

## **A Study of the Composition of Federal Cabinets in Pakistan: 1947-1977**

**Naumana Kiran\***

### **Abstract**

The present study highlights different appointment criteria to Cabinet, adopted by various heads of the State under different systems of Government from 1947 to 1977. This paper also examines the role and status of Inner or Kitchen Cabinet during the period of this research study. It further highlights what social groups were represented in the Cabinet and in what proportion? It challenges the general perception that mostly feudal lords got Cabinet seats. Socio-economic analysis in this regard has revealed that professionals rather than feudal lords mainly remained in majority and other groups including civil and military bureaucracy, industrialists and businessmen were also appointed on important portfolios. The period of research study has been divided into three phases to analyse the social background of the Ministers and appointment criteria to the Cabinet i.e. first parliamentary period from 1947 to 1958, military regime from 1958 to 1971 and Second Parliamentary era from 1971 to 1977.

**Key Words:** Federal Cabinet, Appointment Criteria, social background, influential ministers, parliamentary system, military regime.

### **Introduction**

It is generally believed that feudal lords were inducted to the federal Cabinet of Pakistan. In Laporte's opinion from 1947 to 1977 political elites who were members of the Cabinet belonged to three groups: military, civil bureaucracy and large land owning representatives. He believed that more or less all Cabinet colleagues were selected from these three groups, but, in his opinion, the situation was different to a large extent in the early years of Bhutto's rule and none of the elite groups were given prominent position in the Cabinet, which were in the hands of urban and rural middle class. This phase was not permanent and in the later years of Bhutto; Cabinet again adopted the same status of pre-Bhutto regime when in Laporte's words middle class was voiceless in decision-making process. (Laporte, 1975: 1-8) The group of books dealing with the institutions, political leadership and politics of Pakistan

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\*Author is Assistant Professor, Department of History and Pakistan Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore – Pakistan

discusses different regimes, personalities and various aspects of politics; yet no exclusive work has appeared on the composition of the Cabinet. Only some scattered references are found in these books and articles on the Cabinet including Lawrence Ziring's *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*, Ian Talbot's *Pakistan; A Modern History*, Zarina Salamat's *Pakistan 1947-1958; An Historical Review*. In some of these works the formation of Cabinet under various regimes has been mentioned but only as a passing reference. Lawrence Ziring while explaining formation of the Cabinet of All Talents has given a short account of personal details of the then Ministers. There is great need to study the composition of this very important political institution of Pakistan. This paper is an attempt to negate the theory of Laporte while presenting facts and figures of socio-economic background of the Ministers of various regimes. It is tried to be prove that Federal Cabinets consisted mostly of five social groups i.e. professionals, civil bureaucrats, military bureaucrats, industrialists and businessmen and landlords. It is further analysed that appointment criteria remained different under military and parliamentary systems of government.

The appointment criteria for Cabinet members are generally different under the parliamentary and the presidential systems of Government. A limited number of members of the parliament remain available to be selected as Ministers in parliamentary system, while there is more flexibility under the Presidential system as Ministers can be selected from outside the Parliament. Under British Parliamentary System three major principles are followed while appointing Ministers i.e. representativeness in relation to political factions, tendencies and social origin, loyalty to the Prime Minister and Ministerial competence. (Rose, 1971: 397) Full Cabinet Ministers are taken from among the experienced persons. If they successfully had worked as Cabinet secretaries and junior Ministers or Minister of state, they have better chances of selection. (Buckley, 2006:41) Under American Presidential system expertise, loyalty to the President and affiliation with the Party are major criteria to be followed while appointing Cabinet Ministers. Though Pakistan followed British Parliamentary and Cabinet system but the inherent weaknesses and the colonial traditions did not let a Cabinet system to flourish in Pakistan on strong footings.

### **First Parliamentary Period, 1947-58**

Pakistan got independence on 14 August 1947 from colonial rule but inherited colonial traditions where Governor General was powerful. Unfortunately, political stability could not be achieved. Eight Cabinets worked during this Parliamentary phase mostly for short terms; three single party Cabinets worked from 1947 to 1954 under Liaquat Ali Khan (1947-1951), Khawaja

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Nazimuddin (1951-1953) and Mohammad Ali Bogra (1953-1954) respectively. These Cabinets worked under amended 1935 Act. So called Cabinet of All Talents worked from 1954 to 1955 without any parliament. Four Coalition Cabinets performed their roles from 1955 to 1958 mostly under 1956 Constitution and were answerable to indirectly elected Parliament. Choudhury Mohammad Ali (1955-1956), Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy 1956-1957), Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar October 1957-December 1957) and Malik Feroz Khan Noon (1957-1958) served as Prime Ministers during Coalition Cabinets period. Seventy four persons worked as Federal Cabinet Ministers whose social background had a deep impact on policies and programs of the government. Some persons repeatedly appeared in two, three or more than three Cabinets.

### **Appointment Criteria to the Cabinet**

The new state had to set the principles and standards of appointment to the Cabinet immediately after independence. The appointment criterion remained different in all three types of Governments i.e. Single Party Cabinets, Governor General's Cabinet or Cabinet of all Talents and Coalition Cabinets. Qualification was the most important criterion to be followed for the appointment in the first Cabinet of Pakistan. It was appointed by Governor General Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. It worked till 1953 with only one major change and some minor changes. The Quaid selected the best available brains for different positions. While giving representation to different regions of Pakistan, three Ministers were taken from East Bengal, one each from Punjab, NWFP (presently called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and from Sindh. (Symond, 1950: 46) He also gave representation to minorities and Jogandar Nath Mandal, was appointed.

