

SCIENCE
PROBLEMS.UZ

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Actual problems of social and humanitarian sciences
Актуальные проблемы социальных и гуманитарных наук

Ijtimoiy-gumanitar fanlarning dolzarb muammolari

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2025

SCIENCEPROBLEMS.UZ

IJTIMOIIY-GUMANITAR FANLARNING DOLZARB MUAMMOLARI

№ 5/10 (5) – 2025

АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ СОЦИАЛЬНО- ГУМАНИТАРНЫХ НАУК

ACTUAL PROBLEMS OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

TOSHKENT-2025

BOSH MUHARRIR:

Isanova Feruza Tulqinovna

TAHRIR HAY'ATI:

07.00.00- TARIX FANLARI:

Yuldashev Anvar Ergashevich – tarix fanlari doktori, siyosiy fanlar nomzodi, professor;

Mavlanov Uktam Maxmasabirovich – tarix fanlari doktori, professor;

Xazratkulov Abror – tarix fanlari doktori, dotsent;

Tursunov Ravshan Normuratovich – tarix fanlari doktori;

Xolikulov Axmadjon Boymahmatovich – tarix fanlari doktori;

Gabrielyan Sofya Ivanovna – tarix fanlari doktori, dotsent;

Saidov Sarvar Atabullo o'g'li – katta ilmiy xodim, Imom Termiziy xalqaro ilmiy-tadqiqot markazi, ilmiy tadqiqotlar bo'limi.

08.00.00- IQTISODIYOT FANLARI:

Karlibayeva Raya Xojabayevna – iqtisodiyot fanlari doktori, professor;

Nasirxodjayeva Dilafruz Sabitxanovna – iqtisodiyot fanlari doktori, professor;

Ostonokulov Azamat Abdukarimovich – iqtisodiyot fanlari doktori, professor;

Arabov Nurali Uralovich – iqtisodiyot fanlari doktori, professor;

Xudoyqulov Sadirdin Karimovich – iqtisodiyot fanlari doktori, dotsent;

Azizov Sherzod O'ktamovich – iqtisodiyot fanlari doktori, dotsent;

Xojayev Azizxon Saidaloxonovich – iqtisodiyot fanlari doktori, dotsent

Xolov Aktam Xatamovich – iqtisodiyot fanlari bo'yicha falsafa doktori (PhD), dotsent;

Shadiyeva Dildora Xamidovna – iqtisodiyot fanlari bo'yicha falsafa doktori (PhD), dotsent v.b.;

Shakarov Qulmat Ashirovich – iqtisodiyot fanlari nomzodi, dotsent.;

Jabborova Charos Aminovna - iqtisodiyot fanlari bo'yicha falsafa doktori (PhD).

09.00.00- FALSAFA FANLARI:

Hakimov Nazar Hakimovich – falsafa fanlari doktori, professor;

Yaxshilikov Jo'raboy – falsafa fanlari doktori, professor;

G'aybullayev Otabek Muhammadiyevich – falsafa fanlari doktori, professor;

Saidova Kamola Uskanbayevna – falsafa fanlari doktori;

Hoshimxonov Mo'min – falsafa fanlari doktori, dotsent;

O'roqova Oysuluv Jamoliddinovna – falsafa fanlari doktori, dotsent;

Nosirxodjayeva Gulnora Abdukaxxarovna – falsafa fanlari nomzodi, dotsent;

Turdiyev Bexruz Sobirovich – falsafa fanlari doktori (DSc), Professor.

