
Political Stability in Pakistan: Regionalism and Role of Cabinet (1947-1958)

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Political instability is one of the major problems of Pakistan. Regionalism is the core reason of this instability, which also affected the institution of Cabinet. First ten years of Pakistan's life are very important to explore how this problem originated, deep-rooted and damaged political stability of the country. Though Pakistan followed British Parliamentary and Cabinet system but inherent weaknesses and colonial traditions did not let Cabinet system to flourish in Pakistan on strong lines. During this eleven years period, seven Prime Ministers took over one after the other with eight Cabinets, which can be divided into three, types i.e. Single Party Cabinets, National Cabinet (Cabinet of Talent) and Coalition Cabinets. The objective of this paper is to find out how the ministers were appointed and what was the role of Region in their appointment to the Cabinet? What were the inner circles in the Cabinets and which regions of Pakistan mostly represented in it? How many rifts occurred among Cabinet colleagues on the basis of region and what changes were introduced? The whole discussion would be done phase wise i.e. (i) Single Party Cabinets from 1947 to 54 (ii) National Cabinet 1954-55 and (iii) Coalition Cabinets 1955-58.

Appointment to the Cabinet and Regionalism 1947-1958

Single Party Cabinets (1947-1954)

East Pakistanis were always critical towards the fact that they were given less representation in the Cabinet than their due share. From 1947 to 1954, three Cabinets worked with some changes and some consistencies in the portfolios. Liaquat Ali Khan's Cabinet was the first one which was appointed by Governor-General Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It included, Liaquat Ali Khan (Prime Minister), Fazlur Rehman, Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar and Jogandar Nath Mandal from Bengal, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Malik Ghulam Mohammad, Sir Zafarullah Khan and Sir Feroze Khan Noon from Punjab, Abdus Sattar Pirzada from Sind and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar from N.W.F.P.¹ The first Cabinet "was designed to give a balance of sectional interests and under strong leadership, it was capable of working as a team."² Later, some internal changes took place and some additions were introduced like Khawaja Shahbuddin and A.M.Malik from East Bengal and Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani and Chaudhry Nazir Ahmad from Punjab and Sardar Bahadur Khan from NWFP.³

Almost the same Cabinet continued under Khawaja Nazim ud Din (1951-53), who was appointed as Prime Minister (PM) by the Cabinet, with only one major change.⁴ Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated on 16 October 1951. Governor-General Khawaja Nazimuddin called Cabinet meeting to meet with the emergency situation where his name as Prime Minister was approved. He did not try to reappoint the Cabinet and felt himself subservient to the Cabinet. The former Finance Minister was promoted to the seat of Governor-General so Choudhury Muhammad Ali was appointed as Finance Minister by Governor-General. Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi and Dr. Mahmud Husain were promoted from the status of Ministers of State to Cabinet Ministers in Nazimuddin's Cabinet.⁵ Nazim ud Din's Cabinet was dismissed by the Governor-General in April 1953. In Nazim ud Din's words on demand of resignation from the Governor-General "I told the

Governor-General that constitutionally and legally he had no right to make such a demand because he was purely a constitutional Governor-General. I also told him that I command the confidence of the Legislative Assembly and the country, and therefore was entitled to remain in office. The fact that only recently the Legislative Assembly passed my budget by an overwhelming majority was a clear proof of the fact that I had the Legislative Assembly and the country behind me. For these reasons I refused to tender me and my colleagues' resignations."⁶ On Nazim ud Din's refusal he and his Cabinet were dismissed. In the conflict of regions Punjab-dominated intelligentsia was successful at the moment.

