

Local Government in Pakistan Tool for Legitimacy: A Case Study of Gen. Ayub Khan's BD System

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Abstract

Pakistan inherited LG system from former British rulers. LG system before partition was designed to ensure masses role in the affairs of government and to involve them at local level. After the partition of United India the then government of Pakistan paid no attention to local bodies system. Pakistan has experimented three systems of local governments after partition. These were the Basic Democracies in 1959 and the Local Government System in 1979 and General Pervez Musharraf's Devolution of Powers Plan 2001. These three systems were designed in the tenures of military regimes. The main theme of this study to find why Military ruler Ayub Khan used Local Government System for the legitimacy of his dictatorship and assigned political role to a local government institution.

Keywords: *Local governments, Pakistan, Basic Democracy and Military regimes, Legitimacy*

1. History of Local Government In Pakistan

In the Indian subcontinent this system was prevailed centuries before the arrival of English East India Company (EIC) in the beginning of 17th Century in shape of Indian 'Panchayat' system or to some extent the 'Jirga System' of Pukhtoons. The EIC emerged as a territorial power after 1765 and almost a century before its emergence as political power, the EIC had introduced this system to look after civic affairs in its dominant Madras Presidency in 1687. This presidency became the forerunner of Local bodies Systems in the Indo-Pak subcontinent as it had the first Madras Municipal Corporation under ECI official control (Rizvi, 1976).

1.1 Period-I 1687-1881

The main events of This period were (i) Setting up a Municipal Corporation in Madras in 1687, (ii) Replacement of Madras Municipal corporation by Municipal court in 1726, (iii) Establishment of a Municipal administration into three presidency town of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay through a charter act in 1793(iv) Extension of Municipal

administration to district towns through Bangali Act in 1842. (v) The Bangali Act was extended to the whole country in 1850. Several local government developments took place during this period. First was the introduction of local government in urban and rural areas, because the British lived and worked in towns. Second ,local government institution were less democratic as majesty established nominated members instead of elected members .The local government during This period did not give sense of participatory democracy. Third the prime objective behind the system of local government was to lesser financial burden in British government and collect taxes. (Siddiqui, 1992)

1.2 Local Government During British Period (1858-1881)

In the beginning of 19th Century, most of the areas under EIC control in India had erected municipal structures for looking after daily social affairs of the cities (Rizvi, 1976). In 1857 the British Rule in the Indian-subcontinent faced a bloody revolt, which resulted into serious financial problems for the company one of the remedies considered to overcome the situation was financial decentralization, seeking to transfer responsibility for roads and public works to local bodies, viz the municipal institutions. There were encouraging results which led to the liberalization of attitude of the British Government as was reflected in various acts passed during this period. (Hasan, 1968) Bengali Municipal Act of 1864 was acted allowing every town of importance to become municipality elective bodies were not allowed in these bodies. *Chowkidari* Act (1870) in Bengal established union *panchayats* to collect tax to maintain *chawkidars* (village police). The framework of local Government was in existence both in village and in cities in 1881. The local government institutions were denominated by the nominated representative. The main aim of *Chawkidari* Act was to develop law and order conditions and also to maximize tax gathering from the country side of Bengal, the most important province in British India. The principle of local self-government was not put into practice. The control was firmly in the hands of the officials of the government. (Rizvi, 1976)

1.3 Local Government From 1882-1918

This was the time when local bodies system started to be treated as self-government. This period witnessed a number of attempts to reform the local government system in the subcontinent. The main events during this period were (i) In 1882 Lord Ripon (ii) Resolution on local self-government. Bombay Municipal Act was passed in 1883.(iii) Bengali local self-government Act was implemented in 1885. In 1909 Decentralization Commission presented its report on local self-government in India. The number of elected member increased in 1918 (Siddiqui, 1992)

1.4 Period of Reforms 1919-35

During this period, the local government was in control of the provinces. The key affair in this phase was the **Montage Chamsford reforms** or **Government act 1919**, the implementation of the Government of India Act 1935, which offered a huge quantity of reforms in the local bodies system. The local bodies system were one of the main hold of the British tenet in the subcontinent along with military and civil servants. British required support of the indigenous population through this institution by adjusting

according to their needs. (Mohammed 2004) This institution was founded to make sure the contribution of citizens who had been educated and guided by the British, to create link between the rulers and the ruled and the recruitment of resources for the local government at the local level. It was one of the important motives of the British to discourage local leadership from national level politics. However, this fact cannot be ignored that these institutions have played a key role for local progress, to provide municipal services and other everyday local activities (Muhammad & Kaleem, 2004).

