POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN: POLITICS OF UNDERSTANDING AND ITS IMPACT ON DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

(2008-2013)
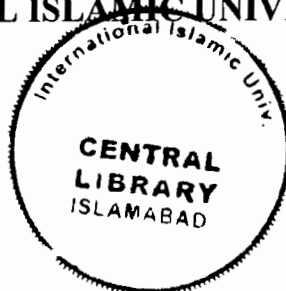
RESEARCH SCHOLAR

SUPERVISOR

Muhammad Naseer Ahmad Khan
PhD Political Science
Regd. No. 1FSS/PHDPS/S14

Dr. Amna Mahmood
Co-Supervisor
Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

Political parties

Pakistan

Politics and government

FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we gone through and evaluated the dissertation titled "Political Parties in Pakistan: Politics of Understanding and its Impact on Democratic Process (2008-2013)", submitted by Mr. Muhammad Naseer Ahmad Khan, a student of PHD Political Science under University Registration No. 1-FSS/PHDPS/S14, in partial fulfillment of the award of the degree of PHD. This thesis fulfills the requirements in its core and quality for the award of the degree

1. **Supervisor**
   Professor Dr. Amna Mahmood
   Department of History & Pakistan Studies
   Faculty of Social Sciences
   International Islamic University, Islamabad

2. **Co-supervisor**
   Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi
   Associate Professor
   Department of Politics & International Relations
   Faculty of Social Sciences
   International Islamic University, Islamabad

3. **Internal Examiner**
   Professor Dr. Muhammad Khan
   Department of Politics & International Relations
   Faculty of Social Sciences
   International Islamic University
   Islamabad

4. **External Examiner-I**
   Professor Dr. Abdul Rauf
   Area Study Center (Russia, China)
   University of Peshawar, Peshawar

5. **External Examiner-II**
   Professor Dr. Shaheen Akhtar
   Department of International Relations
   Editor Journal of Contemporary Studies
   Faculty of Contemporary Studies (FCS)
   NDU, Islamabad

6. **Incharge Chairman**
   Department of Politics & International Relations
   Faculty of Social Sciences
   International Islamic University, Islamabad

   Dean
   Faculty of Social Sciences
   International Islamic University, Islamabad

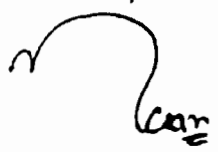26/9/2022

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I have submitted this thesis for the examination for a PhD degree in Political Science, which is my own research work. It has not been submitted to any other university for any other degree.

Muhammad Naseer Ahmad Khan

Regd. No.1-FSS/PHDPS/S14

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

DEDICATION

To, My Beloved Parents and children Muhammad Ahmad

Naseer & Irha Fatimah

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABBREVIATIONS

ARD	Alliance for Restoration of Democracy
APC	All Parties Conference
AGP	Attorney General of Pakistan
APJMC	All Pakistan Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference
AL	Awami League
ANP	Awami National Party
BD	Basic Democracies
BPC	Basic Principles Committee
CE	Chief Executive
CJ	Chief Justice
CJCSC	Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee
CM	Chief Minister
CoD	Charter of Democracy
DAC	Democratic Action Committee
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
EBDO	Elective Bodies disqualification order
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDA	Grand Democratic Alliance
INC	Indian National Congress
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad

JUI-F	Jamiat Ulem-e-Islam–Fazl
JI	Jamaat-i-Islami
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LFO	Legal Framework Order
ML	Muslim League
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
NA	National Assembly
NAB	National Accountability Bureau
NAP	National Awami Party
NDI	Democratic Institute of International Affairs
NFC	National Finance Commission
NIP	Nizam-e-Islam Party
NRO	National Reconciliation Ordinance
NSC	National Security Council
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PAT	Pakistan Awami Tehrik
PCCR	Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms
PILDAT	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PM	Prime Minister
PTI	Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz

PNC	Pakistan National congress
PCO	Provisional constitutional Order
PODO	Public Offices (Disqualification) Order
PSCBA	President of Supreme Court Bar Association
SPCCR	Special Committee on Constitutional Reforms
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
SC	Supreme Court
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN	United Nations

ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is comprised of political parties' politics in the particular established political environment and then shift in politics and its impact on the democratic process in Pakistan. As constitutionally speaking, there is a multi-party system, but since the 1990s, a bi-party system has been dominant, led by two mainstream political parties, PML-N and PPP. In the decade of 19990s, the two parties exercised their traditional way of politics, leading to political instability and confrontation. Political parties' performance regarding their due role in the parliamentary system has been at low pace because of their confrontation and various structural and organizational factors. More importantly, a lack of commitment to reforming the organisational setup and expediting with the passage of time not only marginalized the growth of parties but also paralysed the democratic process's growth. However, a shift in politics took place when the two mainstream parties, PML-N and PPP, reached a historical agreement known as the Charter of Democracy. They demonstrated their strong commitment to the cause of strengthening democracy by avoiding undemocratic and unconstitutional political practices, which have been the usual trend in the past. It was a process to adapt the rational choice. Thus, change in the course of politics happened due to the parties' review of politics and the compulsions of the oppressed political environment created by General Musharraf during his military regime; socio-political factors; and changing ground realities. Then parties established the cantors of politics of understanding, which ultimately contributed to the democratic process in the form of continuity of the democratic process; respect for each other's mandate; their unity against non-democratic forces; the elimination of trust deficit and consensus building, particularly in the legislative process, which resulted in significant amendments in the constitution (eighteenth amendment) and consensus on the 7th (NFC).

Chapter: 1

1.1 Rationale of the Study

Pakistan's political history is marked by the evidence of political upheaval, chaos, anarchic-type circumstances, as well as military coups. Although from the very beginning of its independence, political leadership, parliamentarians, as well as civil society members, have been committed to the notion of democracy, it remains an elusive dream. Politicians' unjustified political competition for their own vested interests, as well as non-democratic practices, harmed parliament's functioning. Initially, Pakistan faced numerous serious challenges, the most significant of which was the creation of a constitution, which took eight years to complete. Democratic values and practises are of great importance for democratic institutionalization and the development of party strength. It brings fruit in various aspects, likewise, consensus building, power sharing, and conflict resolution, etc.

There are approximately 162 major and minor political parties in the country. However, the major political parties include: Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q), Awami National Party (ANP), Jamiat Ulem-e-Islam–Fazl (JUI-F), Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), and now Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf (PTI) has emerged as a national party, having seats in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh and ruling the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. However, the country's politics have long been dominated by two main stream parties, the PML (N) and the PPP. The religious and ethnic political parties have also been playing their roles, often in alliance with other parties or as a part of a coalitional government.

Pakistan's traditional power politics remained intact till the last army takeover of General Musharraf (October 12, 1999). The military dictator ousted the two mainstream parties (PPP and PML-N) from the country's politics, as their leadership was not allowed to come to

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Pakistan. In such circumstances, political parties launched the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) against General Musharraf. A political alliance is formed by groups or individuals to achieve certain specific goals through a unified effort. In other words, it is "the union of different political parties or groups for a particular purpose, usually for a limited time"(Lupia and Strom 2003).

The political parties' agreement in the form of a Charter of Democracy on May 14, 2006, in London was a significant achievement. In this charter, political parties demonstrate the will and greater political understanding to collaborate with each other in strengthening democracy and by discouraging non-democratic practises that have been in practise in the past. Another fact that was taken into consideration was that country must not be ruled by military dictators as their involvement in politics not only undermined the democratic process but also threatened the economic conditions and the integrity of the country.

Whenever dictators came into power, they changed the constitution to safeguard their interests and strengthened their rule by undermining parliament's role through favorable constitutional amendments. Similarly, on the quest of President Musharraf, political parties sitting in parliament approved the Seventeenth Amendment to the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, which abolished the true feature of the parliamentary form of government. Actually, at that time, political parties in parliament perceived their survival while following the directives of the dictator and compromised democratic norms. However, during the PPP era, with common understanding of political parties, parliament unanimously passed the eighteenth amendment to the constitution, which eliminated the contentious article 58 (2) b, and restored the parliament's power, stronger than the President. This amendment also abolished the concurrent list, and provinces secured more autonomy than ever.

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In the 2008 elections, two mainstream parties, the PPP and the PML (N), received the most votes. Both political parties were adversaries of President Musharraf and, initially, they formed a coalition[1] government with PPP-led Prime Minister. That coalition, however, vanished as the PML (N) was aggressive in leading the impeachment movement against General Musharraf and restoring the judiciary, which had been jeopardised by General Musharraf.

Hence, the PML (N) and PPP coalition government in Punjab continued to function. That was the political understanding of President Asif Ali Zardari to embrace the policy of co-existence for a smooth political environment. Although there was a little bit of political bickering to disrupt the PML (N) government in the province of Punjab when the Sharif brothers were disqualified by the Supreme Court on February 25, 2009. However, President Asif Zardari realized the importance of political understanding and avoided any move that would have implications for the political system. The PML (N) was also committed to continuing the politics of understanding by avoiding leg pulling and giving the PPP government a chance to stay in power and complete its five-year term. Although political bickering remained a part of the game, the PPP and the PML (N) showed enough maturity to save the system. The PML (N) as a friendly opposition demonstrated enough maturity to ensure the continuity of the system (Askari, 2010).

The ruling political party's consensus building, involving all stakeholders in the decision-making process, and reconciliation on conflicting issues, enhances the creditability of the parties. Henceforth, the opposition's role in the decision-making process and check and balance over the government will improve the government's efficiency in the right direction.

