

## ISKANDER MIRZA: A PROFILE

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### Abstract

*This study aims to descriptively analyze the profile of Iskander Mirza in the light of available information to give a clear picture about the subject matter at hand. Iskander Mirza was a West Bengali politician with rich experience in bureaucracy in British India and witnessed the partition. He was the person who lent support to the cause of the Muslim League and won the confidence of a cantankerous leader like Mr Jinnah in united India. With the passage of time and changing environment, he became a political elite and a power monger. He played havoc with democracy in Pakistan by pulling the military in Politics in Pakistan, particularly General Ayub Khan, who banished democracy for long. The role of Mirza Iskander was simply that of a "lord creator" who played the round of 'find the stowaway' with the popular government of Pakistan in collusion with different lawmakers, which later on destroyed democratic culture in Pakistan perpetually and praetorian rule turned into fait accompli. Mirza detested politicians and democratic governments in Pakistan and instead, preferred military rule in synchronization with civil administration, as the panacea for all the maladies of Pakistan, in order to remain intact in politics and spare his position. Iskander was not only physically overthrown from Pakistan but was permanently banished from the psyches of Pakistanis, too. Despite the fact, Mirza was the guru of Pakistan's politics he grabbed no academic eye. On dismissal from Presidency Mirza fell from favours and was deported from Pakistan despicably and was not permitted internment. Iskander Mirza's life, accomplishments and political role necessitate academic analysis.*

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## **Key Words**

Pakistan, Iskander Mirza, President, Ayub Khan, Constitution, Martial Law, Politics, Army, Governor General. Ghulam Muhammad, Democracy

## **Introduction**

Iskander Mirza who was the first offspring of Sahibzada Sayyed Fateh Ali Mirza and Riffat Begum (the grandson of Nawab Mansur Ali Khan) was born in Murshidabad, Bengal on November 13, 1899 (as showed by certain history masters his date of birth is fourteenth December 1898). He dropped from a medieval group of Bengal and was the grand-child of the infamous Nawab of Bengal - Mir Jafar Ali Khan (famously known as Mir Jafar. Mirza grew up and taught in Bombay (presently Mumbai). He completed his initial education at the Elphinstone College, Bombay. He was sent to Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst in 1918 and turned into the principal Indian graduate of Sandhurst. He got commission in the British Army as a second lieutenant in 1920, on 30 December 1921, he was advanced as a full lieutenant. He served in the Second Battalion "Cameronianians" and battled in "Khoedad Khel Operation", (1921) and in Waziristan War (1924). Mirza left the British Army and joined the Indian political help of India in 1926. His first task was that of Assistant Magistrate/Revenue gatherer of Aligarh and his subsequent arrangement was that of Assistant Commissioner Abbottabad (1926-1928), Bannu (1928-1930), Nowshera (1930-1933) and as aide Commissioner, he was last selected as AC Tank (D. I. Khan) in 1933. He remained the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara, Mardan and Peshawar from 1933-1945. He stayed political Agent of Orissa State. Mirza was designated as Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Defense of the Government of India in 1946. His Indian Army's vocation was fleeting and he left Army to join Indian Political Service in August 1926. He was first posting was as an Assistant Judge/Collector at Aligarh and his ensuing posting was the Assistant Commissioner of Hazara in NWFP (presently Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Mirza got a handle on the most noteworthy echelons in the civil administration from Assistant Magistrate to the primary President of Pakistan (1956-1958) (Mirza, 2002). Mirza had got the consideration and trust of Jinnah

before partition, when Jinnah desired his services for the All Indian Muslim League. After partition, he was appointed as the first Defence Secretary of the Government of Pakistan by Liaqat Ali Khan, for his rich experience in the administration of British India.(Mirza,2002).

Iskandar married Riffat Begum – a Bengali lady on 24th November 1922 and was blessed with six children. In his second marriage, Mirza wedded a blue-blooded lady- Naheed Amirteymour - the daughter of Iranian government official Amirtemour Kalali in 1954. (Mirza, 2002).

