

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE AYUB KHAN'S BASIC DEMOCRACIES: AN ERA FROM 1958-1969

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Abstract

This research is based upon the system of Basic Democracy, which was introduced By President Ayub, soon after imposing Martial law in the country. This system consisted of a network of local bodies, these local bodies worked as the link between governments and people and achieves multiple political purposes through 80,000 basic democrats and elected by 800 to 1000 constituencies of adults. Under the presidential ordinance, a four-tier system was introduced. He was re-elected as a president in the 1965 presidential election against Mother of nation Miss Fatima Jinnah through this system. As military dictators are always much more fortunate in taking over the powers compared to politicians by using their abilities throughout the history of Pakistan, exact alike, this system was only introduced by Ayub khan to facilitate him and plunge on powers. This system did not allow people to take freely part in government affairs. Ayub khan even did not let political parties take part in the day-to-day government affairs. Through his extraordinary powers, he had introduced and enforced the 1962 Constitution of Pakistan, which was remembered as "the one-man show," because it gave him vast powers. The research is Qualitative, based upon Primary and Secondary sources, e.g., Books, E-Books, Newspapers, Journals, articles, etc. This research critically focuses on how this system was enforced in Pakistan, how Ayub khan had used this system, and which powers and achievements did Ayub had gotten after introducing this system.

Keywords: Basic democracies, local government, Ayub khan, Martial law, Pakistan, politics.

BACKGROUND

When one starts to think about the political history of Pakistan and its politics, the first thing that will come into mind is the military interventions that came from time to time in Pakistan. There were also democratic phases, but one will be focused on the military takeover because it is the true face of our politics¹. As general Musharraf wrote that, Pakistan's history showed everyone that people were failed to create a best democracy². After the independence, Pakistan faced political instability, which allowed lots of issues for Pakistan. Political instability and political environment invited coup d'état. The military intervention of 1958 was the most prominent example of how a military could slowly be intervening in politics due to the failure of democracy, political leaders, and power hunger³. Early deaths of Quaid e Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan also put an impact on the process of democracy, after the end of Jinnah and the assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan, Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad came into power and dismissed the Constitutional Assembly that helps to strengthen the military bureaucracy and its supremacy⁴. The lack of political institutions also invited the military, but this all not made happen by one man. Not only military Generals but the political leaders had itself took democracy towards dictatorship, Political hunger can acknowledge a person to act according to his will, same is the case happened with Iskandar Mirza, the President of that time, and he invited the military to freely interfere in the politics of Pakistan⁵.

As Ayyub Khan himself wrote in his autobiography, that 'the Iskandar Mirza had conveyed him that the whole situation was becoming intolerable and that he had decided to act'⁶. The power hungers attempted to murder the democratic politics of Pakistan. Ayyub Khan's martial law was not surprising news for Pakistan, but it was a well-known fact by civilians. During the era of Liaqat Ali Khan, the main reason of the appointment of Ayub was to reduce the tensions of India and Pakistan, over the many issues especially the issue Kashmir⁷. The changes of Prime ministers from a brief period made politics dirty and made people angry, everyone in the country wants political stability. From 1951 to 1958, there were seven prime ministers and a commander in chief in Pakistan. In 1958 Pakistan was facing economic instability, moreover the government treasury was also empty and foreign exchange reserved was down and that become the threat for Pakistan. According to the political analyses, that security threat from neighboring Country India could also be the reason behind the 1st martial law⁸. Pakistan's 1st constitution was adopted on 23rd March 1956, it was in the it that there must be elections held in Pakistan, but President Iskandar Mirza was delaying announcing the elections. Soon he agreed that the election would be held in November 1958. Still, with consultations with some of the political parties of that time, he postponed the elections from November 1958 to February 1959. Some political parties were resisting this step of President. So, Mirza was losing political

control, so he had proclaimed martial law in the country. He dismissed the assemblies and abrogated the 1st constitution of Pakistan⁹. The control of powers by Mirza was called the 1st phase of the martial law and when Ayyub khan on the 27th of October he forced Mirza to resign from the office and he controlled all the powers. That was called the 2nd phase of martial law. Martial law remained in the country from 1958 to 1969.

