

Ghulam Mohammad: His Life & Work

Legitimate force is the thread that runs through the action of political system, giving it its special quality and importance and its coherence.

Max Weber

Mansoor Akbar Kundi*

Abstract

The rule of Ghulam Mohammad as the Governor General of Pakistan (1951-55) is one of the controversial, authoritarian and undemocratic chapter of the Pakistan politics. He was a man behind the gun which laid rest to two important Ministries in East Pakistan and at center, and dissolved the Constituent Assembly which was to frame the future constitution of the country. It had already done the home work and was to present the final draft. He was a member of Constituent Assembly, Finance Minister whom Quaid-e-Azam called "My Financial Wizard". He was a successful Finance Minister, Master-planner and politically a man with undemocratic and unconstitutional mind. During his rule the seeds of military praetorian and bureaucratic rule were sown.

Keywords: Authoritarian, bureaucratic rule, Financial wisdom, dissolution, nursing care, Ayub Khan, Nizamuddin,

Pakistan has suffered from the crises of political development for the most of the period of its existence. It is particular in case of the crisis of legitimacy, one of the five crises of political development, a syndrome developed by Leonard Binder in his book *Crisis and Sequences of Political Development* in 1971 (Binder, 1971). On the basis of his theory, numerous hypotheses have been developed by researchers towards good and bad governance for the integration and disintegration of democratic orders. The crisis of legitimacy can simply be defined as a situation in which those who rule and have power are without consensus and consent of citizens and constitutional means. The initial source of their being in power actually comes from undemocratic and unrepresentative norms and means. In such a situation where the ruler(s) enter the power through backdoors may later on try to secure constitutional means and supportive function of a political group to legitimize their actions and approaches. In order to secure legitimacy they are under circumstances

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Mansoor Akbar Kundi

to adapt a number of measures which are contrary to the spirit of good governance and established democracy.

A tragedy of the political history of Pakistan is that during the most of the time of its existence it has been run by the persons who entered politics through backdoors or undemocratic means and lacked both legitimacy and sincerity for the promotion of democratic principles. They were neither the outcome of a democratic process nor a popular movement to take up reins of office as the heads of the state. They entered the offices through intricacies, displacement coups and tried to establish their rules as the mediaeval reigning monarchs without allocating a place for the growth of political norms and democratic culture. Pledging their support for the promotion of the ideas of Quaid-e-Azam and his motto where only and only Pakistan comes first with a tolerance and promotion for all sects and classes of society, a distrust was shown on their behalf. The existence of the many of our state/societal structural and functional ills such as political instability, a tottering democracy and dependence of judiciary are the heritage of our rulers who believed in strengthening their role without popular support and democratic institutions.

Ghulam Mohammad (1895-1956) is one of the persons who entered Pakistani politics through democratic and undemocratic means. He reached the most top position of Governor General without any real means of electoral and democratic support. He was an elected member of First Constituent Assembly, but he inflicted most damage on it. His four year of being in office of the Governor General had been marked with controversies, intrigues, and non-parliamentarian norms, to many as an indeterminate chapter of the strong bureaucratic/authoritarian rule where powers were abused brazenly at the cost of constitutional and political hopes ---- all constituting a dream backbone of a strong Pakistan for which the Muslims rendered uncounted sacrifices. In Ayesha Jalal's words, "a most striking reality about the existence of Pakistan as a nation-state is that "it failed to satisfy the interests of the very Muslims who are (were) supposed to have demanded its creation" (Jalal, 1985).

This article is an attempt to highlight the life and work of Ghulam Mohammad whose role in the formative years of Pakistan 1947-55 as a Finance Minister and Governor General has been marked with a number of controversies of bureaucratic and military permeating into politics, political and electoral failures, and displacement intrigues. The article is an attempt to highlight the

Ghulam Mohammad: His Life & Work

Ghulam Mohammad's early life, his service record, his prominence to the rise as Finance Minister, and his role as the Governor General with the state of affairs around. Very little is written about him. A student of Pakistan political history fails to find a biography on him. Even scholars writing chapters on personalities' life and work of Pakistan seem avoiding to include his name. I have not seen any road in a city of Pakistan named after him, except a barrage near Sukkar actually named by then Chief Minister, Ayub Khurho.