### **Career in Pakistan**

Iskander Mirza was selected as the principal Secretary of Defense in 1947. As Defense Secretary, he directed the military arrangement and system in the main Kashmir war with India in 1947, just as controlling the fruitless secessionist upsurge in Balochistan began by Khan of Kalat in 1948 (Hasnat, 2011). As the new Defense Secretary, he was responsible for sending Pakistani tribesmen and military units concealed as tribesmen, to attack Kashmir in September 1947. He thus was given as a Colonel-Commandant of the Military-Police, and Director Kashmir and Afghan Affairs while filling in as Defense Secretary in the Liaqat government (Salīm, 1997). Thus, he was named as a privileged Major General of the Pakistan Military, in 1950 (Salīm, 1997). He was in like manner made accountable for the MP (Military-Police). His responsibility as Defense Secretary furthermore watched the course of action of Military-Police in Eastern wing of Pakistan in light of the Bangla Language Movement. During the movement, a period of certain restrictions by the government officials, the military police of Bengal were busy in re-establishing its control in the Western Wing of the country and thus wanted to re-maintained the state`s writ in the region. On the other hand, the officials of the government in 1954 introduced a report regarding the system they wanted, to Major General Mirza (Rahman, 2010).

### **As member of the “Cabinet of Talents” and Governor of East Bengal, 1954-1955**

Iskander Mirza was included in the ten-member cabinet popularly called the “Cabinet of Talents” as interior minister on October 24, 1954, of Muhammad Ali Bogra, comprising of Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, Ghyasuddin Pathan, Dr A.M Malik, M. Aspahani, Ghulam Ali Talpur, General Ayub Khan, Dr Khan Sahib, Sardar Amir Zaman Khan and Murtaza Raza Chaudhry. This ministry was called the “Cabinet of Talents' ' by the then Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra, as according to him all members of this cabinet were highly qualified. (Noman, 2009).

Following the dismissal of the government of United Front and imposition of Governor-General Rule in the province, Iskandar Mirza was chosen as the governor of East Bengal on May 30th, 1954, Mirza took stern action to restore the law and order situation, just after he was appointed Governor. In the wake of showing up at the Shah Jalal aerodrome at Dhaka, Mirza distinctly pronounced in the Bengali language that he would not stop for one moment to exert power to re-establish harmony in the region, and explicitly undermined the authority of Maulana Bhashani. Sikandar Within one month 1051 persons including 33 parliamentarians and two university professors were arrested. Sheikh Mujeeb-Ur-Rehman and Yousaf Ali Choudhury were also arrested in the first week (Ahmed, 2004). He proscribed public meetings, processions, clamped strict press censorship and threatened recalcitrant politicians like Maulana Bahashani of shooting. Mirza restricted the activities of the Communist Party of Bengal. He was successful enough in restoring peace in the province through welcoming gestures such as adorning and opening the Governor House for visitors. The Governor paid surprise visits to the hospital, educational institutions and government offices. He left no stone unturned in providing relief to the flood affectees in August 1954 (Mirza, 2002).

Mirza's unlawful exercises had planted an enduring seed of contempt for the Pakistani government in the hearts of East-Pakistanis even though Mirza himself was a Bengali, by ethnicity. Those keen on

history are very much aware that the seeds of disdain in the territory of Bengal were planted during the 1950 Governor's Rule (Lentz, 2014). Amidst open criticism, Mirza left Governorship in June 1955 and was supplanted by Khwaja Mohammad Shahab-Ud-Din. It was on 24 October of 1954 when he was assigned the post of Interior Minister in the Muhammad Ali Bogra's administration (Kapur, 2006). Mirza's close political contacts with the US foundations during these days attracted the attention and support of Sir Malik Ghulam Muhammad. Mirza remained on the post of Interior Minister till August 7, 1955(Noman, 2009).

### **As the Minister of Interior / Frontier Regions and the Governor-General of Pakistan**

Mirza was appointed Federal Minister for Interior and Frontier-Regions. On August 5, 1955, Ghulam Muhammad took leave of office due to sickness and Mirza substituted him as acting Governor-General. The prolonged leave of Malik Ghulam and his treatment outside the country in the United Kingdom provided a space for Mirza in the political sphere of the country, Mirza sacked Malik Ghulam and took over as the fourth Governor-General of Pakistan on October 6, 1955. He constrained Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra to leave. Mirza designated Bogra as Pakistan's new ambassador to the US. Accepting a fundamental job in expelling Governor-General Sir Malik Ghulam Muhammad, Mirza was picked as the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Pakistan on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1956, when Pakistan's first constitution was implemented (Roraback, 2004). Mirza welcomed Choudhury Muhammad Ali, a former Finance Minister of the country on 12 August 1955 to accept the responsibility as Prime Minister (Mahmud, 1994).

