

①

Zain-Batch-08B

Date: _____

Q#1: The evolution of the democratic system has always remained a dilemma in Pakistan, even after passing more than seven decades of its existence democracy could not get its roots. Discuss in details.

Introduction:

Although, Pakistan gained independence from British colonial rule under the guidance of Quaid-i-Azam, within liberal-democratic framework. However, it is unfortunate that even after passing more than seven decades of its existence democracy could not get its roots in Pakistan in its true letter and spirit. Moreover, the structural issues which hinder growth of democracy in Pakistan are as old as the country. However, in between these dark clouds looks a silver lining that is the people of Pakistan have still placed their hopes in democratic principles, which were guided according to the ideals set by the Quaid-i-Azam. Thus, consolidation of

democracy in Pakistan will take some time, like every modern-Western democratic state took respectively.

2- The structural Causes that hinder real democracy in Pakistan:

Following are the causes that hindered growth of democracy in Pakistan in its true letter and spirit:

2.1- The Early Demise of Quaid and PM Liaqut Ali Khan left Nation without any future Course of Action:

Unlike India, Pakistan was not fortunate enough to have second or third generation of political leaders having any political acumen and foresightedness. Thus, the early demise of Quaid and assassination of PM Liaqut Ali Khan left the nation like a rudderless ship. According to American political scientist Stephen Philip Cohen, "Had Jinnah been alive, he could have charted-out a clear road-map for his nation"

— (Stephen Philip Cohen; The Idea of Pakistan)

1.2: Delay in Constitution-Making set the stage for undemocratic principles:

Quaid-i-Azam was the first President elect of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Under Quaid's guidance, Pakistan could have got its first constitution. However, a plethora of other administrative issues kept Quaid busy and constitution-making was left alone in limbo. For the interim period, the India Act of 1935 with slight modifications was reinforced. According to eminent historian and political scientist, Khalid Bin Sayeed, "the adoption of 1935 Act of British India and after the demise of Quaid, strengthening of the office of Governor-General resulted of Viceregalism in post-colonial Pakistan."

—(K.B. Sayeed; Pakistan: the formative Phase).

1.3: Dissolution of Constituent Assembly and Judicial politics backfiring:

In 1954 the acting

Governor General of Pakistan Malik Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the constituent assembly of Pakistan, at a critical time when the assembly had almost prepared a draft-constitution that could have clipped the powers of Governor General. Thus, in an preemptive strike Governor General dissolved the assembly over flimsy charges. The President of Constituent Assembly Molw Tamizuddin challenged the dissolution. However, according to Paula Newberg, "the court's upholding of dissolution of constituent assembly as a valid act, set the stage for false interpretation of Austinian jurist Home Kelson's theory of natural-law leading to notorious doctrine of necessity."

—(Judging the State; Paula Newberg)

14: Weakening and Degeneration of AIML into various Interest Groups leading to emergence of Identity Politics;

Although, All India Muslim League (AIML) spearheaded

the cause of Pakistan during independence movement. However, AIML failed to remain a national political party. In fact, AIML was an amalgamation of different interest groups from different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. Quaid was the only glue holding them together. According to eminent historian Dr. Ayesha Jalal, "Unlike Indian National Congress that represented people from different backgrounds under the flag of Indian nationalism; the AIML was consisted of different groups having their own vested interests like landed gentry and industrial interests." (Ayesha Jalal; The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah and the Demand of Pakistan).

Thus, after Quaid, AIML fell like a house of cards and gave birth to identity politics as ethnicity became the main focal point in political discourse.

2.4: Absence of Democratic and Participatory Political Culture in Areas Constituting Pakistan:

Unlike Western democratic states the post-colonial nation states had to reconcile with the modern nation-state

led democratic framework. According to Frantz Fanon, "colonial rule is consolidated through the help ~~with~~ of local elites, who keep their people away from democratic principles." (Frantz Fanon; *The Wretched of the Earth*)

Thus, the areas which constituted Pakistan, with the exception of Punjab was ruled through either political agents or feudal lords. "This prevented the emergence of democratic ethos and principles as well as a participatory political culture, which is essential for any democracy to flourish."

-(S. Akbar Zaidi, *Military, Civil Society & Democratization in Pakistan*)

1.5: Over-Developed State Structure and Under-developed polity resulted in Institutional Imbalances:

Pakistan inherited the state structure from its colonial masters, which was considered the steel-frame of British rule in Subcontinent. However, unfortunately Pakistan failed to indigenize it. According to famous historian

⑥

and sociologist, Hamza Alavi, "Pakistan inherited an over-developed state structure while its polity was still under-developed. This resulted in institutional imbalances."

(Hamza Alavi; The State in Post-Colonial Societies, Pakistan & Bangladesh)

1.6: Straining Relations between Civil and Military leadership leading to Military take-over:

The institutional imbalances left the civil-military bureaucracy as the only most organized and modernized pillars of state. Furthermore, incapability of civil political leaders resulted in more and more dependence on armed forces. According to Lawrence Ziring, "the civilian leaders became more and more dependent on military leadership for mediating their disputes. Similarly, political infighting and 1953 riots resulting in martial-law in Lahore boosted the morale of military. Furthermore, making military chief Ayub Khan a defense minister in cabinet was a blunder of political leaders." (Lawrence Ziring

7

Day: _____

Date: _____

;) Pakistan in the Twentieth Century.)

