

THE GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF QUAID-E-AZAM, 1947-1948

On 15th August 1947 Quaid-e-Azam assumed the office as the Governor General of Pakistan. However, he took the role of Chief Executive in the new government. He chaired cabinet meetings & was the president of the constituent assembly.

BUILDING A NATION:

- He could little about the fact that the country that the country was divided in to two distinct areas-east & West Pakistan. He works hard toward establishing the Pakistan was a single, united country. He stressed people not thing of himself or herself as for example: Punjabi or Bengali
- Quaid-e-Azam declared himself “Protector General of Minorities”. He made it a absolutely clear that the state of Pakistan was not going to discriminate against any citizen on the ground of his religion.
- To help the newly arrived refugees he setup a Relief Fund to rehabilitate them as quickly as possible. The people were quick to respond with donations in cash & kind.
- Quaid secured membership of the country in to the United Nation Organization (UNO) on 30th September 1947. This helped in gained recognition & support among the other nations of the world.

BUILDING A GOVERNMENT:

- Quaid-e-Azam paid up his attention towards setting up the administrative machinery. Karachi was made the capital of Pakistan where the central secretariat was setup. Without carrying inadequate office equipments, the government officers began their work with zeal & sentiments of sacrifices.
- Liaqat Ali Khan was appointed prime Minister and Cabinet was formed. A Constituent Assembly was set up to begin to frame a constitution for the new Pakistan.
- The Civil Services were recognized to draft the civil services rules.

- He also completed the judicial structure of administration by creating the Federal court.

BUILDING AN ECONOMY:

- Quaid-e-Azam gave monetary independence to Pakistan by establishing the State Bank of Pakistan on 1st July 1948.
- In 1948 Jinnah's Industrial policy Statement made it clear that he & the government wanted to setup industries in Pakistan as quickly as possible.
- Canal Water Dispute was settled due to Quaid's efforts. He also helps to persuade to Indian government to hand over the agreed share of financial assets from pre-partition of india.

ESTABLISHING NATIONAL SECURITY:

- Although Pakistan has been given poor military equipment & it lacked military officers for the army. Quaid fulfill this gap by offering temporary commission & using British officer in Pakistan army.
- Although Pakistan army was ill equipped saw its 1st action in Kashmir. Despite being out numbered & having inferior arms & ammunition, it stood up well & held its own in fighting.

Problems of Partition and Nascent Pakistan State

Pakistan came into existence on 14th August 1947. Just after the establishment the nascent state faced number of problems. Many of the early problems of Pakistan were related with dispute with india e.g. **Accession of Princely States, Canal Water Dispute, Refugee Problem and Accommodation Crises, Division of Military Assets and Division of Financial Assets.**

In fact these problems were deliberately created by India so that Pakistan could not maintain its independent status and rejoin the Indian federation. The Congress leaders did not want to see Pakistan coming into being as a free and independent country. So when they failed to stop the emergence of Pakistan, they created problems for the newly born country to cripple its administration from the very beginning. There were some problems, which came in front just after the independence in Pakistan e.g. **Issue of National Language and identity, Issue of Pakhtoonistan and Death of Quaid-e-Azam in 1948.**

(A) Accession of Princely States

At the time of partition there were **462 princely states** in Subcontinent, which covered one third of Indian Territory and quarter of its population. The Princely States came under indirect control of British Government because the states were independent in their internal affairs but their defense and foreign relations were under the control of British Government. At time of partition the rulers of the states were given option to join either India or Pakistan by the British Government. But the rulers were advised to consider their geographical location and religious trend of the population before their accession.

In 1947 the northern states of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Amb and Hunza joined Pakistan. They were joined by Gilgit and Kalat in Balochistan Bahawalpur also joined Pakistan, adding a further 1.5 million inhabitants to the new country. In the East the people of Sylhet voted in a referendum which led to them joining Pakistan. By 15th of August 1947 majority of the princely states announced their accession with either Pakistan or India except Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh.