While appointing Cabinet of Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra, the third Governor General Ghulam Muhammad mostly relied on his personal contacts and loyalty towards him. He made some appointments on the basis of necessity also. He suspected that Chief Minister of NWFP, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, would oppose dismissal of Nazimuddin, so was invited to be part of the Cabinet. Khan accepted the offer and remained Minister of Food and Agriculture during the first Premiership (1953-1954) of Mohammad Ali Bogra. (Baxter, 2007: 322) Qualifications and experience in the specific field was also considered by the Governor General. The presence of military as well as civil bureaucratic elites was the most prominent feature of this Cabinet. Besides them a new social group of industrialists and businessmen was added in the Cabinet for the first time. M.A. Ispahani, Minister of Industries and Rahimtoola, Minister of Commerce belonged to this group. It was for the first time again that the strong Muslim Leaguers were not appointed in the

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Cabinet because Ghulam Mohammad did not trust them and most of them had been tested during the previous regimes. Some appointments were made on the basis of compromise also. Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy, the leader of the Awami League, accepted the Cabinet portfolio for securing Awami League's provincial government in the East Pakistan.

During the third period of first Parliamentary phase i.e. Coalition Cabinets' period (1955-58) the appointment criteria were quite different from the previous era due to the introduction of 1956 Constitution and different Party position in the Parliament. After the introduction of the 1956 Constitution, the Prime Minister was the nomination authority in place of the Governor General or the President. President was responsible to give final approval to the decision of the Prime Minister regarding selection of the Ministers. All four Cabinets formed in this period were coalition and the coalition partners were always given due share. The names, proposed by the coalition partners, were added in the Cabinet. If the coalition was led by the Awami League, the Awami League Prime Minister had to accept all those names which were forwarded by Republican Party, or by Nizam-i-Islam Party or by any other coalition partner. The Prime Minister had little or no choice in this regard and depended on his coalition partners for nomination of Cabinet members. As the West Pakistani provinces, states of West Pakistan, tribal and federal areas had been merged into one province after introduction of One Unit in 1955, parity was maintained between East and West wings while appointing Ministers. Equal numbers of Ministers were mostly taken from both wings during this period and qualification was not always the best criterion unlike early Cabinets.

### **Social Background of the Ministers**

The social background of the Ministers had influence on the policies, devised in the Cabinet. Urban professionals and intelligentsia had dominated the Cabinets during this phase. They introduced economic reforms in favour of urban areas; industry flourished but agriculture was neglected due to absence of or small representation of landlords. Urban professionals had direct access to the problems, weaknesses and areas of improvement in urban vicinity but were ignorant about the problems of rural areas to address. It was because of this weakness that no large-scale reform package was introduced for the development and well-being of the millions of poor, living in villages. The social background of the Federal Ministers from 1947 to 1958 is given below:

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**Table: 1-a**

<b>Social Group</b>	<b>1947-54 Single Party Cabinets</b>	<b>1954-55 Cabinet of All Talents</b>	<b>1955-58 Coalition Cabinets</b>	<b>1947-58 Total</b>
<b>Professionals</b>	16	6	21	43
<b>Landowners</b>	5	2	6	13
<b>Civil Bureaucrats</b>	2	1	2	5
<b>Industrialists and businessmen</b>	0	2	3	5
<b>Military Bureaucrats</b>	0	3	1	4
<b>Professions unknown</b>	0	0	4	4
<b>Total Ministers</b>	23	14	37	74

**Source:** The above table is prepared by the researcher on the basis of information collected through different sources including reports of the British High Commissioner to Commonwealth Relations Office London, Cabinet Files available at National Documentation Centre Islamabad, Newspapers and various books including autobiographies, biographies and others.

The table clarifies that most of the Ministers belonged to five major social groups of upper and upper-middle class including landowners, businessmen, bureaucrats, military personnel and professionals mostly lawyers. The other professionals included judges, educationists and journalists. Some of the professionals had feudal background, but their profession is considered a decisive factor of accessing their social status. Out of the sixteen professionals during 1947-54, ten were practicing lawyers three were educationist, one was journalist and two belonged to the other professions. In the period of first parliamentary phase, out of five landlords, two were big or feudal lords and the rest owned small landholdings. They belonged to middle-class of landlords. There were only two civil bureaucrats in the Cabinet till 1954, whereas no military bureaucrat and industrialist or businessman was inducted in the Cabinet.

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The Cabinet of All Talents consisted of six professionals - three were lawyers, one was doctor and the other two belonged to the other professions. The two landlords belonged to the class of big feudal lords. The two new social groups emerged were military bureaucrats and Industrialists-cum-businessmen. The military bureaucrats were three and Industrialists and businessmen were two in number.

The number of total Ministers rose to thirty seven during the Coalition Cabinet's era. Professionals formed the largest group here like previous regimes. Again lawyers were in majority among professionals. They were thirteen out of twenty-one. The Cabinets of that period included two journalists and educationists each and one retired justice and a doctor each. The remaining Ministers were from other professions. Out of six landlords, five belonged to the upper strata of landlords and only one was a middle class landlord. Industrialists and businessmen maintained their position but the ratio of civil and military bureaucrats decreased. There were two civil bureaucrats and only one military bureaucrat.

From the above mentioned data it can be suggested that most of the Cabinet Ministers were highly educated and qualified, no matter, with what social group they belonged to. Secondly none or few Ministers came from the lower middle class and not even a single Minister had his roots in lower class. In fact, lower class did not have direct access to the national level politics.

