

CAUSES OF THE DOWN FALL OF MUSLIM LEAGUE IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF PAKISTAN'S POLITICS

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Abstract:

This Article Have A Brief History of the Muslim League and its Different phases before the creation of Pakistan, in which Muslim League presented itself as a sole representative of the Muslims of India. After the creation of Pakistan. In 1948(26February)jinnah become the first governor general of Pakistan, and he resigned from the league presidentship because in the parliamentary system it is legally wrong to hold two positions at once .Chaudhry Khaliq- uz-Zaman became the president of Muslim League after jinnah .He could not prove himself fit for the post, he also failed to unite the various group leaders and ultimately he resigned. After the constitutional amendments Liaquat Ali Khan became its president, soon Muslim League divided into two groups in the center. Liaquat Ali Khan and Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman could not trust each other the facts shows that the Muslim League parliamentary leaders were not capable and very weak to implement their policies. Basically the leaders of the party were afraid and not sincere with their party, it was proved of weak leadership. The main cause of the decline of League to delay of making a constitution for the nation .

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Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Indians began to come together in new forms of associations. First they came together in associations within the different provinces of British India latter they came together in association which spanned these provinces. Their aim was to protect their interest (such as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's effort to protect Urdu, political changes, separation of Bengal, changes or amendments in laws of elections and reservation in governmental jobs etc.) from the impact of government policies and to promote their interest as far as possible. These associations were the precursors of the great all India political organizations which were to play such a considerable role in the twentieth (20th) century. They led the foundation of the Indian National congress in 1885. They also led to the establishment of the All India Muslim League in 1906. Muslim politition wanted separate electorate for the benefit of Muslims,for that reason they met with the viceroy Lord Minto, this delegation is called Simla deputation... (1)

After the Simla deputation which was regarded as the “command performance” (Best performance), it was felt that for safe guarding the Muslim interest, e.g. the preservation of eastern Bengal. The Muslims must organize themselves into a political party. The annual session of the Muhammeden educational conference at Dacca in December 1906 provided the best opportunity for such purpose.

After its session was over a political meeting was held on 30th December, it decided to organize a political party called the All India Muslim League, Moulona Muhammad Ali Jouhar wrote its proceedings and objectives which is now called Green book No. 1.(2)

It also formed a committee to prepare a constitution. After that a formal election were held in 1908. Syed Hasan Bilgrami was elected secretary and Sir Aga Khan the III, as president for a term of three years. The head office was at Aligarh.

The period of 1906-1913 may be called the first phase of the Muslim League. During this period many branches of Muslim League were established in the country but its membership was mostly based on higher gentry and the elites as look like other parties at that time,(3)

On 22nd of March 1913 a Muslims League general meeting was held in Lucknow and its aims were amended to include demand for dominion status. Jinnah in 1913 also formally joined the League and a period of Hindu Muslim co-operation was started and culminated with the famous Lucknow pact (1916).(4)

The second phase started from 1913 to 1924. In this period Hindu-Muslim relations were at peak and efforts for independence were initiated. However there were leaders like Jinnah and Iqbal who opposed such mass movements. Muslim League in this turbulent period followed a policy of masterly on activity.

For a short period the command of Muslim League came into the hands of Khilafat movement, and the political process were slightly stopped, Jinnah and other prominent leaders were so fad up with this situation.

After the weakness of Khilafat movement, it was requested to the Quaid-e-Azam to call the Muslim League general meeting on 24th of may 1924, In which once again try to unite the members of Muslim League.

From 1924 the 3rd phase of Muslim League started and the Muslim League started its function in the political field even then it was not in a position to become the sole representative party of Muslims as it became finally. It was also not decided by the Muslim League either to reject or accept the Simon commission. Infact the muslim league divided into two groups on the simon commision, one group was controlled by Sir Mohammad Shafi, was ready to co-operate with the commission and other group controlled by Mr. Jinnah was against it.(5)

After the publication of Nehru report (1928) these groups come closer. After this report Jinnah was presented his famous 14 points which framed the best pathway to the Muslims In future.