The clash of regions came on the prospect more acutely in 1953 than ever before when six out of thirteen members of Nazim ud Din's Cabinet, mostly belonged to West Pakistan, expressed their readiness to work in the new Cabinet. They were more concerned about their self gains than democracy.⁷ The third Cabinet of this period was originated under Muhammad Ali Bogra in April 1953. The ministers were selected by Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad. Bogra was working as ambassador in U.S.A. Six ministers of Nazimuddin's Cabinet were continued. They were Sir Zafrullah Khan, Ch. Muhammad Ali, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Sardar Bahadur Khan and Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi from the provinces of West Pakistan and only one from East Pakistan ; Dr. A.M. Malik. The new inductions were A.K. Brohi (Sindh), Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan (NWFP), Shoaib Qureshi (Punjab) and Mr. Tafazzal Ali.⁸ Bogra's Cabinet included only one Minister from East Pakistan out of ten. This Cabinet was dismissed on 24 October, 1954 with the dissolution of first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (CAP).

Cabinet of Talents (1954-55)

The new Cabinet was nominated by Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad under Bogra as Prime Minister. Bogra's second Cabinet included almost all new faces. They were M.A.

Isphahani (Businessman), Maj. Gen Iskandar Mirza (Military cum Civil Bureaucrat), Ayub Khan (Commander-in-Chief of the Forces), Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur (Landlord from Sindh), Dr. Khan Sahib (Non-Muslim League Politician from N.W.F.P), Habib Ibrahim Rahimtulah (Former Governor of Punjab), Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy (Leader of Opposition Party), Col. Syed Abid Hussain (Retired from Military), Sardar Mumtaz Ali Khan (Landlord from Punjab) and Abu Hussain Sarkar (Opposition Leader from East Bengal). Ghayasuddin Pathan, Choudhury Muhammad Ali and Dr. A.M. Malik were continued from the previous Cabinet.⁹ East Pakistanis were given five out of thirteen seats in this Cabinet.

It was called as 'Cabinet of all Talents'¹⁰ by Muhammad Ali Bogra as it included all experts and qualified to their field. Ziring's opinion is that it was 'non-Muslim League civil-military complex.'¹¹ but practically it was civil-military cum Muslim League and opposition partnership as it included some Muslim Leaguers also like Sardar Mumtaz Ali, Rahimtulah and Abid Hussain. It was like an "official government"¹² as worked in the colonial period or like viceroy's council before partition.¹³

Coalition Cabinets (1955-1958)

After holding indirect elections 1955, Second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan,¹⁴ (CAP) was elected. The formulation and party position was totally changed in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan as total majority of the Muslim League was over and Awami League, United Front, Congress, Scheduled Caste Federation and other smaller parties and independents got seats in the second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

Now it was not possible for a single party to establish government, so coalition governments were formed. Meanwhile, Ghulam Muhammad, who was sent on two months leave by the Cabinet,¹⁵ was permanently retired and Iskandar Mirza, who was already working as honorary Governor-General, was confirmed

on his seat. Suhrawardy has mentioned that the suggested name for new Governor-General as discussed in the Cabinet meeting was of Iskandar Mirza. In result of voting, there was tie and the deciding vote was cast by Ayub Khan (Defense Minister), which was in favour of Iskandar Mirza.¹⁶

During this period four coalition governments were formed. First was formed by the Muslim League and United Front under Choudhury Mohammad Ali who was Muslim League Parliamentary Party's leader. This Cabinet included five ministers from Muslim League and four from United Front. Each party in United Front nominated one minister. Five members of this Cabinet were also members of the previous Cabinet. They were Choudhury Muhammad Ali, Dr. Khan Sahib, A.K. Fazlul Haq, Habib Ibrahim Rahimtulah and Syed Abid Hussain.¹⁷ The new entries were Kamini Kumar Dutta, Hamid ul Haq Chaudhory, Mr. Nurul Haq Choudhury and Abdul Latif Biswas from East Pakistan. The West Pakistani Ministers were Pir Ali M. Rashdi, I.I. Chundrigarh, Syed Amjad Ali, M.R. Kayani and Abdus Sattar.¹⁸ Some changes took place in future months.¹⁹ As this Cabinet included two non-Muslims so it was considered as non-sectarian Cabinet. Democracy was successful at the moment.²⁰ It was for the first time that equal representation was given to both the provinces of Pakistan i.e. East Pakistan and West Pakistan.²¹