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan had struggled a lot for its political stability but could not succeed yet. During 1958-1962, Pakistan remained under the martial law of Ayub khan with its strict rules that no political party was allowed to function or to participate in the country's politics. The Elective Bodies Disqualification order of 1959 established tribunals to arrest thousands of politicians, the political life was becoming too tricky in Pakistan¹⁰. When Ayyub Khan had imposed martial law and controlled all the political powers, Pakistan was facing severe political instability. Pakistan's 1st constitution was suspended, and national and provincial government was dissolved. Now there was a need to justify his coup; he had decided to introduce some reforms in the country to explain his steps¹¹. He gave land reforms, educational reforms, medical, social, and political for that purpose. Still, the political reform became the significant step, introducing the Basic democracy system in Pakistan¹². Ayub khan's basic democracy was the new system for the politics of Pakistan. It was the significant step for the local government in Pakistan. This system was becoming long term system for Pakistan.

The analysis of this system shows certain important motives which are: -

- i. That was a step towards urban to rural politics.
- ii. That changed the President's Electoral College.
- iii. That allowed the continuity of the presidential system.
- iv. A change introduced in the politics of Pakistan.
- v. The system was also the decentralization of development.
- vi. It was also a controlled democracy¹³.

The primary purpose of the president Ayub khan behind the introduction of basic democracy was not other than that, he wants to rule the country alone . Ayub khan introduced basic democracy system under the 'Basic Democracy ordinance 1960'. This system came into effect on 27th October 1959. That was the new history of Pakistan¹⁴. Ayub khan wanted to empower himself, so he introduced this system to control politics from the grassroots of Pakistan. The other primary purpose was also to become the future President by the help of 80,000 Basic Democrats. He was successful in accomplishing his dreams, that he gave a one-man constitution and became the President of Pakistan. The basic democracy system consisted of self-governing bodies to link government and the people. The BD's selected through 800 to 1000 constituencies¹⁵.

As Ayub khan said that, 'the scheme of basic democratic was evolved by them with careful study with the experience of other countries, with keeping in view the actual condition of the people of Pakistan. Nobody can blindly adopt the system of other country which could become harmful for them. The people, government and everybody must had to work according to the requirements of Pakistan and the mindsets of the people¹⁶. Basic democracies were a complete plan for the people to directly elect the local councils. These were a total of 80,000 that were elected through adult franchise. The role of basic democracies was apparent; first, these were to reflect the representation of the people at the lowest level. Second, these would develop the nerve center of their area. All local problems would be studies there. Third, after some time, this could change the traditional officials with purely officials. Forth this process would create a moral force and a good leadership in Pakistan.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The current research topic is an attempt to investigate and analyze the system of basic democracies, its impact on Pakistan, and how this system helped Ayub khan get the powers in his era. There is enough research on basic democracies, its importance, its significance, and its system. Still, only some of the researchers had focused on investigating or doing a critical analysis of the basic democracies that how this system helps Ayub khan to get powers. There is also a lack of information, knowledge, and data on this research topic. This current research topic is not readily available in one book, library, or journal. Etc. For that purpose, this research attempts to find out the main reason behind the introduction of basic democracies. To know that what benefit Ayub had got by this system and how this system introduced in the unstable political environment of Pakistan.

Khan, A. (1968). In his political autobiography "Friend does not master" elaborates deeply about the events of his life, his life in the Military and life in politics, his enemies and his friends, and the plans for Pakistan. He also gave a little introduction to his basic democracy system, but he did not write about the basic democracy system. Banter, L. (2007). In his book "Diaries of field marshal Ayyub khan" He added the original text of Ayyub khan's diary. Still, this diary only covers the events from 1966 to 1972, even had the fall of Ayub khan elaborated by Ayub khan himself but has not much information found in this book related to the Basic democracy system or the reason behind the introduction of this system in Pakistan. Askari, R.H. (2000). In his books "The Military and Politics in Pakistan" and "Military, State, and Society in Pakistan" he wrote the martial law events of Pakistan and mentioned the basic democracy system of Ayub khan that how it introduced in Pakistan but did not criticize the system as he had to do and did not focus on the main point that what benefits did Ayub had gotten.