Thus, when President Iskander Mirza failed to calm down political chaos, he imposed martial law and Ayub Khan became the Chief Martial Law Administrator — later President by deposing Iskander Mirza. The rest is history.

2- The Contemporary Relevance of Democracy being hindered in Pakistan:

Following are the contemporary phenomena that are deeply connected with Pakistan's historical failure to consolidate democracy in Pakistan.

2.1: Political Instability and Political Victimization:

Due to lack of democratic consolidation in Pakistan, political instability is ensued with far-reaching consequences. According to Shuja Nawaz, "Pakistan's democratic facade results in an game of musical chairs. One party keeps pulling the leg of other. The opposition conspires to pull the rug from under the feet of ruling party. Thus, leading to political dealocks and instability." - (Shuja Nawaz; *The Crossed Swords*) Therefore, political instability leads to frustration ending in political victimisation of opponents, which is a cyclical process, in which only faces change while rules of the game remain same

2.2: Economic Instability and Begging-Bowl Diplomacy:

The political instability takes a heavy toll on economy leading to economic instability. According to Ian Talbot, "the fundamentals of Pakistan's economy are wrong, which results in policy shifts and economic instability." - (Ian Talbot; Pakistan: A New History) Furthermore, according to Stephen Philip Cohen, "the economic instability in Pakistan leads towards begging-bowl diplomacy to donor countries and international financial institutions." - (Stephen P. Cohen; The Future of Pakistan) Even in 2023, Pakistan is struggling to avoid a sovereign default by coming into an Stand-by Agreement with IMF to cover its import bill.

2.3: Institutional Meltdown and Crisis of Governance:

Even after 75 years of Pakistan's independence democracy could not take root. Consequently, in 2023

Pakistan is facing institutional meltdown and crisis of governance. According to Hasnat Abdul Hafeez, "Post-colonial countries like Pakistan have weak governance mechanism due to colonial baggage and superstructures. As a result, strong and better organized institutions take a lead over responsible-democratic institutions which leads to crisis of governance."

(-Hasnat Abdul Hafeez; Governance: A South Asian Perspective.)

2.4: Polarized Politics and Judicial Activism:

At no point in the political history of Pakistan was political polarization reached to heights as compared to today. The onslaught of populism in Pakistan is due to lack of consolidation of democracy. The populist leaders polarize society in 'us vs them' binaries. Consequently, judicial activism is ensued, which is bad for democracy and democratic political process anywhere. However, as it leads towards a parochial political culture.

2.5: Crisis of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan:

It is alleged that crisis of Civil-Military relations is one of the constants in Pakistan. According to Huntington, "modern militaries are different from traditional ones, which used to be personal-estate of rulers. However, modern militaries consider themselves an essential component in policy-making especially to security related issues." (Samuel P. Huntington; *The Soldier and the State*). In Pakistan there has been a pattern of military take-over, if it is considered last resort of action, "when civilian political leaders fail to resolve their differences on table, which leads to political deadlock, instability and becomes a security issue."

(-Hassan Askari Rizvi; *Military State & Society*)

The May-9 riots is a case in point.

2.6: Weak Federalism and Crisis of Centre-Province Relations:

One of the manifestations of lack of democratic

consolidation of democracy in Pakistan is the consistent crisis of centre-province relations. The 18th amendment to 1973 Constitution of Pakistan has been so far failed to be fully implemented. The 7th NFC Award, and increase of funds for Balochistan on yearly basis on divisible pool has been a failure. Resultantly, in Balochistan and elsewhere fissiparous tendencies emerge. According to Ryan Brasher, "ethnic groups and fissiparous tendencies emerge behind the facade of identity politics. However, their real issues are concerned with distribution of productive resources." — (Ryan Brasher; *The Politics of Ethnicity and Federalism in Pakistan*).

3- Impacts of lack of democracy in Pakistan:

The major impacts of lack of democracy and democratic consolidation in Pakistan include, separation of East Pakistan, secessionist tendencies in peripheries. Furthermore, absence of democracy resulted in repeated

military interventions in Pakistan. Similarly, political instability results in poor economic management and unsustainable economic policies. Additionally, extremism in Pakistan is on rise due to lack of democracy and militarization of religion during 1979-89. Moreover, Pakistani nation could not be ~~getting~~ glued together as one nation due to trust deficit and identity politics among ethnic groups in the background of absence of democracy in Pakistan.

Conclusion :

In conclusion, it can be said, that although, Pakistan came into being due to democratic principles, however, the political leaders of Pakistan could not carry forward the legacy of Quaid-i-Azam. Consequently, democracy has been considered a dream gone sour. However, in darkness lays the opportunities, Pakistan's population is young, it has seen three peaceful democratic transition of power. Thus, no doubt it will take time for democracy to take root, but it will for certain.