



A Comparison of the Political Systems of Pakistan and India (1947-2000)

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Abstract: Both Pakistan and India chose parliamentary democracy as their system of government when they gained independence in August 1947. However, for more than 50 years after independence, Pakistan has not been able to establish a stable parliamentary democracy. The constitution has been abrogated or discontinued several times, and the system of government has been unpredictable, with a cabinet system at times, a presidential system at others, and a military regime for almost half of the time. But since its beginning, India's parliamentary democracy has not evolved. The experience of India's 50 years of nation-building shows that parliamentary democracy has been accepted by the people and politicians of India. The international community generally agrees that the implementation of parliamentary democracy in India has been a success and that its development has been healthy. Why, then, are there such contrasts in the establishment and implementation of the system of government in two countries that share the same historical background and declared independence at the same time? One had a functioning parliamentary democracy, while the other had frequent regime changes and successive military regimes. This article attempts a preliminary examination and comparison of this issue.

Keywords: Democracy, Government, Political development, Political History.

1. Review of Political Development in Pakistan and India

1.1 Political History of Pakistan

After the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, it had a unicameral system of government called the "Constituent Assembly". In 1954, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved by the then Governor General (Head of State). In 1955, a second Constituent Assembly was formed, which promulgated a new constitution in 1956, renaming itself the "National Assembly". In 1973, Zulfikar Bhutto presided over a new constitution with a bicameral system, consisting of a National Assembly (lower house) and a Senate (upper house). The main purpose of establishing the Senate was to reflect the fairness of the various units of the federation to preserve the unity and harmony of the country. 1977 saw the imposition of military rule by Zia ul Haq, which suspended some provisions of the Constitution ([Lindholm, 1980](#)). 2 March 1985 saw Haq announce the partial restoration of the 1973 Constitution, but at the same time propose an 8th constitutional amendment. This amendment was passed by the parliament on 11 November 1985, and was mainly concerned with expanding the powers of the president, such as the supreme commander of the armed forces, the appointment and dismissal of the chiefs of staff of the three armed forces and the president of the Senate, the power to dissolve the National Assembly and the federal cabinet, and the appointment and dismissal of provincial governors, the attorney general, the judges of the Supreme Court and the president of the electoral commission. On 30 December of the same year, President Haq announced the abolition of military rule and the implementation of the 1973 Constitution, as amended by the Eighth Constitutional Amendment. In February 1997, Sharif became Prime Minister for the second time. To consolidate his position in power, Sharif relied on his overwhelming majority in Parliament and, on 1 April, passed the 13th Constitutional Amendment in both Houses, which repealed some provisions of the 8th Amendment to the Constitution. After the amendment came into force, the Prime Minister's powers were expanded, and the President lost his real power. In August, Musharraf issued the Legal Framework Order (LFO), which restored the 1973 Constitution and the Eighth Amendment, giving the President the power to dissolve the National Assembly and to appoint the President of the Senate and the Chiefs of Staff of the three-armed services. On 1 January 2004, the National Assembly, the Senate, and four provincial assemblies passed a vote of confidence in President Musharraf, confirming his term of office until November 2007. In November, the National Assembly was dissolved, and in February 2008, Pakistan held a new round of national elections in which the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) became the largest party in parliament. On 18 August, President Musharraf announced his resignation under internal and external pressure, and on 6 September, Zardari was elected President and sworn in on 9 September. Half of the Senate was re-elected in March 2009, with the PPP

emerging as the largest party and Law Minister Naik elected as the new Senate President. Pakistan's National Assembly was scheduled to vote on a no-confidence motion against Prime Minister Imran Khan on the morning of 3 April 2022, but Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly Qasim Suri rejected the no-confidence vote against Imran Khan at the National Assembly session held on the same day. Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan also submitted a proposal to President Arif Alvi on 3 April to dissolve the National Assembly and hold early general elections. On 3 April 2022, Pakistani President Arif Alvi agreed to Prime Minister Imran Khan's proposal to dissolve the National Assembly and hold early general elections. On 16 April 2022, Pakistan's National Assembly (the lower house of parliament) elected Raja Pervaiz Ashraf as the new Speaker.

The present system of government in Pakistan is based on the revised Constitution of 1973, the third constitution of Pakistan since its inception, which established a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral legislature and a Prime Ministerial system of government. The President is the Head of State, and the Prime Minister is the Head of Government. On the Prime Minister's recommendation, the President uses his powers; laws and ordinances passed by the National Assembly are signed by the President, countersigned by the Prime Minister, and promulgated for implementation by the Government. If the Prime Minister considers it necessary to dissolve the National Assembly and requests the President to do so, the Assembly dissolves itself if the President does not approve it within two days ([Lindholm, 1980](#)). The Prime Minister has the right to appoint and dismiss ministers and ministers of state at his or her own will.