He formed the Republican Party on September 12, 1956 and turned into its Vice-President, which was in direct conflict with Muslim League. To put the Republican Party into a weak position, the leadership of Muslim League actively and effectively started a campaign against the rejection of the Prime Minister Muhammad Ali on September 12, 1956. These unanticipated developments compelled Iskander Mirza to invite Awami League for the reshaping of legislature in the Center which named Hussain Suhrawardi as the new Premier,

who made a joint government with the Republican Party (Ali, 2003). Mirza and Suhrawardy developed differences on running the state affairs. This contention harmed the solidarity of the nation. Suhrawardi thought that it was hard to administer effectively as a result of the issue of One Unit, improving the monetary circumstance of Pakistan, and President Mirza's predictable un-established mediation in government. Suhrawardy wanted to refer to national legislature for vote of confidence but Mirza declined his demand and subsequently, Suhrawardy tendered resignation on October 17, 1957. Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar continued as the new premier but resigned in a period of two months (Hiro, 2015).

### **As the President**

The turning point in Mirza's political career started when he abrogated the 1956 Constitution and imposed first martial law in the country without any impunity by bulldozing public opinion. Soon after the appointment of the lawmaking body in 1954, the Muslim League and Awami League were in a continuous struggle to create an environment of power-sharing among them against the Republican Party of Mirza and the two parties got successful to a greater extent in future. By 1958, Khan Qayyum Khan and Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar had successfully re-sorted out the Muslim League that was sabotaging the re-arrangement and the political guaranteeing for Mirza in his second term of the Presidency. Seeing these new developments, President Iskandar Mirza proclaimed emergency by repudiating the writ of the Constitution and dissolving the national and provincial legislatures on the 7 October 1958. Mirza sued the overthrow was to the greatest advantage of Pakistan. He took into confidence the diplomats of the United States and the British High Commissioner that, the new government will be more pro-Western than the past ones. (Jalal, 2014).

The national radio on October 8, 1958, confirmed that Mirza is going to give another constitution to the country. As he accepted a vote based system was unsuited to the genius of a common Pakistani "with its 15% education rate". After abandoning, Mirza brought the country into certainty, saying that:

"Three weeks earlier, I (Iskandar Mirza) constrained military law in Pakistan and appointed General Ayub Khan as Supreme Commander of the [Armed Forces] and as Chief Martial Law Administrator...By the Grace of ALLAH Almighty ... This measure which I had embraced considering a real worry for our cherished country has been invited by all... I have given a valiant effort to oversee in the problematic endeavour of catching further weakening and bringing request out of turmoil... In our undertakings to build up an effective structure for the future organization of this country"... Pakistan Zindabad, Pakistan Zindabad! (Hassan, 2000).

Iskander Mirza scrapped the first constitution of Pakistan although it was so tailored that the President could exercise unbridled powers, but Mirza remained dissatisfied with his powers under the constitution. The absolute constitutional powers conferred on the President, corrupted him absolutely. So many scholars have criticized such an overwhelming powers of the President, who was supposed to be only a figure head in parliamentary form of government.

Ayub Khan-the close friend of Mirza was also not happy with his vicious role by prompting military officers against Ayub. Ayub in his book "Friends Not Masters" has criticized and warned Mirza not to play political tricks (Khan, 1967). According to Dr Fakhrul Islam, under the Constitution of 1956, the President of Pakistan enjoyed remarkable executive, legislative and judicial powers. The most significant executive power was the nomination of a Prime Minister on his preference. Although, in a parliamentary form of democracy the head of the state was only a figurative head (Islam, 2018). Mirza's main motivation behind the abrogation of the constitution is still

disputed but experts believed, it meant to introduce a Presidential form of government in Pakistan. Bakhtiar observed that according to the Constitution of 1956 the President could dissolve the National Assembly and could sack the government on his own choice. It was almost autocratic powers conferred upon the President which had converted the Parliamentary system in Presidential form of government (Bakhtiar, 2015) Zafar Abbas-The editor of Dawn tweeted, Iskander Mirza had been a gentleman ruler, had he not abrogated the constitution of 1956 and the imposition of martial law, with Ayub Khan as CMLA was a cardinal mistake which paved the way for constant military interventions in Pakistan (Abbas, 2019).