The Issue of Kashmir: In 1947 Hindu Raja **Hari Singh** ruled the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This was one of the largest princely State in the Subcontinent and the fact that it had boundaries with **Tibet, China, Afghanistan and Russia** gave it strategic importance. In spite of the wishes of a large **Muslim majority (4 million=77%)**, Maharaja did not want to join Pakistan. It was believed that he was trying to win independence for his state and so he delayed joining either Pakistan or India. In September 1947 he started a campaign to drive many Muslims out of the Kashmir. Over 200,000 fled to Pakistan and finally the Muslims rose in rebellion. The maharaja forced to india. **India forces** entered in Kashmir through **Gurdaspur**, which provided India with the only exit to Kashmir. It was Muslim majority area and was unjustly rewarded to India by the **Radcliffe Award**. India's action also proved the fact that accession of Kashmir with India was pre-planned and Gurdaspur was deliberately handed over to India to provide her a link with Kashmir.

Quaid-e-Azam ordered Pakistan Army to move Kashmir but **General Grassey** (1st C-in-C of Pakistan Army) refused to obey the instructions. Mean while the freedom fighters were able to liberate almost **one-third of Kashmir**. On **31st December 1948** India submitted a formal complaint against Pakistan in **UNO** for providing **assistance to the freedom fighters in Kashmir**. A **crasefire** was arranged and Kashmir was divided between India and Pakistan. However, Pakistan was angered that India retained the largest area of Kashmir, including the capital, **Srinagar**. India Prime Minister **Nehru** agreed that a **referendum** would be held to know the **wishes of Kashmiri people**. This referendum has not been held and the 'Kashmir Issue' remains a major source of discontent between the two countries today. Pakistan has made numerous demands that UNO resolve the dispute, but, so far, it has been impossible to reach agreement.

Issue Of Junagadh: Junagadh was a small state on the coast, 300 miles south of Karachi with a population of 700,000. The population was mostly non-Muslims, but its prince was Muslim. After the independence the request for accession with Pakistan was accepted by Quid-e-Azam. But the Indian government refused to accept the accession. An economic blockade of Junagadh was imposed and states were surrounded by Indian force. There was food shortage. By the end of October 1947 the ruler of the Junagadh was forced to leave the state. On 9th November 1947 Indian army occupied the state ignoring the strong protest of Pakistani government India held referendum and majority of the voters cast their vote in favor of the accession with India. Pakistan took up the matter in UNO, which is still unresolved.

Issue of Hyderabad: Hyderabad was the **largest of the princely states** (almost equal to U.K) with population of **160 million** and generates revenue of over **160 million rupees** Majority of its population was **Hindu** but ruler whose title was '**Nizam**' was a **Muslim** Hyderabad being a prosperous state and because of its prestige and importance wanted to maintain its independent status but Lord Mountbatten told him this was not possible. As being **Muslim he wanted to accede to Pakistan.**

The Indian government, however, was determined not to allow Hyderabad to join Pakistan. It began pressurizing the Nizam to join Pakistan. He was unwilling to do so, but finally agreed to enter in respect of defence, foreign affairs and communications The Indians exerted further pressure and in **August 1948** Hyderabad filed a complaint before the **UNO**. Before it could be heard, on **13th September 1948** just two days after the death of Quaid-e-Azam, **Indian troops** entered Hyderabad, dismantled the state and incorporated it into different provinces in India.

(B) Canal Water Dispute

Canal Water Dispute between Pakistan and India had its origin in Red cliff's Award. Redcliffe divided the boundary of India and Pakistan in such a way that it cut across River Ravi and Sutlej making India and Pakistan upper and lower beneficiaries.