Khan, H. (2007). His book "Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan" he added the basic democracy system of Ayub khan, its structure, and its need. Still, he

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only added the form of basic democracy and its four tiers. He also did not criticize the system and truth behind introducing this system in Pakistan's local level. Reza, P. (2017). In his book "Fatima Jinnah: Mother of nation" he mentioned the Ayub khan martial law, his basic democracy system, and benefits for Ayub khan through method, but he did not criticize the system. Shah, A. (2014). In his book "The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan" he wrote about the Martial rule of Ayub Khan, but shortly and introduced the basic democracy system in his book but this is not enough to understand the entire system, like others some, he also did not focus on to criticize this system.

Nazir, A. (2019). In his journal article "Basic Democracy and Role of Bureaucracy in Pakistan during Ayub khan and Zia era" he compared the local government system of Ayub khan and Zia. He put an effort into elaborate the role of bureaucracies in both eras. But he focuses on the function of theses and did not criticize them. Mukherjee, K. (2016). In his article "Ayub khan's Basic Democracy and Political Continuity in Contemporary Pakistan" he firstly writes about the dictatorship then elaborate about the basic democracy of Ayub khan but did a little criticize but not much adequate and complete.

Friedman, H.J. (1960). In his lengthy article "Pakistan's Experiment on Basic Democracies" he elaborates and then historically described the entire system of basic democracies and criticized it, which is adopted by Pakistan from time to time. But he did not add the benefits and need of this system in the Ayub era. Musaraat, R. & Salman, M.A. (2011), in their article "Decentralization reforms in Pakistan during Ayub and Zia era" they described the reforms in both the era of Ayub and Zia. They elaborate on the basic democracy system compared to Ayub and Zia's era. But like others, they did not focus on the criticism or benefits of this system in the Ayub era.

Altaf, H. (2019). In his thesis "history of military intervention in political affairs of Pakistan "he gave a brief introduction to Ayub khan's martial law, and he shortly elaborates the Basic Democracies of Ayub khan. Still, he did not describe the actual political plan of Ayub khan or the main reasons behind the martial law.

All above cited resources are related to the current research topic which are explaining the Basic democracies of Ayub khan. Although these are enough to explain that what were the basic democracies and why were they adopted but none of them are related to analyze the reason of the adoption of basic democracy. This research paper is not only explaining that what were these basic democracies but also conducts an analysis on it which will help the scholars and researchers to get more information about this current study with not only deep explanation but also with critical analysis.

PHILOSOPHY OF BASIC DEMOCRACY

It became the big miss understanding for the politics that the system of government in any country is like a piece of machinery that can be imported from other countries and can work quickly and efficiently as it was working in the other country, from which

the system has adopted. It is believed that installing a program of another country can be effortless to install any successful system of the other country that also became successful in the Country¹⁷. This misunderstanding creates a lot of issues in the politics of any country. Before installing any of the systems in the country some points should be noticed that:

- What is the environment of the country?
- Which type of system can work in the political environment of that country?
- What is the education and mindsets of that country's people?
- What is the culture followed by the people of that country?
- From which civilization people belong¹⁸.

Without thinking about all the impact of that system and installing that in the country, that specific system can create hurdles in the country's development process. the successful plan that the other country could fail to take place in the mindset of the masses, until they cannot match with them¹⁹. Basic democracies were designed according to the mindset of the people of Pakistan and according to the groups in which they are divided. It is the system which starts from the grassroots, and after building a powerful base it goes structure by structure to the top²⁰. In this system, it became necessary for the people to choose the right representative for themselves and the society they live in. Without the right representative, this system could not work as it must be. Basic Democrats play the role as the bridge between the government and people. If this bridge became weak, then there will be no relation between the people and the government because the main reason behind this system was to create a link between administration and masses²¹. People must choose a person who is known to them, and all the faces of that person which was present before all the people, and which was hidden from everyone. If the people choose a person, whom they do not know, not only him but also his deeds then the election process would end²². The basic democracy system was in nature, different from other local government institutions of Pakistan, in the following three ways:

- The system was actually built into the administrative system and the basic democratic were responsible for the exercise and coordination of administrative authority at various levels, they were responsible of whatever they were doing in the court of the people.
- They were provided powers related to local bodies that helped them to formulate and implement the developmental programs of government.
- They were provided a base of government rule and administrative structure that build-up from the bottom to upwards²³.