### **The Inner Cabinet/Influential Ministers**

Professionals especially lawyers were the most dominant part of the Cabinets in all regimes from 1947 to 1958, but their large presence did not mean that they were the most influential members of the Cabinet. During 1947-54, the most influential Cabinet Ministers were Malik Ghulam Mohammad, Choudhury Mohammad Ali (both were bureaucrats), Sir Zafarullah Khan (lawyer) and to some extent Dr. Fazlur Rahman particularly in Liaquat Ali Khan's premiership, enjoyed special status. Liaquat Ali Khan was a towering personality, man of opinion and a good decision-maker. However, he gave weight to the opinion of his Ministers. It was after Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination that the two bureaucrats, Malik Ghulam Mohammad and Choudhury Mohammad Ali were the most influential in the decision-making. (Noon, 1966: 84) Hamza Alavi's opinion is that the most influential among all members of the inner Cabinet was Malik Ghulam Mohammad. (Alavi, 1994: 1554) This is true as he had the bureaucracy under his control and the army stood behind him. He also enjoyed US blessings. The place of inner Cabinet was taken over by the Kitchen Cabinet during Nazimuddin's Premiership. It was established by the Governor General Ghulam Mohammad instead of the Prime Minister and

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included some civil and military bureaucrats - Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan, besides Finance Minister Choudhury Mohammad Ali. Almost the same Kitchen Cabinet existed during Mohammad Ali Bogra's period.

During the coalition Cabinet's period, the changes in governments were so abrupt and frequent that no permanent inner Cabinet could exist. The Prime Minister depended on the members of the Cabinet belonging to his political party. In other words decisions of the political leadership of that specific party were normally approved. The Muslim League under the leadership of Choudhury Mohammad Ali was influential in the decision-making during this period. Malik Feroz Khan Noon, landlord and Amjad Ali, a professional, both had political and administrative experience and were significant in decision-making during Suhrawardy's Premiership though they belonged to the Republican Party. He himself possessed great self-confidence and power of decision-making. (Report of the British High Commissioner (RBHC), 1956) The prominent figures during Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar's premiership were Malik Feroz Khan Noon and Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, the defence Minister. (Rashiduzzaman, 1967: 121) Both of them were landlords. The prominent Minister in Noon's Cabinet was Mozaffar Ali Qizilbash, lawyer cum landlord.

#### **Military Regime, 1958-1971**

On October 8, 1958 Martial law was imposed in Pakistan and the first Parliamentary phase then came to an end. All hopes of the political parties for elections vanished away. The parliamentary system had not worked satisfactorily due to frequent change of the governments. Even the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was unable to play its role in strengthening the democratic processes. So much so that the deputy speaker of East Pakistan Assembly was injured during the proceedings and later on died due to severe injuries. Cabinets had hardly any time to introduce reforms or to formulate policies during 1956-58.

To study the institution of the Cabinet during military regime, this period has been divided here in three phases. First is Martial Law period from 1958 to 1962. Two Cabinets, first from 1958 to 1960 and second from 1960 to 1962, worked during this phase without any Constitution. Second phase started with the introduction of 1962 Constitution and ended in 1969 with the imposition of second Martial Law. Two Cabinets functioned during this phase; one from 1962 to 1965 and the second from 1965 to 1969.

Third phase is Yahya Khan's Martial law era from 1969 to 1971. During this period, the institution of Cabinet was the most neglected one. According to

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Fazal Mugeem Khan, the Cabinet was among those institutions which were totally destroyed during Yahya Khan's period. Its power was limited in his early years and later the institution was vanquished. The government was run by purely military-oriented Council of Ministers from March to August 1969. One civilian Cabinet was appointed in August 1969 which worked till February 1971. Its status remained undefined and it was just a ceremonial body. (Choudhury, 1998: 56) Military Generals looked after the affairs of the State from February to December 1971.

### **Appointment criteria to the Cabinet**

The appointment criteria to the Cabinet were diverse during the military period. According to Rashiduzzaman Ayub Khan took care of two major factors while appointing his Cabinet members. First, to include financial and legal experts like Mohammad Shoaib and Manzur Qadir, who were experts in their respective fields and second to include experienced politicians like Mohammad Ali Bogra in the Cabinet especially after the introduction of 1962's Constitution. From 1958 to 1962 Ayub Khan's Cabinet had not included any political personality. (Jahan, 1972: 56) In Rushbrook William's opinion, Ayub used to include all such men in the Cabinet who were faithful to the country, expert in their fields and loyal to the President. (William, 1962: 185) Whereas, Robert Laporte has presented a different view saying that family or personal connections were always important for reaching to the Cabinet. Besides it, administrative skills were also given considerable weightage by Ayub. (Laporte, 7) However, the best criterion for appointment, in Ayub's opinion, was experience. Only experts were taken to control Foreign Affairs, Finance, Railways, Education, Commerce, Local Administration, Law and Industries. He always appointed the best available brains. Manzur Qadir, Mohammad Ali Bogra, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada and Arshad Hussain were all experts and experienced especially in dealing with the foreign affairs. Pirzada owed his elevation as Foreign Minister mainly due to the impression he made on Ayub in efficiently conducting his business as Attorney General especially in relation to Rann of Kutch dispute. (RBHC, 1966) While appointing Arshad Hussain as Foreign Minister Ayub told him that he was appointed for his 'professional efficiency' as Pakistan's foreign policy was complicated and difficult task to tackle with. (Dobell, 1969: 299) Next he gave equal representation to both East and West Pakistan after introduction of 1962 Constitution. If one West Pakistani Minister died or resigned from the Cabinet, the new Minister was taken from West Pakistan. The same rule was followed for East Pakistan. The number of Ministers never exceeded twelve including President himself.