10.00.00- FILOLOGIYA FANLARI:

Axmedov Oybek Saporbayevich – filologiya fanlari doktori, professor;

Ko'chimov Shuxrat Norqizilovich – filologiya fanlari doktori, dotsent;

Hasanov Shavkat Ahadovich – filologiya fanlari doktori, professor;

Baxronova Dilrabo Keldiyorovna – filologiya fanlari doktori, professor;

Mirsanov G'aybullo Qulmurodovich – filologiya fanlari doktori, professor;

Salaxutdinova Musharraf Isamutdinovna – filologiya fanlari nomzodi, dotsent;

Kuchkarov Raxman Urmanovich – filologiya fanlari nomzodi, dotsent v/b;

Yunusov Mansur Abdullayevich – filologiya fanlari nomzodi;

Saidov Ulugbek Aripovich – filologiya fanlari nomzodi, dotsent;

Qodirova Muqaddas Tog'ayevna - filologiya fanlari nomzodi, dotsent.

12.00.00- YURIDIK FANLAR:

Axmedshayeva Mavlyuda Axatovna – yuridik fanlar doktori, professor;

Muxitdinova Firyuza Abdurashidovna – yuridik fanlar doktori, professor;

Esanova Zamira Normurotovna – yuridik fanlar doktori, professor, O'zbekiston Respublikasida xizmat ko'rsatgan yurist;

Hamroqulov Bahodir Mamasharifovich – yuridik fanlar doktori, professor v.b.,;

Zulfiqorov Sherzod Xurramovich – yuridik fanlar doktori, professor;

Xayitov Xushvaqt Saparbayevich – yuridik fanlar doktori, professor;

Asadov Shavkat G'aybullayevich – yuridik fanlar doktori, dotsent;

Ergashev Ikrom Abdurasulovich – yuridik fanlari doktori, professor;

Utemuratov Maxmut Ajimuratovich – yuridik fanlar nomzodi, professor;

Saydullayev Shaxzod Alixanovich – yuridik fanlar nomzodi, professor;

Hakimov Komil Baxtiyarovich – yuridik fanlar doktori, dotsent;

Yusupov Sardorbek Baxodirovich – yuridik fanlar doktori, professor;

Amirov Zafar Aktamovich – yuridik fanlar doktori (PhD);

Jo'rayev Sherzod Yuldashevich – yuridik fanlar nomzodi, dotsent;

Babadjanov Atabek Davronbekovich – yuridik fanlar nomzodi, professor;

Normatov Bekzod Akrom o'g'li — yuridik fanlar bo'yicha falsafa doktori;

Rahmatov Elyor Jumaboyevich — yuridik fanlar nomzodi;

13.00.00- PEDAGOGIKA FANLARI:

Xashimova Dildarxon Urinboyevna – pedagogika fanlari doktori, professor;

Ibragimova Gulnora Xavazmatovna – pedagogika fanlari doktori, professor;

Zakirova Feruza Maxmudovna – pedagogika fanlari doktori;

Kayumova Nasiba Ashurovna – pedagogika fanlari doktori, professor;

Taylanova Shoxida Zayniyevna – pedagogika fanlari

doktori, dotsent;

Jumaniyozova Muhayyo Tojiyevna – pedagogika fanlari doktori, dotsent;

Ibraximov Sanjar Urunbayevich – pedagogika fanlari doktori;

Javliyeva Shaxnoza Baxodirovna – pedagogika fanlari bo'yicha falsafa doktori (PhD);

Bobomurotova Latofat Elmurodovna — pedagogika fanlari bo'yicha falsafa doktori (PhD).

19.00.00- PSIXOLOGIYA FANLARI:

Karimova Vasila Mamanosirovna – psixologiya fanlari doktori, professor, Nizomiy nomidagi Toshkent davlat pedagogika universiteti;

Hayitov Oybek Eshboyevich – Jismoniy tarbiya va sport bo'yicha mutaxassislarni qayta tayyorlash va malakasini oshirish instituti, psixologiya fanlari doktori, professor

Umarova Navbahor Shokirovna– psixologiya fanlari doktori, dotsent, Nizomiy nomidagi Toshkent davlat pedagogika universiteti, Amaliy psixologiyasi kafedrasini mudiri;

Atabayeva Nargis Batirovna – psixologiya fanlari doktori, dotsent;

Shamshetova Anjim Karamaddinovna – psixologiya fanlari doktori, dotsent;

Qodirov Obid Safarovich – psixologiya fanlari doktori (PhD).

