

Lack of democracy is root cause of insecure civil society:

Spot light on Pakistan

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Introduction

“The very essence of democracy is that every person represents all the varied interests which compose the nation.”

--Mahatma Gandhi

In this paper author will cover historical perspective of how and why Pakistan has always been inadequate in democracy, why military is always in dominating position. Lack of democracy has created insecurity culturally and socially in the life of common people.

The basic concept of democracy teaches us the man to man respect, clear definition of rights and responsibilities of one man on other man. All human are equal, democracy mean that all the social class should be treated equally, facilities (justice, education health) given to the higher up of the Government should be available to the common people as well. Respect of human being belonging to any class is important rather than economic status. There should no class segregation.

When we talk about the democracy in this region we always talk about the establishment of democracy after the partition of India and Pakistan. We never discuss what are the main causes behind lack of democracy. Democracy is not just one day process it's a behavior of understanding and acknowledging other's right and giving other person space and freedom to live. It is just a dream for common man of Pakistan, in reality Pakistan was always under the rule of dictators' (military people) or the so called democratic Feudals. There is not a single political party or political representation with grass root

leadership, who ever comes to power just works to establish themselves rather than people of this country .

“Democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people”. Abraham Lincoln

One question that comes to mind that India and Pakistan separated at the same time but why Pakistan has developed such a strong history of dictatorship rules why not India. Why democracy was never an issue out of blue for common man in India but why Pakistani common man has to wish for democratic state rather than military ruled state.

Basically this land, Pakistan (Punjab, NWFP¹, Balochistan and Sindh) had a mixed history of governance by military rulers or dictators and lacks the democratization process. This ignorance to democratic behavior has hampered the growth of civil society. People are seldom involved in free electoral system.

People are never consulted in policy making, their voices never reach parliaments. In the sixty years of Pakistan's existence there are few democratically elected governments but Military hold the prominent position in Pakistan's governance. It is all the power game and of unequal power distribution between the ruling class and the people who are being ruled.

In Pakistan three major units control the Powers hub, Military, Feudal Lords and Bureaucracy. This triangle of power has shown deaf ear to the needs and development of

¹ North West Frontier Province

common man. This ignorance from the ruling class has created certain dissatisfaction in whole society and Majority of population lives a insecure life.

“Democracy has become not only a meaningless term, but contextually it has assumed overtones resurgence. It has been used in Pakistan, as a weapon to deny democracy to smaller and weaker peoples, and to impose on them irreplaceable dictatorship”ⁱ

The word Democracy has lost its true sense of equality now it is more used by political leaders to come in power. There are certain factors involved in the scenario of lack of democracy and insecurity.

Historical Background

Democracy in Subcontinent

Indian subcontinent, which is one of the oldest civilizations on earth and the first in South Asia, this area had developed urban communities with proper judiciary and governance. *It's* historical record suggests that some of the greatest Kings and Emperors have ruled this area. Some of the prominent dynasties like “Moghuls(16th - 17th century), Marhattas, Guptas (4th - 6th century AD) ,Sultanat (Khalji 1290-1320, Tughluq 1320-1413, Sayyid 1414-51, Lodi 1451-1526) and the Mauryas”ⁱⁱ has ruled this area . Kingship and dynasties across the globe had a very strange combination of authoritarian, judicious and monarch rulers. Similarly Subcontinent shows same history with mixture of kings, nobles, Tribal chiefs and dictators who had ultimate power over their land and people,

but these were democratic rules in a sense that they treated their common man as their responsibility and provided their subject with security and growth opportunity .

This land(now called Pakistan) particularly never had the chance to develop democracy due to certain causes. Being one of the major fertile, prosperous and wealthy area it was always an attraction for invaders like “*Alexander(330 - 323 BC), Mamood Ghazni, British Crown , French people, Germans and English East India Company*”ⁱⁱⁱ. The region first settled by the Aryans as well was the Punjab¹,From here Aryan influenced towards eastwards along the Ganges and south down the coast of west India. Punjab had experienced Series of rulers , Kingship and Dynasties but most outstanding was Maharaja Ranjit Singh. “son of soul” He was the first ruler to conquer the land from Punjab to Peshawar otherwise Invaders always came form west to East.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh and British Army

Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) also called "Sher-e-Punjab" ("The Lion of the Punjab") was a Sikh emperor of the sovereign country of Punjab and the Sikh Empire. He is know to be the decedent of Guru Nanak². His conquered land included from Punjab up till Peshawar.