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During the Martial Law era, military personnel were given important portfolios in the Cabinet; however, this trend was not followed in the post 1962 Constitutional period, with only one exception of Vice Admiral A.R. Khan who was appointed as Minister of Defence and Kashmir Affairs due to his wide experience as Commander-in-Chief of Navy and understanding of the subject. It is further noted that important portfolios were given to West Pakistani Ministers except Mohammad Ali Bogra who was appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1962. He worked as ambassador in America for two times so he could play the role of a transmission belt and followed the instructions of the President always. (Ziring, 1971: 49) Ayub was of the opinion that East Pakistan had dearth of intelligent people and that most of the East Pakistanis thought in terms of being Bengalis not in terms of being Pakistanis. (Baxter, 238)

The appointment criterion observed a change in later period, 1966-69. Now loyalty was considered by Ayub to be the indispensable requirement of the Ministers. Secondly he appointed such men who could unquestionably carry out his policies without danger of forming independent political basis and had apparently little political future; thirdly, they must be men of technical and administrative competence. He also looked for political balance (RBHC, 1966) and started trusting those politicians who agreed or accepted his system of Basic Democracies. Some of them were included in the Cabinet also. They were Abdus Sabbur Khan, Minister of Communications, Mohammad Ali Bogra, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fazlul Qadir Choudhury, Minister of Food and Agriculture and Wahiduzzaman, Minister of Commerce and Health. The whole team of Ministers, of the last Cabinet, was loyal servant of the State and was not raising questions against the authority of the President. His Cabinet 'quickly developed considerable corporate responsibility,' (William, 185) a sense of common purpose and strong ties of loyalty to the President.

Yahya had not designed any proper standard of appointment to the Cabinet, yet he visited East Pakistan for the selection of his Cabinet Ministers. He took informal interviews from the prospective candidates and made inquiries through different sources including collecting information from intelligence reports. Lastly, the top hierarchy of the military was consulted regarding the suggested list and only then he finalized the names of the Ministers. It is believed that Civilian Cabinet of Yahya was only mediocre in wisdom, skills and in work. (Talbot, 1999: 191) Practically, if they were given appropriate time and suitable power, they could have shown their skills and better performance. Yahya never trusted them and most of the business was done by his military advisers or members of the Kitchen Cabinet who were not even part of the Cabinet but belonged to the military high-command. The Cabinet was given less important political, social, defence and foreign policy issues to

discuss. Another negative aspect of Yahya's Cabinet was the absence of any Minister of foreign affairs. General Peerzada and Maj. General Omar considered themselves as experts in foreign affairs but both of them were inexperienced and incompetent in this regard. Issues related to foreign policy were never discussed in the meetings of the Civilian Cabinet. It happened for the first time in Pakistan's history that Cabinet worked without a Foreign Minister. He just fulfilled the requirement of appointing a Civilian Cabinet. In reality the government was run by his military and some civilian bureaucrats. General Yahya Khan had designed a government set up in which the politicians were not given representation in the Cabinet.

### **The Social Background of the Ministers**

The Cabinets of this period included both urban elites and professionals in a large number whose presence had an impact on the policies of the government. They initiated policies of industrial development and international trade. Minister of Finance Mohammad Shoaib, a professional, had great personal influence on Ayub Khan and played an effective role in deciding economic issues. (Interview of S. M. Zafar, 2012) On the contrary, General Ayub Khan and his Minister Z.A.Bhutto had an understanding of rural society and had taken help of urban professionals. This ushered in the agricultural development, Green Revolution and an increase in the agricultural output. The social background of the Ministers of this period is given below.

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**(Table: 1-b)**

<b>Social Group</b>	<b>1958-62 Martial Law Era</b>	<b>1962-69 Cabinets Under 1962 Constitution</b>	<b>1969-71 Yahya's Period</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Professionals</b>	4	15	6	25
<b>Landowners</b>	1	2	0	3
<b>Civil Bureaucrats</b>	6	8	7	21
<b>Military Bureaucrats</b>	4	2	6	12
<b>Industrialists and Businessmen</b>	1	01	1	3
<b>Total Ministers</b>	16	28	20	64

**Source:** The above table is prepared by the researcher on the basis of information collected through different sources including reports of the British High Commissioner to Commonwealth Relations Office London, Cabinet Files available at National Documentation Centre Islamabad, Newspapers and various books including autobiographies, biographies and others.

In the first period of this phase, the largest group was of civil bureaucrats who were highly qualified and experienced. They were given the charge of only those departments where they had worked as secretaries and on other higher positions. Two groups including military bureaucrats and professionals occupied equal number of seats in the Cabinet. This time professionals included only two lawyers and two retired Judges. Two remaining social groups i.e. landowners and Industrialist and businessmen were very insignificant and could get only one seat each.

In the Cabinets of the Constitutional period (1962-69), professionals revived themselves as a largest group. This time they were fifteen out of whom seven were lawyers, three retired Judges, one was an educationist, one was a journalist and three of them belonged to the other professions. Civil bureaucrats emerged as the second influential group who were able to occupy

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eight seats in the Cabinet. Out of two landlords one was a big feudal lord i.e. Z.A.Bhutto and the other belonged to a middle class of landlords i.e. Mohammad Ali Bogra. Out of the two military bureaucrats, one was Ayub Khan and the other was a retired Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, Vice Admiral A.R. Khan. There was only one Minister i.e. Nawabzada Abdul Ghafar Khan Hoti who belonged to social group of the industrialists and businessmen.