Choudhry Muhammad Ali resigned in 1956 after which coalition government of Awami League and Republicans was formed under supervision of Suhrawardy. He was sole East Pakistani politician who could claim himself as leader of national level. It included four Awami League Ministers including Suhrawardy, Abdul Mansur Ahmed, Abdul Khaliq and Dildar Ahmed from East Pakistan. Five Republican ministers were Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Syed Amjad Ali, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur and Mian Jaffer Shah from West Pakistan.²² Suhrawardy claimed that it was for the first time in Pakistan that government was formed in

direct response to parliamentary forces. This government observed political maturity and showed better performance.²³

It came to an end in October, 1957. The next coalition government was formed by four political parties led by Muslim League under Prime Ministership of Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar. Huge difference of opinion among coalition partners brought the fate of this Cabinet to an end in December 1957. Its life was less than two months even. The ministers of this Cabinet were taken from the Muslim League, Republican Party, Krishak Sramik Party and Nizam-e-Islam. This Cabinet consisted of twelve members. The West Pakistani ministers from Republican Party were Amjad Ali, Malik Feroze Noon, Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash, Ghulam Ali Talpur and Mian Jaffer Shah. The Muslim League ministers were Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana and Yousuf Haroon from West Pakistan and Chudrigar and Fazlur Rehman from East Pakistan. Krishak Sramik Party's ministers were Abdul Latif Biswas, Lutfur Rehman and Misbahuddin from East Pakistan. Nizam-e-Islam ministers, who were included later in the Cabinet, were Nurul Haq and Farid Ahmed.²⁴ One Minister of State was from Scheduled Caste Federation. It had total 16 ministers and ministers of state in last days.²⁵

The next government was formed by Republican Party in coalition with National Awami Party, Krishak Sramik Party (Hamid ul Haq group), the Pakistan National Congress and Scheduled Caste Federation. All smaller parties were East Pakistan based. The basis of this partnership was continuation of joint electorates.²⁶ The only powerful party was Republican in this coalition so all important portfolios were given to Republican Party. The decision-making authority was in hands of single party only.²⁷ To some extent, they were somewhere trying to save the system also. The Ministers of this Cabinet were Syed Amjad Ali, Mozaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, Ghulam Ali Talpur, Mian Jaffer Shah, Haji Moulabukhsh Soomro, Basenta Kumar Das, Sardar Abdur Rashid, Sardar Amir Azam Khan, M.A. Khuro from West

Pakistan and Abdul Aleem, Ramizuddin Ahmad, Kamini Kumar Dutta, Mahfuzal Haq, Hamidul Haq Chowdhry, Sahiruddin, A.H. Dildar Ahmad and Nurru Rahman from East Pakistan. The last three were included in the Cabinet only five days before its dismissal.²⁸

Awami League was just supporting this government, not part of the Cabinet, as compromise could not take place on portfolios' distribution.²⁹ Ziring's opinion is that all Cabinet partners were opportunists and working to gain personal benefits.³⁰ It worked under Malik Feroz Khan Noon of Republican Party. The total number of ministers of this Cabinet was nine at the time of inauguration but many changes occurred time and again. Eighteen persons held portfolios in different months. The more consistent ministers were Syed Amjad Ali, Qizalbash, Talpur, Jaffer Shah, Abdul Aleem, Ramizuddin Ahmad and K.K. Dutta.

Appointment Criteria to the Cabinet

The criterion of appointment remained different in the three types of Governments. While appointing first Cabinet, which actually worked till 1953 with only one major change and some minor changes, Quaid-i-Azam's best criteria was qualification. He appointed best available brains on different position. Secondly he tried to give representation to different regions of Pakistan. He appointed three ministers from East Bengal, four from Punjab and one each from NWFP and Sindh,³¹ but it was not the major criteria. He also gave weight to minorities as one non-Muslim Cabinet Minister was also designated. The third Cabinet of this period was appointed by Malik Ghulam Mohammad whose criteria were faithfulness of the Ministers towards him. The six Ministers of the previous Cabinet who always maneuvered against Nazimuddin were adjusted in this Cabinet also.