22.00.00- SOTSIOLOGIYA FANLARI:

Latipova Nodira Muxtarjanovna – sotsiologiya fanlari doktori, professor, O'zbekiston milliy universiteti kafedra mudiri;

Seitov Azamat Po'latovich – sotsiologiya fanlari doktori, professor, O'zbekiston milliy universiteti;

Sodiqova Shohida Marxaboyevna – sotsiologiya fanlari doktori, professor, O'zbekiston xalqaro islom akademiyasi.

23.00.00- SIYOSIY FANLAR

Nazarov Nasriddin Ataqulovich –siyosiy fanlar doktori, falsafa fanlari doktori, professor, Toshkent arxitektura qurilish instituti;

Bo'tayev Usmonjon Xayrullayevich –siyosiy fanlar doktori, dotsent, O'zbekiston milliy universiteti kafedra mudiri.

OAK Ro'yxati

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07.00.00 – TARIX FANLARI

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THE FACTORS THAT HAVE LED TO INTERNAL CRISES IN PAKISTAN, AND THE SUBSEQUENT STRENGTHENING OF THE MILITARY'S ROLE IN THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL LIFE

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Abstract. This article analyzes Pakistan's formative decade (1947–1958), emphasizing the political, social, and institutional crises that shaped the country's trajectory. The partition of British India produced massive demographic dislocation, fragile governance, and unresolved regional and linguistic tensions. Leadership failures, constitutional ambiguity, and recurrent conflicts—such as the Kashmir war and the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan—undermined parliamentary democracy. These challenges fostered authoritarian tendencies and enabled the military to emerge as the decisive political force. The study argues that the structural imbalances of this period entrenched civil–military asymmetry and laid the foundation for Pakistan's prolonged political instability.

Keywords: Pakistan, Partition of India, political crises, civil–military relations, state formation, authoritarianism, Liaquat Ali Khan, Kashmir conflict, Rawalpindi Conspiracy, constitutional development.

POKISTONDA ICHKI INQIROZLARGA OLIB KELGAN OMILLAR VA MAMLAKAT SIYOSIY HAYOTIDA HARBIYLARNING ROLINI KUCHAYTIRISHGA OLIB KELGAN JARAYONLAR

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Mustaqil tadqiqotchi

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Annotatsiya. Ushbu maqolada Pokistonning shakllanish davri (1947–1958 yillar) tahlil qilinadi. Unda mamlakat taraqqiyot yo'nalishini belgilab bergan siyosiy, ijtimoiy va institutsional inqirozlar yoritilgan. Britaniya Hindistonining bo'linishi keng ko'lamlı demografik siljishlar, zaif boshqaruv va hal qilinmagan mintaqaviy hamda til bilan bog'liq ziddiyatlarga olib keldi. Yetakchilikdagi xatolar, konstitutsiyaviy noaniqlik va takroriy mojarolar — xususan, Kashmir urushi va Bosh vazir Liyokat Ali Xonning o'ldirilishi — parlament demokratiyasini izdan chiqardi. Bu muammolar avtoritar moyilliklarning kuchayishiga olib keldi va harbiylarning hal qiluvchi siyosiy kuch sifatida maydonga chiqishiga zamin yaratdi. Tadqiqot shuni ta'kidlaydiki, ushbu davrdagi tuzilmaviy nomutanosibliklar fuqarolik va harbiy kuchlar o'rtasidagi muvozanatsizlikni mustahkamlab, Pokistondagi uzoq davom etgan siyosiy beqarorlikning asosini yaratgan.

Kalit so'zlar: Pokiston, Hindistonning bo'linishi, siyosiy inqirozlar, fuqarolik-harbiy munosabatlar, davlat qurilishi, avtoritarizm, Liyokat Ali Xon, Kashmir mojarosi, Ravalpindi fitnasi, konstitutsiyaviy rivojlanish.