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[1]According to the dictionary meaning, coalition means an act of coalescing, or uniting into one body, a union of persons, states or an alliance. It is a combination of a body or parts into one whole. In the strict political sense the word 'coalition' is used for an alliance or temporary union for joint action of various powers or States and also of the union into a single government of distinct parties or members of distinct parties.

The politics of understanding extends the life expectancy of democracy beyond the short term by increasing cooperation against eventual reverse waves. Political parties prefer to adopt mature politics by power sharing and addressing the real concerns of their allies and adversaries.

Consensus building on significant and conflicting issues can be called the beginning point of political understanding. Parties in a political process also get opportunities for power sharing; it is useful in strengthening the polity with the inclusion and support of different sections of society. The scope of establishing consensus is strengthened when political actors participate in the polity in accordance with democratic norms. Democratic norms and political culture sustain political institutions and processes. Democracy evolves through an evolutionary process, same is the case of political parties. It seems that political parties are acknowledging the threats to democracy that have been posed by their non-democratic acts. Political understanding for the sake of democracy is a new shift in Pakistani politics. So, it is interesting to analyze the new trends in politics and their impact on democracy.

1.2 Democratic process

The democratic process addresses all kinds of procedures and practises that have direct or indirect implications for democracy. At a macro level, it deals with parliamentary politics in which political parties hold fundamental positions. And at a micro level, it includes the voters and masses as being the stakeholders in the process of governance.

However, in this study, the democratic process is being reflected from the perspective of a shift in politics. Political parties' strategies in the framework of power politics, in particular their collaboration, consensus building, their commitment to democratic norms, respect for each other's mandates, and the continuity of democratic process Essentially, it includes things like behavioural changes that are dissimilar to the country's traditional political patterns.

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1.3 Significance of the Study

Stable democracy is considered to be a solution to many problems, and political parties are the key actors in strengthening democratic values as well as processes. They are important instruments of interest articulation and aggregation, serve as vehicles of political mobilization, and perform actively in the political system. It is important for political parties to act according to democratic norms and perform their main functions effectively, which ultimately strengthens democratic political culture. Unfortunately, the performance of political parties with regard to the above objectives has been weak. That's why parties have faced a lot of criticism in various aspects.

Pakistan's democracy is in a transitional phase, as military rule ended only a few years ago, and an elected parliament completed its five-year term for the first time. Later on, after the 2008 elections, political parties somehow demonstrated greater political understanding. The coalition government and opposition consensus building on the issues of national importance and a few legislative outputs are a sign of a new era of "political understanding". So this study is a contribution to the political literature, which is previously silent on the changing political scenario from politics of confrontation into politics of understanding. Although there are works on the political system of Pakistan, i.e., democracy, political parties, and governance, most of them are related to 1990s politics, and a few books were written later on. However, no exclusive research work other than articles in newspapers and reports has been conducted regarding the politics of understanding and its impact on the democratic process,

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from 2008 to 2013. So, this study is useful as well as a distinguishing contribution for other research analysts as well as policymakers.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

The two main stream parties, Pakistan Muslim League PML (N) and Pakistan People Party (PPP), have a long history of confrontational politics, which ultimately threatens the democratic process and the masses' trust. However, these parties, realizing the catastrophic consequences, reached a consensus and established political understanding. In this regard, they made serious efforts and signed the "Charter of Democracy' which was a milestone step and a commitment by the political parties to strengthen democracy in the country. It was to acknowledge the necessity of democratic norms while discouraging undemocratic acts and the traditional pattern of politics. These parties demonstrate the politics of understanding after the restoration of democracy in 2008. It was a new phenomenon and a shift in politics that had an impact on the democratic process. The study is comprised of the transitional phase of democracy and the track of politics of understanding and its impact on the democratic process.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What were the factors that compelled political parties to demonstrate politics of understanding?

2. What is the impact of politics of understanding on the democratic process, demonstrated by parties in the period of (2008-2013)?

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3. How did the political parties in parliament demonstrate the politics of understanding?

4. How far the friendly posture of the opposition contributed to the democratic process?

1.6 Objectives of Research

The study has focused on the following objectives:

1. The study focused on the factors that led parties to end politics of confrontation and eventually demonstrate politics of understanding.

   This change in the course of politics happened due to political parties review of politics, and under compulsions of oppressed political environment created by General Musharraf during his military regime, and due to changing socio-political factors as well as ground realities.

2. The research has analyzed that political parties' politics of understanding is based on the agreement of the "Charter of Democracy." At that moment, they entered into a politics of understanding and ended a politics of confrontation. Then, with the emergence of coalition governments, consensus building on important issues, smooth democratic process, and the continuity of democratic process, there was a shift in politics in the form of politics of understanding.