The major purpose of writing this research article is focus upon a personality who is one of the important, controversial, and contentious chapter of Pakistan's economic and political history with many things not academically known to public. In conclusion I have winded it up with my viewpoint about his life and work.

His Early Life

Ghulam Mohammad was born in a lower middle class family inside the Mochi gate in Lahore in 1895. He did his matriculation from the local school in Lahore. He did FSc from Lahore. Later on, he proceeded to Aligarh for higher studies and did his graduation in Accountancy (B.Com) from M.A.O College. He later on did post-graduation in Economics. He remained engaged as Lecturer in economics at the time he qualified the competitive examination for Indian Audit and Accounts Services. As the college record shows, he achieved his degree before the M.A.O was raised to the University Status on December 18, 1920. As Bhatnagar writes, he remained a student during the ten year tenure of J .H. Towle as Principal (1909-19) of M.A.O College, a very popular principal. "The period of Towle's principal-ship was important from every point of view. It produced distinguished students whose role in the academic, political and social life of the India and Pakistan was imminent, i. e. Ghulam Mohammad, Zakir Hussain, Zahid Hussain, Hussain Suruwardi, Ayub Khan"(Bhatnagar, 1969).

Intimacy with Ayub:

Subject to research that the intimacy with Gen. Ayub Khan might have owed to the fact that they both were the students of Mr. Towle in Aligarh, However, the both are said to have enjoyed good relationship. Col Mohammad Ahmed who served with General Ayub during the period, writes in his tiny that

Mansoor Akbar Kundi

Ghulam Mohammad would seek advice from Ayub Khan in matters not even related to the latter's domain. *"His counsel was obtained before any big or vital decision was taken by the government and did not matter whether the action was concerned with commerce, or education, foreign affairs or the interior, industrial development or social welfare"* (M. Khan, 1960). To him, Ghulam Mohammad was also frequently approached by Ayub Khan when he was even GOC in East Pakistan. Soon Ayub stepped into C-in-C office the contacts increased. A number of memos were sent to him as Finance Minister from Ayub Khan. For example, on 12 May 1955, Ayub Khan in the capacity of Chief wrote to him and showed his concern for decrease in officers and non-officers' pay as resulted after partition. Ayub Khan recommended that decrease in benefits and pay would "positive harm" on profession. In the end he wrote to Ghulam Mohammad, *"I therefore appeal for your personal intervention for acceptance of terms agreed by our Financial Adviser and Secretary, Minister of Defence"* (M. Khan, 1960). Ghulam Mohammad in capacity of Finance Minister highly pleaded the officers' pay case with the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and got it resolved. Ayub Khan at the time of coup in October 1957 in message to the nation had publically revealed that in three years earlier in 1954 Ghulam Mohammad had requested him to take offer. *"I refused on several occasions the late Mr. Ghulam Mohammad's offer to take over the country. I did so in the belief that I served the cause of Pakistan better from the place where I was, and had a faint hope that some politicians would rise to the occasions and lead the country to a better future. Events have falsified those hopes and we have come to the present bars"*(Moskalenko, 2007). God knows how far it was true or not, but a fact is that a number of books and persons closer to Ghulam Mohammad or having done research endorse that it happened. Quadratullah Shahab in his memoirs support the fact. He had first hand information about Ghulam Mohammad as he was his Special Secretary. As far as my research shows Shahab was probably the only one who in his book depicts Ruth Boral, the Swiss-American who lived and nursed Ghulam Mohammad until his death. She was brought all the way from US. To the writer, the beautiful young nurse actually understood and interpreted him to his close authorities. In common man's analysis, Pakistan was ruled through her interpretation(Sahab, 2009). She lived in the Governor General's house with her mother. To Sahab they both bitterly wept the death of Ghulam Mohammad. He writes which can be translated into English thus: *"I saw Ruth and his mother sitting in the car and weeping badly.*

Ghulam Mohammad: His Life & Work

*The four eyes were the ones which continual shed tears on his death; and they were not Pakistani.”(Sahab, 2009).*The chapter in his book on Ghulam Mohammad reveals many interesting facts about his tenure in office. In the book he writes that those who came and condoled the death of Ghulam Mohammad included Nazimuddin, the one whose government he sacked.