STRUCTURE OF BASIC DEMOCRACIES OF 1959

The System of basic democracy was the best system that could be introduced in Pakistan. In an environment where the government did not know about people's work, it became essential for the Pakistan to install a program like this. The system

was introduced to accomplish multiple purposes and activities expected from both masses and government, specially in rural because government can not get access there and for developmental activities and provide those an active part in the politics of Pakistan²⁴. The system was based on a four-tier government which consisted of

- The Union council, at the union level
- The Tehsil Council, at Tehsil level
- The District Council, at district level
- The Divisional Council, at the divisional level.

THE UNION COUNCIL

Union Council was the lowest tier of the basic democracy system. It was also but also the main tier of the system. UC was consisted of total 528 villagers of about 8000-15000 pollutions. In Union Council, there were about 10-15 electoral wards and from each word 1 councilor was elected by the adult franchise in Pakistan. That could cost the vote for the Councilors, the age for the person who was costing the vote had to be 21 years old. It performs these functions:

- Economic, agriculture, and industrial functions.
- Function of Communication development.
- Function related to the development of food production in their area²⁵.

THE TEHSIL COUNCIL

This Council was 2nd tier of the basic's democracy that was called the Tehsil Council. The main point in this Council is that there were no elections would be held. The council consisted of, both the official and non-official members. The non-official members were the chairman of all union councils and, the official members were heads of the all "nation building departments". The Tehsil council was headed by the Assistant commissioner. This Council performed only one function that was to provide a connection between, union and district Council²⁶.

THE DISTRICT COUNCIL

This was important tire of basic democracy system. Head of district council was the deputy commissioner. The vice chairman was to be selected amongst the chairmen of Tehsil or union councils. The selection of the vice-chairman was always done by deputy commissioner²⁷. The District Council was different from the others because it performed worst financial and executive powers. Development function could impose any tax. The deputy commissioner in two phases did the major functions, one was compulsory and other was optional. Provisions and maintenance of school libraries, hospitals, public roads, and playgrounds came into the compulsory functions of deputy commissioner were compulsory. Optional function of deputy commissioner was, the function related the provision of secondary and higher secondary education to everyone, and the culture and economic welfare of people. All these were included in the optional functions for the deputy commissioner²⁸.

DIVISIONAL COUNCIL

The uppermost tier of basic democracy was Divisional council. Head of the divisional was, Divisional Commissioner. Members of divisional Council were:

- I. Deputy Commissioner
- II. Vice-chairman of districts
- III. Divisional level officers as official members.

Pattern:

Pattern under Basic democracy system of Ayub khan

Head Of District Council was Deputy commissioner

Head of Tehsil Council was Assistant

Councils in Urban Aras

Councils in rural areas

Commissioner was the Head of Divisional council

Union Committee

Municipal Committee

Union council

Town Committee

That is the pattern of political and administration under the Basic democracy²⁹.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SYSTEM

These are the importance of the system because the systems are working in Pakistan till date.

1. REFORMS AT LOCAL LEVEL

basic democracy was first introduced at the local level because there is a need for reforms at the local level and to connect locals with federal. Before this, no such reforms were introduced at the local level³⁰. Without consultation with the locals, it became an issue for the government and the people who do not know about day-to-day politics and could not perform in it. Before Ayub khan many governments came in Pakistan, but not a single person had paid any attention towards local administration³¹.

2. PARTICIPATION OF MASSES

Before independence, people could not be allowed to take an active part in politics. The British government did not allow anyone to play a part in politics because it could

become the reason of awareness for the people related to politics, so they had simply ignored it commons. When Ayub Khan took charge, soon after some time he had introduced a system that can work only to involve people from the local level. That was a big opportunity for locals to take part in politics³².