In essence, power is vested in the Prime Minister. Parliament and the President. Under the Constitution, the Parliament of Pakistan consists of the President and both Houses. The President is elected by the members of the National Assembly, the Senate, and the four provincial assemblies and may be removed or impeached by a resolution passed by a two-thirds majority of the two houses in joint session ([Kondapalli](#)). In the absence of the President, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the National Assembly, in that order, shall act as President. Figure 1 The President may dissolve the National Assembly if the Federal Government is unable to deal with the State, but must obtain the Supreme Court's consent within 15 days of the dissolution ([Siddiqi, 2014](#)). The Senate cannot be dissolved under any circumstances. The National Assembly elects the Prime Minister, who selects ministers and ministers of state from among its members, and the Cabinet, headed by the Prime Minister, is collectively responsible to the National Assembly. No more than one quarter of the total number of Cabinet Ministers and Ministers of State may be from among the Senators.

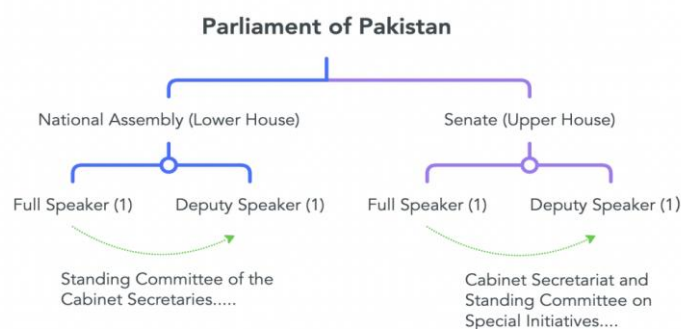


Figure 1: Standard academic caption

1.2 Political history of India

The modern parliamentary system in India originated during British colonial rule and developed alongside the awakening of nationalism and patriotism among the Indian people. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Indians began to demand a constitutional system from the British colonial rulers. In 1833, the British colonialists established a central legislature in India. In 1853, the British colonialists increased the membership of the central legislature and expanded its legislative function. In 1861, the British Parliament passed the Indian Councilors Act, which empowered the British Viceroy in India to increase the number of members of the Legislative Council by 6 to 12, at least half of whom would be Indian non-officials. In 1909, the British Parliament again amended the Indian Senate Act, establishing a Legislative Council and an Executive Council. In 1919, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, which provided for a bicameral legislature at the central level, namely the Council of State (Upper House) and the Legislative Council (Lower House); the majority of the members of both houses were to be directly elected. In 1945, the British Labour Government



announced its policy towards India, allowing India to convene a constitutional convention to formulate a constitution. 1947 saw the independence of India, and on 26 January 1950, the Constitution of India came into force and the Constitutional Convention became the interim parliament of India. The first post-constitutional general elections were held between 1951 and 1952, after which the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha were formed.

Since the country's founding, the Indian Parliament has evolved through three broad phases. The first three parliaments, from May 1952 to March 1967, were the golden years of the Congress Party's rule. The Congress Party, headed by Nehru, won more than 360 seats in all three parliamentary elections, giving it an overwhelming majority in Parliament. The second-largest party in Parliament, the Communist Party of India, held only 29 seats. In the early years of the country, members of parliament worked enthusiastically, enacting many laws across the political, economic, and social fields and monitoring the government's work. After Nehru's death in 1964, the Congress Party was divided by a power struggle ([Khokhar et al., 2006](#)).

The party's cohesiveness and political influence began to decline as Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister and relied on a small circle of cronies to rule the country and consolidate his power. The five terms of Parliament between March 1967 and November 1989 were a period of evolution from one-party to multi-party rule. During this period, the opposition parties gradually united, and the Congress Party's strength fluctuated. The 4th parliamentary elections were a watershed in Indian politics. Although still the ruling party, the Congress party lost 78 seats and was defeated in state legislative re-elections. The state of emergency imposed by Gandhi in June 1975 led to nationwide protests, resulting in a crushing defeat for the Congress Party in the 6th election in 1977 and its first loss of power.

After two and a half years in power, the BJP, comprising the Congress (Organised) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), among others, collapsed due to its own disintegration. The Congress Party, led by British Gandhi, returned to power in the 7th general election in 1980. During his time in power, the Congress suppressed the rise of local forces, causing Sikh riots and the assassination of British Gandhi after the Golden Temple incident in Amritsar ([Waqas & Hussain, 2015](#)). The successor Prime Minister, Ra Gandhi, announced early general elections and won a historic 404 seats, relying on widespread national sympathy. This was also the last time the Congress Party won a majority of seats.