“He captured the province of Multan which encompassed the southern parts of Punjab, Peshawar (1818), Jammu and Kashmir (1819) and the hill states north of Anandpur, the largest of which was Kangra”^{iv}

¹ Punjab means land of 'five rivers', from the five great tributaries of the Indus which make it fertile

² Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion

Maharaja Ranjit Singh fought with Afghans, drove them out of western Punjab. He was the first non Muslim ruler to rule Pashtoons. Ranjit Singh was not educated but was very wise and intelligent. It is said that under his rule Punjab was much safer and democratic place than Britain itself.

After the death of Raja Ranjit Singh British Army played conspiracies against the Punjab army and bought the loyalties of high up of Punjab army . the Sikh forces were divided into several factions there were few prominent leaders like General Sham Singh Attari, who fought with all the loyalties but lost against the heavy artillery of the British.

There were basically four major battles in Punjab between Punjab and the British East India Company , The first **Anglo-Sikh War** (1845–1846, Mudki – Ferozeshah – Aliwal – Sobraon) and **Second Anglo-Sikh War** (1848 and 1849, Ramnagar – Chillianwala – Multan – Gujarat) are considerably important

“The **Second Anglo-Sikh War** took place in 1848 and 1849 between parts of Punjab and the British East India Company. It resulted in the subjugation of the Sikh kingdom and the annexation of the Punjab and what subsequently became the North-West Frontier Province by the East India Company”.^v

In the Battle of **Second Anglo-Sikh War** (Khareeyan near Gujarat, Pakistan), British East India Company army including Bengal ,Bombay Armies were massively killed by the army of Sher Singh's but at the end due the conspiracy ,lack of supplies and lack of proper leadership in the Sikh forces, It was defeated and British manage to take over and

make Punjab the part of British Empire. This long and brutal struggle of British army to conquer Punjab developed strong hatred and they started suppressing this area.

Suppression in Punjab plan

After capturing Punjab the British became the sovereign power holder, rulers of India from north to south and east to west. Thousands of defeated Punjab soldiers who were exciting in small groups were still a threat to British Army.

To suppress these existing small groups of Punjab British army developed a very sophisticated plan. They offered these groups to join British Army few of these grouped joined them but who ever rejected to join was labeled as Rebels. British Army was already quite impressed by the courageous fight and resistance by Punjab forces, they had already planed to deploy these forces for their future progress to other part of Asia.

Majority of Soldier of Punjab army who joined British Army belonged to the families of landless farmers or small land holders. They were forced to join the army by raising the taxes on their lands and reducing the rates of their agricultural products (grains, cotton and sugarcane etc). This caused extreme poverty in this region and to fulfill small needs these people took loans against their land and eventually they were not able to pay back the loans hence there was no other option then to join the British army.

The victory of Punjab was Great Britain's most important success in colonial India. Its political and geographic predominance gave them a base from which to project its power on the rest of the world. After treacherous victory serious steps were taken to suppress rebellion from groups that has not joined the British army e.g.

- All the government high officials like commissioner, governor in Punjab were military personals; Punjab never got the opportunity to have civil commissioner or Governor. These official positions were always held by the army officials.
- In reality Punjab was totally administrated by British army not Queen of England.
- This region was densely forested area and the rebel groups used to hide in these forests . Punjab forests were cut down to capture all the rebellion forces.
- Canals system was established and only privilege class closer to British people benefited form this irrigational system. This system was not competent to fulfill the water needs of small farmers
- Instead of developing schools, collages, hospital or Industry, Huge cantonments where developed.
- British army deliberately deprived local people from the right of education, trade and industry, only one option left for survival was to join British army.
- More over Division of Punjab was very unnatural and British established this division for their benefit and to keep the rebels in control

War of 1857 and Punjab

Company was solely the ruler of this area but still they were not able to crush the rebellion totally, rebel groups were very much alive and these groups though worked at very smaller level but still they had created friction against the British rule. Year 1857

hold an outstanding position in the history of Indian subcontinent. Rebellion combined forces and launched an attack on British army it is commonly known as war of independence.