Mahindra & Mohammad Company:

As mentioned Ghulam Mohammad belonged to Indian Audit and Accounts Service, one of the important services like Indian Forest Services available to talented Indians through sheer competition and hard-ship in the heyday of British Raj. Examinations for the cadre were held separately all over India whenever vacancies fell vacant. Hundreds of students appeared. Being an intelligent, hard-working and dedicated to his profession with a mastermind he rose to the prestigious office of Controller General of Purchase in 1940. He also served on the Railways Board during the war and in Nizam's government in Hyderabad from 1942 to 1946 as the Finance Minister. It was just before joining the office in Nizam's government on deputation in 1942 that he in call by Muslim League to return the awards, relinquished the British Knighthood bestowed on him in 1938, probably during the period when he served as the Director of the House of Tatas (the Great Iron and Steel Company). Before he opted for Pakistan, he served as the Director (post-retirement posting) for Tatas, the leading industry in united India. He served for more or less one year with Tatas (Ali, 1987).

In 1945, he was one of the leading founders of Mahindra & Mohammad Company, which is present called as Mahindra & Mahindra, one of the largest MNCs in India with an asset of \$17.8 billion with branches in more than 100 countries. Its employment range more than 200,000 people with manufacturing capability in 20 key industries including defence. J. C. Mahindra was his friend and colleague in Tatas Steel. They both decided to form the company with major asset from Mahindra. J. C. Mahindra's younger brother K. C. Mahindra was also active with them. After the death of his brother in 1951, and Ghulam Mohammad's option for migration to Pakistan, he alone played a leadership role by hardship and vision to enhance company's performance.

Mansoor Akbar Kundi

It is believed that had Ghulam Mohammad not migrated to Pakistan he would have been a multi-billionaire as his financial skills and vision would have been greatly needed and honored in Indian industrial circles. But a fact not explored about his life is that he despite authoritarian and powerful role in Pakistani politics did not make any property. No one can prove a single penny corruption against him or favoring his kith and kin during his being in office first as Finance Minister or then as Governor General. He married once and had only two kids from his wife: Badshah Begum, a housewife who led a very simple life. His daughter: Iqbal Begum was married to her cousin and lived in Lahore. His son Inam Mohammad worked in a private firm known as Grieves Cotton at Rs. 1000 per month, and lived in a rented house not away from Presidency/Governor General's House in Karachi. According to the close sources, Ghulam Mohammad helped his son but never showed him any favour in capacity of Governor General. He would visit his father twice a month without any protocol. Ghulam Mohammad died in 1956. He is said to have left behind one house in Lahore cantonment built in 1890s(Khalid, 1988).

As Finance Minister

It was his prominence in accounts and scarcity of qualified people after the partition of India that he was appointed as the first Finance Minister of Pakistan, a non-Muslim Leaguer, on August 15, 1947. It was he who on 28 February 1948 gave first balanced budget for Pakistan by allotting 70% percent revenue to defense. During his Finance Ministership a total of four budgets were presented, all surplus, (1948, 49, 50, 51). He enjoyed a successful career in finance. It was largely due to his prominence in finance that provided him a career-ladder soon after partition. He along Chaudhri Muhammad Ali had permeated their influence on founding fathers. It was they who persuaded Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan not to forgo the offer of finance ministry in Interim Government in 1946. As Chaudhri Muhammad Ali describes in his book, Jinnah desired to have the portfolios of Defence and Home, but was unable to get them under circumstances. The Congress however was willing to offer finance. Jinnah was hesitant as none of the probable Muslim Leaguer was deemed expert in finance. It was particular in case of Liaquat Ali Khan who had no finance background. It was after continual persuasion and support assurance by them that Liaquat Ali Khan made up his mind to accept Finance portfolio. Jinnah was convinced that "if