1.5 Post Independence Era 1947-1958

In the post-independence era local government could not gain much attention. The subject of local government in Pakistan remained in a bad state. The problem of that time was the central government and if politicians a part from centre think about any government that was only at provincial level and local bodies remain neglected. This period was totally disappointed because the whole country confronted with political chaos and no progress was made at any level of government (Shahid, 1968). Following independence era much of the structure, which had developed under the British was retained and immediate attention could not be paid. As at the centre India Act of 1935 was adopted as interim constitution likewise local government system of the pre partition time was leave to work. Due to this no change had come to the system and no new experiment was made. After the partition the newly created state of Pakistan faced many political, social, administrative and financial problems due to which not only central and provincial governments had suffered but also local bodies had affected (Muhammad, 2004).

1.6 Military Intervene In Pakistan Politics

Pakistan military had their image among the best armies on the globe. Their courage and Professionalism was well-known at global level. But on the other hand, it was a fact that the armed forces wasted most of its time as a political actor and power broker in political operations of Pakistan.. This present military system was founded by the colonial regime. The military changed its role after the independence and created its superiority over the political process, which was marked in different forms. The military either actually held power or it was playing political role in alliance with political leaders. (Muhammad and Kaleem, 2012) The military obtained the first chance to run civilian government in 1953 after the incident of the anti *Ahmadi* unrest in Punjab. This brief time of military rule gave the armed forces the know-how of carrying out the duties of civil government. The political leaders were so busy with power politics that they did not establish their supremacy over the military; rather they looked towards the military for help. In the mid 50's the military had become an important actors in the decision making process of Pakistan (Hasan, 1968).

Parliamentary system collapsed when Martial Law were imposed by Ayub Khan on 8th October, 1958 on the request of Iskandar Mirza (the Sand Hurst military school graduate). Very soon after 20 days, on 27th October, 1958, Ayub Khan concluded the Martial Law process and Mirza was compelled to go away from Pakistan. The supremacy fully moved from political elite of the to military Generals. Ayub Khan

abrogated constitution, imposed ban on political activities and announced to run the country under the Martial Law rule (Ziring, 1971)

1.7 Military And Local Government Interaction

The local bodies system is one of the main hold of the British tenet in the subcontinent along with military and civil servants. British required support of the indigenous population through this institution by adjusting according to their needs. (Mohammed 2004) This institution was founded to make sure the contribution of citizens who had been educated and guided by the British, to create link between the rulers and the ruled and the recruitment of resources for the local government at the local level. It was one of the important motives of the British to discourage local leadership from national level politics. However, this fact cannot be ignored that these institutions have played a key role for local progress, to provide municipal services and other everyday local activities (Muhammad & Kaleem, 2004).

In 1947, on the eve of independence, Pakistan inherited the local government system of colonial India. The early years of independence were marked by limited constitutional development. Ayub military coup of 1958 was the first period of Martial Law that brought 'first wave' of local government reforms. (Alam & Wajdi, 2013)

1.8 Local Government During Ayub Era: Politics Of Legitimacy

Coming into existence on 14th August, 1947 as an independent state, Pakistan emerged as a geographical entity and a country, It inherited the bureaucratic system of British India which continued for many so many years. The ruling groups of politicians and administrators had migrated from India, were alien to the parts that became (West) Pakistan, one of the few explanations as to why democratic types of government never took hold in Pakistan. Landlords and bureaucrats formed the broad nexus of rulers in Pakistan, which had little industry and no middle class. The political bodies never agreed to any system or Constitution which could be put in place. In This political and institutional arrangement, the most important actor was Pakistan's military. Hence, in the first decade of Pakistan's existence, politicians were unable to come to political agreements and settlements (Zaidi, 2005)..The democratic system in Pakistan and other independent countries where newly democracy accepted as a principle of government work in in terms of parliaments, political parties and elections at the provincial and national level. At the lower level, there was no mechanism to establish and enforce a sense of responsibility in the administration, and that they were not accountable to the people or their representative There were municipalities and district boards even union boards, the latter only in East Pakistan But they functioned within a narrowly defined jurisdiction and more or less isolated from the district administration. A hope that they would prove to be the nurseries of democracy on national scale could never be seriously entertained. After independence, they found themselves in a more precarious state than before. There was excessive concentration on politics at the centre and in the province to the almost total neglect of the districts and villages in which the system of universal franchise, had the right to vote in the elections once in a few years, did not mean that it had the opportunity of the participation in the democratic process at the top. Being largely illiterate and politically untutored, its voices was not heard at the remote centers