After the defeat of war of independence in 1857 the suppression on this area increased and it took a very crude form. Entire Subcontinent was under the Crown rule, this area was under British Army.

Delhi at that time was in Punjab and it was under British army rule , Sir Syed Ahmed¹ was citizen of the Delhi , he left his home town and migrated to Lucknow² , According to him it was better to live under Crown Rule then to struggle for survival under suppression of Military ruled area where Humans were treated worse then animals.

The highest shameful act that British Army did was the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh on April 13th 1919, where innocent civilians were killed in an open shootout. There was neither any political activity nor any debate but people gather there to celebrate Baisakhi³.

¹ Sir Syed, was an Indian educator and politician who pioneered modern education for the Muslim community in India by founding the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College, which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University

² Lucknow, the capital of Uttar Pradesh, extends along the banks of the River Gomti is well known all over the world for the tehjeeb or the courteous behavior of its people.

³ The occasion was Baisakhi, a Sikh religious festival. It was traditional for Hindus and Sikhs to gather in Amritsar to participate in the Baisakhi celebrations. It is celebrated when farmers start cutting their ripe crops

“The **Jallianwala Bagh Massacre**, also known as the **Amritsar Massacre**, was named after the Jallianwala Bagh (Garden) in the northern Indian city of Amritsar, where, on April 13, 1919, British Indian Army soldiers under the command of Brigadier Reginald Dyer opened fire on an unarmed gathering of men, women and children. The firing lasted about 10 minutes and 1600 rounds were fired. Official sources placed the casualties at 379. According to private sources, the number was over 1000, with more than 2000 wounded”^{vi}

After 1857 rebels were hanged in different castles because British army wanted to teach lesson to common people that if they will go against they will have to face consequences. The concept of free will and mutually existence was all distorted.

The tribes who give resistance to British people were forced to migrated from their native land , e.g. Native of Photohar were Gahkhar , they no longer exist in Rawalpindi , they were driven out of Rawalpindi by force migration as Rawalpindi was being developed as the biggest and most suitable cantonment of British army .

Insecurity was not only economical scarcity but also cultural, major languages of subcontinent like Punjabi, Urdu, Bengala faced a massive decline. British army destroyed the very first right of human expression. They started developing Urdu into clerical language only to be used in offices, all its essence of literature, word and rhythm was affected badly.

Privilege classes

In British rule special privilege classes were created in society by awarding few families certain privileges and in return these families, feudal lords, civil administrators provided favors to British people and this made British existence stronger and powerful in subcontinent.

There were basically three special privilege classes in the society which were given undue support: Feudal lords, bureaucrats ,Army high ups and who ever showed loyalty to British army . This class segregation and undue facilitation kept common people more and more insecure.

“In west Punjab well-known Muslims families were honored with awards like agricultural land and money to acknowledge their services. British People as well gave honorary title granted designations to people. Umar Hayat Khan Tawana was given the title of “Knight” for his courageous service in war”^{vii}.

The upper most facilitated people were feudal lords. British people gave them land¹ and feudal lords in return to this honor of British Army provided them with full support in the battles. They provided soldiers to British Army, These feudal lord hired lots of Aharis (worker, laborers) to work for them on the field , these workers were mostly landless

¹ (This land does not mean one small peace of land , but this was some thing more then just having land , it was more like owner ship of a number of villages, fertile land, livestock and even over the farmers).

farmers . When it was war time, British Army demanded Feudal to provide their worker as solders in the Army and feudal followed the command of British army.

In no war period these workers were fed by these feudal lords. This forced hiring as army soldiers developed hatred against the feudal lord. They were the control, law and the order of their area, British people respected them and give these feudal lord full authority to rule their area. Feudalism started to strengthen its feet in the region; still there are many villages in Sindh and Punjab where feudal lord has the ultimate ruling power. He takes votes from his worker by hook or crook and come in power as minister at nation level.