3. THE DEVELOPMENTAL WORKS

Government alone and without the help of commons, could not take part in plans and works. It became a little difficult for them when the government did not know what to do for the people and what developmental work is needed at the local level. By the help of these basic democrats, it could become easy for the government to start developmental projects³³.

4. CHANGE'S POLITICS

After introducing the system of democracy in Pakistan, Ayub Khan had started a change in the politics of Pakistan before there was no such system that was introduced in Pakistan after the Independence. With the help of basic democracy, the common people were involved in the day-to-day politics of Pakistan this not only helped the government and the administration. After the Independence, the people of Pakistan were not allowed to take part in politics. Still, after the introduction of this system the people of local levels started to take active part in the government and by the help of basic democracy, they can tell their issues and complaints to the government³⁴.

5. HELPS WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW REFORMS.

With the help of basic democrats, the government can easily understand or detect the issues at the local level. Basic democratic conveys the locals' messages to the government that what are the problems that were happening in society and what reforms are needed. By adopting this system, Ayub Khan introduced more reforms in the Country³⁵.

6. A BRIDGE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

Before the introduction of basic democrats, there were no systems or process that can involve or that can provide a link between government and people. It became very much difficult for both the government and the people to know how to other about the problems in the country or society. Government without the help of people I cannot understand or cannot became aware of what is happening in societies same alike people cannot be aware of what is happening in the country related to politics. So, there was a need for a system that can become a bridge to help both the government and the people to be aware of the steps of each other's steps³⁶.

7. AN ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The system was introduced to provide a link between, government and local people, or to solve issues related to administration, but the democrats under this system was also worked as the Electoral College for the election of President in era of Ayub Khan. With the help of basic democracy, that was introduced by Ayub Khan himself; he became the President of the Country³⁷.

8. CONTROL FROM FEDERAL TO LOCAL.

The basic democracy system helps Ayub khan control the administration from the federal government to the local government. By the help of basic Democrat's president became able to, all the powers, all the issues, all the administrations throughout the country. That helps Ayub Khan become the most powerful President in the history of Pakistan³⁸.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

General Ayub Khan took power in October 1958 and declared himself as the chief marshal administrator. He ruled the country for about 11 years before resigning and sending power to the other commander in chief of Army Yahya Khan³⁹. On 12th of June 1959, just after the eight months of taking office, Mohammed Ayub Khan introduced a pattern of basic democracy in Pakistan. The elections of the basic democrats were held after, 2 months of the introduction of basic system in country. According to him, he had fulfilled the promise that he had taken when he became the President that Pakistan can achieve its goals only through the democracy⁴⁰. According to Khan the parliamentary democracy is not a suitable form of government for Pakistan and the people of Pakistan. Pakistan was not ready for the parliamentary democracy, Pakistani politicians crooked and mired in local interest and population was also not prepared. Ayub Khan mentioned in his autobiography, Friends not Master that, "In a country where there were thousands of landlords and pir, faqirs, those landlords and pir influenced thousands of votes. Like that country how can someone think to run the parliamentary democracy? A country where there were only 10 to 15 political parties without any program or agenda. People were also not reached to the level of universal primary education"⁴¹. He was much right insane because the 9 years from 1947 to 1956 Pakistan witnessed many prime ministers and many governments that were changed frequently. In his diary, pointing the history of Pakistani politicians he further mentioned that, the most disturbing thing in our politicians was that, they were either the political thugs or want to fulfill their wills, the people after the Independence learnt that how to become a politician and many more qualities, same thing was needed for Pakistan. That type of spirit could help everyone to become a good citizen"⁴². Due to that Ayub Khan had introduced the basic democracy in Pakistan to meet the democratic challenges of Pakistan and introduce a system in which the people's minds could be relaxed.

DEMERITS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF BASIC DEMOCRATS

Although he had rose voice for the people of Pakistan and for the democracy and the system of democracy that what type of system should be adopted in Pakistan, he by the help of elective body disqualification order of 1959, he took the right of taking part in the active politics, from the peoples of Pakistan. As the system was used by Ayub khan only to facilitate himself to take full control of powers that is why there were many demerits of this system, which are these.