of powers and its grievances remained underdressed (Ahmad,1963) with different unelected groups of politicians being replaced by the head of state. Pakistan lacked adequate infrastructure, was highly rural and underdeveloped. Many of the country's problems were aggravated by the movement of 7 million refugees who came from India after partition, and rehabilitating them was Pakistan's first development problem. In a state which was new to democracy, bureaucracy and the military, the two most modern institutions, set Pakistan towards a pathway, which was far away from independent India, led from one military rule to another i.e only change of master for the people of Pakistan (Zaidi,2005).

1.9 Basic Democracies (1959)

. On 8th October, 1958 army imposed Martial Law in Pakistan and the Constitution of 1956 was abrogated. After the Revolution of 1958, the object of Martial Law was to prepare the country for a democracy different from the past. The experience during the Martial Law period in 1958 convinced the military leaders that if the power of politicians were reduced to minimum, a stable military government could be established in Pakistan. For this purpose Ayub Khan legitimized his government, to gain community support and to carry out the developmental plans by involving people at local level. For the purpose he implemented local government system with name of Basic Democracies System (BDS). Ayub Khan depended on civil servant for its system and more powers were delegated in the system (Muhammad & Kaleem, 2012). Basic Democracies were given much powers and tasks than the institutions of local self-government in the past and the government gave huge grants to these institutions to enable them to perform their duties. The aim of the Martial Law regime was that these institutions should generate a class of new elite for the new political structure.. Power remained focus in the hands of those who already benefited from it. Due to fear of victimization and wish to win favors, the members did not take measures to annoy the bureaucrats linked with these institutions. The Democrats became the members of the electoral college for the election of the Presidents. It created feelings like that the government wanted to keep this institution under her wings so that Ayub regime could secure their votes in the elections. This identified the local government system with Ayub regime (Hasan, 2000)

1.10 Features of The System

Most important features of the system were presented below:

- a) Indirect democratic system
- b) Electoral college would be elected by mass of people .
- c) 80,000 Basic Democrats
- d) Non-party based elections
- e) These Basic Democrats would elect the parliament and the head of the government
- f) Democratic system consists of elected and non-elected representatives with the local administration to enable the government to maintain sufficient control over politicians (Siddiqi, 2007)

- g) These councils had developments tasks so that political sketch would be built upon the views and needs of the people. (Waslam, 1990)
- i) The civil servants responsible for the selection of candidates by broadening detailed administrative controls on political subjects (Noman, 1988)
- h) at the outset Deputy Commissioners were appointed Chairman of higher tier of local government. Their persisted supremacy at the Tehsil/Thana(Kim & Ziring,1977).

1.10 The Background

General Ayub Khan in the framework of the "basic democracies Act 1959" introduced a new system of local government in Pakistan. The people of the country is witnessing a new political aroma in khaki uniform. The logo was the transfer of powers to the grassroots level. Democrats had not only the basic equal representations of the Pakistani people, but also it serves as the future the electoral college for the presidential election in light of the upcoming presidential system. President said that they achieved stability and security through this system. There is no hesitation that it was the very first deal of Pakistan with the system of local bodies introduced by the British (Ahmed,1985). Gen. Ayub Khan believes that the people of Pakistan were not adults for democracy and then it was developed to give them a "political education" to be democratic . So It was decided to provide the Pakistani people a taste of what was real democracy through their participation at the local level and started elections Basic Democracies, on December 26, 1959. According to official figures indicate that 69 percent of voters participated 73 percent in western Pakistan and 65 percent in East Pakistan.(Ahmad, 1985). Raunaq Jahan (1972) says that there are a number of political causes that Ayub did not trust urban middle class and intellectuals, especially in Bengal he therefore address rural masses and, describing them as "by nature loyal and good people". Bureaucrats and elected representatives of the people were supposed to collaborate closely to maintain equal response to the councils of Basic Democracies. It was believed that by increasing involvement with representatives of the local population, "the official would broaden less superior approach towards populace (Khan, 1967).