The composition of Yahya Khan's ministry was very different from all the previous Cabinets except the pre-1962 constitutional period of Ayub's military regime. This time the most prominent group was the civil and military bureaucrats, including seven civilian and six military bureaucrats out of the total twenty. Second important group was that of professionals. Inner composition of this group of professionals was varied. It included two educationists, one medical doctor, a retired judge, a lawyer and the sixth one was an ex-ambassador. It was the first occasion that lawyers were least represented. Social group of Industrialists and businessmen maintained their position with only one representative.

According to Hasan Askari Rizvi the Cabinets of both military rulers were similar in one way or the other. Ayub's Cabinets mainly consisted of ex-civil and military officials, which seem to be one reason of the fall of Ayub Khan. The same was repeated by Yahya and it also became the reason of his failure. (Rizvi, 2003: 183) However, this study emphasize that Yahya Khan trusted and relied on military junta more than the civil bureaucrats. The decisions of the military junta were accepted and implemented. On the other side, Ayub left governance of the country to the civilians including bureaucrats, professionals and the others. It is also evident from the fact that Aziz Ahmad, a senior ICS officer, was appointed as DCMLA.

### **The Inner Cabinet and the Kitchen Cabinet**

Ayub Khan's era observed the existence of Inner Cabinet in early years which later on was transformed into the Kitchen Cabinet. At times Ayub used to have prior discussion with his close associates in the Cabinet and the Cabinet would take decisions accordingly. In some cases only West Pakistani Ministers were called in special meetings of the Cabinet to discuss some specific issues. The most influential Cabinet Ministers during Martial Law period (1958-1962) were Z. A. Bhutto, landlord, Manzur Qadir, lawyer and Muhammad Shoaib, civil bureaucrat. (Roedad Khan, 2002: 115) Shoaib had great personal influence on Ayub Khan and played an effective role in deciding economic issues. Except Bhutto the other two were non-political figures. The members of Cabinet from East Pakistan were the main sufferers in this regard. Their opinions were not given considerable importance while

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approving and formulating various policies by Ayub Khan, though he worked as a team in day-today matters (RBHC, 1960). Constitution Commission had prepared an agreed report, which was totally changed by Ayub Khan with the consultation of Manzur Qadir. Consent of Z.A.Bhutto was also taken who agreed with the President. Ayub had three military Generals in his Cabinets during this period but they were less influential than the above mentioned three Ministers and more influential than East Pakistani Ministers at the same time, though General Azam Khan was comparatively stronger than other Military colleagues of the Cabinet. After introduction of 1962 Constitution, Z.A. Bhutto and Muhammad Shoaib again continued as the most influential Ministers.

Both of them left Ayub Khan's Cabinet in 1966, after which the place of influential Ministers was taken over by Ghulam Farooq, Commerce Minister, A. K. Sabur, Minister of Communications and Khawaja Shahabuddin, Information Minister. They were technocrats, not politicians with little apparent political future. At the same time no one had power like Bhutto and Shoaib to influence Ayub. However, Ghulam Farooq, civil bureaucrat and Shahabuddin, landlord, were in the position to talk frankly to the President on occasions (RBHC, 1966). A. K. Sabur, a professional, was comparatively more influential among East Pakistani Ministers and brought political issues relating to East Pakistan in the Cabinet meetings for discussion (Interview with Zafar). The last Cabinet of Ayub Khan, especially after the exit of Ghulam Farooq in 1967, could not get the status of an Advisory Body as then it had less powerful personalities like Altaf Hussain, Qazi Anwar ul Haq, Shams ud Doha, Sharifuddin Pirzada and Chaudhry Ali Akbar Khan. The later additions were also devoid of political background and influence.

Ayub gave more places in his Kitchen Cabinet to the civil and military bureaucrats in later years by including Mr. Yusuf, Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Altaf Gauhar, Secretary of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Qudruttullah Shahab, Secretary of Education and Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the forces performed the role of kitchen Cabinet after 1966 (Sayeed, 1968: 198). In the last year of Ayub regime, the military high-command enjoyed tremendous influence due to Ayub's prolonged sickness and anti-Ayub agitation. The influential Ministers of Ayub Khan in both the regimes were non-political figures except Bhutto. East Pakistanis were the main sufferers in this whole scenario as they had felt to be ignored.

Ayub fell seriously ill in the beginning of 1968. Yahya responded to the crisis by staging an unofficial coup. Ayub's contacts with the politicians and civilian associates were terminated. The government in reality was controlled by the Military generals, including Yahya Khan the C-in-C of the forces, General Mohammad Musa, Governor of West Pakistan, A.R. Khan, Defence Minister

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and ex-commander of Pakistan Navy, Air Marshal Nur Khan, commander of Pakistan Air Force and Khawaja Shahabuddin (Gauhar, 1985: 17).

During Yahya Khan's period, the Kitchen Cabinet of five military generals emerged. They tried to improve the image of Yahya and the military. It included General Peerzada, Principal Staff Officer and the de facto PM, Brigadier Rahim, Chief Military Officer and Brigadier Karim, Chief of Civilian Affairs. Rahim and Karim were Super Secretaries also. All files had to pass through them. This kitchen Cabinet also included General Abdul Hamid Khan, Chief of Staff Army and Major General Ghulam Umar, Chief of National Security. It functioned independently of the formal Cabinet as a whole and "took all major decisions, providing a kind of collective leadership" (Kochanek, 1983: 54). The real powers remained with Kitchen Cabinet of military high-command.

It was perhaps because of negligence of military junta and not sharing power with the civilians that Pakistan had to lose one of its wings, East Pakistan. If Civilian Cabinet could be given chance to work and could enjoy decision-making power under Yahya Khan, situation could be improved in the country and especially in East Pakistan.