West Pakistan is fertile country but has a hot and dry climate. Rainfall is not plentiful and so it relies upon irrigation system from series of canals, which draw from the three main rivers in the area, the Indus, the Jehlum and the Chenab. The problem for Pakistan was that the flow of water through the canals and rivers was controlled at a series of 'Head works', most of which lay in the part of Punjab that was now in India. The Indian government promised not to interfere with the supply of water to Pakistan. On **1st April 1948** India stopped the flow of water (Ravi and Sutlej), knowing that the economy of Pakistan dependent on agriculture, which caused heavy economic loss for Pakistan. In the beginning Pakistan had to pay large amount of money to purchase water from India. The Pakistan government called for the matter to be settled by the international court of justice, but India refused. In May 1948 a temporary agreement was reached. India agreed to allow water from East Punjab to flow into West Punjab, but only if Pakistan agreed to try to find alternative water supplies.

The dispute was finally resolved on 19th September 1960 when Indus water treaty was signed between president of Pakistan Ayub Khan and Prime Minister of India Jawahar Lal Nehru.

(C) Refugee Problem and Accommodation Crises

Clashes between Hindus and Muslims became usual after the announcement of 3rd June Plan. But the communal violence reached to its height when the Redcliffe Award defined the boundaries of Bengal and Punjab on 16th August 1947. Sikhs who were enraged at the loss of Guru Nanak's birthplace they were better armed and better organized. Hindus and Sikhs had organized program for the massacre of Muslim Refugees. In the non-Muslim princely states there were examples of state troops being used to support attacks on Muslims.

Millions of people found themselves living in the 'Wrong Country' and became victims of communal attacks. The only answer was for Muslims to move into Pakistan and non-Muslims to move into India. At the time of partition World's largest migration took place. Over 10 million people had moved from India to Pakistan or in the other direction by January 1948. A million men, women and children died as a result of violence or the difficulties of the long journey. Nearly 20 million people were made homeless and both India and Pakistan faced enormous problems a huge numbers of refugees fled to them for safety Karachi alone received nearly two million refugees in 1947 alone. It was estimated that only West Pakistan had received 5.5 million refugees as compared with East Pakistan's 3.5 million. Some refugees moved willingly, taking as many of their possessions with them as they could. Other fled from violence and often arrived in their new country with nothing at all Pakistan, as a new and not wealthy country, it was extremely difficult for these people to be accommodated.

To help the newly arrived refugees Quaid-e-Azam set up a Relief Fund to rehabilitate them as quickly as possible. The people were quick to respond with donations in cash and kind.

(C) Division of Military Assets

It was announced on 1st July 1947, that British Indian Army would also be divided. The agreed division of the military was in a ratio of 65 to 35 in India's favour, which was with the reference of communal balance in the army. General Auchinleck was appointed as the Field Marshal of the joint army of India and Pakistan and in-charge of the distribution of military asset Pakistan's immediate requirement for an army of 150,000 soldiers and 4000 officers. These were only 2500 Muslim officers were available. The shortfall had to be made up of temporary commissions and 500 British officers, which included the 1st two C-in-C of Pakistan Army. India created lot of problems in the division of military assets. Whatever Pakistan received was nothing but scrap and out of order machines, broken weapons, unserviceable artillery and aircrafts. There were 16 ordnance factories and all were situated in India. Eventually a financial settlement was made and Pakistan was given 60 million rupees towards its share in the ordnance factories. Later an ordnance factory was established at Wah. Pakistan received six Armour divisions to India's

fourteen, eight Artillery divisions to India's forty and eight Infantry divisions to India's twenty one. Pakistan also received the Staff College in Quetta and Service Crops College at Kakul, which later became Pakistan Military Academy.

(D) Division of Financial Assets

At the time of the partition there was a cash balance 4 billion rupees in the Reserve Bank of India, which was to be shared between India and Pakistan on the ratio of 17 to India and 5 to Pakistan. Pakistan was to receive 750 million rupees, which was initially delayed by the Indian government. After the protest of Pakistan India agreed to pay 200 million rupees. As the war between Pakistan and India had started on the issue of Kashmir in 1948, India again stopped the rest of the amount by saying that Pakistan could use it to buy arms. After the protest from Pakistan and the threat of hunger strike from Gandhi, Nehru forced to pay another 500 million rupees. However the remaining 50 million rupees are still not paid. The money was Pakistan's rightful share India deliberately withheld it because they hoped that Pakistan would become bankrupt.