3. The study has analyzed that the politics of understanding has an overall positive impact on the democratic process. It has strengthened and streamlined the democratic process. There was smooth functioning of the democratic process and confrontation on a large scale was avoided due to political understanding of the stakeholders.

4. The friendly opposition was required to streamline the democratic process. As democracy was in a transitional phase, any aggressive or negative role by the

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opposition might have damaged the democratic process. However, it has both pros and cons.

5. Political parties have united against non-democratic forces. It was for the first time that they demonstrated political unity against non-democratic forces and remained committed to the continuity of the democratic process.

1.7 Hypothesis

Political parties, by exercising their cost and benefit analysis of rational choice, experienced the track of politics of understanding, which contributed in strengthening the democratic process. Whatever has been achieved in respect of "politics of understanding" may be considered the foremost step in strengthening democracy in a fragile democratic environment; otherwise, there is a long way ahead.

1.8 Literature Review

Hasan Askari Rizvi in his research paper "State of Democracy in South Asia" as part of the Qualitative Assessment of Democracy The Lokniti (Program of Comparative Democracy) explains the political scenario of the 2002 elections and titles it the Musharraf model of governance. Because General Musharraf intervened in politics through the involvement of agencies, they supported their favourite political parties through rigging as well as managed them into alliances. Coalition governments at federal and provincial levels were functioning under the command of a military dictator.

General Musharraf, along with his command as army chief, also got himself elected as President, who exercised his absolute authority over state affairs as an effective ruler. The Prime Minister and the supreme institution of Parliament acted upon his instructions regarding major issues. It was called the Musharraf model of governance because he had a strong grip on political command at federal and provincial levels through his political management and intelligence agencies. The National Security Council, which was established in April 2004, further strengthened his position as President and head of the military.

Siddhartha Bandyopadhyay and Mandar Oak, in their work Coalition Governments in a Model of Parliamentary Democracy, explain that a coalition government's impacts on democracy are diverse in nature. It is based upon the time and type of different interests of the political parties.

Daniela Giannetti and Kenneth Benoit describe in their work Intra-party Politics and Coalition Governments that more democratic parties can incur efficiency losses while bargaining over government formation, so the formation of coalition governments is considered to threaten the position of political parties in a democratic country.

Ilyas Shakir, in his book *MRD: Kamyabian Aur Nakamian*; MRD: Success and Failure, written in Urdu. This book is the compilation of different articles and interviews

conducted by the various leaders belonging to MRD. Simply, success and failures are described and unable to touch the democratic process or political impacts leading to the democratic consolidation.

Saleem Youna's book, *"Siasi Itehad Aur Pakistani Siasat per Iske Asrat" (Political Alliances and their Impact on Pakistani Politics.* This book is accomplished up to the period of 1990 general elections. Further that book highlighted electoral process and formation of alliances to restore democracy.

Another book dealing with Political alliances is by Muneer Ahmad, *Pakistan Ke Siasi Itehad (Pakistan Political Alliances.* This book is written in journalistic style. *Jamhooriat se Mulaqat* by Muhammad Asif Bhatti describes different interviews and it provides some useful knowledge about alliance politics.

Khalid Bin Sayeed's book *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change* (1980), elaborate the role of urban trade unions against Ayub Khan, and Z.A Bhutto strategies to attract the working class. Furthermore, how political parties tackled with conflicting issues at national level that undermined the democracy.

Syed Munawar Hussain Book, *Federalism in Pakistan: Theories and Practice* published by Islamabad, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University (1984), he discussed the role of political parties in multi-party system, and partially highlighted the features of alliance politics. However, there is absence of democratic features which are necessary in promoting democratic culture.

Attar Chand's book *Pakistan Party Politics, Pressure Groups and Minorities,* published by commonwealth Publishers (1991), the author's core concern was political victimization and violations of human rights and major political party's interactions with smaller parties, particularly operations carried out by state against MQM. There are letters which Wali Khan had been writing to the various heads of state regarding to stop the Afghan

war that was contradictory stance to Jamaat-e-Islami who supported the war. The book further is related to rights of minorities, ethnic violence and power bas9s in provinces.

State and Civil Society in Pakistan: Politics of Authority, Ideology and Ethnicity, authored by Iftikhar H. Malik, Oxford Press, 1997, the Book describes the supremacy of military and bureaucracy, feudalists in politics as well as trans-regional elitist alliances. Further, the author discussed the rise of regional political parties.

Dr. Inayatullah's Book *State and Democracy in Pakistan*, Vanguard Books, Islamabad (1997), explained the causes of weak democracy in Pakistan by investigating the different factors. However, one of the chapters is concentrated on the impact of political alliances on democracy.