Since the 9th Lok Sabha elections in November 1989, the Indian political scene has been characterised by a period of "suspended" parliament and coalition governments. The main features of this period are: no party has won a majority of seats in the elections, and all governments have been coalition governments; the number of parties in parliament has grown from 24 in 1989 to 36 at present; the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has gradually grown and started to take power at the centre, becoming a major national party in rivalry with the Congress Party; and the political arena in India has become dominated by the Congress Party and its allied parties, with the BJP and its allied parties on one side and other parties neither working with the Congress Party nor with the Congress Party on the other.

The political scene in India became a three-legged system, with the Congress and its allies on one side, the BJP and its allies on the other, and other parties that did not work with either the Congress or the BJP on the other; the smaller parties moved in and out of the larger parties, causing the political parties to divide and combine, and it became important to maintain unity and stability within the ruling coalition ([Janodia et al., 2014](#)).

The first ten years of Indian politics were turbulent, with three early elections to the Lok Sabha and frequent changes of government, including three prime ministers in one parliamentary term, the shortest of which lasted only 13 days. For the next ten years, the government remained largely stable, despite fierce partisan struggles within the Indian Parliament. The coalition government formed by the Indians after the 13th parliamentary elections, with 23 to 24 smaller parties, and the ruling coalition formed by the Congress Party and a dozen smaller local parties after the 14th parliamentary elections, both completed their terms of office successfully. The 15th Lok Sabha elections will be held in five phases from 16 April to 13 May 2009. The Rajya Sabha is the upper house of the Indian Parliament and consists of the President, the Lok Sabha (lower house), and the Rajya Sabha (upper house). The Rajya Sabha is a permanent body, and Elections for the Lok Sabha take place every five years.

1.2.1 The relationship between Parliament and the President

The President is an integral part of Parliament. The President calls the two Houses into session and adjourns or dissolves the House of the People, but does not take part in the deliberations of either House. Bills passed by both Houses require the President's consent before they can come into force, and some of these bills must be introduced only after the President has heard them ([Janodia et al., 2014](#)). When the Houses are adjourned, the President may, if he deems it necessary, issue a decree having the same force as a law.

As a rule, the President addresses both Houses at the first plenary session of each Parliament and at the first plenary session of each year's Parliament. In addition, the President may appoint temporary Speakers of the two Houses; call a joint session of the two Houses in case of disagreement on a bill; have the power to appoint two British Indians to the Lok Sabha and 12 elite members of the literary, scientific and social fields to the Rajya Sabha; and, on the recommendation of the Indian Election Commission, have the power to rule on the legality of elected members.

The President is elected by an electoral college consisting of members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha of the Union Parliament and the state legislatures. The President may be removed from office by the Parliament if he or she violates the Constitution ([Siddiqi, 2014](#)). Impeachment of the President requires the concurrence of at least a quarter of the members of either House or the consent of at least two-thirds of the members of that House. If one house impeaches the President, the other house should also initiate the impeachment process. If more than two-thirds of the members of the other House also vote in favour, the impeachment of the President by Parliament is passed, and the President shall resign from office on the date the impeachment is passed by the other House.

1.2.2 Relations between Parliament and Government

The Indian judiciary consists of the Supreme Court of India and the High Courts of the States, among others. Under the Constitution, Parliament has the power to amend the Constitution and adjust the powers of the judiciary by enacting laws ([Rose & Suleiman, 1980](#)). Parliament may, by legislation, extend or abolish the judicial powers of the High Courts of the UTs of India, or establish a common High Court exclusively for two or more States or UTs, or establish High Courts for the UTs. Parliament has the power to establish special administrative tribunals in the States and to provide for their special judicial powers. Parliament shall not have the power to discuss a judgment of the Supreme Court or a High Court unless it proposes to ask the President to remove a judge from office.

If Parliament is of the opinion that a judge in the Supreme Court is incompetent, both Houses of Parliament, after passing a resolution by a special majority (i.e., more than half of the members present and two-thirds of them in favour, hereinafter the same), shall recommend to the President that he or she be removed from office. The judiciary does not have the power to decide on the legality of the activities of the two chambers of Parliament ([Gautam, 2022](#)). The judiciary cannot interfere with the exercise of Parliament's or its members' powers. The judiciary has considerable powers in relation to judicial review.

In ruling, the courts at all levels often refer to the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution and the law in question. The Supreme Court's interpretation is often used as a legal basis, unless the Court reinterprets or modifies it, or unless the Constitution or the law is amended by Parliament.