Between the year 1930 to 1937 Muslim League grown up slowly and gradually and in 1940 Pakistan resolution was passed. From 1940 to 1947 we can say that this period was a

revolutionary period due to the fast political face. Muslim League postponed its annual election; this later became a weakening factor after the creation of Pakistan.

The demand of separate homeland played a vital role as it became a purely national movement at that time when the Muslim League came into being the only thing which was in the mind of the Leaguers that membership was to be continued and meeting should be held regularly. The Muslim League was in contact directly with the masses and the roots of the Muslim League had become stronger but a decline of League set in after the creation of Pakistan. (6)

The Charismatic personality of the Quaid-e-Azam also provided support. He had succeeded in keeping the internal conflict under control. Those who opposed him and the parts were removed from the party and this political future became doomed.(7)

The new constitution of the party adopted in 1937 had made it a popular party (2 Anna per year membership) based on grass roots organization of primary Leaguers district and town Leaguers who elected provincial leaders and they sent delegates for the central organization.

After the creation of Pakistan no change in the aim and objectives occurred. In the absence of aims no party can survive. For example Indian National congress had changed its objectives led by Nehru and began to work accordingly. But Muslim League did not start its work according to the needs of the time.

It is also said that the leaders of the Muslim League who were in power in various provinces had no parliamentary experience and majority of them were in experienced before independence and the control of the Muslim League was in the hands of youngsters they had no political training. After Gandhi, Nehru and Patel consolidated the congress leadership, but in the Muslim League many landlords joined the party and later on they started working for these own interest, and it was not in the mind of old Leaguers that such type of persons could not take the responsibilities of the Muslim League, country and due to the lack of parliamentary experience they were unable to control the situation. A part from this, the party was not reorganized and party elections also

could not be held neither the general election of the country could be held due to which party ceased to grow and develop. (8)

Moreover the Muslim League was full of internal conflicts such as distribution of party tickets and to control the political rivals in the League, and it is due to these conflicts that the party could not fulfill its objectives and sustain its own internal structure. Muslim League also failed to maintain the sincerity and the workers were unable to contact the people and strengthen the country and the Government. (9)

In the year 1948 (26th Feb) the Quaid asked the party to organize itself as the Pakistan Muslim League and elect a new President because after becoming Governor General he gave up the post of party president, because in the parliamentary system of keeping party leader separate from the government officials. There were a lengthy discussion in the meeting which was chaired by the Quaid-e-Azam. He was sick and weak and the delaying tactics become annoyed and went away by saying that you should agree with in two minutes otherwise, I will leave the house and he did so. Mr. Abu Saeed Anwar has suggested that Sardar Ab. Rub Nishtar should preside over the meeting and his suggestion was accepted and the meeting was once again started. in this meeting Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman was elected for the post of Chief organizer in spite of the facts that Quaid-e-Azam did not like him for that post of Chief Organizer but he accepted the supreme verdict of the house and did not disagree with the decision. (10)

Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman could not prove himself fit for the post for which he was elected . He was neither fit for the leadership nor was popular in the public. (11)

Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman also failed to unite the various group leaders and ultimately he resigned on 18th Oct. 1950. A Muslim League council meeting was held in which Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman's resignation was accepted. After constitutional amendments were sought and Liaquat Ali Khan who was also the Prime minister became the President of Pakistan Muslim league ,on the support of Mr. Ayub Khuroo from Sindh, Daultana from Punjab, Ab. Qayyum Khan from N.W.F.P, Noor-ul-Amin from East Pakistan, only one person from Punjab Muslim League who was also the president of said province Mean Ab. Bari opposed this change, but his suggestion was turned

down the Muslim League came under the shadow of Prime minister and administratively it became farther weaker. After becoming the president of the Muslim League, Liaquat Ali Khan also could not bring the Muslim League on the right track, being the executive head of the country neither he had enough time to deal with the party matters, nor Govt. functions. He tried his level best to pay full attention to the Government affairs, but other problems like party organization remain untouched. (12)