Ghulam Mohammad: His Life & Work

League wanted to influence the policies of government in every deptt, it should take charge of finance”(Ali, 1987). The assumption of financial power by League had an edge on important decision making in the Interim Government over Congress as the latter for petty matters had to request the former for financial approval. Ghulam Mohammad’s influence on the league leaders was larger as he was simultaneously the member of Constituent Assembly.

Ghulam Mohammad was one of the 69 member assembly. He actively attended the first meeting of the assembly on August 10, 1947. He was one of the 25-members of the Basic Principles Committee (BPC) of the Assembly headed by Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan to draft the basic principles of the future constitution. He retained his membership during the period when he was Finance Minister, and relinquished only after he took charge of office of the Governor General of Pakistan. But he like many other members of the Constituent Assembly assigned official portfolios failed to attend meetings regularly.

The Constituent Assembly of undivided India came into existence in 1946 as the result of elections by communal groups in the Provincial Assemblies. Approximately a single member represented one million population. He was a force behind the first budget Liaquat Ali Khan presented in Interim Constitution in April 1947 to March 1948. The budget was known as poor man’s budget because it affected adversely “rich traders and factory owners of Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi. The traders were mostly Hindus and contributed heavy amounts to the funds of the Congress(Ali, 1987). The budget was a severe blow to the interests of the Hindu traders and moneylenders. The Congress expressed its anger on the budget whereas the poor classes of India welcomed it”(Hassan, 2008).

Congress leadership were very much perturbed by the Muslim League being in charge of finance portfolio. Maulana Kalam Azad has accepted the fact in his book, *India Wins Freedom* that it was Congress “greatest blunder in handing finance to the Muslim League”(Azad, 1959).He says that Congress the ministry to league under assumption that due to technicalities it would refuse or if accepted would not be able to run it. He writes that “when Liaquat Ali Khan became the Finance Member, he obtained possession of the key to government. Every proposal of every department (ministry) was subject to

Mansoor Akbar Kundi

scrutiny by his department. In addition, he had power of veto. Not a *chaprasi* could be appointed without the sanction of his department” (Azad, 1959). Liaquat Ali Khan was all briefed by Chaudary Muhammad Ali and Ghulam Mohammad.

The untimely demise of the founder of Pakistan in September 1948 and the emerging political scene of the country the situation in which bureaucratic intricacies played a role provided Ghulam Mohammad to exert his role in country's politics. His mastery in intrigues with a hold on finance and the presence of his colleagues in bureaucracy as the Civil Service of Pakistan was packed with Indian Accounts Service with men like Zahid Hussain, Shukat Ali, Mumtaz Hassan, and Abdul Qadir etc... He had started winning the support of military bureaucracy beside. The assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in October 1951 aggravated the overall political scene in favour of Ghulam Mohammad and his like-minded.

His Rise to Governor General:

The students of politics and history raise a question that how he became the head of the state when he was neither a party man nor in the upper leadership stream. There are a couple of versions to the story how he managed to assume the position. He was not a Muslim League partisan however he remained in touch with League politics from students life. Being a government servant he had all support for the League. It was because of his attachment with League that he returned the Knighthood in 1942. He was nominated as official member of Indian Legislative Assembly.