The Court may declare a law passed by Parliament to be invalid, either because it exceeds its powers, or is incompatible with the provisions of the Constitution, or violates the fundamental rights of citizens ([Branfoot, 2017](#)). The Supreme Court's decision is final. If an Act of Parliament is rejected by the judiciary, Parliament may reconsider it. Parliament can also, by virtue of its constitutional powers, amend the Constitution so that the law in question is no longer unconstitutional. The Indian Constitution is extremely broad in its coverage and many branches, including Parliament, can legally interpret it.

2. Comparison of political systems in Pakistan and India

Based on the table, this paper will analyze the similarities and differences between the political systems of Pakistan and India in five aspects: the parliamentary system, government system, legislative system, judicial system, and religious system.

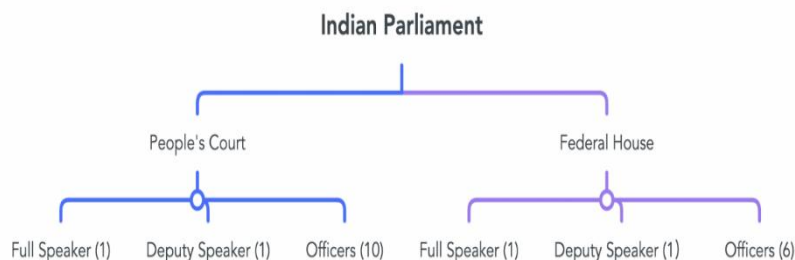


Figure 2: Bicameral Structure of the Indian Parliament and Its Leadership and Administrative Offices

Table 1: The parliamentary system

	Pakistan	India
The parliamentary system	Mixed single and proportional electoral system	Single constituency electoral system
Government system	Federal republics	Federal Republics The Federal Republic
Legislative system	The legislative power is exercised jointly by both Houses of Parliament, except for financial matters. Generally speaking, the legislative power of Parliament is limited to the federal	Both the Union Parliament and the State Legislative Assemblies of India have legislative powers
Judicial system	High Court of Pakistan	High Court of India
Religious	Islamic	82% of the population of India is Hindu

2.1 The choice of a parliamentary democracy

Table 1 At the time of independence, Pakistan and India jointly chose the political system of parliamentary democracy. This was not an impulsive move by politicians of the two countries, but a result of their common historical background. Firstly, the British had been invading India for more than 190 years in history. If we calculate from the time when the British sent the first viceroy to India to the partition of India and Pakistan, the history of British subjugation of India is also more than 90 years. The British introduced India to the Western-style parliamentary democracy at this time. Two social systems, two cultures, and two sets of values fiercely battled during the transplanting process.

As a consequence, the Western capitalism system overthrew the Indian feudal system and erected a bourgeois parliamentary democracy with Indian traits. A judicial system, an administrative system, a political party system, and an electoral system were all formed to go along with this system during the course of its lengthy existence in India. Since over a century, parliamentarian democracy has been practiced in India, and both society and the populace there have mostly embraced it. Second, because the Indian bourgeoisie was created and nurtured during the time of British colonial authority, it was natural for them to support parliamentary democracy and not emotionally oppose it. Finally, it's important to remember that India and Pakistan's 1947 declarations of independence really represented a peaceful transfer of sovereignty from Britain to the two nations. When the two self-governments first gained their independence, they took over the whole colonial government's economic, civil, and military structures without making the slightest changes. This is a blatant example of how the Muslim League in Pakistan and the Congress Party in India rejected colonial authority but not parliamentary democracy. In this historical context, parliamentary democracy became the common choice of both countries.

2.2 The establishment of federalism

Both Pakistan and India have a federal structure of state structure, which is explicitly provided for in their constitutions. There were many factors that led to the choice of federalism, but the plurality of units that made up the state was one of the main reasons. At the time of the partition of India and Pakistan, under the Mountbatten formula, India was made up of nine provinces and more than 500 native states, while Pakistan

was made up of the Western Punjab, the North-West Frontier, Sindh, Baluchistan, East Bengal and more than 10 native states. During the colonial period, the native states had a relatively independent status. Faced with this situation, the two countries had to adopt federalism to create a unified state. Secondly, it was also necessary to establish a strong central authority. The history of India has been marked by many foreign invasions, which have resulted in the formation of many ethnic groups, languages and religions, each of which has established a relatively independent sphere of social activity. The establishment of a central authority was necessary to counteract foreign invasions and to prevent the country from being divided.