### **Second Parliamentary Era, 1971-1977**

The fall of Decca on December 16, 1971 caused political change in Pakistan and on 20th December the Yahya regime was forced to step down in favour of a civilian set up. After separation of East Pakistan, people came out on streets demanding the trial of General Yahya and his advisers who were declared as traitors. Yahya Khan left with no option but to resign. Bhutto, who was out of the country, and was the leader of the largest political party in West Pakistan, now the new Pakistan, decided to come back in his country. He returned on December 20, 1971 and met Gul Hasan, Rahim Khan and then Yahya Khan. They handed over power to Bhutto, whose Pakistan People's Party (PPP) had won majority of the West Pakistan's seats in the 1970 elections. He took oath as President and Civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator because Pakistan was being run without any Constitution. Bhutto's period observed four Cabinets. The first one was formed on December 24, 1971 that worked till April 1972. During this period, the country remained under Martial Law with Civilian Martial Law Administrator i.e. Z.A. Bhutto. An Interim Constitution was introduced in April 1972. Bhutto and his Cabinet took oath of their offices under the Interim Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It was imperative for the Ministers to be the member of the National Assembly, a feature of Parliamentary form of Constitution (The Interim Constitution 1972). Two Cabinets worked under 1973 Constitution, introduced on August 14, 1973; one from 1973 to 1974 and the second from 1974 to 1977.

## **Appointment Criteria**

Different appointment criteria were followed by Bhutto. It appears that most appointments were made due to Bhutto's family or personal connections. Besides personal friendship political acumen and skills were also given some importance. Under this consideration the appointments of Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, Minister of Education, Information and Provincial Coordination, Mustafa Jatoi, Minister of Political Affairs, Communications and Natural Resources, Mubashar Hasan, J.A. Rahim and Shaikh Mohammad Rasheed, Minister of Social Welfare, Health and Family Planning were made.

At times, representatives of Opposition Political Parties were also given a place in the Cabinet by Bhutto for political reasons. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and later Muhammad Yusuf Khattack, from Muslim League, were included in the Cabinet. Qayyum Khan was given important portfolio of Home Affairs. It was claimed by Wali Khan that Qayyum was given this portfolio so he could provide valuable secret information about National Awami Party (NAP) to Bhutto (Wali Khan, 1988: 203). This point of view is supported by Hamid Khan with an addition that Bhutto wanted to use Khan against NAP-Jamiat-i-Ulma-i-Islam (JUI) government in NWFP (Hamid Khan, 2000: 259). He worked for the same purpose in later years. Another opinion is that Qayyum was included in the Cabinet to minimize the role of Opposition in the national politics. Both Bhutto and Khan Qayyum had two distinct approaches towards politics. The only point of their consensus was strong Centre and hostility towards India. The induction of Khan Qayyum gave representation to smaller province of NWFP wherein PPP had lost elections. Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao, leader of the opposition party in NWFP, was included in the Federal Cabinet to help Qayyum Khan in toppling NAP-JUI government in the two smaller provinces.

Another important consideration while appointing Ministers was to give all provinces a representation in the Cabinet. In this regard, Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani, the most trustworthy and important Baloch leader for Bhutto, was assigned the portfolio of Food and Agriculture in May 1972. He had already served as Governor of Baluchistan before Bizenjo. He kept Bhutto informed about the political activities of Baluchistan including reports about Bugti and his companions (Wolpert, 225-26).

Fourth and the most important criterion of appointment in the early years was the belief and strong support to the ideology of PPP on the basis of which many leftists were given a place in the Cabinet. However, in later years the position of socialists or leftist Ministers such as Mubashir Hasan, J.A.Rahim

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and Khurshid Hasan Meer, was taken over by a new-support group, the feudal lords. In the last years of his rule, Bhutto depended more on civil bureaucracy especially during his election campaign with Rafi Raza as incharge. It appears that Bhutto's level of trust for his Cabinet colleagues decreased gradually (Niazi, 1992: 43). Sometimes hardliners, unlike the practice under the British Parliamentary system, were also appointed in the Cabinet like Khursheed Hasan Meer and Meraj Khalid. They were hard socialist in their ideologies.

The prominent feature of the Cabinets of Bhutto was the socialist ideology especially before 1974. But the socialist agenda gradually faded away after 1974 due to replacement of socialist Ministers by the feudal lords. Secondly, smaller provinces especially Baluchistan was the least represented. The main reason seems to be the absence of PPP in Baluchistan Assembly and the limited support enjoyed by the Party in NWFP. Most of the Cabinet portfolios were given to Punjab and then to Sindh followed by NWFP. In the first period (1971-1973) almost half of the Cabinet Ministers were from Punjab. In the second period (1974-77) almost same trend was followed. The number of Ministers in the first three Cabinets did not exceed fourteen but it rose to twenty in the last Cabinet. One prominent feature of Bhutto's Cabinets was absence of Minister of Foreign Affairs as this Ministry was kept under direct supervision of the Prime Minister. Bhutto took great interest in foreign affairs. Huge difference of opinion could emerge between him and his Minister of Foreign Affairs so he avoided appointing Minister of Foreign Affairs.