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Introduction. The emergence of Pakistan in August 1947 marked the birth of a state without historical precedent or institutional continuity. Unlike India, which inherited the political traditions and administrative structures of the colonial state, Pakistan began its existence under conditions of extreme uncertainty. Its territorial configuration was

geographically fragmented, divided between West and East Pakistan, separated by more than 1,500 kilometers of Indian territory. The immediate consequences of partition were devastating: millions of people were displaced, sectarian violence spread across the subcontinent, and fragile administrative resources proved insufficient to manage the challenges of statehood.

From the outset, Pakistan faced the difficult task of reconciling competing identities. The official vision of a united Muslim nation conflicted with the country's ethnolinguistic diversity, as exemplified by early tensions over the status of Bengali and Urdu. At the same time, the legacy of colonial authoritarianism, preserved in the Government of India Act (1935) and the Indian Independence Act (1947), vested extraordinary powers in the governor-general and reinforced a highly centralized model of governance. This concentration of authority undermined the development of representative institutions and contributed to recurrent political crises.

Leadership instability further deepened these problems. The premature death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1948 deprived the young state of its founding figure, while the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951 created a political vacuum that competing elites failed to fill. The inability of civilian leaders to maintain cohesion, manage provincial demands, and provide effective governance eroded the legitimacy of parliamentary institutions. Meanwhile, the unresolved conflict over Jammu and Kashmir, combined with persistent food shortages and economic dislocation, intensified insecurity.

In this context of fragility, the military rapidly emerged as a powerful political actor. The armed forces not only embodied organizational discipline and national unity in a fragmented society but also benefited from substantial foreign aid, particularly from the United States after 1954. By the late 1950s, Pakistan's political trajectory was already marked by authoritarian tendencies, weak civilian institutions, and the army's growing role as an arbiter of power.

Research Tasks. The article sets out to:

1. Examine the historical and political preconditions of Pakistan's state formation.
2. Identify the main internal crises that undermined democratic governance during 1947–1958.
3. Analyze the role of ethnic, linguistic, and religious factors in shaping political instability.
4. Assess the causes of the military's increasing influence in politics.
5. Evaluate how the structural imbalances of the early period predetermined long-term patterns of civil–military relations in Pakistan.

Historical Preconditions for the Formation of Pakistan. Pakistan emerged as an entirely new territorial entity. It had no historical precedent or symbolic connection to any of the former states. The Muslim states of northern India, however, had a precedent: the Ghaznavids, the Ghurids, the Delhi Sultanate, and the Mughal Empire. Still, their configuration was far from Pakistan's, which appeared on the political map in 1947 in an unusual, divided form. The western part was relatively large (approximately 800,000 square kilometers) and occupied a peripheral position in the west and northwest of the Indian subcontinent. The second territory, a small "pocket" of India in the east, was at least 1,500 km away from the first territory in a straight line and covered an area of 145,000 square kilometers. [Белокреницкий В.Я., Москаленко В.Н. С. 83].

The newly formed state had to start practically from scratch in terms of governance. Its administrative resources were extremely limited and it relied solely on the infrastructure of two provincial cities: Karachi and Lahore. Although Lahore was larger than Karachi, it was located close to the border with India and was greatly destabilized by the partition of the Punjab province.

The division of the provinces of Punjab in the west and Bengal in the east resulted in the displacement of 14 to 16 million people across the newly drawn state borders. Nearly all caste Hindus and Sikhs (4.7 million) quickly left western Pakistan, while 6.5 million Muslims migrated from eastern Punjab, northern India, and other areas. Consequently, the population increased by nearly 2 million. [Белокреницкий В.Я. С. 64.].