2.3 Similarities and differences in Pakistani and Indian politics

2.3.1 The legislative system

After independence, Pakistan and India essentially created a parliamentary system modeled on the one that existed under colonial rule. Under the elected administration, Pakistan's legislative structure resembled India's in many ways. In Pakistan, for instance, the Senate and the National Assembly included both chambers of parliament and the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha in India. Although the names differ, their functions are essentially the same. In addition, the President is also empowered to appoint a certain number of experts and scholars directly. The Senate of Pakistan is legally equal to the National Assembly, the Rajya Sabha, and the Lok Sabha of India, but in practice, the Senate of Pakistan and the Rajya Sabha are lower in status than the National Assembly and the Lok Sabha, respectively ([Branfoot, 2017](#)). The powers of the two Houses of Parliament are not identical, as neither has the power to supervise the government nor financial powers, being limited to reviewing the budgets and reports of the lower house. There are also differences in the legislative systems of the two countries. In Pakistan, there is greater emphasis on the clergy's participation in politics, with special seats in the Senate, whereas in India, there is no explicit provision for them. In Pakistan, the President of the Senate is elected by the members, while in India, the Vice-President serves as the Rajya Sabha's ex officio Speaker.

The six-year tenure of the Pakistani Senate is divided into two halves, with each elected every three years ([Gautam, 2022](#)). The Constitution of Pakistan provides that if the National Assembly is dissolved, the Senate will also be dissolved. The Rajya Sabha is also elected for a term of six years, but one-third of its members are re-elected every two years; it is protected by law and cannot be dissolved earlier. The National Assembly of Pakistan and the Lok Sabha of India are elected in the same way, by direct vote of the electorate, in proportion to the population of each province (state). The normal term of office is five years, and they are dissolved at the end of that term, but there have been several early dissolutions in both countries so far. In both countries, the speaker of the lower house is elected by the members of parliament, but in practice, the majority party in parliament decides. In both countries, the lower house has the power to legislate, amend the constitution, oversee the government, approve proposals and annual budgets, and elect and remove the president. In addition, the first ten years of independence and the three military regimes in Pakistan were characterized by a unicameral parliament, the composition of which was completely different from that of India, and the scope of its powers and responsibilities is not comparable, so we will not make a specific comparison here.

2.3.2 The judicial system

The judiciary and its functions are basically the same in Pakistan and India, with a Supreme Court at the center of the Federation, High Courts in the provinces (states), and district courts under the High Courts. The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and several Justices. The main functions of the Supreme Court are to decide legal disputes between the federal centre and the provinces, hear appeals, review the decisions of the lower courts, and provide legal advice to the President. At the provincial (state) level, there is a High Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and several judges. It is empowered to hear administrative, civil, and criminal cases in its jurisdiction and to issue decrees, orders, injunctions, and directives, if they are not inconsistent with the Supreme Court. The High Court has county courts, which are subordinate to it and are courts of first instance. The civil division is presided over by a judge, and the criminal division is presided over by a magistrate. The district magistrate has both administrative and judicial functions. Pakistan also has a Shari'ah Court, or Islamic Court. It consists of a Chief Justice and eight judges, four of whom are qualified to sit as High Court Judges and four Ulema who are well-versed in Islamic law ([Siddiqi, 2014](#)). The court's mandate is to examine the laws and regulations of the country for their compatibility with the teachings of Islam and to deal with cases relating to Islamic law, such as alcoholism, theft, adultery and so on. In addition, special courts and tribunals have been



set up to focus on specific types of cases, such as commercial courts, drug courts, labour courts, tax courts, anti-terror courts, anti-corruption courts, etc.

2.3.3 System of government

The Indian Constitution of 1949 provides for a cabinet system, with the President as the head of state and the symbol of the nation, who enjoys wide powers but can exercise them only on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the leader of the majority party in Parliament, and the person responsible for organizing and running the government. He or she is also the most important political figure in India. Since India's independence, 13 administrations have used the prime ministerial form of governance. Unlike Pakistan, at the beginning of independence, the British King approved Jinnah as the first Governor-General of Pakistan, and Jinnah appointed Yakwat as the Prime Minister of the Cabinet, with Jinnah himself chairing the Cabinet meetings and Yakwat playing only an advisory role. In February 1956, Pakistan's first constitution was drawn up, changing the Governor-General to the President and introducing the Prime Ministerial system of government.

But it was abolished by the military regime in 1958 before it could be properly implemented. The second constitution was adopted in March 1962, changing the cabinet system to a presidential system, and the third constitution was promulgated in August 1973, restoring the cabinet system. This constitution further expanded the Prime Minister's powers and reduced the President's ability to act on the Prime Minister's advice. The system of government and functions in Pakistan at this time were very similar to those in India. In March 1985, the Zia ul Haq government declared the 1973 Constitution partially in force, but it made significant changes to the powers of the President and the Prime Minister: the Prime Minister became the sole head of the government and was directly nominated by the President. In 1988, the 1973 Constitution was restored, and the presidential system was replaced by a cabinet system of government. In 1997, Sharif's constitutional amendment to consolidate all powers in the Prime Minister was passed by a parliamentary majority. In short, in the 50 years of independence, the country has been a major player in the political arena ([Mehmood & Chen, 2025](#)). In short, India has had a cabinet system for 50 years of independence. Pakistan, on the other hand, lacks a fixed system and is in a constant state of flux.