### **Friendship with Ayub Khan**

Mirza Iskandar and Ayub Khan enjoyed friendly relations because of mutual safeties. They had accommodated each other as Mirza helped Ayub in his appointment as the Commander- in-Chief of Pakistan while Ayub supported him in becoming the Governor General of Pakistan. They took decisions with mutual consultation as both had common interests like cultivating friendly relations with the US and the West, joining the defense treaties pushed by the United States. Both of them were jointly responsible for wrecking the political system in Pakistan by making palace intrigues and playing politicians against one another for their gains. The threat of military takeovers to civil leadership to agree on One Unit Scheme (1955) was a glaring example of their highhandedness and political maneuverings. Mirza and Ayub both interfered in political affairs of the state, were great champions of ‘controlled democracy’ and limited provincial autonomy. However, when they realized that despite all the pressure the politicians were not ready to comply with their aspiration, they decided to explore other options. In March 1957, East Pakistan Assembly demanded autonomy for the provinces. This was followed by the West Pakistan Assembly’s demand for the dissolution of One Unit. In a nation-wide address, Mirza declared that parliamentary form of democracy was not suitable for Pakistan and proposed a modified form of American system. His friend Dr. Khan Sahib went a step further by suggesting the formation of a ‘Revolutionary Council’ with unlimited powers to manage the crisis in the country (Rizvi, 2000).

The well designed Martial Law of Mirza has changed the structure and nature of political culture in Pakistan. Even though Mirza and Ayub both , were looking for a change, the two leaders had entirely diverse opinion in running the State under the new condition, (Mahmud, 2003).Mirza in this regard did not adopt any new but alternative policy to run the state affairs rather he was in favor of running the state affairs according to his whims. General Ayub Khan went to an understanding that the certifiable political-power rested with the assistance from the army, and in seven days of approving the military law, President Mirza comprehended the touchy position he got himself into. In a meeting with Dawn, President Mirza mourned his decision saying: "I didn't plan to do it" while offering affirmations that the military law would be for the briefest conceivable length (Kabita, 2011).

The civil- military relations kept on being a principal factor between Mirza and General Ayub Khan (Aqil Shah, 2014). President Mirza's new political game of designating a new administration, consisting of bureaucrats and technocrats, reinforced with the power of the CMLA General Ayub Khan also miserably failed , as CMLA- Ayub Khan himself did not approve of those actions. Ayub Khan-CMLA also complained about Mirza's undue interference in administration. (Hiro, 2015). The newly established administration could not satisfy the influential CMLA and thus military units were dispatched to enter the President House on the midnight of 26 October 1958. . Fed up with the political maneuvering of Mirza he was forced to quit (Dawn, 2018). Mirza was arrested and flown to London. The people responsible for the downfall of Mirza were the four Generals of Pak Army and Air Force respectively, the Asghar Khan, Azam Khan, Admiral A. R. Khan and Wajid Khan (Rizvi, 2000).

### **Mirza and Democracy in Pakistan**

At an individual level, Mirza was an exhaustive, mild-mannered man of his word, yet what history would recollect him for was the grievous point of reference he set by annulling the constitution, forcing military law and making armed force, Ayub Khan the incomparable authority of the military and Chief Martial Law

Administrator. Majority of the historians of Pakistan agree to the fact that Iskander Mirza played a perfidious role by manipulating politics to his ends. Iskander Mirza's disdain for democratic governments can be gauged from the fact that he dismissed four ministries in quick sequence, in just four years. Iskander Mirza was the person who destroyed democracy in Pakistan. Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmad has also pointed out towards Mirza's avaricious nature, according to him when Pakistan's first constitution was presented to Iskander Mirza for signature he refused to sign, only on the condition, he was declared head of the state. The political leaders conformed to his ambition. The coup d'état occurred on October 7, 1958 and after a lapse of twenty days Ayub exiled Mirza (News X, Sep 17, 2019).

According to Dawn, Mirza was a thoroughgoing, soft spoken gentleman but his unconstitutional behavior will always be remembered in the history of Pakistan. The precedent set by him still casts evil shades on the political culture of Pakistan, even today. These ministries included those of Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar and Malik Feroz Khan Noon. Mirza in collaboration with General Ayub Khan proclaimed first martial law in Pakistan On Oct 24, 1958.