A game was played for him in Karachi at the time Liaquat Ali was laid to rest. A possible candidate for the office was Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, who being a member of the Constituent Assembly was excluded from participation in its session and instead appointed as the Governor of Punjab. He was not allowed to accompany the funeral to Karachi on the ground that his presence in Lahore was necessary in case an Indian aggression took place at that critical juncture. Thus he was not in Karachi when the plot hatched to make him as the Governor General few days later. Khawaja Nazimuddin took over as the Prime Minister. A way was paved when Nazimuddin agreed to become Premier. Mushtaq Ahmed in his book *Government and Politics in Pakistan* states that upon the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan Khawaja Nazimuddin

Ghulam Mohammad: His Life & Work

was asked to assume the responsibilities of premiership which he did while he was still the Governor-General, a situation without parallel in parliamentary history. As PM, Nazimuddin recommended the appointment of a new Governor General in the vacancy created by his own resignation and that is why the entire Cabinet with his exception had to be sworn in again on October 24 1951, nearly a week after Liaquat was assassinated. Ghulam Mohammad *owed his elevation to the office of the Head of State to Nazimuddin just as the latter did to Liaquat Ali Khan.* Ghulam Mohammad had acknowledged this on one or two occasions by saying that in the wake of Liaquat Ali's assassination the possible successor to assume the office was Nazimuddin. It was due to the process that he became Governor General to replace him in lesser role than the one Liaquat Ali Khan held and now assumed to be played by Nazimuddin.

Dismissal of Ministries/Assembly

Khan Abdul Wali Khan in one of the articles in a independence day supplement published by daily Dawn on 14th August 1973 wrote that "*one of the major problems of Pakistan is democracy or lack of democracy. The first very amendment to 1935 soon after independence was to strength the power of Governor General*" to dissolve the assembly in order to get rid of Khan Sahib's Ministry in NWFP soon after independence(K. A. W. Khan, August 14, 1973). The dissolution of assemblies or ministries may be a need of time in certain conditions, an institutional resource to solve the problem of parliamentary deadlock, but it should not be a discriminatory and outside Parliamentary spirit(Carey, 1995). Pakistan during 69 years of its existence has faced an undemocratic and unconstitutional game of the dismissal of assemblies/ministries. The dissolution of assemblies no matter though is constitutionally allowed and matter meets provisions in the process of leading politics, but in Pakistan the exercise of powers have been in large unjustified and aberrant of democratic norms. It has led to more political chaos and distrust of the system which in ultimately resulted in longer run of martial law and authoritarian politics. Being dissolved/dismissed in the name of sham democracy and nepotism; anti-Pakistan and anti-democratic order; and incompatible with political and economic harmony, were not in large justified. It destroyed or gravely weakened the tradition of impartiality of the head of the state as symbol of integration; conventions of parliamentary system;

Mansoor Akbar Kundi

undermined party solidarity with its replacement with undemocratic and pseudo politicians. Due to dismissal a die had been cast for the process of democracy in the years to come.

Nazimmudin was a gem of person. It is the tragedy of the Pakistani politics that a person like him found little place in power hierarchy and was taken out of national political scene by unconstitutional and undemocratic hands, the major one being Ghulam Mohammad himself. I agree with Musthaq Ahmad that he *“was the first truly constitutional Governor General of Pakistan. He set a precedent of neutrality and noninterference, faithful observance of which was essential in the country”*(Ahmad, 1970).

Like many of his successors who stepped into office as the head of the states, Ghulam Mohammad's problem was the crisis of legitimacy how to strengthen his position against Constituent Assembly which he abhorred from very beginning. He instead relied on bureaucracy/military and adapted to his personal whims --- which might have all good but non-democratic. He patronized the establishment of counter forces to the Muslim League in side and outside Constituent Assembly where East Pakistanis held a majority and influence. His legitimacy factor was essentially accountable for his worsened relations with Nazimmuddin. Ghulam Mohammad showed all respect and appreciation for him. And Nazimuddin was his benefactor as his recommendation for Ghulam Mohammad came even he had not relinquished the charge. He is on record for remarking about Nazimuddin as *“a tried and trusted associate”* of the founder of Pakistan(Ahmad, 1970). He hardly interfered with the Prime Minister's functions . Except twice he did not attend or preside the Cabinet's session.