M. Ayub Khan later recalled this period as follows: "I saw a mental barrier being erected against outsiders. This became a serious obstacle to the movement of people and capital into East Pakistan." The attitude in West Pakistan was different; there was no emotional or political antipathy toward people from India. After independence, a large number of Muslim refugees from the United Provinces of India, Bombay, and other Indian cities arrived in West Pakistan and played an important role in its industrialization. Similarly, there were many refugees in the armed forces and civil service." [Muhammad Ayub Khan. P. 25].

Moreover, partition severed economic and social ties, destroying the political, environmental, and demographic balance the subcontinent had established over hundreds of years. India, however, with its much greater social diversity, was able to recover from the shock of partition and establish constitutional democracy. Pakistan, which inherited many of the same structural and ideological characteristics of the colonial state, was unable to create institutions capable of sustaining representative democracy. [Jalal, Ayesha. P. 54].

Karachi had long been a center of opposition to the creation of Pakistan and had become the scene of violent intercommunal conflicts. When it was chosen as the capital, Karachi was not ready for this role; the city lacked the buildings and space necessary to house government agencies. The small port city had only recently become the center of the Sindh province, and its development had been hindered by World War II.

Although there wasn't much construction in this area, two important buildings were built here: the governor's residence and the building where the provincial legislature meets.

Political Crises in the First Decade (1947–1958). Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the first governor-general of independent Pakistan, lived in the governor's mansion. Shortly before independence was declared, he welcomed Viceroy Mountbatten and his wife to the area. On August 14, a serious ceremony was held in the Sindh Legislative Assembly building to celebrate the creation of the new state. [Уолперт С. 390–391].

Even before that, at the first session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was unanimously elected as its chairman. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan consisted of Pakistani regions that had previously been part of the All-India Assembly. In August 1947, the Muslim League of Pakistan (MLP) was formed. It was made up of the provincial organizations of the Muslim League that had been active before the British India was divided into India and Pakistan. The MLP representatives, who had important jobs in the new state government, said no to the idea of ethnic nationalism. On March 21, 1948, in Dhaka, Governor-General M.A. Jinnah explained the position of the Pakistani administration as follows: "No matter who you are now or who you become in the future, you are Muslim. Now you are

part of a nation; you have been given a huge territory, and it is all yours. It does not belong to the Punjabis, Sindhis, Pashtuns, or Bengalis; it belongs to you. You have a central government that includes representatives from the provinces. So, if you want to create a nation, you need to stop thinking about your local interests and focus on the big picture. Provincialism is a curse for us."

In February 1948, Liaquat Ali Khan declared, "Pakistan was created at the request of 100 million Muslims of the subcontinent, and the language of these millions is Urdu." However, such a categorical statement did not reflect the realities of the young state, which was multi-confessional and multi-ethnic with a multitude of linguistic cultures. [Черешнева Л.А. С. 213].

Society, Religion, and Identity in Early Pakistan. When Pakistan was formed as a Muslim state in 1947, it did not mean that a person would be freed from the traditions, customs, and rituals of a particular region upon becoming Pakistani. This applies to both the indigenous population, who shared traditions with Indians, and people who arrived with the spiritual and social baggage of their former lives. For example, the caste system, which has nothing to do with Islam, is particularly evident in Pakistan. This is natural, given that most of the country's population is descended from Hindus, both distant and recent. [Плешов О.В.]

Pakistan's political history has therefore been characterized by considerable instability, frequent crises, and violent changes in power. These features are largely related to the circumstances surrounding Pakistan's formation.

The structure of Pakistani society after independence was established by the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Indian Independence Act of 1947. These laws temporarily served as the constitution and vested the governor-general with full authority, including civil, military, and legislative powers. The prime minister headed the executive branch. [Пономарёв Ю.А. С. 139].

M.A. Jinnah became the first governor-general of independent Pakistan on August 14, 1947. He died just over a year later on September 11, 1948. Although his death was expected, it came as a serious shock to the newly formed country.