Second privilege class was group of people belonging to the civil Administrative structure of British India , who later in Pakistan holds the position of bureaucrats .they were basically slave mined people and they provided information of Rebellion and political situation to their lord and master (British Army). In return their master provided them with land but this land was comparatively smaller then the first privilege class. In some cases these people had to give some small honorarium to British army for the land they obtain. They were allotted land in cities were they were commonly term as “absentee land lord”.

Third privilege class was the families of army high ups and people who worked for British army in any sense of the term. Like the families who breed horse were given land because British people needed horses for their constables for communication, administration and for information sake. This land was given to them to breed horses.

All these people are part and parcel of feudal community. They still exist in Pakistan with all the glorious past of their family progress. They still rule common people of Pakistan without any democratization process and decided the faith of people without facing any accountability for their wealth and land .

To strengthen this evolving class structure clergy people joined hands with this ruling class. They used religion as a tool to control the powers which lead to extremism and islamisation. They used religion to manipulate culture as well.

Division of Punjab and racial contradiction

“In 1901 **Viceroy of India** Lord Curzon ordered that frontier province to be separated from Punjab, it was created as Commissioner Province. In 1932 it was given the grade of complete Province”^{viii} .

After 9th November 1901 Punjab was divided; Frontier was separated as NWFP, Chief Commissioner Province was administrated by Chief Commissioner as a chief executive of the province. He ran the administration with help of his principal advisers and civil servants better known as judicial and revenue commissioners. There was no such province as North West Frontier Province existed in the history, either It was to be part of Afghanistan or it should be separate part as Pashtoonistan, more over British people further segregated certain tribal areas to “No Man’s Land” which now known as Federally Administrated Tribal Area (FATA), this separation was totally against any

law. The very right of self determination and democratization was taken away from the Pashtoons. British Army created a racial contradiction between Punjabis and Pashtoons by making NWFP.

Suppression in Balochistan

There were two authorities ruling in Balochistan, one was British and other was the Khan of Kalat¹. Both of them respected as well supported each other for survival,

Balochistan was kept underdeveloped intentionally because whole process of governance was undemocratic it was rules by tribal Chiefs (Sardars). This tribal leadership was similar to the kingship; the leadership of tribe was given to the next successor on the kinship bases. He was never elected democratically. The Tribal leader deliberately kept the common people uneducated and underdeveloped because they discouraged leadership from them and never wanted Tribal authority to be challenged at any level.

They did not wanted them to get education as they never wanted common people to stand for themselves and question tribal authority or to challenge their supremacy at any ground or level. Majority of population was uneducated and the only accessible profession was livestock but this profession was not very productive and majority of people were kept poor and still today majority live below the poverty line

Suppression in Sindh

Sindh had the similar case of feudalism as in Punjab. Sindh was under Crown rule but Suppression of common Sindhi was much greater than Punjabi, This is still evident in

¹Leader, Noble (Nawab) of all tribes of Balochistan.

their society. Sindhi Feudal are much superior then Punjabi feudal and they hold greater land they are law and order of their land , and their laborer (common Sindhi) are under much greater suppression as compare to Punjabi land laborer. Feudal were totally against the education of common people.

“Feudal owned the land but after their death land would be taken back under the authority of local ruler, British People introduced Property Owner ship law in India and this same law was implemented in Sindh .

After British people were triumphed over Sindh they gave back all the land to Feudal lords and bought their loyalties to run the system Under British Crown . this time these feudals got the land as an everlastingly Property for them self.

This new system of property owner ship strengthened the feudalism more and British people kept all the Feudal and their land consistent and in returned these feudal provided supports to govern people non-democratically”^{ix}.

Demand and division of Pakistan

In the Presidential Address, 25th Session of All-India Muslim League on 29 December 1930, at Allahabad. ^xMr. Allama Iqbal said:

“Personally, I would go farther than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the

formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India”.

To think that Pakistan was created on the bases of religion and British people gave independence to this land on the demands of Muslims is quite wrong.

In Second World War (1939-1945) Punjab provided nearly 180,000 soldiers for British army , air force and Navy but after war due to economical destruction British government was reluctant to keep such a big temporary and regular army /Navy of the Subcontinent. They divided this subcontinent into two states Pakistan(west/ East) and India according to their own political, economical and social interest.

