democracy. He advocated decentralization of bureaucracy to improve efficiency. Owing to clashing with the interest of bureaucracy, the report experienced the same fate as its predecessor.

Bureaucratic Elite and Their Job Schemes: As a result of above said reports, bureaucratic elites witnessed criticism from two

sides. On the one side, political elite started criticizing their increased role in the political matters and by the less powerful faction of bureaucracy on the other hand. In order to win over the support of a less powerful faction of bureaucracy, higher bureaucracy started devising different job schemes including Economic Pools and Section Officer Scheme. These were meant to share their power and status with officers from other cadres. The growing demand of economic uplift generated pressured of economic development over them and subsequently they introduced many semi-government Organizations such as Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) and West Pakistan Power and Development Authority (WPPDA) but these organizations were to remain under the tight control of the bureaucracy.

Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan: Although Bogra had failed to undermine the power of Secretariat through the reformation of Bureaucracy, he attempted to curb the Bureaucratic elites through legislative acts with the help of the political elites, threatened with the PRODA. Bogra was able to pass a motion in the constituent assembly for its repeal while the Governor General was not in the Capital. Amendments to sections 9, 10, 10(A) and 10(B) of the Government of India Act 1935 were also passed. It curtailed the powers of Governor General to dissolve elected representatives including Prime Minister. Resultantly, Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the entire constituent assembly in 1954 and pretended that it was failed to produce a constitution for the Country. The country remained without Constituent assembly for 10 months, until an election in 1955. During this period (24 Oct 1954 to 07 July 1955) Bogra was allowed to continue as a Prime Minister, with power only after he had obtained 'his Master's Pardon'. Even his Ministers and the so-called cabinet of talents were selected for him by the Governor General. The Ministry of talent became more of a Governor General's council and its prime objective was to crush all opposition to One Unit Plan. It has also been reported that during Bogra Premiership, Ghulam Muhammad Consulted in all the important matters the Finance Minister Ch. Muhammad Ali the Former Secretary General to Government of Pakistan rather than the Prime Minister.

Bureaucratic Elites and Policy-making in Pakistan (1955-58): The reign of Ghulam Muhammad as Governor General is characterized by manipulations. He handed over his office to Iskandar

Mirza in 1955 with the legacy of manipulation and exploitation. During Mirza's regime, bureaucratic manipulation touched climax on the one hand and increased interference over the administration on the other hand. He believed in the ideology that democracy needs a certain environment in which citizens are educated, aware of their right, duties and obligation. He, therefore, suggested that under developed countries like Pakistan are required to learn the ideals of democracy. Until these countries learn democracy, the population needs constant guidance in the shape of control over them. Politicians are bound to make mistakes when they are dealing with the bulk of illiterate subjects. During the course of his political career, Mirza has fully understood the ways of maintaining order and stability along with administration and technique of divide and rule. In such a diverse population as Pakistan, it was far from reality to get consensus rather it was fearful and strange desire. However, his alienation from the local aspiration resulted in making and breaking of governments at regular interval.

Mirza himself was a bureaucrat and he mostly relied on the bureaucrat while conducting the affairs of state. He selected Ch. Muhammad Ali, a bureaucrat, as Prime Minister who is credited with the introduction of the constitution of 1956. Being the nominee of Mirza, Muhammad Ali equipped Mirza with enormous powers by the introduction of emergency clauses. The President could now dissolve and replace Prime Minister and National Assembly. It also increased the power of bureaucrat as the CSP could not be dismissed without the authorization of President (Khaloid bin Saeed, 1967:64).

Iskandar Mirza was a shrewd and a smart bureaucrat who have clear and concrete calculations in order to assess and tackle negative developments. He tried to achieve two targets which are as under:

- To obstruct and discourage autonomous tendencies of the Provinces which could have challenged integration of the country.
- To discredit, exploit and control the politician through divide and rule policy.

One Unit Scheme: He was the pioneer as far as the introduction of One Unit Bill is concerned. In September 1955, he placed One Unit Bill before the constituent Assembly. Under One Unit Bill, all the four provinces of West Pakistan were considered rather grouped as a

single unit. One Unit Bill was highly criticized especially in the provincial assemblies of Sindh and NWFP. He was so firm with the One Unit Bill that he dismissed the Ministry of Sardar Abdur Rashid in NWFP and Pirzada Abdul Sattar in Sind owing to their overt opposition toward One Unit. However, bureaucracy helped him in the passing and implementation of One Unit. Thus, One Unit Bill was passed which created a new province on October 4, 1955. Though he realized his goal but such acts on his part undermined the credibility of the central government.