In this way prime ministership of the country and the presidentship of Muslim League get to gather into one person and due to this tendency nothing was achieved, but a pattern was set for the future as well because of this fact both the above mentioned positions were already in the hands of Prime minister, no body could criticize him, he could not be guided by healthy criticism and guidance from the party. It is said that there were some political problems / dangers to his position from the provincial groups and to save his position. He acquired the presidentship of the Muslim League. (13) Being the Prime minister he would have to face the criticism on his Government policies but then as the president of the Muslim League he had to adopt his own policies. If any body wanted to criticize the Government policies his criticism was deemed to be the criticism of Muslim League. (14) Due to this attitude it was stated that Muslim League became a part of the Government. (15) During the period of Muslim League under Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman had become the Sourceful and powerful personality but when Liaquat Ali Khan became the president of Muslim League and it became the Government party, its foremost duty was to defend the Government policies. (16)

Soon Muslim League became into two groups in the center, Liaquat Ali Khan and Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman could not accept each other. Beside this in the Punjab there was also a rift between Mamdot and Dawltana the same was the condition in N.W.F.P where Khan Ab. Qayyum Khan and Pir of Manki Sharif could not accept each other. In Sindh Ayub Khuroo and Pir Elahi Buksh were against each other, in East Pakistan the position also remained. The same because Noor-ul-Amin and Bashani were fully against each other and there were also a rift between these two personalities. (17)

During the time of Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman there were several complaints regarding the fictitious membership of Muslim League and due to the grouping in the Muslim League, party suffered irreparable damage. Due to its will and hijacking of the Muslim League caused decline of its goal and many devoted old Muslim Leaguers left the party (Muslim League), including a member of leading person. (18) For example Nawab Mamdot, Nawab of Kalabagh, Colonel Abid Hussain, Qazi Fazalullah, PirZada Abdul Sattar in Sindh, Sardar Abdul Rasheed, Abrar Noor Mohammad from N.W.F.P, had left the Muslim League and they have formed a new party (named Republican) and the most of the members of Republican party were old Muslim Leaguers. (19) The political anarchy was in full swing in the country and many Muslim Leaguers joined the new party obviously the grouping was started from 1948 and Awami League was also the result of this grouping, though it came into existence later on, this newly established party got popularity in East Pakistan by a well known Muslim Leaguer named H.S. Suhrawardy and in the Punjab Main Mamdot, in N.W.F.P. Pir of Manki Sharif, Pir Ilahi Buksh in Sindh, were the most important or illustrious figures of Awami League and they have played their role accordingly. After that MIA Mamdot had left the party (Awami League) because, H.S. Suhrawardy was the creature of the new established party so, Mawlana Abdul Hamid Bhashani also left the party (and after the death of Suhrawardy, Shiekh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman took over the charge of the Awami League and because of this party later played a very important role in the country. (20)

In N.W.F.P, an administrative committee was established in 1948 and it began to start, its work under the control and direction of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan the then chief minister, they had distributed their membership forms to his followers and well wishers so that Muslim League should come directly under his control and no membership forms were given to the followers and well wishers of Pir of Manki Sharif. In East Pakistan, Mawlana Mohammad Akram had not distributed the membership forms to other political rival groups and that's why Mawlana Abdul Hameed Bhashani and other Muslim Leaguer left the party. The same conditions occurred in the Punjab and Sindh. Feeling aggrieved and dissatisfied with the conduct of the members of the Muslim League, they left the party for good, slowly and gradually, the image of the Muslim League became damaged. (21) The matter pertaining to Muslim League was not going in proper way, that the high command of Muslim League and working committee were in the few hands and there was no proper structure of the party which could control the administration. Secondly there were

also rifts in some provinces and the demands of East Pakistan were becoming stronger, and the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan could not solve the situation and the other persons who were with him were also weak and could not take the strong decisions on any matter. They were also not taking any interest in Government affairs and many constitutional problems were yet to be decided due to which party image was becoming weak because the Government were in the hands of Muslim League. (22)

Two elections were to be scheduled in Pakistan Muslim League and it was a precedent condition that the one meeting will be held in East Pakistan and one will be in West Pakistan, but this was not done in consequences of that issue, after 1947 only seven meetings of council were held in which only one meeting was held in Dacca and rest of six meetings were held in West Pakistan due to which Muslim League command was subjected to strange criticism and the position of the Muslim League was also weakened and integration was damaged. (23)