2. Structure of The System

Basic Democracies System was Four-tire system. Top to bottom structure of the Basic Democracies System can be outlined as follows:

<i>Provincial Development Advisory Councils</i>	{members were appointed by the President
<i>Divisional Level</i>	recommendation of the provincial governor
bureaucracy}	{Officials involved from
<i>District Level</i>	{Same as above}
<i>Tehsil / Thana (East Pakistan) Level</i>	{bureaucracy involvement started}
<i>Union & Town Councils</i>	{Pure people participation}

2.1 Basic Democracies and Its Political Use

The system of Basic Democracies which owes its origin to the genius of Field Marshal Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan introduced in 1959 under the status of “Basic Democracies order 1959”. In Ayub Khan’s Western brand of democracy was not fit to the people of Pakistan. Thus he invented a system of local government with the name of Basic Democracies. (Hasan, 1968) The political system introduced by the military regime set up an authoritarian system in Pakistan, which guaranteed stability rather than people’s involvement in the dealings of the state. There was a absorption of powers in the hands of the president, indirectly elected for a period of five years. This was an add mission on the part of leaders of Pakistan that a political system could not be abstracted from its cultural context and transferred in generalized form a strange culture in the expectation that it would flourish on the strength of its own laws and inherited merits. This approach to the problem of democracy was not the invention of Ayub’s mind. A number of others Asian leaders were convinced about the instability of western system of government for Asia. They emphasized the nature of Asian political culture and social conditions and proposed a kind of guided or restricted democracy. (Rizvi, 2005)

In real this system was a fusion of military and bureaucracy. As a political system it was failed to deliver because Ayub real intention was to prolong his rule did not serve the people. (Rizvi, 2005) The political super structure of Ayub Government rested on the foundation of Basic Democracies, a system which reflected the political philosophy both of the soldiers and the bureaucrats as the latter did not consider the Western brand of democracy suitable for Pakistan they propounded the concept of “controlled democracy” which was similar to President Soekarno’s much publicized “Guided Democracy”. Both approaches shared a common distrust of the political capability of the masses, abhorred the educated urban class, which were politically conscious vocal and demanding, and favoured authoritarian political system as a general palliative for diverse needs (Rizvi, 1976)

2.2 Basic Democracies Performance

In Pakistan an attempt had been made to introduce a new type of local government system under the label of “Basic Democracies” to refer to local representative institution. Basic Democracies were institution of representative local government at various administrative level bethinking. (Hasan, 1968) Basic Democracies were introduced to strengthen was rule before this when British introduced local government system in Indo- Pak the only purpose was their interest. When Basic Democracies was introduced in Pakistan it also became victim of such mistakes and did not serve the real purpose of local government. (Shahid, 1993) As institution of local government it achieved some of its targets but overall it failed because it did not remain a local government institution but became an electoral college, (Rizvi, 1976) The aim of basic democracies system was to appeal to the local contribution development of local activities and aspirations with national goals in spite of the fact that the Basic Democracies cannot come to the expectation due to the built-in flaws, It did lot in raising awareness of development and the need for change at the grassroots level. On the

other hand on the side of financial contribution public participation were not hopeful. Attitude was not approachable in the sharing of responsibility to contribute to the implementation of local plans reflects the breach between the thoughts at the local and national levels (Faizullah, 1984).