2.4 The total difference in politics between Pakistan and Indian

2.4.1 Secular and non-secular

India is to be a democratic, secular, and secular country, as stated in its 1949 Constitution, and succeeding administrations have made secularization a political objective. Clergy cannot intervene in its governmental, judicial, or legislative processes. In contrast, Pakistan was founded based on Islam, and the 1956 constitution made it an Islamic republic, stipulating that the president of the country must be a Muslim. When Ayub Khan came to power, he tried to bring the country into line with secularism, and in 1962, the country's name was changed to the Republic of Pakistan in the constitution. But as soon as the constitution was promulgated, it was firmly opposed by the Muslim conservatives. In 1973, Bhutto made Islam the state religion of Pakistan to gain the support of the conservative forces. To lessen the impact of religion on public policy, India chose a parliamentary system and pushed for secularization. Only in recent years has the rise of sectarian parties in India increased the influence of religion in politics. Pakistan has opted for a parliamentary system of government while affirming the importance of Islam in the country's political life. As a result, religion shaped politics and politics influenced religion, making it impossible for parliamentary democracy to function properly.

2.4.2 The role of the Army

Both the Indian and Pakistani constitutions make it clear that the army's role is to uphold the nation's territorial integrity, maintain peace, and defend citizens' lives and property. Since independence, India's army has been performing its constitutional duties. The Pakistani army, in addition to carrying out its constitutional duties, has also been involved in politics on a number of occasions, the most in the world. In the 50 years since independence, it has been involved in politics three times and has been in power for 23 years (the 1999 military coup is not counted). The involvement of the military in politics can be beneficial to the country for a short period, as it can stabilize the political situation and promote economic development, but from the perspective of building a democratic system, military rule is a shock to democracy. It disrupts the establishment of a stable political system and does not follow democratic norms.

3. Reasons for the differences between the political systems of Pakistan and India

3.1 The Muslim national bourgeoisie in Pakistan was formed later than in India

The Indian bourgeoisie emerged around the time of the national revolt in 1857, and in the early nineteenth century, as British colonialism shifted from the accumulation of primitive capital to the invasion of free capital, it began to emphasize education, culture, and ideological penetration while opening markets. They set up schools in India and "by 1857, three universities, on the model of the University of London, were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and many of their colleges began to award degrees." They began to be educated in British schools, where they were taught English and advanced Western science and technology, while also being exposed to Western ideology.

It can be said that colonial educational and cultural penetration disrupted the old Indian educational system and produced many bourgeois intellectuals for Indian society. The formation of the Indian national bourgeoisie began in the second half of the 19th century. As the British exported capital to India and established capitalist industries there, Indian merchants and free landowners also began investing in factories and enterprises. The history of their involvement in the creation of national industry in India is the whole process of the formation of the Indian national bourgeoisie. It can therefore be said that the formation and development of the Indian national bourgeoisie benefited from colonial rule.

By the eve of India's independence, the Indian bourgeoisie had grown to the point where it was able to fight against colonial rule and lead the Indian people to expel the colonial rulers from India. In contrast to the Hindus, the defeat of the Great Revolt of 1857 hit the Muslims hard. Overnight, their political status changed dramatically, from that of rulers to that of slaves of colonialists. They did not accept the fact that the uprising was a jihad and that any kind of compromise or cooperation with the British was a sacrilege. They resented the British, opposed the opening of schools in India, and regarded English, Western culture, and Western technology as a scourge. Thus by the "first half of the nineteenth century, when the Indian bourgeoisie was enlightened, there was little response from Muslims." 2 In the mid-nineteenth century, under the influence of Western culture, a few bourgeois intellectuals emerged among Muslims, but it was difficult to establish a presence in Muslim society, and they only followed the bourgeois intellectuals in Hindu society. As Indian society developed and progressed, the situation of Muslims became increasingly difficult. At this time, the Muslim bourgeois intellectuals, represented by Sayyid, called on Muslims to learn English and embrace Western culture, marking the beginning of the Muslim bourgeois enlightenment. The Muslim bourgeois enlightenment was almost half a century later than that of the Hindus.