The second type of Cabinet was also selected by the Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad. His best criterion was his personal relationship and his philosophy of trustworthy

individuals. He also considered the point that the particular individuals must be well qualified or at least expert in his specific field. The precise feature of this Cabinet was presence of military as well as bureaucratic elites. Besides them new social group was added in the Cabinet and that was Industrialist; M.A. Isphahani and Rahimtulah both belonged to this social group. Strong Muslim Leaguers could not take position in the Cabinet. The most negative aspect of this Cabinet was that all important portfolios were given to West Pakistani Ministers, which deepened the East-West divide.

During the third period of Parliamentary experience the appointment criteria were quite different. During this period, the nomination authority was Prime Minister not the Governor-General and later President. All Cabinets in this period were coalition, so the coalition partners were always given due share. The names which were given by the coalition partners were added in the Cabinet. If the coalition was led by Awami League, the Awami League Prime Minister had to accept all those names which were given by Republican Party, or by Nizam-i-Islam Party or by any other party. The Prime Minister had to depend on his coalition partners for nominating his Cabinet ministers. As One Unit had been introduced in West Pakistan, parity was maintained between East and West wings while appointing Cabinet ministers. Equal numbers of ministers were always taken from both wings during this period. In this period qualification was not the best criterion unlike first phases.

The Inner/Kitchen Cabinet

During first period the most influential Cabinet colleagues were Malik Ghulam Mohammad, Choudhry Mohammad Ali (both were bureaucrats), Sir Zafarullah Khan (lawyer) all from West Pakistan and to some extent Dr. Fazlur Rahman in Liaquat's period who was from East Pakistan. In this period especially after Liaquat's death, these two civil bureaucrats were the most influential or were part of the inner Cabinet. The place of inner

Cabinet was taken over by Kitchen Cabinet during Nazimuddin's period. It was formed by Governor-General which mostly consisted of outside forces like Ayub Khan (Commander-in-Chief of the forces) and Iskandar Mirza (Secretary of the Department of Defense). It also included some Cabinet Ministers like Choudhry Muhammad Ali and Zafar Ullah Khan. This same Kitchen Cabinet continued during Mohammad Ali Bogra's first regime.

During period of Cabinet of Talents, the inner Cabinet included civil bureaucrats Choudhry Muhammad Ali, and two military bureaucrats, Ayub Khan and Iskandar Mirza. All of the inner Cabinet Ministers belonged to West Pakistan. These all formed inner Cabinet not with Prime Minister Bogra, an East Pakistani, but with Governor-General Malik Ghulam Mohammad, a West Pakistani. During the last period, the change of ministry was so abrupt and frequent that no permanent inner Cabinet could be formed. As all Cabinets were coalition, so if one Political Party had Prime Minister the inner Cabinet consisted of the members of that political party. . In other words decisions of the political leadership of that specific party were normally approved. If the other partners of coalition did not agree coalition was broken.

Rift and Changes in the Cabinet; Regionalism the most important factor

Single Party Cabinets (1947-1954)

In the first phase almost all Cabinets faced the problem of rifts among Cabinet colleagues mostly on the basis of regional problems. Liaquat Ali Khan's cabinet was clearly divided between two factions; one under Fazlur Rahman (Minister of Industries) and the second under Malik Ghulam Mohammad (Finance Minister). Fazlur Rahman led the 'Bengali group' and Ghulam Mohammad led the 'Punjabi group'.³² Malik Ghulam Mohammad and Fazlur Rehman always had difference of opinion. "In temperament, they were poles apart—the one as quick and sharp as a rapier and the other as blunt and heavy as a bludgeon".³³ It is