### **Social Background of the Ministers**

The social background of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Cabinet especially in pre-1974 era was different from the previous regimes as some groups were totally exempted and the others had significant position which had an impact on the policies, introduced by the government from 1971 to 1974. The following table will make the point clear:



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**(Table: 1-b)**

<b>Social Group</b>	<b>1958-62 Martial Law Era</b>	<b>1962-69 Cabinets Under 1962 Constitution</b>	<b>1969-71 Yahya's Period</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Professionals</b>	4	15	6	25
<b>Landowners</b>	1	2	0	3
<b>Civil Bureaucrats</b>	6	8	7	21
<b>Military Bureaucrats</b>	4	2	6	12
<b>Industrialists and Businessmen</b>	1	01	1	3
<b>Total Ministers</b>	16	28	20	64

Source: The above table is prepared by the researcher on the basis of information collected through different sources including reports of the British High Commissioner to Commonwealth Relations Office London, Cabinet Files available at National Documentation Centre Islamabad, Newspapers and various books including autobiographies, biographies and others.

In the pre-Constitutional period, middle class professionals were the largest group. They were eleven out of eighteen; seven were lawyers, one retired justice, one civil engineer, an educationist and one was Attorney General of the Federal government of Pakistan. Out of the five landlords, four, including Z.A.Bhutto, Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi, Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao and Sardar Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani, were big feudal lords and only one i.e. Raja Tridiv Roy belonged to the middle class of landlords. His Cabinet also included one former civil bureaucrat: J.A. Rahim. He had been retired from the Foreign Service and was the main brain behind preparing the manifesto of PPP. Besides J.A.Rahim, no other military or civil bureaucrat was given any place in the Cabinet. It was the first time in the history of Pakistan that Civil and Military bureaucrats were not welcomed in this high level of decision-making institution. Bhutto wanted to establish a purely political and democratic government where public institutions would remain within their limits.

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Group of industrialists and businessmen, who always had a place in the Cabinet with one or two seats, were also denied a portfolio in the first two Cabinets of Bhutto. PPP's socialist manifesto did not permit induction of industrialists and businessmen. It was party of laborers and poor, as the slogans raised by the leadership. While denying a place to three major social groups, PPP government did give representation to the religious elite. Maulana Kausar Niazi was the symbol of religious representation. Induction of this new group opened way for this group to attain seats in future Cabinets also.

The composition of the Cabinets of the second period (1973-77) and especially of the fourth Cabinet (1974-77), was dramatically different from the previous Cabinets. This time the landlords, big feudal lords, were in a majority. They were eleven out of twenty five. Out of the nine professionals seven continued from the previous Cabinet and only two were new entries i.e. Rafi Raza and Hafizullah Cheema. Six professionals were lawyers, one was civil engineer, one poet, and one was Attorney General.

The group of businessmen and industrialists regained their position in the Cabinet and Muhammad Yusaf Khattack, Malik Mohammad Akhtar and Mian Mohammad Ataullah were appointed. The social group of religious elites maintained their position in the Cabinet. Civil and military bureaucrats were again not given any place. However some of them were given the portfolio of the Ministers of State but this is out of our study as Minister of State is not formally a part of the Cabinet.

Bhutto's Cabinets of both the periods had some similarities and differences. Presence of professionals in a large number and the absence of civil and military bureaucrats from the Cabinets show consistency in his policy of appointment. But at the same time the number of landlords was raised from five to eleven and of the businessmen from zero to three. Bhutto's Cabinet was conservative in 1976. "Scientific Socialists" (Syed, 1977: 185). including Mubashir Hasan, Minister of Finance, J. A. Rahim, Minister for Presidential Affairs and Khursheed Hasan Meer, Minister Without Portfolio were mostly out who represented the middle class, and the place was taken over by the feudal lords. Here, PPP's leadership deviated from its manifesto and in place of welcoming the representatives of labourers and the downtrodden, appointed big landlords and businessmen. The ideology and approach of the Cabinet was changed. Leftist element was quite insignificant in the last Cabinet. Only Sheikh Rashid was there who found himself unable to speak of leftist ideas as there was no one to support him within the Cabinet. The changed composition of the Cabinet had an impact on the policies also. Landlords dominated the

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affairs of the state and pro-landlord approach in financial matters was adopted by the Cabinet.

### **The Inner Cabinet**

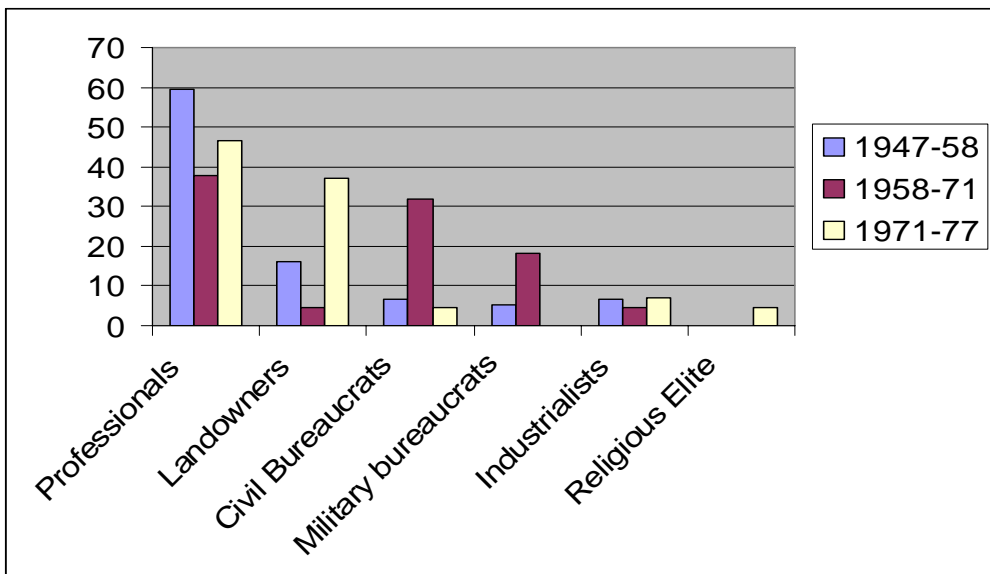
In the first period, the leftist Ministers were the most influential and their plans and policies including nationalization of industry, banking, and insurance were approved by the Prime Minister. They were Mubashir Hasan, an educationist, Shaikh Rashid, a lawyer and Khursheed Hasan Meer, an educationist. All decision-making and important portfolios including Finance, Production, Industries and labour were controlled by them. They were part of the inner Cabinet of Bhutto (Hasan, 2000: 10-11). All were from middle class and urban based professionals. Although their ideology had an impact on Bhutto's ideology yet decision-making power regarding foreign policy matters resided with Bhutto alone. The status of the inner Cabinet or influential Ministers was taken over by rightists like Maulana Kausar Niazi, representative of religious elite group and by some of Bhutto's personal friends like Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, a Lawyer, in the later period. Niazi's influence increased because of his "obsequiousness and personal relations to Bhutto" (Taseer, 1979: 194). The status of Pirzada was similar to that of Bhutto in the early years of Ayub Khan. He was obedient to Bhutto. The whole nature and composition of the Cabinet had been changed from the leftist to the rightist (Kaushik, 1985: 129).