1. NATURE OF BASIC DEMOCRACY

The basic democrat system of 1959 was adopted to control from upper to lower level of the country with the help of basic democrats, were the representatives of the public. Still, they could not enjoy the powers of decision making, the actual purpose of their introduction in the Country⁴³. The bureaucratic nature did not allow them to work as the actual representative of the peoples they only became the puppets of the President.

2. ACTS IN POLITICAL MATTERS

It was mentioned in the constitution of 1962 that, Basic Democrats will also work as the Electoral College for presidential elections during the Ayub era. They will also elect the provincial and national assemblies through indirect elections in Pakistan⁴⁴. One bad thing for them, that they had to act according to the will of government and bureaucracy, although that was against their visions and wishes. This was how they were used to elect Ayub Khan again as the President⁴⁵. The military regime ensured pro Ayub, provincial and national governments, to use the Basic democracy to elect the central and provincial assemblies according to the will of the officials.

3. CONSTITUTION OF 1962

The biggest demerit of this system is that Ayub Khan introduced it to make his unitary presidential constitution. Which was adopted on 8 June 1962. The constitution declared that the election of President, national and provincial assemblies will be held by the Electoral College that were be the basic democrats. Making the basic democrats, the Electoral College for the election of President and national assemblies, by this Ayub khan had controlled the democracy⁴⁶. The pure Elections in the country are always become successful when common people take part in it and elect their President and the assemblies, but after the introduction of basic democracy the pure electoral system was ended⁴⁷.

4. ELECTION OF 1965

When elections of 1965 were held there were two main parties one was headed by Ayub Khan himself and Fatima Jinnah headed the other. These were the Presidential elections. Ayub Khan did not want to lose his powers. Still, he was also very much confidence that he can easily won the elections because in these elections the electoral college was his own basic democratic by the help of which he was elected in 1960, as the President. Fatima Jinnah got too much popularity in Pakistan because he was also the mother of nation⁴⁸.

5. VAST PRESIDENTIAL POWERS

General Ayub Khan took change of the Pakistan in 1958, after the long decade of political instability in Pakistan, during 9 years of this decade; Pakistan was back to back governed by 4 heads of state and, 7 prime Ministers. President Iskandar Mirza took advantage of this political instability, and by the help of Ayub Khan, he had imposed Martial law in the country. However, within 20 days Ayub Khan took all the powers from President Iskandar Mirza and sent him into the exile in London. Soon

Ayub Khan had declared himself, the President of Pakistan. During the presidential address after taking the power, according to Ayub Khan that, 'general Iskandar Mirza, lately President of Pakistan had ended his office of president and had handed over All Powers to Ayub, therefore he had that night, assume the office of president and had taken upon Ayub to exercise only on given powers and all other powers were enjoyed by Mirza⁴⁹. Soon Ayub Khan had decided to hold a referendum through the basic democrats. The referendum was held on 14th February 1960. But in this referendum voters can only express their opinions by marking on the ballot paper. The question which was asked in the ballot paper was that, do people had confidence in Ayub Khan?. Almost 95% basic democratic cast votes in the favor of Ayub Khan. After that Ayub Khan had started to act like a powerful president⁵⁰.

- He not only rule through Basic democrats but also gave a constitution of his own will.
- He further with his presidential powers introduced the reforms that nobody can challenge e.g. Local government reforms, Land reforms, Economic reforms, Political reforms, Political framework of Future, Change of Capital.
- By PODO and EBDO he also controlled the political activities.

That system provided the stability and the security to the president. That system could not able to provide strength to the politics of Pakistan⁵¹.

6. RULED OUT OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Ayub Khan ruled out the political activities by the system of Basic democrats, the presentation of the people was not allowed in politics. They were not given the right to elect their representatives, e.g., President and the assemblies. Moreover, after coming into the powers Ayub Khan just only took the right votes from the people but he also wants to stop his political opponents from taking the active part in politics for that purpose he had introduced them.

- Public office disqualification order, (PODO).
- Elective bodies disqualification order, (EBDO)⁵².