Dr. Safdar Mahmood's book Pakistan Political Roots and Development 1947-1999, Oxford Publisher (2002), initially he explained unnecessary delay in constitution-making, political instability, military rules and agitation for political change. Later on, the author describes, political dynamics of parties and somehow political alliance. However, the book covers the period up to 1999.

A PhD thesis, "Parliamentary Political Alliances, Democracy and Terrorism in Pakistan: Legislation Passed during 2002-2012," completed by M. Imran Ashraf. His work is specific to consensus in parliamentary legislative and effective legislation to control terrorism.

Sabir Ahmad's *Islami Jamhoori Itehad and its Struggle,* it is only up to the emergence and role of special alliances and factors like political conditions, and developments are above the concern. Mujtaba Amin's thesis on "The PNA Movement and its Affect on Pakistan Politics" (unpublished M.A thesis); and Zaffar Ullah's on "Movement for the repairing of Democracy" (unpublished M. Phil. theses). Both are good attempts but provide descriptive

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outlook and emphasis is on political struggle in the complicated political environment. The two theses did not highlight the alliances impact on democratic process.

In proper theoretical framework M Altaf Malik's M.Phil.thesis (unpublished), supervised by Dr. Noman Omar Sattar, a comprehensive attempt to address socio-political legislation during parliamentary governments in Pakistan (1988-1999). Shirley Christian, on Dr. Andy Blunden of University College London, wrote an article No.68 titled as "Ethical Politics and Alliance Politics, published in Arena Magazine in Dec 2003", no one can achieve anything today other than by allying themselves with others. He further added that alliance politics was a beginning of ethical politics and negation of identity politics that ultimately contributed to democratization.

Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi writes in *Daily Times* (Sunday 3, Dec 2006), Major political parties, their association and their leaders: having different political outlook, are capable to work together-in an association within specific political environment in Pakistan. Thus, often it is difficult for the leadership to pull the association to one direction then they turn to have collaboration and power sharing.

Farooq Ahmad Malik and Bilal Ahmad Malik, in their research paper "Theoretical Frame Work Politics of Coalition in India", bring to light the evolution of coalition governments in India. The study evaluates the coalition politics in term of the permanence of coalitions. Policy decisions turn difficult in the government of coalition of ideologies. Generally, formation of coalitions is meant to capture power and prevent a common adversary from the government. However, survival of a coalition is depended till the enemy is humbled. Principles may be compromised in the process of political adjustments; ultimately, ideology becomes the first victim. That process has utility before the occurrence of differences, and then it lead to collapse of arrangement like a house of cards.

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Many books, journal articles and reports are available on democracy in Pakistan. Some of those works are also directly or indirectly concerned with the causes of democratic instability and the role of political parties in Pakistan. But these works produce negative relations by highlighting the immature and traditional politics of political parties. Further although there are articles observing criticism on PPP government as well as opposition role in the parliament, but lacking the specific feature of politics of understanding and its impact on democratic processes. So the research work will be a distinguish contribution to the field of governance, political parties politics and politics of understanding and its impact on democratic processes.

1.9 Research Methodology

The study is based on qualitative research, concentrating on descriptive and analytical methods, and it is comprised of both primary and secondary sources. In respect of primary data, the scholar conducted interviews with renowned experts and civil society members. In this regard, a questioner was framed in the form of open-ended questions. For the purposes-based questions, the technique of content analysis has been applied by developing a theme analysis. Since it is a case study, therefore secondary sources like books, journals, published interviews by renowned scholars and politicians, research institutions' reports, newspaper articles, and internet sources have been used.

1.10 Limitation of Study

There are approximately 192 political parties in the country. However, only a few of them participate in elections. However, the study focused on two mainstream political parties in Pakistan, PPP and PML-N, in the period of (2008-2013). Furthermore, a particular dimension and focus in this study has been political parties' paradigm shift from politics of

confrontation to politics of understanding. And finally, the politics of understanding impacts on the democratic process.

1.11 Tentative Chapters

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter Two: Conceptualization and Theorizing Political Parties: this chapter deals with the evolution and growth of political parties and with different models and theories involved in the process of growth. Furthermore, the scholar has also introduced his own model of Politics of Understanding along with the application of Rational Choice Theory.

Chapter Three: Politics in Pakistan: From Confrontation to Cooperation: This chapter is an overview of political parties' politics of confrontation, which has a long history. Furthermore, political parties are declining in faith across the world. Military regimes de-politicized political parties in Pakistan. And then the turning point as well as historical development came in the form of the Charter of Democracy.

Chapter Five: Political Parties Politics of Understanding: Paradigm Shift: This chapter describes and analyses how political parties demonstrated politics of understanding, including the pre-political environment of understanding, elections, government formation, and practical initiatives and policies that ensured political understanding.