(E) Issue of National Language and Identity

Immediately after the establishment of Pakistan language controversy was started between East and West Pakistan. When the members of the Constituent Assembly belonged to East Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister of Pakistan refused to accept the demand that created resentment among East Pakistan. Refusal of the demand ultimately transformed into a political movement. In March 1948 while addressing at Dhaka Quaid-e-Azam declared, "Urdu and Urdu alone would be the National Language of Pakistan". Advice of Quaid temporarily took the heat out of Language Movement but the issue was not settled it exploded later after the death of Quaid-e-Azam.

Pakistan was mainly made up of five different regions, they were:

1) The Pakhtuns in the north 2) The Balochs in the west 3) The Sindhis in the south 4) The Punjabis in the northeast 5) The Bengalis in the east.

These people had different traditions, cultures, languages and lifestyle. Pakistan was not comprised of a single united people and there was much work to do in convincing everyone of the wisdom of joining the new state. Thus created a problem of National identity.

(F) Issue of Pakhtoonistan

At the time of partition the "Red Shirts" the ally of INC controlled N.W.F.P. The Khan Brothers, Dr. Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, were their leaders. Despite the 1947 referendum in which the people of the region voted to join Pakistan, the leaders of the "Red Shirts" demanded

union with Afghanistan or complete regional autonomy. The Afghan government also supported the issue that the “Pakhtoons” or Pathans living in both Pakistan and Afghanistan belong to the same race and the “Pakhtoons” of Pakistan wanted to be the part of union with Afghanistan, called “Pakhtoonistan”.

(G) Death of Quaid-e-Azam

Despite all the problems, Pakistan continued to march under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam, Nobody can deny the fact that in the early year predominant leadership of Quaid-e-Azam was a source of strength for Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam died on 11th September 1948, just after one year of independence. After the death of Quaid-e-Azam there were other great leader too but unfortunately none was of the caliber of Quaid-e-Azam.

Significant Features of various Ministries (1947 – 1988)

Governor Generals of Pakistan (1947 – 1956)

- **Quaid-e-Azam:** Assume power as the 1st Governor General of Pakistan on 15th August 1947, died on 11th September 1948.
- **Khwaja Nazimuddin:** Assume power after the death of Quaid-e-Azam on 14th September 1948, resigned from his office after the death of Liaquat Ali Khan to become the prime Minister on 17th October 1951.
- **Malik Ghulam Muhammad:** Assume Power on 19th October 1951, forced to resign because of his ill health on 15th October 1955.
- **Major General Iskander Mirza:** Assume power on 16th October 1955, resigned from the office of Governor General on 22nd March 1956 to become the President of Pakistan.

Presidents and Chief Martial Law Administrators of Pakistan (1947 – 1988)

- **Major General Iskander Mirza:** Elected as the 1st President of Pakistan by the Members of the National Assembly on 23rd March 1956, forced to resign by General Ayub Khan on 27th October 1958.
- **General Ayub Khan:** Assume power as the 1st Chief Martial Law Administration of Pakistan on 27th October 1958, sworn as 2nd President of Pakistan in February 1960 resigned in March 1969 because of widespread protest against his government.