2.3 Causes of Failure and Drawbacks of Basic Democracies

There were a number of reasons on which led to the failure of Basic Democracies both as local government system and political system which may perhaps be summed up as follows:

2.4 The Electoral Role

The role of basic Democracy did not end at lower level .Later on its role broadened and expanded to Electoral College for the election of the president ,national and provincial assemblies (Khan,2009). A query into this would point out that the idea behind the move was the long felt view among the civil and military officers in Pakistan that the Western kind of democracy was not suited to the populace of Pakistan since the country population was largely rural, illiterate. Ayub have doubts about the masses. He felt they had neither the education and the intelligence nor the ability and the breadth of vision to comprehend national issues or complex foreign relations problems and to take decisions on them In the context of Pakistan’s disappointing experience with the parliamentary system, Ayub Khan felt that the success of democracy in the country was dependent upon a system, which was easy to understand, simple to work, cheap to sustain, which put questions to the voters, which they could answer in the light of their own knowledge, which envisaged the effective participation of the people to the extent of their intellectual attainments and which produced strong stable governments .Thus all that the voters could possibly be expected to select or elect a political leader from amongst themselves, to serve not only the interests of the locality in local government development and planning schemes but also represent them in the selection of their rulers at the national and provincial level This philosophy inspired the BD system in which the masses were entrusted with the right to elect local “notables” in tiny, manageable constituencies of about 600 voters, on the basis of their respective merit, integrity ,understanding of local issues and record of public services. These local notables, called “Basic Democracies”(BDs),were in turn to become members of the Electoral College. MECs were for the election of the President and the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies. Their number was fixed at 80,000 on the basis of one member for every1,000 persons on an average, but in actual fact each constituency consisted of about 400-700 voter.(Rizvi,1976)

Ayub’ s Basic Democracies can be seen as need of martial law regime and its leader to find a legitimacy since martial law was incomplete with no recognized form of government, such a government cannot be subject to universal suffrage, State and national, or controversial elections. The Basic Democracies were twisted in the electoral college , to hold a referendum on February 14, 1960 in order to obtain the approval of the result that they reposed full assurance in Ayub not only to continue in office as president, but also mandated to draft a constitution for the country. Thus Ayub was elected as

president of Pakistan in the absence of any alternative, and also got a mandate to give Pakistan the constitution of his own choosing .(Khan, 2009)

In the second Presidential election the situation was a little bit changed because political parties were revived in 1962 and opposition was permitted to take part in the election on 16th September, 1964 it was announced that combined opposition had invited Miss Fat ma Jinnah, the Quaid's sister be their candidate. The announcement of Miss Fatima Jinnah as the candidate came as a shock for Ayub government. Before the Presidential election the election of the Basic Democrats were held in the country (Khan, 2009). On 22nd January, 1965 Presidential elections were held and Ayub Khan was re-elected for next five years. The B.D members remained puppets in hands of officials and government. Again Basic Democrats favored Ayub Khan because they did not want political suicide ,Ayub was re-elected, but no lesson were learnt from the protest that the broad common people supported Fatima Jinnah, the opposition rank started pave way for the throwing Ayub Khan along with his system of government and election(Rizvi,2005).

2.5 Non Participant Role of Basic Democrats

One of the chief weaknesses of the Basic Democracies was that it attracted and consisted of fearless than mediocre men, an analysis of the available data reveals that due to lack of political awareness, education and economic status they could not play their effective role in building up grassroots democracy at the villages level. Since about 90% of the BDs were drawn from rural background, they were steeped in ignorance, superstitions and poverty, and had little political training. As a result, they were content to play the role of passive observers rather than active participants in the deliberations and their level of participation in the processes of decision making in the union councils was very low .The low interest articulation potential of the basic democrats obviously prevented them from playing role effectively as local agents for mobilizing mass support for the regime's modernizing policies. All This led to making the union councils chairmen, who were better financially more stable, the focus of power and authority (Rizvi, 1976).

2.6 Structural Problems

The failure of BD system was also due to various structural deficiencies originally, the BD system was designed to replace parliamentary democracy. It was with this end in view that the Provincial Advisory Board was provided at the fifth tier in place of the provincial legislature. But soon after its introduction Ayub realized that the provincial elites would not accept the highly unrepresentative Provincial Advisory Council as substitute to provincial legislature. Hence the new Constitution promulgated by Ayub in 1962 provided for Provincial Assemblies whose members were to be elected indirectly by the Basic Democrats of the provinces concerned this, in fact ultimately abolished in 1962. Since then only four tires of Councils remained in operation.(Ashford, 1967). The members of one Union Councils were directly elected by popular votes. The Thana/Tehsil union Councils were comprised of the Chairmen of the Union Councils of the area. The District Council were partly nominated, and partly elected indirectly by the total number of the Chairmen of Union Councils within the juridical limits of the District. In addition, there were also the officials of the nation-building departments. From the

functional view –point of the District Council played a more vital role in West Pakistan whereas the Thana Council was more significant in the East Pakistan. But the unrepresentative character of the District Councils had greatly undermined their role as effective instruments of local government.(Rizvi, 1976).