Mirza always showed his disregard for politics and politicians and tried to justify his flimsy argument that based on 15 per cent literacy rate in Pakistan which was appallingly low, democracy was not suited to the genius of Pakistanis. Although he knew that India was also facing the problem of low literacy had opted for Westminster type of democracy based on this assertion he promised a new constitution "more suited to the intellect of Pakistani people" in November, 1958 (Mehmud, 1994).

When the first Constitution was presented to Mirza for signature he refused but only on the condition, he was given the slot of the President. The political circles complied with his undue wish and he became President on 23 March 1956 and stayed there till 24 October 1958. The common ground amongst the Republic Party, the Awami League and Muslim League in many spheres bolstered Mirza's

administration. The Constitution stepped towards parliamentarianism where the President was just a nominal head of the state and all the legislative authority was vested in the selected Prime Minister (Salim, 1999). Iskandar Mirza has been reprimanded for his job as the architect of the first military rule in Pakistan. Being Head of the State he jabbed his nose now and again in the legislative issues to earn support for himself and his assistant's de-camps. He was censured for helping the first Martial Law throughout the history of Pakistan. Iskandar Mirza was viewed as a power hungry individual like Ghulam Muhammad. He likewise needed to control the political scene of the nation using all means conceivable. Being the Head of State, he generally stayed dynamic in power governmental issues and assumed the job of a kingmaker (Mehmud, 1994).

Historians of Pakistan have noted Mirza's views that Pakistanis lacked the spirit and the requisite qualifications of parliamentary democracy and due to this flaw democratic institutions could not flourish. By such kind of baseless allegations Mirza justified martial law and the derailment of democracy. According to historians, Iskandar Mirza being head of the state kept on active part in power politics, always fished in troubled waters by playing the politicians against one another for his benefits and those of his aides-de-camps. He played an active role in equalizing the influence of Muslim League by crafting the Republican Party (1955), as a counterbalance to Muslim League (HistoryPak.com. June 12, 2020). This perverse tradition was to haunt Pakistan for decades; even today, it casts its evil shadows on its political structure. The anti- democratic behavior of Mirza spoiled Pakistani democratic institutions, irreparably. Jafar Ahmad stated:

“Direct military rule, or its unseen but permeating presence, has done immense loss to the country, failed to strengthen state institutions, led to the rise of fissiparous tendencies and weakened Pakistan's roots”. (Ahmad, Dawn, November 15th, 2019).

Justice Muhammad Munir while exonerating Iskander Mirza of the charges stressed that keeping in view the prevailing political squabbling democracy can be hardly blamed in Pakistan as it has not

received a fair trial. (Munir, 1979). As criticized by Hamza Alvi, Ghulam Muhammad and Iskander Mirza both, derived their powers from civil and military bureaucracies. Iskander Mirza was a specialist in political tricks (Alvi, 2012).

When Mirza became the President of Pakistan it gave the idea that civil and military bureaucracies were adept to demonstrate that the Constitution of 1956 was not practicable, the lawmakers and ideological groups, clumsy to run the nation. Iskander Mirza and his supporters patronized the administrators to disrespect lawmakers as wasteful, degenerate and hostile to the state and political parties' through-composed malevolent battles. Mirza cobbled the Republican Party out of the residuals of other political parties which he named 'wasteful'. It is additionally asserted that Mirza bribed a few politicians to join the Republican Party. Mirza had a political system of non-democratic rule nature which worked through a gathering of civil and military bureaucrats. Thus became the spokesman of the “power monger gang” in Pakistan (Beg, 2009).

Naazir Mehmud in his article published in daily ,The News, has remarked about the political highhandedness of Iskander Mirza and his colleagues who dismissed or forced to resign 22 provincial ministries from 1947 to 1955, including five in Bengal, four in Punjab, four in NWFP(now KP) and eight in Sindh. All these governments commanded support of the majority but were removed unconstitutionally at the behest of central powers (The News, 26 July 2015).Omar Noman has condemned Iskandar Mirza for fulfilling his political designs and making the political system a failure. The appointing of Dr Khan sahib as the first Chief Minister of West Pakistan under One Unit scheme annoyed many politicians. Iskander Mirza in reaction to those politicians encouraged Dr Khan Sahib to form the Republican Party. The Republican Party with the blessings of bureaucracy became so popular that it uprooted Muslim League from the Centre. During these initial years of Pakistan, governments were short- lived, political parties became in- effective and Parliament just a rubber stamp (Noman, 2009).