- **General Yahya Khan:** He became the Chief Martial Law Administrator and 3rd President of Pakistan after the resignation of General Ayub Khan on 25th March 1969, he resigned on 20th December 1971 after the separation of East Pakistan.
- **Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto:** Assume the power as the 1st Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator and the 4th President of Pakistan on 20th December 1971, resigned from the office of the President when elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan by the National Assembly on 13th August 1973.
- **Chaudri Fazal Elahi:** Elected as the 5th President of Pakistan on 14th August 1973, retired at the end of his term on 16th September 1978.
- **General Zia-ul-Haq:** Assume power as the Chief Martial Law Administrator on 15th July 1977, also became the 6th President of Pakistan after the retirement of Fazal Elahi on 16th September 1978, died in plane crash on 17th August 1988.
- **Ghulam Ishaq Khan:** The Chairman of Senate assumed the office of President after the death of Zia-ul-Haq on 17th August 1988, forced to resign on 8th July 1993.

Prime Ministers of Pakistan (1947 – 1988)

- **Liaqat Ali Khan:** He became the 1st Prime Minister of Pakistan on 15th August 1947, shot dead on 16th October 1951.
- **Khwaja Nazim uddin:** Assume power on 17th October 1951, dismissed by Ghulam Mohammed on 17th April 1953.
- **Mohammad Ali Bogra:** Appointed (twice by Ghulam Mohammad on 17th April 1953, Ghulam Mohammed dissolved the Constituent Assembly on 11th August 1955.
- **Chaudri Mohammad Ali:** Elected by the members of the members of the Constituent Assembly as the Prime Minister on 11th August 1955, forced to resign when lost majority in the Assembly on 12th September 1956.

- **Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy:** Assume power on 12th September 1956, forced to resign when lost majority in the Assembly on 17th October 1957.
- **Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar:** Assume power on 18th October 1957, forced to resign when lost majority in the Assembly on 16th December 1957.
- **Feroz Khan Noon:** Assume power on 18th December 1957, removed when Martial Law was imposed on 17th October 1958.
- **General Ayub Khan:** On 22nd October 1958, Major General Iskander Mirza appointed General Ayub Khan as the Prime Minister of Pakistan.
- **Noor-ul-Amin:** Nominated by General Yahya Khan on 7th December 1971, removed after the separation of East Pakistan on 20th December 1971.
- **Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto:** He became the 1st democratically elected Prime Minister of Pakistan on 12th August 1973, removed by General Zia-ul-Haq on 5th July 1977, when Martial Law was imposed on the country.
- **Mohammad Khan Junaijo:** Appointed by General Zia-ul-Haq as the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 23rd March 1985, dismissed by Zia-ul-Haq on 29th May 1988.
- **Benazir Bhutto:** After the election held in October 1988, Benazir Bhutto (daughter of Z.A. Bhutto) becoming the 1st woman Prime Minister of Pakistan in November 1988.

1st Martial Law imposed by President Major General Iskander Mirza on 7th October 1958 and lifted by President General Ayub Khan on 1st March 1962.

2nd Martial Law imposed by President General Yahya on 25th March 1969 and lifted by Z.A. Bhutto on 1st March 1972.

3rd Martial Law imposed by General Zia-ul-Haq on 7th March 1977 and lifted by President General Zia-ul-Haq in December 1985.

Liaquat Ali Khan (1947 – 1951)

He was the 1st Prime Minister of Pakistan. Although he was unable to handle many of the problems, which Pakistan faced at that, but there was no doubt that he wanted to see Pakistan developed. After the death of Quaid-e-Azam, he gained good popularity; his contribution to the Pakistan Movement included his convincing the Quaid to return from England, to lead the Muslim League in 1934. As the 1st Prime Minister of Pakistan he kept the economy working but did not frame a constitution for country. He was assassinated in October 1951.

Objective Resolution 1949

On 12th March 1949, the 1st Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed a resolution, it was moved by Liaquat Ali Khan the 1st Prime Minister of Pakistan. The basic principles of Objective Resolution were;

- The constitution should observe the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as laid down by Islam.
- Muslims would be able to lead their lives according to Islamic principles.
- Other religious group should be able to practice their religion freely.
- Minorities and the poor would be legally protected from social injustice.
- All fundamental human rights should be guaranteed.
- The legal system should be independent of government.