Chapter Five: The Role of Opposition and Democratic Process: politics of understanding was not possible without the positive and constructive role of opposition. It was necessary first to review the opposition's role in historical perspective. And then the changing role of

the opposition as a friendly opposition has been analyzed. How opposition facilitated the process of politics of understanding and its outcome for the democratic process.

Conclusion

The conclusion provides an overall overview of the study; and concluding remarks, which include recommendations.

Chapter Two

Conceptualization and Theorization of Political Parties

2.1 Introduction

In the first part of this chapter, political parties' placement in democracy has been described. That covers, why political parties are necessary, their typology, and functions, etc. The existence and functioning of modern democracy is not possible without the existence of political parties. A democracy is defined as a system of governance with the consent of the people. A social contract is established between the rulers and ruled, which is described in the form of a constitution. Direct democracy is not possible due to the complex nature of the state and society. That's why the system of governance requires intermediary organizations, which are known as political parties. The formulation of the government is done by members of political parties elected by the masses.

Generally, a party's worth and political weight is measured by the number of seats achieved in elections. The competition for power among parties is an obvious phenomenon. Each party struggles to gain the maximum seats in the legislature. It is a requirement to achieve the necessary majority in the process of making a government. It is their ultimate goal to rule the country and implement their vision and agendas. Those who carry on minority seats are also important while occupying the opposition benches. The opposition plays an important role as a "watchdog" in the democratic system. A vigilant force must constantly monitor governmental activities and policies and offer better alternative policy options. If a government tries to move in the wrong direction or ignore the aspirations of the masses, then the opposition not only highlights the issue to inform the people, but also forces the government towards the right direction. In most cases, it is not easy for the government to bypass the opposition while deciding state affairs.

Theorization and conceptualization of political parties and politics of understanding have been explained. There are different models that explain parties' methods of politics in different eras. In this regard, the "Third Phase: Post-behavioral Era (1966–to date)" is more important to study. In this phase, parties and party systems' growth and evolution are greatly influenced by the post-behavioral revolution. This period is also comprised of rational choice theory, parties, and policy-making processes. On the other hand, it sheds light on new political concerns such as electoral change, legislative behavior, and coalition building. However, in this study, Antony Downs's "Rational Actor Model" has been applied to understand the politics of understanding. According to Downs, political actors are also rational actors. They make rational choices in visualizing their interests. The study is not just confined to Downs' model; I have also developed my own model of 'Politics of Understanding' in which theoretical orientation has been established about the said phenomenon.

The phenomenon of politics of understanding emerged for the first time in the history of Pakistan when two parties (PPP and PML-N) developed political understanding on broader accepted principles of democracy. Previously, these two parties had a long history of confrontation. They ended their confrontation with a renewed commitment to the democratic code of conduct. The politics of understanding established harmony and smooth relationships among political actors. They extended collaboration with each other according to the agreed framework and agreement. Political understanding may be short-lived or long-lived. As it depends on the commitment of the parties, common grounds, agendas, interests or threats may unite the parties to demonstrate politics of understanding while establishing formal or informal agreement. As in the case of Pakistan, the 'Charter of Democracy' provided the basis for the politics of understanding. Furthermore, political parties' politics of understanding has implications for the democratic process.

2.2 Understanding the Political Parties

A state is a politically organized society. Politics is an inevitable phenomenon in organizing and running state affairs. It requires an authority at the top level along with macro and micro arrangements or sub-systems. Political authorities are empowered to enforce decisions and policies in the best interests of the state as well as society. Parliament is considered a sovereign and law-making body. The executive branch of government is supposed to be answerable and accountable to parliament. However, the parliamentary structure is composed of the government and opposition. A democratic state may have a bi-party or multi-party system. In the parliamentary form of democracy, members of parliament, including the Prime Minister and his cabinet, belong to political parties. It highlights the importance of political parties in the political system. So, before switching to comprehensive placement of political parties in the political system, it is necessary to define the political parties.

We don't have any universal definition of political parties. Most of the definitions are composed of the organization, functions, and purpose of political parties. Parties are organizations that compete in elections and engage in other public activities in order to share in government management and policy influence. Parties own a particular label and produce a cadre of supporters. According to some analysts, parties are elite-oriented instruments in the quest to maintain political power. But this claim may not always be true or applicable in all cases. There are rules and regulations, norms and principles which restrict parties just so as to serve the interests of the elite.

Political parties differ from other types of social organizations such as associations, pressure groups, and social clubs. Anthony Downs, an American political scientist, described political parties as: "A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election"(Downs, 1957, p. 105). The Italian scholar Giovanni Sartori, who is well known among researchers on political parties, describes a party

as: "any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office."

There are a few other definitions of political parties, which have been designed keeping in view their major functions and organization. According to S. M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, parties are alliances that are established in the context of conflicts regarding policies and commitment to values within the political system. Almond and Powell (1966) describe the political party as "the specialized aggregation structure of modern societies"(Crotty, 1970).