Following Jinnah's passing, Pakistan's political system remained personalistic and authoritarian. Liaquat Ali Khan, a lawyer, politician, and Shia Muslim, took his place as the undisputed leader, inheriting his influence. [Talbot, Ian. P. 393].

Liaquat Ali Khan chose to remain prime minister and ceded the position of governor-general to Khoja Nazimuddin, the former chief minister of East Bengal. This decision was motivated by personal and political considerations. Khoja represented the Nawabs (princes) of Dhaka, the largest city in the eastern, Muslim region of Bengal. Lacking strong leadership qualities, Khoja could not rival Liaquat's influence. As a representative of the province with the largest population, he was the ideal figure to demonstrate the country's political unity. [Белокреницкий В.Я. С. 77–78].

However, Liaquat Ali Khan redistributed power among the highest offices. The prime minister, rather than the governor-general, became the key figure in the country's administration. In official circles and everyday speech, he came to be known as "Kaid-i-Millat," meaning "leader of the nation."

Islam played a key role in the formation of Pakistan as a state and continued to influence its political life. Liaquat Ali Khan's moderate Islamic beliefs also influenced Pakistan's domestic and foreign policy. During this period, Karachi became a center of Islamic activity, and Pakistan

promoted itself on the international stage as a leader of the Muslim world. To seek the support of Arab countries, particularly Egypt, Pakistan organized international Muslim conferences. Liaquat Ali probably saw this as an opportunity to strengthen Pakistan's position relative to India.

Following Muhammad Ali Jinnah's death, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan adopted the "Resolution of Objectives" in 1949. This document, which became the basis for the future constitution, reflected a specific Muslim vision of the state, asserting that power comes from Allah. This Islamic orientation drew sharp criticism from non-Muslim members of the assembly, who mainly represented East Pakistan. This marked the first step towards transforming the country into a state based on religious ideology.

Under these circumstances, the influence of the PML began to wane, and opposition parties emerged. In 1949, Maulana Bhashani, a prominent figure in East Pakistan, left the PML and founded the Awami Muslim League, an opposition party. The Azad Pakistan Party was formed in Lahore in 1950. In response to government repression at the end of 1950, progressive leftist forces united to form the All-Pakistan Civil Liberties Union. Pir Manki Sherif, a representative of the North-West Frontier Province, chaired the union. The Awami Party, formed in 1949, succeeded the Congress Party.

The Rise of the Military as a Political Actor. One of the main problems during this transitional period was the war in Kashmir. The first war between India and Pakistan, which began in Jammu and Kashmir, was a turning point in the two countries' history. In October 1947, Pakistani tribesmen armed and supported by the newly formed Pakistani army seized control of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. Maharaja Hari Singh, the legitimate monarch of Jammu and Kashmir, appealed to the Indian armed forces for help, offering to become an Indian citizen in exchange for assistance. Against the backdrop of violent clashes between Hindus and Muslims following the partition of British India, this decision led to the division of Jammu and Kashmir into two parts: one controlled by India, where about 75% of the population lived, and one controlled by Pakistan.

Disagreeing with this outcome, Pakistan began an undeclared war with India. The fighting lasted about a year and a half and ended with a ceasefire on January 1, 1949. In July of that year, the United Nations (UN) reached an agreement that included a clearly defined ceasefire line, a UN peacekeeping force, and a plan to hold a vote on Jammu and Kashmir's admission to the Indian Union. Pakistan declared a small part of Jammu and Kashmir as its own, naming it Azad Jammu and Kashmir. [Bailes, A. J., Thayer, B. A., & Thorhallsson, B. P. 9-26]. The larger region was formerly under the direct jurisdiction of Pakistan's central government and included the former kingdoms of Hunza and Nagar, but its size has since been reduced.

In March 1949, Liaquat Ali Khan presented a resolution to the Constituent Assembly regarding constitutional reforms and security forces. The resolution included democratic and Islamic provisions.