The findings of this study, as shown in the table below and bar graph on the next page are quite different from the established theory that the Cabinets, in Pakistan, mostly consisted of three groups i.e. military, civil bureaucracy and large land owning representatives. Professionals have been totally ignored in this regard. The table and bar graph on the next page are clarifying the theory originated in this paper:

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(Table: 1-d)

Social Group	1947-58		1958-71		1971-77	
	Ministers	%age	Ministers	%age	Ministers	%age
Professionals	43	58.10	25	37.87	20	46.51
Landowners	13	17.56	3	4.54	16	37.2
Civil Bureaucrats	5	6.75	21	31.81	2	4.65
Military bureaucrats	4	5.40	12	18.18	0	0
Industrialists and businessmen	5	6.75	3	4.54	3	6.97
Religious Elite	0	0	0	0	2	4.65
Unknown Professions	4		2			
<b>Total</b>	74		66		43	



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It is revealed that the Cabinet Ministers were not taken from three social groups but represented five social groups from 1947 to 1971 and the sixth group was added to Bhutto's Cabinet. It was religious elite group, represented with one seat. The five groups represented in the Cabinet were professionals, landowners, civil and military bureaucrats and industrialists and businessmen. The composition of these groups remained different in the three phases. In the first phase professionals were the most prominent with forty-three seats in the Cabinet out of the seventy four. Landowners were the second important social group with thirteen seats. Civil and military bureaucrats were only one fifth in number than professionals with nine Cabinet portfolios. The least represented group was businessmen and industrialists with only five portfolios.

In the second phase, the most prominent social group represented in the Cabinet was of civil and military bureaucracy. Their total representation was thirty three out of sixty-six Ministers. Professionals were on second number with twenty five seats. The least represented group was of landowners with three seats and businessmen and industrialist with two seats only.

Some dramatic changes occurred in the third phase; the civil and military bureaucracy was totally unrepresented in the Cabinet. Only J.A. Rahim was included who had been retired from the Foreign Service but he was one of the founding fathers of PPP and struggled against the control of affairs by civil servants. There were three reasons behind primacy of politicians over bureaucracy. Firstly, Ministers were the product of electoral politics unlike the Ministers of previous regimes. Secondly, some Ministers had the view that bureaucracy must be subordinate to political leadership and thirdly some of them were striving to implement the socialist objectives of the PPP. All of them were active politicians. The most prominent social group was of the professionals with twenty seats in the Cabinet out of forty-three. Although, the landowners also had comparatively more seats in the Cabinet than the previous regimes who could occupy sixteen seats yet they controlled less significant portfolios. It was a group of industrialists and businessmen which maintained its ratio in all periods with three seats. During this period a new group of religious elites also emerged in the Cabinet with only one seat. La Porte's concept about the presence of three social groups in the Cabinet seems not to be supported by the evidence. This study founds out the presence of five different social groups in the Cabinet.

### **Conclusion**

To conclude, it may be pointed out that Ministers were mostly taken out of five social groups i.e. professionals, landlords, civil bureaucracy, military

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bureaucracy and industrialists and businessmen. The difference in ratio of representation of various social groups in the Cabinet resulted in introduction of different policies in all three phases. It was only during General Yahya's era that only military oriented kitchen Cabinet was decision-making authority which failed badly to solve the issues. Otherwise, full Cabinet was performing its due role during rest of the eras. The appointment criterion in different periods followed diverse patterns. The appointment criteria during the first phase included qualifications, party affiliations, representations to different regions and sometimes personal contacts of the Governor General and Prime Minister. However, Ayub Khan's appointment criteria included experience in the relative field, loyalty to the President, equal representation to East and West Pakistan etc. Some politicians were also included after introduction of the 1962 Constitution. Most of the administrative affairs in Yahya Khan's era were run by the military personnel, so he did not take keen interest in the business of his civilian Cabinet. During the third phase, Z.A. Bhutto's appointment criteria included personal connections, political acumen, support to the ideology of PPP and representation to all the provinces. The general perception that landlords were mostly inducted to the federal Cabinet in Pakistan and the other two groups were civil and military bureaucracies has been negated in this study on the basis of socio-economic analysis of almost all the Ministers. The most important contribution of this study is to bring to light the fact that professionals remained in majority in all Cabinets except the last Cabinet of the period under study (1974-1977). However, the influential ministers mostly belonged to the groups of civil and military bureaucracies.

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