Advantages: It was the 1st step towards the constitution making and most important occasion in the life of Pakistan. In Objective Resolution the Islamic and ideological character of the newly established state was preserved. In view of these basic principles, the Objective Resolution contained fundamental principle on which the future constitution of Pakistan was to be based.

Criticism: The Objective Resolution contained several references to Islam, as it tried to counter criticism from Ulema that the new government had not made Pakistan a proper Islamic state, with a constitution based on the Shariat. There was no agreement that how these objective would be implemented. Further more, no timetable given for the holding of elections and drafting of constitution.

Khawaja Nazimuddin (1948 – 1951)

He was from East Pakistan. He lacked firmness and was an honest and God fearing person. Unfortunately he could not stop the influence of executive branch of government in the politics.

In 1951 Malik Ghulam Mohammed who was Finance Minister at that time, persuaded him to step down as a Prime Minister from the post Governor General. In 1953, Pakistan suffered a great food crisis due to flooding in East Pakistan and severe economic problems leading to civil unrest. This unrest was exploited by religious elements that wanted Ahmediyas to be declared as Non-Muslims. The government of Khawaja Nazimuddin was criticized for lacking firmness in the maintenance of law and order and dealing with the economic situation. In 1953 Malik Ghulam Mohammed dismissed Khawaja Nazimuddin's government and appointed Muhammad Ali Bogra as new Prime Minister.

Malik Ghulam Muhammad (1951 – 1955)

When Pakistan came into being in 1947, Ghulam Mohammad was inducted in the 1st Cabinet of the country as Finance Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan during the first days of his rule was well of his life, decided to remove Malik Ghulam Mohammad from his Cabinet due to his bad health. But death of Liaquat Ali Khan turned the tables for Ghulam Mohammad. When Khawaja Nazimuddin resigned as Governor General to become the Prime Minister, Cabinet elected Gulam Mohammad as 3rd Governor General of Pakistan. After assuming the charge as Governor General Ghulam Mohammad started dominating the affairs of the country and Khawaja Nazimuddin merely became a powerless Prime Minister.

Economic Reforms: In 1950 a planning Commission was set up to oversee economic development in Pakistan. In 1951 it launched a Six Year Plan for Pakistan. In 1952 a major jute processing plant was opened at East Pakistan and exploration for oil/gas led to the discovery of vast reserves of natural gas at Sui in Balochistan.

Political Matters: From 1951-53 there was severe drought in Pakistan. This affected food production and in 1953 severe food shortages led to rioting in most cities throughout Pakistan. The rioting, however, had not been just about food shortages. It had also a religious element. Some Ulemas had begun a campaign against the Ahmedis. They demanded that ali Ahmedis be dismissed from office, including Zafarullah Khan.

In April 1953 Ghulam Mohammad dismissed Khawaja Nazimuddin and three other members of the Cabinet, blaming them for not controlling the economy and the riots that resulted from food shortages and issue of Ahmedis.

New Cabinet was formed which includes a new Prime Minister, Mohammad Ali Bogra, who had been the acting ambassador to the USA. In September 1954 M. Ali Bogra tried to reduce the discretionary powers of Governor General under which Ghulam Mohammad dismissed Khawaja Nazimuddin's government. Ghulam Mohammad acted immediately and dissolved the Constituent Assembly. He then chose a new Cabinet in which he re-appointed Bogra as Prime Minister. Maulvi Tamiz ud-din the speaker of dissolved assembly challenged the decision in Sindh High Court. The court gave verdict in favor of Maulvi Tamiz-ud-din, but the Supreme Court reversed the decision Sindh High Court. Ghulam Mohammad fell ill and had to resign in August 1955. Major General Iskander Mirza replaced him.

Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza (1955 – 1958)

He became Governor General of Pakistan after Malik Ghulam Mohammad in October 1955. He had joined the British Indian Army but he had been on political service by the British, so he was a perfect bridge between military and civil service. He also used his power in an unconstitutional manner by overthrowing political governments. In 1956, he became the 1st President of Pakistan (According to the 1st Constitution of Pakistan in 1956, the designation of Governor General was changed into President.) and was successful in formulating 1st Constitution of Pakistan on 23rd March 1956. He also invited General Ayub Khan to take over and proclaimed 1st Martial Law in Pakistan.

One Unit scheme 1955: In October 1955, Governor General Iskander Mirza introduced a scheme known as 'One Unit Scheme'. This scheme was about joining all the four provinces and ten princely states of Pakistan into single administrative system. The federation of Pakistan would then officially consist of West Pakistan as one province with population of 34 million and East Pakistan as other province with population of 44 million. The main reason given for creating the unified province of West Pakistan was to improve administration and economic resources. However, East Pakistan took it as a mean of denying them a majority of seats in the national assembly. In the constitution of 1956 equal number of seats were given to East and West Pakistan.

Field Marshal M. Ayub Khan and 'Decade of Progress' (1958 – 1969)

On 7th October 1958 Iskander Mirza, abrogated the Constitution of 1956 and proclaimed Martial Law in the country with himself as the President. He appointed General Ayub Khan, the C-in-C of Pakistan Army as Chief Martial Law Administrator. On 27th October 1958 Iskander Mirza was forced to resign and exiled by Ayub Khan. It was to be the 1st period of direct rule in the country.

Political Activities

Ban over political parties: For Ayub Khan political leaders created political instability in the country, they also blocked the way of country's progress. To culminate the influence of the political leaders and parties and to prevent their entry into politics Ayub Khan banned all political parties under Martial Law Regulation of 1958.

Basic Democracies: The 1st step in Ayub Khan's constitutional reforms came with the introduction of the Basic Democracies Order on 26th October 1959. This four-tier system in which ordinary people elected union council members who in turn elected district and divisional members. Later it was stated in the 1962 Constitution that the 80,000 elected Basic Democrats would also form the electoral college for the election of the President and members of the

Central and Provincial Legislatures. System of Basic Democracies deprived the common people from taking part in the election of President, National and Provincial assemblies directly.

At the end of 1959, Ayub asked the Basic Democrats for a vote of confidence. Almost 95% of them declared their confidence in Ayub Khan and on 17th February 1960 he was confirmed as President of Pakistan for the next 5 years.

Constitutional Changes: On 17th February 1960 Ayub Khan announced the creation of a Constitution Commission to make recommendations for a new constitution. Ayub Khan introduced the 2nd Constitution on 1st March 1962; he described it as combining 'Democracy with Discipline'. It was Federal and Presidential type of constitution.

Criticisms:

- Constitution of 1962 provided democratic dictatorship, as it provided the President dictatorial powers. The Governors and Ministers were appointed by the President and could dissolve the assembly. The Constitution was dictated by Ayub Khan and imposed without any discussion in Parliament.
- After the introduction of 2nd Constitution in 1962, Martial Law was lifted and ban on Political parties was removed. It appeared that Pakistan was moving nearer to a democratic system, but actually, Ayub's reforms had increased the powers of the ruling elite. This had happened because the major landlords dominated the elections to the Basic Democracies and often used coercion or bribery to influence the results.
- The Constitution also further upset the people of East Pakistan. They felt that they would have little part in governing Pakistan. Gradually they were coming to realize that Pakistan's government was in the hands of military and civil officials from West Pakistan. Various steps were taken to placate East Pakistanis: (1) Both Urdu and Bengali were recognized as two of the national languages. (2) The National Assembly Session was to be held in both Dhaka and Islamabad. (3) If the President were from West Pakistan, then the Speaker of the National Assembly was to be from East Pakistan. Despite these measures the people of East Pakistan still believed that West Pakistanis governed Pakistan. This resulted in feeling of unease in East Pakistan.