Both orders were introduced for those who had any public offices and had done any misconduct and corruption in Pakistan. EBDO was the extension of the PODO. The reasons were many behind the introduction of basic democrats, but the main reason was to stop the opponent. The basic democrats were introduced in Pakistan for the purpose to provide a link between the government and the people, but basic democrats show more capability in economic field rather than the political

END OF AYUB REGIME

Fall of Khan was the result of his policies and reforms he had introduced after coming into power. He made blunder with the politics of Pakistan and so in every field. He just not only empowered himself but also took steps against the other political leaders. He disqualified all politicians under the elective body disqualification order 1959. His basic democracy system did not allow citizens of Pakistan to participate in the

political and democratic profess⁵³. After the 10 long years of military regime, nothing was changed in Pakistan because Pakistan went to another Military regime and the darkest years of the history of Pakistan form 1970-1971. The main reason behind the end of martial law was the movement against Ayub Khan to leave the government⁵⁴. The movement was started against the regime of Ayub Khan and his policies, that movement was spread all over the country due to that Ayub khan had to resign from the Office by 25th of March 1969 and handed over all the powers to another General of army 'Yahya khan'.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *There must be no supremacy of district bureaucracy, over elected councils. This supremacy must have to stop, and a proper way of democracy must have to be started in which every person the society can give his/ her opinion. What reforms or changes are needed not only at a lower level but also at the upper level of the country.*
2. *The President or any other head must fulfill his responsibility truly. They must first think about the rights of others then must perform their duties instead of thinking about their rights. In the Country like Pakistan, the major reason behind the political instability is the personal need and satisfaction of the leaders, must have to stop.*
3. *The people who have been elected by the people must become a link between government and people of Pakistan. In Pakistan the elected representatives of the, before Elections, become the owner of the fulfilment the rights of the people, but after the elections they forget all their promises, this practice must have to be ended.*
4. *There must be an involvement of people in the election of President and assemblies. If there is no direct involvement of people to choose their President and assemblies, then the President and Assembly members are not answerable before the people the is against the nature of democracy in which elected representatives are answerable for the people.*
5. *There must be some constitutional provisions that give constitutional rights to the people of Pakistan to elect their representation without fear.*
6. *The people from the backward areas, especially Baluchistan and Sindh, must provide proper political education and protection from any internal or external forces so that they can speak for their rights and take part in active politics*
7. *Although after the Charter of democracy, the way for the martial law had narrowed, every citizen of Pakistan must have to try their best to stabilize the politics of Pakistan. If politics and democracy become stronger in Pakistan, there will be no other Martial law.*

CONCLUSION

Pakistan was facing political instability after the creation. The death of kite and lack of Ali Khan lead the country towards the dark way that no other leader can make a complete Constitution for Pakistan. After 9 years of the creation of Pakistan, a constitution was adopted. Still, it was repealed by the president Iskandar Mirza. Still, he cannot enjoy all the powers alone soon after the 20 days (about 3 weeks) of imposing the martial law are you upon hat taking all the powers of the government and became the martial law administrator of the country. Ayub Khan after taking the charge Pakistan and after becoming the president, he had enjoyed a lot of powers. The powers allowed him to make a constitution of his own will that was called in the history of Pakistan "the one man show" because all the provisions of this constitution allow lots of power that nobody can speak against him. He became able to introduce the reforms which he liked to introduce. After criticizing the system of Ayub khan that he had introduced in his era, it can be concluded that: -

- The system had some advantages and as well, the advantages was that this system had provided the opportunity for the people to participate in the politics by electing their representatives and by the help of those Representatives they can convey their messages to the government.
- The system had played the significant role in the era of Ayub Khan that, the basic Democrats became the Electoral College for the election of President and the assemblies.
- With the help of these basic Democrats are upon become able to win the presidential elections of 1965 against Fatima Jinnah.
- In this system, it was not democratic because bureaucracy enjoyed the decision-making powers and process. They had started to ignore the wishes of common people
- Introducing this system, the role of the people to vote for president, was ended because the people of Pakistan were not allowed to elect presidents of provincial and federal governments. Those were elected by the basic Democrats.
- Ayub Khan did not allow any other person to take part in politics except him he plunged into all the powers and became a much powerful president in the history of Pakistan.



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