Craig Baxter noted that President Iskander Mirza had broadly come up short on the parliamentary spirit, doubting the civilian leadership to guarantee the honor and autonomy of the nation. His unlawful impedance in the civil administration rendered the chosen Premiers a failure to successfully run their governments, as he had terminated four chosen PMs in just two years. During these conflicting situations Feroz Khan was named as the 7<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister of the country by Iskander Mirza with the support of Muslim League and Awami League (Baxter, 1997). According to K.B.Saeed , Mirza and Ayub were the two prominent leaders of the civil-military oligarchy that had decided that Pakistan should be governed best by tightening the grip of these two institutions on its governments and people (Saeed, 2010, p-45). The seasoned bureaucrat Roedad Khan -who stepped into the shoes of Iskander Mirza as Assistant Commissioner Tank (D.I Khan), an acquaintance of Mirza has slated him for his tricky role, by commenting that Iskander always enjoyed getting the better of others by cunning strategies (Khan, 1998).

### **Bhutto's Tributes to Mirza**

Against all hard-core critics , the Ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto while praising Mirza called him “greater than” the Father of the Nation- Quaid -e - Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in his secret letter transcribed in April, 1958. To quote Dawn:

“When the history of our country is written by objective historians, your name will be placed even before that of Mr. Jinnah.”

In that very confidential letter Bhutto guaranteed Mirza - the then President of Pakistan of an enduring loyalty because Bhutto's father had instructed Bhutto to remain loyal to Iskander Mirza. Bhutto declared that it was not only he (Bhutto), but also Jinnah who declared Iskander Mirza's services “indispensable for Pakistan” (Indian Press News, 2020).

## **Mirza's Death**

In London, Iskandar Mirza made a penurious life by running a Pakistan restaurant for some time. He was entitled to an annual pension of 3000 pounds, as a previous military officer and the President and this was his sole fixed income. Some foreign persons like Ardesher Zahidi, Lord A.O. Hume, Shah of Iran-Raza Shah Pahlavi, Lord Inchcape and some wealthy Pakistanis lent financial support to Mirza. He asked for permission to return to Pakistan but his application was declined. When he was admitted to a hospital in London, he told his wife Naheed Mirza in total bewilderment that he could not afford medical treatment and should die. As a deportee, he died in poverty in London in November 1969, due to cardiac arrest. Iskander Mirza was survived by his spouse, Naheed Mirza and three sons; Anwar Mirza, Humayun Mirza and Shah Taj Imam Mirza (Mirza, 2002).

The then ruler of Pakistan- General Muhammad Yahya Khan refused him a burial in Pakistan, but his cordial relationship with the Shah of Iran led Shah to send his plane to bring his dead body to Tehran, Iran, where he was conferred upon, and a state funeral. None of his Pakistani relatives was allowed to attend his funeral and his remains are buried in Imamzadeh Abdullah, the Southern suburbs of Tehran. (Mirza.2002).

## **Conclusion**

It is concluded that there is no denying the fact that Iskander Mirza played a wicked role in the politics of Pakistan but holding him solely accountable for the whole political miss while absolving his other coconspirators will be biased and unjustifiable. Mirza was indeed the main culprit but not the only culprit, he found multiple turncoats assisting him in the fulfilment of his evil designs, who cannot be pardoned for these charges. We cannot overlook Mirza's constructive role in the resolution of several crises like the East Bengal, Baluchistan and the Kashmir War of 1947. We should keep it in mind that, alongside these anti-democratic forces at work, there were other constitutional inhibitions which impeded the smooth voyage of democracy in Pakistan; such as determining the role of Islam in the constitution, provincial autonomy, language/ethnic issues and the

formula for the distribution of powers between the East and West Pakistan, shortage of wheat etc. due to which democracy could not deepen its roots in the country. In the opinion of the researcher, Mirza for being an ethnic Bengali was made “the scapegoat” of Pakistani politics otherwise, the role of Ghulam Muhammad- an ethnic Punjabi is more condemnable than Mirza.

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