There are other historical reasons why the Muslim national bourgeoisie formed later than the Hindu one. The Muslims entered India more than 1,000 years ago, mainly to build up the state and consolidate the regime and did not pay enough attention to commerce and industry; the number of people engaged in commerce and industry was very small. Although some Muslim nobles had money and land, they did not invest in factories as the Hindu nobles did; they kept to their land. In their view, business and factories were not the 'right way', but land was fundamental.

As a result, by the mid-19th century, the Muslims accounted for a negligible proportion of the large number of industrial and commercial capitalists that emerged in India. Moreover, after the British invasion of India, the Muslims were the first to be hit, which devastated their already small industrial and commercial sector. By the time the national industry emerged in India, the Muslims were unable to compete. At the end of the nineteenth century, the colonial rulers tried to contain the development of the Indian national bourgeoisie and turned the fight against the Hindus, giving economic concessions to the Muslims. However, the Muslim bourgeoisie could not make a fortune in the same way as the Indian bourgeoisie because of serious inherent deficiencies. Thus, after independence, the Indian national bourgeoisie, as the most powerful political force in the country, became the ruling class of India, while the Muslim national bourgeoisie, although the ruling class of Pakistan, was weak and had to resort to other political forces to lead the building of a new nation.

3.2 A lagging economy and education constrained the establishment of a parliamentary democracy

The British East India Company's forces occupied Calcutta in 1757, gradually transforming the feudal society there into a colonial and semi-feudal one. It was more than 90 years before the British colonial forces conquered Sindh and the Punjab and their vast frontier areas in what is now Pakistan. Even after the conquest, the colonial



government did not make these areas the object of its capitalist industrial economy. As a result, the land that now belongs to Pakistan was socially and economically underdeveloped, and the remnants of feudal tribalism were prevalent ([Barrett, 2006](#)). At the time of India's independence from Pakistan, India's capitalist industries, transplanted from the West, were already well established.

At the time of partition, "90 per cent of the large factories were in India, and some important industries, such as 100 per cent of iron and steel, jute processing, paper industry, and 98 per cent of cotton textile industry, were also in India." 1 Pakistan's "industrial base was extremely weak. In 1945, there were 14,677 industrial establishments in India, but in post-partition Pakistan there were only 1,414, or 9.6 per cent, and of the 3.14 million factory workers in India, Pakistan had only 200,000, or 6.3 per cent, while Pakistan accounted for 25 per cent of British India's population, and most factories in Pakistan were small, seasonal factories ([Ganguly, 2016](#)). The material conditions of India's capitalist society were superior to those of Pakistan and, more importantly, broke the feudal dictatorship of India and laid the material basis for the establishment of parliamentary democracy.

The level of literacy and education among the people also directly affected the establishment of parliamentary democracy. During the colonial period, Muslims resisted Western culture and refused to accept Western education, and the number of educated people was much lower than that of Hindus. It was only after the independence of Pakistan that the government started to provide education. However, the successive political crises of the early years of the country prevented the implementation of measures to promote education. By the early 1970s, the literacy rate was only 21.7%. The lack of education naturally affected the implementation of parliamentary democracy. During the reign of Ayub Khan, he pointed out that "'democracy' is only one way of arousing the people to build a nation, and the kind of parliamentary democracy that exists in the West is too complex to be practiced in Pakistan, where there are many illiterate people. For the uneducated Pakistanis could neither understand nor care for such a complex democracy, let alone be attracted to it."

3.3 It is easy to see that Pakistan's lagging education at the time was hardly adapted to parliamentary democracy

The leadership crisis affected the establishment of parliamentary democracy. In the early years of Pakistan's independence, politicians debated the form of government to adopt, leaving the leaders of the time unsure. Jinnah said in one of his speeches: "It is a total mistake to think that Pakistan is a religious state." Many of his speeches gave the impression that he favored a parliamentary democracy, but later he stressed that the point of statehood was to "defend the teachings of Islam". His wavering ideology directly affected the constitution-making process in the early years of independence. The deaths of the two respected leaders, Jinnah and Liaquat, created a temporary leadership vacuum in the country. Various political forces took advantage of the situation. Without a leader acceptable to all political forces, the establishment of parliamentary democracy was delayed ([Khan et al., 2016](#)). In India, however, Nehru remained Prime Minister for 17 years.

At the beginning of independence, he drafted a constitution in just over 2 years that defined India's political system as a parliamentary democracy ([Barrett, 2006](#)). He successfully organized three general elections, laying the foundations for India's parliamentary democracy. India's success in implementing parliamentary democracy also depended on the maturity of its leaders and their understanding of the rules of parliamentary functioning. According to the rules of parliamentary democracy in India, the Constitution vests supreme power in the President, but the President must be advised by the Prime Minister in the exercise of his powers, and the Prime Minister's advice must come from the Cabinet. This is how successive governments in India have functioned. The country is governed by law, and the leaders follow the rule of law. In contrast, the situation in Pakistan is different, as those in power place greater emphasis on personal roles. Once leadership has changed, the newcomer must repeal the laws and ordinances enacted by his predecessor and re-enact those that can be used to maintain his rule. The result has been a series of leadership crises that have seriously affected the establishment and proper functioning of parliamentary democracy.