But the question is why they created Pakistan , they could have just given independence to India as the demand stated :

“Demand of Pakistan was basically a Muslim India with in the united India: uniting the Muslim majority area (Kashmir, Punjab, Balochistan, and Sindh) under the administration of India but this demand was never acceptable to Indian Congress”.

In fact British people created Pakistan as they wanted to have a base land from where they can still infiltrate in South Asia and keep an eye on Russia and china.

Freedom movement of subcontinent headed by Congress was quite old and popular movement and had become more as a mass movement. They have developed this thought of freedom as public interest. On the other hand Muslim Freedom movement was headed by Muslim League and it was not as old and recognized among the masses.

In “Muslim League” people belonging to Educated and well-off Muslim family joined. Total representation of Muslims in Muslim League was comparatively low , to strengthen this Muslim League freedom movement Muslims Feudal Lords , Muslim Civil servants and families of privilege class united under this umbrella . These people joint this movement because they could see a very bright future for them self. British people encouraged this participation and were in favor of their demand. These people had never fought for freedom and most of them were against Muhammad Ali Jinnah at first. When they realized that it was beneficial to join hand with Muhammad Ali Jinnah they changed their stance and took Religion as part of their freedom fight slogan. Nobody was concerned for the right and freedom of people except for Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The “Two Nation Theory” ¹was given undue Importance and above all became first slogan of every Muslim in this part of subcontinent for partition. This great divided was biased and player in this whole situation was British Army and privilege class which had ruled this subcontinent for more then 100 year and still they are ruling authorities.

¹ The **Two-Nation Theory** was the basis for the Partition of India in 1947. It stated that Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations by every definition, and therefore Muslims should have an autonomous homeland in the Muslim majority areas of British India for the safeguard of their political, cultural, and social rights, within or without a United India.

On the other hand Muhammad Ali Jinnah stood on platform of equal representation of Muslims in United India, but he was forced to withdraw from these thoughts soon when he faced negligence from Indian National Congress

Pakistan had two parts West and East(now Bangladesh), East part joined the West Pakistan under their own struggle political thought process and with total grass root representation and they were very much under the propaganda of Two nation theory.

Corrupt practices in the region did not ended with the evolution of New country but the story of corruption had new beginning. People were still in the utopia situation of having a democratic state but their lord and master was not democratic at all. They were in a newly formed country but their master and ruling class was not new. Insecurity increased unseeingly by the unequal distribution of power in Newly born Pakistan

Problem After partition

After partition in 1947 thing did not went as they had vision by Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Pakistan faced a number of problems, being a newly formed state it was short of resources and finically it was disabled. In resource allocation Pakistan was not very lucky and Indians were not very promising to fulfill the deed of partition.

The partition of subcontinent left both Pakistan and India devastated. The process of partition had claimed many lives in the riots. Many others were raped and looted.

15 million refugees across the borders to the other regions completely new to them, though they were Hindu or Muslim, their identity had been rooted in the regions where their families belonged.

This partition was not only partition of two countries but provinces of Punjab and Bengal had faced divisions which caused riots and claimed lives of people from both sides. Few of the problems faced by Pakistan:

- Type of State: Pakistan will be , Secular or Islamic Republic State
- Resource distribution between Pakistan and India , no promises were kept and Pakistan was economically shattered.
- Demarcation of proper border line between India and Pakistan., in the later stages that resulted in wars between India and Pakistan . specially on the basis of Kashmir .
- Army Distribution
- Lack of proper civil administration.
- Muslim Immigrants from India and Immigrants from Pakistan to India (refugees issue)
- Security situation , conflict resolution and balancing things to stop communal violence
- Water issue ,
- Constitution building and implementation

For first ten year after the independence Pakistan was in constant struggling to cope with above mention problem and lose of great Leader, father of nation Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Pakistan was economically traumatized. Allocation of resources and land division of some part like Kashmir was not properly defined. After partition, Karachi was the capital of Pakistan but military forced it to changed the capital to Islamabad because they needed a place where military can establish properly with out any hindrance.