also claimed by some historians that the issues were decided between these two and then only negotiated settlement was presented in the Cabinet to approve as a matter of form.³⁴ No settlement could be reached at on the issue of devaluation of currency and conflict between these two personalities became apparent. Fazlur Rehman through his letters to Prime Minister emphasized that Cabinet must not linger on the issue of devaluation and must take its decision as early as possible. He wrote: "I must make it quite clear that in my opinion there is a serious danger to the success of our non-devaluation policy if uncertainty continues any longer".³⁵ He further insisted that Ghulam Muhammad must be emphasized for discussion and decision on priority basis. The decision finally went in favour of Fazlur Rehman due to which bitterness increased between both the ministers.³⁶ In some cases Ghulam Muhammad interfered in the affairs of the other ministries. Shahab-ud-Din, who was in group of Fazlur Rehman, was against this act of Ghulam Muhammad. Shahab ud din wrote to Prime Minister that Ghulam Muhammad must not be permitted to interfere in interior Ministry's affairs. He wrote that administration of Karachi was responsibility of Interior Ministry and that Finance Minister did not have direct concern with it.³⁷

The same Cabinet division and rifts inherited to the next Prime Minister, Nazimuddin. He was Bengali and led Bengali faction of the Cabinet. The other group Punjabi also included some very prominent non Punjabi figures from West Pakistan. They were Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan and Defense Secretary, Iskander Mirza. Both of them were not part of the Cabinet but very close to Governor-General Malik Ghulam Muhammad. In a way they were members of the kitchen Cabinet. The division within the Cabinet emerged on Foreign policy issues. Nazimuddin was orthodox and against Western Block. He did not want Pakistan to be an ally of USA. He was in favour of Pan-Islamism. On the other side, Punjabi faction which included Ghulam Mohammad, Zafrullah Khan, Iskandar Mirza and Ayub

Khan, was pro America and insisted on joining defense Pacts with USA.³⁸ Punjabi faction was successful in maneuvering to oust Nazimuddin from the Government and only later was able to sign Defense Pacts with USA.

Another rift raised on the issue of anti-Ahmediya movement between Nazmiuddin and Zafrullah Khan (Minister of Foreign Affairs). He wanted that Cabinet of Pakistan must issue a statement to condemn the attacks against Qadiyanis³⁹ but Nazimuddin and his group was not ready to do so even on insistence by Governor-General.⁴⁰ This movement was an excellent example to explain the regionalist tendency in Pakistan. Punjabi Chief Minister of Punjab wanted to fail the government of Bengali Prime Minister of Pakistan. There was enough proof that Chief Minister of Punjab supported the agitation by giving subsidies to the press to promote the cause. According to the Prime Minister, "Dualtana channelized the agitation towards the Centre, because he was not allowed to nominate a Punjabi to the Central Government, and also because of his opposition to latest Federal Formula".⁴¹ Prime Minister contacted with the Chief Ministers and Governors of Punjab and NWFP to settle the issue. Cabinet, during the course of discussion, clarified that the question of declaring Ahmediya as non-Muslims could be decided by the Constituent Assembly and not by the Government, so this issue must be presented in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. The government of Nazimuddin could not handle the issue successfully due to non-cooperation of Dualtana. The regionalist tendency was successful at the moment and Nazimuddin's government was dismissed by Malik Ghulam Mohammad. East Pakistanis were unhappy on the incident.

Bogra's Cabinet faced again some rifts of Punjabi and Bengali factions. Governor-General was Punjabi and selected Bogra's Cabinet on his own. Most of the Cabinet colleagues were associated with each other and with the Governor-General.⁴² One group in his Cabinet continuously remained against Bogra and

wanted his removal. They were Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani (Minister of Kashmir Affairs, States and Frontier Regions and Interior), Sardar Bahadur Khan (Minister of Communications and brother of Commander in Chief) and Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan (Minister of Food Agriculture, Industries and Commerce); all belonged to West Pakistani provinces.⁴³ Bogra could not develop close relationship with his Cabinet colleagues who were mostly associated with the Governor-General. Most of the decisions were taken by this group with the approval of the Governor-General. Though Cabinet functioned in the normal way but there was suspicion that the influential ministers had reached agreement in advance.⁴⁴

Cabinet of Talents (1954-1955)

Cabinet of Talents also observed rift. Suhrawardy (Minister of Law) did not develop cordial relations with Bogra and mentioned that he was surrounded by 'the set of crooks and Fascists'⁴⁵ in the Cabinet. He also mentioned that Iskandar Mirza was prominent among such fascists. He criticized the influential role of West Pakistani Ministers in the Cabinet. This rift could not disturb the working and could not reach to prominence as Suhrawardy's faction was comparatively weak than civil cum military faction of the Cabinet, which was real decision-making authority.