In each society, there are different issues, opinions, needs, and interests. That's why different political parties emerge in the political arena with their particular manifesto and ideology. People's affiliations with any specific political party reflect their trust, protection, and promotion of interests and ideology. Parties, being public institutions, have to sort out the challenges in society. If political actors mislay the ability to create the minimum consensus required to sort out the conflict, then it will hamper the low capacity to tackle the issues, and static conditions may complicate and prolong the issues. Difference of opinion or conflict of interests is also called pluralism or "competition theory" of democracy, which is not something illegitimate, but minimum consensus is necessary to drive the system in motion and deterrence against political static conditions.

Public opinion is of great importance for political parties in constructing their impressive image in a competitive environment. They are always concerned with influencing and shaping public opinion in their own favor. People's minds are captured; their interests, demands, and aspirations are taken into account at a maximum level, particularly during election campaigns. Good rankings in public opinion represent the political will of the people and enhance the credibility of the party that ultimately contribute to better voting score in parliamentary elections (Leeper & Slothuus, 2014).

Generally, a party's worth and political weight is measured by the number of winning seats in elections. The competition among parties is an obvious phenomenon; each party strives to have the most seats in parliament in order to form a government, which is the ultimate goal of ruling the country and implementing their agenda. Those who carry minority seats are also important while occupying the opposition benches. The opposition plays an important role as a "watchdog" in the democratic system. A vigilant force must constantly monitor governmental activities and policies and offer better alternative policy options. If a government tries to move in the wrong direction or ignore the aspirations of the masses, then the opposition not only highlights the issue to inform the people but also forces the government towards the right direction. In most cases, it is not easy for the government to bypass the opposition. If not so, then the functioning of the parliament would not be as effective as that experienced in the atmosphere of mutual cooperation. A political confrontation may result from the non-cooperation or irresponsible attitude of the opposition or government. Political parties sometimes mobilise the people against the government, by staging protests, blockades of roads, riots, etc. Today's opposition may be tomorrow's government and vice versa, so people have the alternative choice to engage their political affiliation with any party (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011).

2.3 Typologies of Political Parties

Political parties can be distinguished by certain criteria. The party's classification may be on the following grounds; their level of organization, the socio-political aspects, the kind of representation and approach to social classes, or their position within the political system. That classification also helps to study the heterogeneous social phenomena in society. In some cases, parties can be classified by their names, which often represent their socio-political objectives. The demonstration of names and their core titles—which facilitate the

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party as well as citizens—how a party should be perceived. So, it confirms that classification is not just academic work, but a part of practise by political parties for political competition. Initially, the appearance of typologies took place in Europe in the context of a multi-party system, and later on spread to other regions.

2.4 Differentiation of parties by their degree of organization

Electorate parties: These parties are not concerned with large membership. However, since their main focus is to participate in elections, their limited scope of membership marginalizes their vote bank.

Membership Parties: These parties are entitled to a large membership, preferably all over the country. Popular and labour parties have traditionally fallen into this category, as they strive within the system while maintaining a well-organized apparatus and mass membership (mass political party).

Differentiation by socio-political objectives: Basically, there are two groups, those parties who strive for socio-political change in the existing democratic order, secondly, those who desire radical or revolutionary change, who belong to the extreme right or leftist.

They are reluctant to offer space to innovation or change and remain satisfied with already approved orders. If there is a breakdown, then try to restore it. They refuse the alternative models to be accommodated, like same-sex marriages. They are against supranational institutions, which are perceived threats to national sovereignty. However, there is a reorganization of modern reforms to carry on and update traditional values and principles.

Liberal Parties: Such like parties are keen for individual freedom, and democratic values as well as democratic nature of constitution. They are traditionally known as anti-clerical and also energize their support to free market economy.

Social democratic parties: Such parties have close relationship and sympathies with labor class. They strife and encourage the labor movement to bring about social equality. State is considered strong regulating authority over economy and society.

Socialist parties: These parties represent the same picture as above; however, they are more radical in achieving their objective, as state controlled economy instead of private ownership or property.

Parties defined by religion: These parties exist almost in all over the world. Their social and political objectives are mostly religious oriented. Their presence in politics can lead to considerable differences. However, that depends on their strand of religious reflection on political program. Furthermore, it is also important how these parties adjust themselves in regard to individual human rights and freedom.

Extreme right-wing parties: These types of parties, usually, advocate nationalistic ideologies which are intermingled with ethnic and racist conceptions.

Communist parties: These parties highlight the predetermination of history and leaving the ray of hope to replace the system by revolution and establish proletariat dictatorship.

Parties conforming to the system: Following type of parties believe in their political system and their propensity either to have stability of the political system or to seek improvement steadily while stressing for reforms.