In January 1953 municipal elections were held (it was a test for the Muslim League) and the results were strange, because Muslim League could not get majority of votes and candidates of Alliance parties and independent candidates got successful. (24)

In 1954 elections were held in East Pakistan for provincial assemblies. By then it was clear that the Muslim League was no more a National party and its position on provincial level became very weak. The vacuum in power created by the weakness of the Muslim League was fulfilled by a combination of different groups, Jugto Front which came to be considered as a national party. In West Pakistan the position in provinces was also not good. For the same reasons many parties came into existence. Most of whom were led by the feudals, now bureaucracy had also started indulging in politics. (25)

After the fall of Nazimuddin's Government, Muslim League had lost its importance, practically country politics was in the hand of inexperienced persons among them Ghulam Mohammad, a former bureaucrat was the important figure and his role was not according to the mark and he was not a political figure, his conduct was also damaging for the politics as well as for Pakistan. (26)

This facts show that Muslim League parliamentary leaders were not capable and also were very weak among the masses. The Governor General nominated the Prime Minister than by the elected representative, without any protest, Muslim League parliamentary party accepted that very leader as Prime Minister which showed the fraudulent mind of the Governor General (Ghulam Mohammad) and their own weakness. (27)

Basically the leaders of the Muslim League were afraid and not sincere with their party and it was the proof of weak leadership neither it showed the self confidence. They did not like each other also. A part from this, they were not capable to make any formula or plan to control the state administration, because they were fully ignorant. The condition of the state not so good and in this critical state affairs there were shortage of sources due to which they could not control the pressure of the society. The first six month after the existence of Pakistan were fully based on the struggle of independence and emotions of the people, which showed the lack of ability on their own parts. (28)

In the combination of Government and state, Government could be run powerfully but political activities were sabotaged, it comes under the influence of Government slowly and gradually. (29)

Muslim League also failed to control the administrative faithfulness in its own party. It was due to the policies of the party leaders many old Leaguers were dejected and left the Muslim League. The personal rivalries of these leaders also affected the Muslim League. They wanted to get the high positions in the party as well as in the Government, but they totally failed to project the Muslim League in the masses. They could not create the brotherhood between the various provinces and during the period of 1947 to 1958, the political condition was not stable and ultimately Martial law was the fate of the country. As the representations Muslim League totally failed to establish the strong Government through out the country. In spite of this Muslim League got Pakistan after a hard struggle, but after the independence it was also failed to solve many important problems i.e. the problem of language and the image of Islam in Pakistan is also yet to be determined. (30) The failure of Muslim league was also the result of East Pakistan election. In

West Pakistan the leadership was the same which were rejected in 1954 election, because they themselves could not provide any solution to the problems of East Pakistan. (31)

The main cause of failure of Muslim League appears at the time where it failed to give a constitution to the Nation as it was in majority. Due to the delay in constitution making the political conditions were becoming from bad to worst and due to these facts the unity of the country was totally shaken. (32)

If the election could be held in time, the country then the Muslim League would have chalked out a programme and they have to prepare a constitution and also solve the people's problems. In the way the Muslim League would have remained powerful and strong. This also would have lessened the distance between the people. Thirdly the greedy and selfish leaders could be weeded out from the politics, again the young and devoted new leaders might have come forward to strengthen the Muslim League and its position and lack of leadership could not be felt. But the position was entirely changed and the Muslim League only remained confined to the old selfish leaders only. (33)

NOTES

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 - 3) M.A Quddus :----- Pakistan: A case study of plural society; Calcutta, India 1981. P.26.
 - 3) Professor Azizuddin: ----- Kia Hum Ikhatay a Saktay hain, (Urdu) Lahore 1988, P.18.
- Note: In 1904 a party under the name of Muslim League had already been established in the Punjab which was amalgamated in the All India Muslim League. See, Qadeer uddin Ahmed:- Pakistan Fact and fallacies Royal book co Karachi. 1979. P.29.
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- 18) Munir Ahmed----- Pakistan Ka Siasi uttar charoo (Urdu) ;An interview with Mr. Ab. Hamid Dasti P.179.
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- 31) M.A Quddus P.44.
- 32) Safdar Mahmood P.279.
- 33) Safdar Mahmood p. P.280/181