Coalition Cabinets (1955-1958)

Coalition Cabinets from 1955 to 1958 had many factions and rifts. The conflicting issues were majorly regional again including disagreement on One Unit, electorate issue etc. Almost all political parties which represented in the Cabinet were regional. No Party could claim herself as national level Political Party. Choudhry Muhammad Ali's Cabinet faced great problems after emergence of Republican Party, which emerged from within the Muslim League. The Muslim League Parliamentary Party decided to take disciplinary action against Republicans; the former Muslim Leaguers. In place of taking action against them Choudhry Muhammad Ali called a meeting of coalition partners on 27

August, where Republicans were also invited. On this issue Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar (Minister of Law) and Pir Ali Muhamamd Rashdi (Minister of Information and Broadcasting), the Muslim League ministers of the Cabinet, resigned from the Cabinet in protest on 29 August 1956.⁴⁶ Rashdi said: "Prime Minister Muhammad Ali was elected to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on the Muslim League ticket and was bound by the advice and majority decision of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party."⁴⁷ United Front's ministers in the Cabinet formed one faction and had difference of opinion on policy issues. Due to this factionalism, Choudhury Muhammad Ali resigned, though he still commanded confidence of the majority in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

Suhrawardy's cabinet was combination of conflicting personalities. The real conflict was between East Pakistan based Awami League and West Pakistan based Republican Party Ministers. The conflicting issue was One Unit. The Republican ministers started campaign to dismember One Unit and to establish four provinces in West Pakistan. Surprisingly Suhrawardy showed his disagreement towards it. Suhrawardy interviewed on Radio and said that it was compulsory to work under One Unit to avoid any delay in holding elections. Once elections would be held, the new Constituent Assembly of Pakistan could decide the issue.⁴⁸ His other plea was that time must be given to judge the true value of the experiment.⁴⁹ The conflict reached to the point where issue went out of the Cabinet meeting's sphere in public discussions. West Pakistani Republican Minister Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur (Minister of Interior) publicly stated that no delay was possible in elections due to end of One Unit and if delay happened, even then the Republican Party had decided in favour of dismemberment of One Unit. Being minister of Suhrawardy's Cabinet, he must not issue anti-policy statement. Suhrawardy could not take disciplinary action against Talpur, and bedlam in Cabinet could not be overcome. Unfortunately, Prime Minister did not have right to dismiss the minister of his Cabinet.

This right reserved with the President only, under constitution of Pakistan 1956.⁵⁰ In the mid of October 1957 it seemed that this coalition would be broken soon. Suhrawardy announced that he had majority of the Assembly on his side and would take vote of confidence on 24 October 1957.⁵¹

Suhrawardy called a meeting of his Cabinet on 12 October 1957 at his residence which was boycotted by Republican ministers. Later they demanded resignation of Suhrawardy.⁵² He only resigned under threat of dismissal by the President.

Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigarh's Cabinet again included ministers from different political parties with conflicting approaches. The major coalition partners included the Muslim League, Krishak Sramik Party (KSP) and Republican Party. The Muslim League was strong supporter of separate electorates since beginning. KSP was strong supporter of joint electorates. Republican Party adopted middle of the way policy. It appeared on the scene later that Republican ministers committed with the Muslim League that they would support separate electorates. On the other side, KSP ministers claimed that Republican Party gave surety to KSP leadership to support joint electorates. Hamid ul Haq Chodhary emphasized on Republican ministers to support their point of view.⁵³ The Ministers who belonged to the Muslim League including Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana and Yousaf Haroon from West Pakistan and Chundrigar and Fazlur Rehman from East Pakistan and Krishak Sramik Party's ministers were Abdul Latif Biswas, Lutfur Rehman and Misbahuddin from East Pakistan continuously issued public statements on the issue of electorates. Republican Party ministers including Amjad Ali, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Muzzaffar Ali Qizalbash, Ghulam Ali Talpur and Mian Jaffer Shah kept quiet and just observed the circumstances. Cabinet Secretariat issued a press note:

"The coalition government was formed on agreement by the Republican Party to support separate electorates."⁵⁴

The Federal Cabinet of Pakistan approved the decision of separate electorates. Under Cabinet's approval the electoral roles were also changed. Later Federal Cabinet approved a Bill substituting separate electorates for joint electorates in the electorate Act and another Bill to make consequential changes in the Electorate Rolls Act.⁵⁵ Republican Party's ministers did not care for the decision of the Cabinet and went away from their pledge, so Chundrigar's government resigned.⁵⁶

Malik Feroze Khan Noon was invited by the President to form the next Government. Republican Prime Minister Noon's Cabinet was again divided in groups. Problems remained intact between East Pakistani Ministers from KSP and West Pakistani ministers from Republican Party. KSP leader Hamid ul Huq wanted to get seat in the Cabinet which Noon was delaying due to pressure from Suhrawardy of Awami League.⁵⁷ In result of continuous struggle Hamid ul Haq was given Cabinet portfolio in August 1958.⁵⁸

Another major problem in the Cabinet rose between the Awami League and the Republican Party. Three leaders of the Awami League i.e. Sahiruddin, A.H.Dildar Ahmad and Nurur Rahman took oath as ministers on 2 October 1958 but compromise could not be reached at on distribution of portfolios. The Awami League ministers wanted portfolios which were already under control of Republican ministers.⁵⁹ In result of failure to reach at compromise, Awami League ministers resigned from the Cabinet only after four days.

The nature of rifts and divisions within the Cabinets mostly remained after regional lines in all three types of periods of underlying study. The ministers belonged to one party from 1947 to 1954, so the hold of Prime Minister on his Cabinet was effective and rifts remained within the boundaries of Cabinet meetings. The Cabinet of Talent had only one rift and that too was not intense. The coalition Cabinets introduced a new trend in Cabinet system

in Pakistan. The Ministers took their rifts outside the boundaries of Cabinet sphere. If they had rift on one issue they started issuing public statement on the said matter which is against norms of Cabinet system. Cabinets normally consisted of two or more than two political parties. The hold of Prime Minister on the Cabinet was normally weak. Secondly, Constitution of Pakistan gave right of dismissal of minister to the President in place of Prime Minister, so he was not in position to take action against the minister, who made the internal Cabinet issues as public. During coalition governments' period, individual ministers got strength and Prime Minister became weaker.

Relationship between Cabinet and the Prime Minister

The region of Prime Minister was the most influential factor in developing the type of relationship between Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues especially after Liaquat Ali Khan. The nature of Liaquat's relations with his Cabinet was different during and after Quaid's death. Quaid's control on Cabinet was firm during his life and Liaquat, too, was always eager to follow the advices of Quaid but after his death Cabinet was divided into two distinct sections. Some of West Pakistani Cabinet colleagues including Malik Ghulam Mohammad and Zafar Ali Khan who considered themselves brilliant than Liaquat were not ready to follow his instructions. On this Liaquat introduced the concept of voting to settle the unsettled issues. This practice showed his weak control on the Cabinet. Some of his ministers started making their support groups in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.⁶⁰

Nazimuddin, an East Pakistani, had lesser control on his Cabinet. In fact he accepted himself as subservient to such a Cabinet which was dominated by West Pakistani Ministers. He said immediately after his appointment that "The Cabinet has today given me the onerous responsibility of being Pakistan's Prime Minister."⁶¹ He mostly played the role of Umpire instead of imposing decisions in case of disagreement between two groups.