2.7 Basic Democracies as Legislature

The Basic Democrats were first to had the role of a legislative body both in handling local problems and in acting as the electoral body for provincial and national assemblies. Though it was successful to some extent as legislative body in dealing with local problems but their role on provincial and national level was only to legitimize military rule of Ayub Khan.(Ashford,1967)

2.8 Increasing Urbanization

In essence then, as social transformation occurred, with increased urbanization and with the appearance of different sections of the middle class, with migration from rural to urban increased, these processes came in negation with the formation of government launched by Ayub not just the Basic Democracies system, but the whole edifice – came crumbling down. Once an originally designed ‘non-political’ governance structure came into denial with the wider politics of the time, it was not able to function adequately (Zaidi,2005)

2.9 Bureaucratic Control

It was revealed that the bureaucracy and colonial rules were put to an end, but in actual it was more strengthened. Under the scheme of Basic Democracies President of Pakistan established authoritarian rule with the support of the bureaucracy. This "targeted" and allowed bureaucracy be dominated and exercise power. The government used bureaucratic authority from the centre to decline of political struggle at the local level (Rizvi,1976).

2.10 Disparity Between The Two Wings

Because of varying system between East and West Pakistan appeared that East Pakistan was more of the population of western Pakistan, but equal representation in the statute democracies increased sense of disappointment among the people of the east wing (Mussart,2012)

2.11 Unsatisfactory Allocation of Functions

Analysis of the actual working of Basic Democracies revealed anomalies and lack of definition in the allocation of functions and responsibilities among the different tiers. The vast majority of functions were common in one of them. To take one such example, drinking water was the responsibility of both the Union Council and District Council. True, the emphasis of the policy of the decentralization under Basic Democracies was less on the allocations of powers to the respective representation than on how to develop an effective relationship in terms of mutual dependence and collaboration (Rizvi, 1976).

2.12 Multiplicity of Functions

The Basic Democracy council had multiple tasks:, Administrative, developmental, local self-government, and constitutional. Eventually the political role of Basic Democracies assumed greater importance than their administrative and local

government functions that's why it was failed to play effective role on administrative as well as on decentralization of the system (Rizvi,1976).

2.13 Non Participation of Politician / Search For Intermediate Level Leaders

The central flaw of President Ayub's plan was that he ignored the politician. His almost pathological distrust of the politician may stem from the same bureaucratic-professional convictions that led him to hedge on his commitment to the Basic Democrats political parties, for all their shortcomings and abuses had always existed in Pakistan, and there was evidence that their influence was felt locally. The parties in East Pakistan had relatively well developed lines of communications and West Pakistan had known sufficient agitation, if not political organization in many areas to be familiar with party action. However, until the new constitution came into effect with the election of the National Assembly, party activity was suppressed and many major part figure from severe under arrest or barred from political life. Not only did Ayub lose the opportunity to seek a new rapprochement with politicians but he so angered the politicians that when they recovered their position in 1962 they had little sympathy for the Basic Democrats 's potential political role ,and a very little understanding of the Basic Democrats boarder significance in the developmental process (Ashfor,1967).

2.14 Failure of Decentralization

In order to sharpen the tempo of economic growth and to provide for a more equitable distribution of national wealth, Ayub's government had decided in favor of a policy of decentralization of decision making in respect of plans and development. The District and Union Councils were given wide financial powers. But in actual practice, with steadily increasing development allocations under successive Five Year Plans, and the expanding Rural Works Programme, the initial thrust of decentralization was bound to be gradually reserved. For, it was obvious that the increase in development allocations at Districts and Union Councils level was bound to involve more and more local officials of the technical departments in the decision making process since they were more competent to take decisions in the light of both administrative efficiency and convenience on the one hand and local needs on the other. Similarly rapid expansion of Rural Works Programme obviously brought in its wake increased central control in relation to the local councils. In effect, all This meant that the local representatives were not to by themselves responsible for decision making. But, surely what matters was not the quantum of decisions which were taken solely by local representatives, but the proportion of governmental decisions which were susceptible to local influence and opinion in various degrees.