However, the resolution made no mention of the secular organization of state life or ethno-regional interests. Non-Muslim deputies representing the Hindu population of West Pakistan, particularly in East Bengal where there were 12 million Hindus, took note of such metamorphoses. These deputies formed the Pakistan National Congress (PNC) and demanded provincial autonomy, recognition of Pakistan's secular nature, and the declaration of Bengali as the official language. [Черешнева Л.А. С. 213].

The structural imbalance that emerged within the state during the first decade gained constitutional legitimacy because the judicial system was forced to submit to the all-powerful executive branch. This resulted in a centralized state structure that was federal in form but unitary in essence. Its military-authoritarian character contradicted the political order in the regions. This structural asymmetry caused the shortcomings and distortions of the Pakistani political system, including the lack of democratic institutions, inadequate public accountability mechanisms, compromised media, an unfair distribution of resources, and a chronic struggle between the central government and the provinces. [Jalal, Ayesha. P. 53].

The armed forces posed a threat to Liaquat's government in this situation because it was less hostile toward India than some officers wanted. In March 1951, Major General Mohammad Akbar Khan, the Chief of the General Staff, and fourteen other officers were arrested on charges of plotting a coup d'état. The organizers of the so-called "Ravalpindi Conspiracy" were tried in secret and sentenced to prison. They were all subsequently released. [Peter R. P. 40].

Thus, the formation of the new state was accompanied by a deep political crisis. Food shortages were exacerbated by territorial conflicts with India and Afghanistan. Dissatisfaction with economic policies favoring British monopolies caused a rift within the ruling elite and led to the formation of an opposition. The "Ravalpindi Conspiracy," organized by General Akbar Khan, was a vivid manifestation of this internal conflict. Attempts to suppress the opposition, including the punishment of pro-American officers, were unsuccessful. In 1951, the political situation came to a head. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated. [Ганковский Ю.В., Гордон-Полонская Л.П. С. 128]. The murderer, Afghan Said Akbar, was a complex figure. On the one hand, he was associated with Jamaat-e-Islami and radical Khaksars. On the other hand, he had worked for British and Pakistani intelligence.

The motives for the crime remained unclear, giving rise to theories about the involvement of religious extremists who were dissatisfied with secular politics or the idea that religious fanaticism was merely a cover for more influential forces. Khan's death had far-reaching consequences for Pakistan: it undermined democratic principles, weakened the country's position on the international stage, and contributed to the strengthening of authoritarian rule. This created fertile ground for the transfer of power from politicians to the bureaucratic apparatus and then to the army.

Those who replaced Liaquat Ali Khan and took up political posts were incapable of handling their new responsibilities. They did not understand the problems facing the country and lacked the courage to solve them. One after another, they muddled the situation by attempting to establish an ineffective system of government, causing the country to rapidly decline. The central government gradually lost control of the country's affairs due to constant pressure from parliamentarians and the growing power of provincial governments, which held the central government hostage. The central government found itself caught between the provinces' conflicting claims, and any two provinces could join forces to intimidate the central authority. [Muhammad Ayub Khan. P. 47].

Following Jinnah's death, Hoja Nazimuddin took over as governor-general and subsequently became prime minister. At the beginning of Nazimuddin's premiership, Gulam Muhammad, another influential politician from East Bengal, retained considerable influence. Seeking to strengthen the MLP as his predecessor Liaquat had done, Nazimuddin took over the party. Nevertheless, he was unable to prevent internal divisions, intensifying conflicts between

various groups (Punjabi-Muhajir and Bengali), or the MLP's decline in popularity, particularly in East Bengal.

Another difficult issue during the formation of the independent states of India and Pakistan concerned the army. On the eve of independence, approximately 420,000 people served in the colonial land and air forces. After gaining independence, India and Pakistan planned to halve the size of their national armies. These plans were never implemented. [Топычканов П. С. 103].