He was least resistant towards his Cabinet colleagues.⁶² Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad who had recently left the Cabinet and promoted to the seat of Governor-General, had more hold on Cabinet than Prime Minister. During both the regimes, Bogra could never emerge as strong head of the Cabinet. He had to depend on his Cabinet colleagues, who were selected by Governor-General in both the cases, for the decision of the issues. The issues were settled even before Cabinet meetings by this stronger faction and just formally approved by the Cabinet.

Choudhury Muhammad Ali could not develop close relationship with his Cabinet. He was not a politician but a retired civil bureaucrat. He always found his Cabinet colleagues as men of "poor caliber" and said that they were busy in 'interminable political maneuvering'⁶³ due to which he was unable to concentrate on administrative matters.

Suhrawardy's relationship with his Cabinet remained conflicting since beginning. Besides One Unit issue, Suhrawardy introduced policies which only increased tension in the Cabinet. He changed the status of Finance Minister abruptly. Previously, he was very powerful. Suhrawardy reduced his power and control on finances. He started using internal and foreign currency funds according to his own choice in place of finance Minister's will. It widened the gulf between East Pakistani Prime Minister and his West Pakistani coalition partners in the Cabinet who finally made it impossible for Suhrawardy to work as Prime Minister. Secondly he was more pro-America even than previous Prime Ministers. It further enhanced grouping not only in Cabinet but also in his party where a separate group was formed under Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani.⁶⁴

Working relations were least among Cabinet colleagues during Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar's Premiership. Ministers of different Political Parties formed groups in the Cabinet who remained busy in wrangling against each other; Chundrigar's hold

on Cabinet was very weak. The situation was not very much different during Malik Feroze Khan Noon's regime who had to make compromises on some of the policies of his government due to pressure from coalition partners.

Conclusion

Pakistan remained politically instable from 1947 to 1958 and the most important reason of this instability was regionalism, which affected the formation and working of the institution of Cabinet a lot. If regionalism could be checked this influential and prestigious institution of Cabinet, the future of Pakistan could be different. Unfortunately it increased with the passage of time. The appointment criteria were qualification and experience in the first phase which was added by personal relationship in the second phase. It was quite different in the third phase when party affiliation and regional affiliation were the highest criteria. The rifts remained within the boundaries of the Cabinet during first two phases which did not affect the performance of the Cabinets. These went out for public discussion during the last phase and were so intense that these became the reason of fall of one or the other Cabinet. The rifts existed in the Cabinet mostly on the basis of regional divisions, which gradually increased and became reason of dismissal of Cabinets especially during coalition governments.

Although there were two groups in the Cabinet since days of Liaquat, yet difference of opinion never created major hindrance in taking final decisions. It is also said that in case of difference of opinion, Liaquat introduced the concept of voting¹¹⁵ which had its positive and negative impacts both. Cabinet of Talent was unique and had more similarity with Colonial India's system of Government where Governor-General was the real authority. Military Chief (Ayub Khan) and an ex-military general (Iskandar Mirza) were given prominent and powerful portfolios in the Cabinet. The real decision making authority was enjoyed by such a group who were not representatives of the masses neither

answerable to the legislature. This system did not fulfill requirement of a democratic country. Further it enhanced feeling of dissatisfaction among East Pakistanis.

The Cabinets of the last period of under lying study were coalition as no party had majority in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Political stability was highly damaged in this period. No Cabinet could work for more than a year, so government's performance was meager. Further, these Cabinets faced a number of problems relevant to both the provinces on which decisions were not taken in time and if taken, those were only taken to satisfy the one or the other coalition partners. This style of working of the Cabinets increased political instability in the provinces, which ultimately led Pakistan towards Martial Law in 1958. Almost the same tendency of regionalism and provincialism is observed in present day Pakistan. Intraregional squabbling and interprovincial rivalry is existed among Sindhis, Baluch and Pathans. They are mostly against domination of Punjabis. Separatist tendencies are acute among Baluchis. It's time to learn lesson from our own past experiences (1947-58) and to save ourselves from committing new mistakes.

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