Ghulam Mohammad in the capacity of Governor General dismissed on April 17, 1953 the Ministry of Khawaja Nazimuddin. Nazimuddin was an old Muslim League veteran and enjoyed popularity among its activists. Ghulam Mohammad said: *“I have watched with growing uneasiness the exceedingly difficult conditions with which Pakistan is faced. There is a grave food situation, and the general economic outlook presents several features which must be dealt with rigorously. The law and order situation needs firm handling. There has been serious criticism of measures and even more of lack of measures, to meet the situation. I have been driven to the conclusion that the Cabinet of Khawaja Nazimuddin has proved entirely inadequate to*

Ghulam Mohammad: His Life & Work

grapple with the difficulties facing the country. In the emergency which has arisen, I have felt it incumbent upon me to ask the cabinet to relinquish office so that a new Cabinet, better fitted to discharge its obligations towards Pakistan, may be formed”(Kundi, February, 2009).

The Governor General’s action was condemned as “unconstitutional, illegal, and undemocratic.” As Hamid Khan writes in his lengthy research study on the constitutional and political history of Pakistan. The Governor General’s action was condemned as “unconstitutional, illegal, and undemocratic. *Apart from well being Ghulam Muhammad was patently in League with the bureaucrats and the commander-in-chief (Yusuf, 1999). The Prime Minister still enjoyed the confidence of parliament and could conceivably turn the tables on his enemies. But Nazimuddin was not an intriguer. On 17 April 1953 he was summoned by the Governor General along his cabinet and ordered to resign. “Nazimuddin declined and had to be dismissed. He described the dissolution as “illegal and unconstitutional course against the principles of democracy”. The dissolution of Khwaja Nazimuddin’s Ministry in East Pakistan by the Ghulam Mohammad was though regarded as an aberrant and undemocratic action, nonetheless, it was backed by the support of bureaucracy and military. As Ayesha Jalal writes the dismissal was “planned and accomplished through combined efforts of the army leaders, Iskender Mirza and Ayub Khan”(Jalal, 1990). He was replaced by Muhammad Ali Bogra who had been out of Pakistan for five years on diplomatic assignments and had little inside political experience, an unfortunate precedent for his successors(Jones, 2003).*

On May 30, 1954 in the wake of East-West controversy over the federal-provinces relationship, the Ministry of Fazlul Haq, the Chief Minister of East Pakistan was dissolved by Governor General, Ghulam Mohammad. His dismissal was followed by the Governor rule. The blame was the succession of serious riots in the East Pakistan. FazlulHaq blamed the federal government for unnecessary interference in the province and taking revenge for the defeat he inflicted on the Muslim League by his newly formed political group, the United Front. FazlulHaq was a great soul about whom Humayun Kabir in his message on the first death anniversary wrote: *The late Mr. FazlulHaq was a great leader of undivided Bengal and endeared himself to men of all communities by his large hearted generosity and patriotism. Both Pakistan and India require men of his vision, sympathy and imagination. Many*

Mansoor Akbar Kundi

his ideals promote greater friendship between the two neighboring countries(Rab, 1966). His dismissal was one of the factors accountable for distrust and differences between the East and West Pakistan which finally culminated into the creation of Bangladesh.

Six months later, on October 24, 1954 the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, elected in 1946, was dissolved by Ghulam Mohammad. As the government handout claimed, the Governor General having considered the political crisis with which the country was faced had come with deep regret to the conclusion that the political machinery had broken down. As a writer wrote in column about it *"It had been wiped off from the country's political map of as one wipes spilled milk from a table"*(Mcgrath, 1996).

Ghulam Mohammad dissolved the Assembly other than the fact he did not like its functioning due to the immediate factor that the Assembly revoked the Sections 9, 10, 10-A, 10-B of the Government of India Act of 1935 (1947) by virtue of which the Governor General could dissolve the Assembly or Ministry. Under the 1935 Act the Governor General did not enjoy such a power. It was after the creation of Pakistan an amendment was inserted in the Act. It was soon after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly that Ghulam Mohammad inducted 8 persons, including Ayub Khan and Iskander Mirza. None of the persons belonged to the defunct Constituent Assembly. By appointing Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan it was apparent that one-quarter of the strength of his Cabinet came from Pakistan army.