Since governments were not going to permit local participation in decision making a significant check of public affairs without some guarantee of financial viability and technical competence a considerable degree of supervision and intervention by civil servants might be the price of letting the local representatives in to act at all. The local councils greatly varied from each other in respect of areas and population. Since the prospects of raising local finance through local taxation were rather limited especially in smaller councils, they were heavily dependent upon the government both in matters of grants-in-aid and local finance management. The capability of the local councils to raise

revenue was further handicapped as provincial governments and local authorities had concurrent tax powers. Accordingly, they lacked exclusive powers of taxation. Besides, the inefficient local government management tended to restrict the scope of raising local revenues. All This adversely affected the potential increase of local autonomy.(Rizvi.1976)

2.15 Corruption Issue

Perhaps, a great contributing factor towards the failure of BD system was the widespread corruption that ate into its vitals and made it both ineffective and unpopular. For one thing since the 80,000 BDs served as an electoral college, and since they were themselves men of small means and position vis-a-vis the local officials, they were open to all sorts of political pressure and bribery. For another, since they were vested with wide financial powers and associated with the process of planning and implementation of economic development projects, they had numerous opportunities to help themselves to some of these development funds. Worse still, local bureaucrats at different tiers of administration, particularly the chairmen of union councils, were equally involved in corrupt practices. All This obviously brought the system itself in to disrepute. The Chairmen of union council performed dual functions as the(i) articulators of local interests and (ii) communicators between the people and the government administrators .However, since most of them were easily susceptible to pressure and corruption, and lent themselves to bureaucratic control and direction, they became, in effect ,unwitting tools of thwarting the growth of democracy at the local level.(Rizvi,1976)3

3. Conclusion

This paper has argued that a continuing theme that emerges in context of local government system is that this system has somewhat paradoxically been brought about by non representative regimes such as the British during the pre-independence period and the military during the post-independence period. After the independence the military and the local government enjoyed good understanding .With the name of Basic Democracies local bodies system (BDS), Ayub Khan implemented military rule in the country in 1958. It was the time politicians and bureaucrats were in strong opposition with each other. By taking the benefit of the situation he took hold of the reigns of the government with the help of bureaucracy. However, he still felt fear from the political powers as they were the real heir of the government. Besides they had a prominent role in the creation of Pakistan (Mohammad & Kaleem, 2012). Army General Ayub initiated dictatorial rule at the central level and the provinces, while they were trying to make sure people's sharing by local government (Alam and Wajdi, 2013). General Ayub like the British colonialists revived local governments as the only representative tier of government. (Rizvi.1974, Siddiqui 1992). Similar to the British period, Ayub's local government system was controlled by the bureaucracy through "controlling authority.

The central tendency revealed by our historical analysis is that local governments have been enacted by non-representative regimes to legitimize their control over the state. Legitimacy has been sought by creating a localized patronage structure that produces a class of 'collaborative politicians' who act as a conduit between local people and the non-representative centers. To bridge the gap between the people and the military

regime this institution was used as a medium for progress, to provide civic services / general provision at the doorstep of the people, they involved the leadership of the middle class through these institutions and exploited as a base to support military regimes. Based on their conclusion they activated this institution with the Democratic People's logo and make think they were more supporter of democracy than other sections of society. This approach make easier to give legitimacy to their dictatorial rule. Pakistan witnessed Martial Law forth times in its political history. Among them, three military rulers remained in power for a long time. (Mohammad & Kaleem, 2012)

Local government should not be regarded just as the lowest tier of the government, but as a distinct sphere that was closest to the citizens, with sufficient administrative and financial autonomy to serve its constituents. Unless these elements were institutionalized, the sustainability of decentralization programs remained at risk. In Pakistan, it would seem that for various reasons military governments had been more willing to accept this challenge: if civilian governments were shy of nurturing grassroots democracy, it raises significant questions about their democratic values and commitment to empowering citizens (Alam & Wajidi. 2013). Though most of the time local elections were held in Pakistan but due to its affiliation with military their credibility was not reliable as much as it would be held during democratic government era because these election were held for the first time during elected government regime and the intention behind them was to nourish the grass root democracy and not to prolong a dictator rule.

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