According to the terms of the partition of the Armed Forces (AF), military units were transferred to the new countries on a religious-territorial basis: "Muslim" units were to be transferred to Pakistan, and "non-Muslim" units to India. The distribution of the units actually took place after Pakistan and India officially declared independence. The League leadership's fears were justified. Of the 160 tons of military property designated for Pakistan, only 23 tons (14%) were delivered. There were cases of military trains arriving in Pakistan carrying stones or damaged equipment. These deliveries ceased during the Indo-Pakistani War in Kashmir from 1947 to 1948.

A distinctive feature of the colonial armed forces was the absence of units composed entirely of Muslims. Consequently, the Pakistani military had to establish new units comprised of groups representing various regions of India and branches of the armed forces. These groups often arrived without weapons. Sometimes, Muslim soldiers fought their way to Pakistan. Some soldiers provided security for camps and colonies of migrants from India. A total of about seven million people migrated from India to Pakistan during this time. [Топычканов П. С. 103].

The newly formed Pakistani army included units with a rich military history. These units included the Khyber Rifles, who had fought in both World Wars. Many of the Pakistani army's early commanders also had experience in these global conflicts.

In the early years following independence, the Pakistani army needed to strengthen its material, technical, and training capabilities. The Indian Armed Forces significantly outnumbered and outgunned their Pakistani counterparts, enabling them to maintain control over most of Kashmir. During this time, both India and Pakistan received minor American military aid and economic assistance. [Белокреницкий В.Я. С.5].

Pakistan has significantly strengthened its position since 1954 thanks to American aid. In the first five years alone, from 1954 to 1959, the country received \$348 million in military aid and \$620 million in economic support from the United States. [Cheema P.I. P. 150, 152].

Political changes in the country made it necessary to draft a new constitution. The adoption of the new constitution sparked fierce confrontation between supporters of a secular state and religious conservatives, who insisted on the influence of religion on legislation and the supremacy of Sharia law. In 1953, these differences intensified, culminating in anti-Ahmadi riots. The Ahmadiyya movement, a Muslim group that emerged in the late 19th century, was targeted by radical groups such as Ahraar and Jamaat-i-Islami, who organized riots in West Pakistan. [Ikram Ali Malik. P. 10].

In April 1953, the practice of forceful and administrative intervention, which had previously been applied in the provinces, was extended to the central government. Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad unexpectedly dismissed H. Nizamuddin's cabinet and replaced the prime minister with Muhammad Ali Bogra, a Bengali who had previously served as Pakistan's ambassador to the United States.

Not only was the dismissal of the prime minister a gross violation of protocol, it was also a clear signal about the principles of the existing system of power. Notably, shortly before this, the government had successfully passed its budget through the Constituent Assembly. According to parliamentary democratic norms, this meant confirmation of the government's legitimacy and support. [Callard K. P. 104].

Meanwhile, a crisis erupted in East Pakistan due to the unequal status of its population within the country. In March 1954, the United Front—which included the Awami League, the Kishorko Sherikally (Peasants and Workers Party of Pakistan), and other opposition parties—won the elections for the East Pakistan Legislative Assembly. The United Front's rise to power caused serious concern among Pakistan's ruling class. Recognizing this, the new provincial government declared its desire for the closest possible cooperation with the central government. In April 1954, as a compromise, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan finally recognized Bengali as an official language, on a par with Urdu. They also decided to retain English as an official language for the next 20 years. [Ганковский Ю.В., Гордон-Полонская Л.Р. С. 228].

Conclusion. Thus, from 1947 to 1958, Pakistan experienced a period of state formation accompanied by acute political crises, institutional weakness, and power struggles among various elite groups.

During the first decade of independence, it became clear that Pakistan was unable to establish a stable democratic system. Instead, authoritarian tendencies grew stronger, and the army became a key political actor. These processes laid the foundation for a cycle of military coups and civilian governments that continued in the following decades.

Consequently, the period from 1947 to 1958 was a time of missed opportunities to build a stable state. The political immaturity of the elites predetermined a long period of instability in Pakistan.

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