Ghulam Mohammad's action involved three implications --- all disastrous for the future politicalization of the country, the woes of which we have suffering to this day. The development of a authoritarian culture where bureaucracy and military assumed a stronger role without allowing democratic forces to grow at the cost of the disintegration of East wing; the trends absolutism under a strong head of the state and its establishment; and dependence of judiciary.

The independence of judiciary was tarnished during his period when Ghulam Mohammad in support for his rule ignored the integrity of judiciary by supporting junior judges to senior and undue interference. The Tamizuddin Khan Case was a watershed in this regard. Justice Munir was superseded over two judges after MianAbdur Rashid retired as the Chief Justice of Federal Court, the Court which validated Ghulam Mohammad's action of the

Ghulam Mohammad: His Life & Work

dissolution of Assembly. It comprised four judges of which the only one supporting the Sindh High Court's verdict wrote his dissent vote. He was A. R. Cornelius. The remaining three including Justice Munir, Muhammad Sharif and Farooq supported Ghulam Mohammad to have the power to dissolve the Assembly.

The less than four year of the rule of Ghulam Mohammad as the head of the state is a sad chapter of the political history where political norms developed towards an intolerant and undemocratic political culture. The fact is accountable for larger period of undemocratic forces to rule with a head of state at the pinnacle against all constitutional and political values. It gave rise to "viceregal" politics in Pakistan, in which the military and civil bureaucracy, not elected officials, govern the country and maintain substantial influence over society and the provinces.

Conclusion

Ghulam Mohammad is though a past and closed chapter of Pakistan history, nevertheless, his role stands a research and academic significance in understanding the part played by politicians and non-politicians in Pakistan politics. By non-politicians I mean forces who were not the part of formative politics of the country but soon became the part of the political setup with exerting influence. They included bureaucrats and army men --- civil and military bureaucracy. They both played a close link with love and hate relationship in Pakistan politics. They both ruled the rooster and set the rules of the game in Pakistan politics. Ghulam Mohammad himself was a bureaucrat with strong links with business, administrative and Muslim League politicians. Very little research has been done on Ghulam Mohammad in understanding his role played between January 1946 to August 1947. He made his debut in sub-continent politics during the period. He was elected as a member of First Constituent Assembly from Western Punjab in 1946. He like Iskander Mirza, also an elected member of the Assembly, but in their likes and dislikes were rather bureaucratic. They at all had no respect for democratic values. His financial expertise brought him more closer to Jinnah during the time of the allotment of portfolios in Interim Setup. He and Chaudhri Muhammad Ali persuaded Jinnah not to overlook the importance of Finance portfolio in Interim Government, and later on, facilitating Liaquat Ali Khan in day to day techniques of its smooth running. Of all discussions, a

Mansoor Akbar Kundi

fact remains that Ghulam Mohammad's adeptness in finance and business matters helped him become first Finance Minister of Pakistan. He opted for the new country and believed in serving it. He was a nationalist and displayed his support both as Muslim and Pakistani nationalist. He forbade his share and role in newly established business with Mahindra.

His role as Finance Minister from August 1947 to October 1951 under the circumstances is without any short-coming. Without any concrete proof available, he might have been involved in conspiracies and backdoor politics, he played his innings as Finance Minister very well. His role as Governor General is marked with legacy of misrule, intrigues and undemocratic attitudes in display of power. He made himself all strong and authoritarian in power driving seat with enjoying support of judiciary and army. Had the Federal Court not validated his action of dissolving Constituent Assembly under the Doctrine of Necessity, the future of democracy in the years to come might have been brighter.

Also, it was during his period that militarism in politics began which few years later put them in praetorian ruler-type role(Kundi, 2003). He was very kind and polite to General Ayub Khan and awarded him with Minister status in civilian cabinet with unprecedented extension. It was liking, obedience or necessity but he ensured all Chief's support to be in power.

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Mansoor Akbar Kundi

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