One Unit Scheme was meant to serve the interests of the bureaucratic elites in the following ways:

- It dissolved all the provincial assemblies in former provinces of Punjab, NWFP, and Sindh. A new and small assembly was formed and located in Lahore which was easy to manage and control and wherefrom bureaucrats strengthened their control over the politicians.
- One Unit increased the powers and independence of bureaucrats from the central government. Most of them were assigned duties in districts which were more than 800 miles farther from the provincial headquarter, from legislative or ministerial control.
- One Unit Scheme ended the danger of disintegration and fragmentation in the West Pakistan. In addition, bureaucrats from the province of Punjab could override the rest of provinces (Khalid bin Saeed, 1967:67).

Formation of the Republican Party: In order to discourage the popularity of Muslim League in the arena of politics, Iskandar Mirza formed a political party with the name of Republican Party. He used Muslim Leaguers namely Doltana and Khuro to win over the support for one unit scheme but never trusted them in political matters. In addition, he nominated Dr. Khan sahib, the elder brother of Ghaffar Khan, as the Chief Minister of anew province in order to use him against Muslim League and also to curtail and win the support of Ghaffar Khan for one unit program. Dr. Khan sahib was non-partisan and an opponent of Muslim League.

In Iskandar Mirza's premiership, parliamentary democracy existed but only in name. The perpetual democratic governments

under Chaudry Mohammad Ali, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, H.S. Suhrawardy and I.I. Chandrigar operated but the power of administration and governance was exercised from the president house. It was Iskandar Mirza's unending involvement in the parliamentary affairs, administration, and governance which brought the political system to the verge of collapse. Mirza realized the fact that chances of his survival as President of Pakistan are extremely low if general elections were held in accordance with the 1956 constitution. Furthermore, General Ayub was occupying the very important place and was keenly observing the entire developments and situation. Initially, Ayub was unwilling to intervene in the political affairs as he rejected the offer of power-sharing with Governor General Ghulam Muhammad. Later on, he promulgated martial law and removed Iskandar Mirza from the political process and formed an oligarchical alliance with the civil bureaucracy (Bukhtiar, 2005:212).

AYUB-ISKANDER NEXUS

In 1958, Iskander Mirza, the last Governor General of Pakistan, perceived a potential threat from both Muslim League and its alliance with that of Awami League. Iskandar Mirza's obsession with this threat compelled him to take action and he made proclamation regarding the repealing of the constitution of 1956 on October 7. It resulted in the dissolution of central and provincial assemblies and the imposition of first Martial Law in the country. Iskander Mirza resumed as President and entrusted Ayub Khan with the administration of armed forces and Martial Law. Ayub Khan could not bear the yolk of Iskander Mirza and disliked the status of puppet in the hands of the politician. He, therefore, acted against the pleasure of Iskander Mirza and forced him to leave the country. On 27th October 1958, Ayub Khan himself assumed the presidency along with Martial Law to legally confirm his reform agenda for the country (Muhammad Waseem, 1987).

CONCLUSION

Summing up, the bureaucratic elite of Pakistan deviated from its original ideal position and ascended as the ruling elite of Pakistan in the first decade after the inception of Pakistan. It concentrated the political and decision-making power of the country and started performing the dual function of policy making and policy

implementation. The interference of bureaucracy in the political process was voluntary and also by default. Firstly, the bureaucratic structure was based on the colonial pattern. The bureaucracy was sharing power with the rulers as they were allowed to exercise administrative and judicial powers and acted as a mediator between the Colonial masters and locals. The grooming of a bureaucrat spurred the feeling of disregard for the politicians and political activities in the bureaucratic elite. They were groomed to preserve status quo and serve the Imperial interests of British. During training, they were taught with the British Mannerism which created superiority complex in probationer's mind. It resulted in the alienation of these bureaucrats from the masses.

Secondly, the politicization of the bureaucracy was also by default. Many politicians belonged to the feudal and land owner class. They lacked political experience and unity among them. The Muslim League, ruling party, failed to elicit constructed response toward the different problems like rehabilitation of refugees, Kashmir problems etc. thus, the failure of the politicians created room for bureaucracy which was seasoned, organized, professional and cohesive. The bureaucratic elite extracted their benefit from the prevailing unstable conditions including constitutional, political, economic and ethical. It provided them an opportunity to involve in administrative and political policy making. Moreover, Governor General was vested with the many extra-constitutional powers in Government of India Act 1935. Governor General Ghulam Muhammad used these powers and posed a serious threat and great injury to the political process of Pakistan. From 1954-58, the bureaucratic elite turned reverse and started creating political crises to malign the politicians. Iskandar Mirza emerged as a symbol of bureaucratic power. He never tolerated the threat of Political elite to bureaucracy. Therefore, he introduced One Unit Scheme to consolidate their control over both East and West Pakistan. Similarly, he also formed Republican Party to discredit Muslim League and legalized his power through the constitutional safeguards of 1956 constitution. His institutional interest paved the way for the collapse of the political system which in turn made the situation vulnerable for the frequent military takeovers.

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