All the existing ruling class took the lead in formation of law and Governance with out any democratic approach. Lust of power remained constants in our ruling class. They never intended Pakistan to be a democratic state. they had always deprived common people from their rights of self determination , existence and kept them aloof from their responsibilities.

Triangle of power and situation of democracy

Bureaucrats, Army and Feudal lord have created a power triangle, they became the upper most ruling authority of Pakistan and they run Pakistan in a very non Democratic way . this triangle work for the betterment of them self and their families in the name of policies, development work, progressive work and poverty alleviation.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah wanted to run this State as a democratic socialist state, but privilege class (supported and awarded by British people) of Pakistan they established the

military rule. Muhammad Ali Jinnah always felt helpless against the strong army in the newly born country.

Liaquat Ali Khan was commonly considered as the right hand of Muhammad Ali Jinnah , but he was never in favor of Jinnah policy of democratic rule he was totally against the constitution Muhammad Ali Jinnah wanted to establish in Pakistan. After the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951 there were twist and turn in the ruling elites of Pakistan.

In 1956 Constitution was adopted but it was a very weak constitution and in this Pakistan was declared as a Islamic republic state; but in 1958 Iskander Mirza president of Pakistan abrogates Constitution and declared the martial law but soon Mirza sent into exile and General Mohammad Ayub Khan assumes the presidency.

“After General Mohammad Ayub Khan came to power , he encouraged bureaucracy and Military collaborations . This Group established more solid relations with each other, in their coordination a very weak constitution was established. In this constitution Governor General Role was converted into presidency and it was called Head of States”.^{xi}

Army interference in civil administrative work increased. More and more country resources were spent on the military and defense establishment . Justification for this waste less expenditure was enmity with India and securing the border of Pakistan. Kashmir was the main issue of all the tension. Islamist took lead in this issue and made

Kashmir issue as Muslim Pride. Pakistan and India¹ had four massive wars on this issue and still this issue is pending and big bulk of money is still being poured in the Defense system of Pakistan. Development has always been ignored and fund for development are not used accordingly.

To maintain military rule in dominance Pakistan governance and political system always had to face Martial law. Democratization process was always hindered sometime by military Coup or some time by Martial laws.

Conclusion

Insecurity with in Pakistan under the undemocratic governance

Pakistan economics, security, development and faith of million of people is in the hand of few rich families. These are same families who were privilege class of British Ruled Subcontinent.

¹ India Pakistan wars 1948 , 1965 Second war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. 1971 East Pakistan attempts to secede; civil war begins; Bangladesh declares itself independent issued; India intervenes on behalf of Bengali separatists; Pakistani military surrenders to Indian armed forces; Yahya Khan resigns; Zulfikar Ali Bhutto becomes president of Pakistan. 1999 Kargill war over Kashmir between India and Pakistan. Military Comes to Power Again in Pakistan , General Musharaf becomes the Chief Executive of Pakistan

India established as a democratic state because people interface in policy making and government establish is very much alive ,the Indian National Congress had good deal of grass root participation ,but in Pakistan there was never a chance of public interface in the policy making , development issue or formulation of democratic state Because this state is established for military rule not for democratization for common people.

Unequal equilibrium of finance distribution excites between development expenditure and military expenditure. Being a developing country we need to spend more on Education , health and food security but major chunk of government expenditures are for military and border security propose . Needs of common man are totally ignored and due to this non fulfillment they are becoming frustrated and ignorant of their rights and responsibility toward democratization process. Respect of human which is basic key to the democracy is fading away

“The real security concern can be best measured by the strength of the civil liberties and human rights that its residents enjoy. Relevance upon freedom of speech, freedom of thought and the free flow of information – have a special role to play in defending these fundamental values.

In developing countries our opinion are strengthened for security on territorial rights not no issues of human rights, crime, and social injustice, drug trafficking, joblessness and lack of education, governments always ponder on spending on national security concerned with external military threats.”^{xii}

Pakistan Middle class is becoming more and more commodity salves, who's mind framework are revolves around making money and commodity .on the other hand due to this constant suppression of right of self determination Pakistan majority of population is losing interest in political thought process and they have even stopped arguing for democracy in their country.

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