3.4 The remnants of feudalism and religious forces influence the implementation of parliamentary democracy

Ethnically, a significant proportion of Pakistanis are descendants of Central and West Asians who invaded India in the 8th and 10th-11th centuries AD. Their ancestors belonged to different tribes in Central and West

Asia. Under the influence of British colonialism and the influence of science and technology, the remnants of tribal culture have largely disappeared in the cities and the more economically developed rural areas, but the remnants of feudalism are still prevalent in the rural and remote areas, especially in the border areas of Sindh and Baluchistan, the Northwest Frontier Province, and Baluchistan. Even in the cities, feudalism has not been completely eradicated. The upper classes are almost exclusively the descendants of the great feudal lords and have ancestral lands in the countryside. Although they lived in the cities, they still had their own property in the countryside and had to go there every year to collect rent. Although they now received a Western education, they could not escape the influence of their native feudal clan culture. They had to consider the interests of their own class and tribe when making state policy.

Without the support of this group of people, it would be difficult for them to stay in power for long. Therefore, if the vestiges of feudalism remain, democracy will inevitably suffer, and it is unlikely to be truly implemented. Religion played a dominant role in the ideological sphere of India and Pakistan. In the early days of the Indian bourgeoisie's leadership of the national independence movement, it drew on religious power. After independence, religion continued to have a direct influence on Indian society and politics. During its rule, the Congress Party used religious power to maintain its hold. But after all, secularism became the mainstay of Indian politics. Pakistani politics, however, has had an inseparable relationship with religion from the very beginning. Islam is the state religion of Pakistan. Religious conservatives are powerful enough to support political parties in power, to help the government govern, or to disrupt it. Therefore, from the time of the establishment of the country to the present, both the elected government and the military regime have had to raise the banner of Islam. When they wanted to develop the economy, they mostly adopted a liberal economic policy. When such secular economic policies go beyond the teachings of Islam and affect the interests of the religious hierarchy, the conservative religious forces do not hesitate to come forward and unite with the opposition parties in a campaign of defection. This has become the rule in Pakistani politics.

3.5 The involvement of the military affects the sustainability and development of democracy

Stephen, an American expert on South Asia, says of the Pakistani army: "Some armies defend their country's borders, some are concerned with preserving their social status, others defend a cause or an idea, the Pakistani army is a combination of all three." In the early years of Pakistan's independence, the lack of a strong base and cohesion led to ethnic conflicts and sectarian riots. Under such circumstances, politicians had to resort to the army to maintain their rule. The army played an important role in maintaining national security. In 1953, Ayub Khan, the then Army Chief, was brought into the cabinet, and the army became closer to the government. The promulgation of Pakistan's first constitution in 1956 failed to resolve the turbulent situation, instead leading to endless fighting among the various parties and plunging the country into a serious political crisis. In October 1958, Ayub Khan took over the reins of power and imposed military rule throughout the country. As soon as he came to power, he abolished political parties' activities.

In the spring of 1969, there was a national political movement against Ayub Khan's centralization of power and for a parliamentary democracy. Ayub Khan was forced to resign. The 1977 national elections were won by Bhutto's PPP, and the opposition parties boycotted the results on the grounds of fraud, leading to riots in Karachi, Lahore, and Hyderabad. In July 1977, Zia ul Haq staged a military coup to end Bhutto's PPP rule and quell the nationwide riots. In February 1997, Sharif came to power through constitutional amendments, establishing a personal dictatorship. In October 1999, Chief of Army Staff Musharraf overthrew the Sharif regime in a coup d'état widely supported by the public. Pakistan has been in political turmoil for 50 years, and the army has stepped in to stabilize the situation. The army plays a pivotal role in Pakistan's political life.

In contrast, the Indian army has always adhered to its constitutional duties, defending the country's territorial integrity and the security of its borders, and has never intervened in politics. The British system of parliamentary democracy has been transplanted to India and, after nearly a century of practice, has developed into a parliamentary democracy with Indian characteristics. It is basically in line with India's national conditions. The bourgeoisie in India had matured in the long struggle against colonial rule and was capable of operating a parliamentary system. In contrast, in Pakistan, implementing parliamentary democracy was difficult due to several constraints. Even when parliamentary democracy was in place, it was not a true parliamentary democracy but an aberration under the sway of various political forces.



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