Parties opposed to the political system: Such types of parties oppose the fundamental doctrine of their political system and want change to the system, most often through aggressive proposals.

Although classification helps to recognize the type of any political party, often parties have mixed characteristics, like a membership or mass party, which can also be seen as an "interest party." (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011).

2.5 Functions of Political Parties

A parliament is known as the house of the representatives of the people. These representatives are organized on party lines. The party with the majority of elected representatives forms the government and runs the country, while the rest of the party or parties, due to their minority or fewer seats, are supposed to occupy the opposition benches, with the responsibility to keep a strict eye on governmental procedures and policies. So, the opposition functions as an in-house examiner on the government. The government has to take into account the opposition criticism and pressure to carry on parliamentary proceedings smoothly.

Formulation of public policy: Each party frames its manifesto in the best interest of people and state. It is designed to meet the expectations and demands of the general public, particularly keeping election campaigns in view. Then the winning party, after formulation of the government, is expected to fulfil its commitments according to the manifesto, and formulate policies accordingly. Parties may have ideological variations, different programmes, approaches, and strategies to tackle the issues.

Public Opinion: Another, function of political parties is to formulate and organize public opinion. The political consciousness of the people is widely influenced by these actors. Otherwise, all the people may not be able to study or analyze the issues comprehensively. However, political parties offer a platform of interaction and, on important issues, organise meetings, rallies, and press conferences, to create awareness and mobilise the people while highlighting the pros and cons of the issue. They organize efforts to put pressure on the government with the maximum number of participants or affiliates. (Ahmad N. , 2004).

Mobilizing people to participate: A very basic role of parties is to encourage people to take part in the electoral process. In particular, during elections, parties motivate the people to be part of their campaign and ensure the participation of the people by bringing them to the polls

to cast votes. This function is carried out through direct or indirect means of mobilisation (Weissenbach, 2010).

The stability of the political process and the state is largely dependent on political parties. They make efforts to unite the local and regional forces at a national level for a national cause. Necessary arrangements and adjustments are made to aggregate and integrate the interests at multiple levels in a heterogeneous society. The parties' greater role and performance in the legislature also contribute to stability. Healthy opposition in parliament and its proactive role and criticism of policies also compel the government to move in the right direction.

Recruitment of the leaders: Renowned leaders are considered assets of the party. Each party prefers to recruit men of letters and action for its organization. These important leaders are assigned different duties to mobilize the people as well as to propagate the party's policies, ideology, and make the people aware of the issues by holding meetings and press conferences. These active members belong to society, and well understand the problems of the people.

These are not enough functions on the part of political parties rather as the boundary of political system is wide, the same as the functions of parties cover a wide range of political involvement in one way or another, direct or indirect. (Norris, 2004).

2.6 Political Parties: Necessity vs Decline

Schattschneider, eminently stressed, 'the political parties created democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties' (Schattschneider, 1942, p. 1). Political parties' significance in modern democracy is acknowledged by contemporary scholars, and those who are more concerned with the development in recently emerging democracies and with the further concern of bringing more effectiveness to the established democracies.

Parties were not considered as inevitable or desired political institutions; hence they rapidly achieved their relevance in modern democracies. Now they are viewed as sine qua non organizations for democracy. Their presence in the political arena has marked the twentieth century as "Party democracy".

Despite Schattschneider's positive ascertain, there is disagreement of the central placement of the political parties in the polity. The criticism stems from the due role and performance of parties; their increasing failure to perform the functions and responsibilities that are healthy for stable democracy. Particularly, their inability to nurture as channels of representation has put them at the verge of decline. They are losing their credibility as a heavy force of mobilization, interest articulation and aggregation. However, they have maintained their control over parliament or government. Although there is a decline in respect of their function as representative institutions, their procedural or institutional worth has been increased. Another, sign of parties decline is low electoral turnouts even in the developed democracies. Political personalities and the media's propaganda or manipulation of opinion have greater importance than a party's organization or worth. (Burnell, 2004).

The third wave of democratization is complicated due to many global trends and adverse impacts on democracy, coupled with declining faith in parties. Parties appeared incapable of proving themselves as the key institutions of representative democracy. (Bartolini & Mair, 2001). Political parties are intermediary institutions between society and state, as the direct link of individual citizens may not be possible either or unrealistic, that factor contributed to the legitimate status and existing of the political parties. Parties in the early period of emergence were thought as threat to individual interests or forces overriding the individual interests.

Political party's function of organizing interests or opinion is not necessarily inimical to democracy. Yet, lacking of internal party democracy, leadership accountability and the

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tendencies towards oligarchy threaten the validity of democracy. According to Weber, internal party democracy at system level is not as much harmful as incapable political leadership, who is unable to perform healthy functions particularly the accountability of bureaucracy. Furthermore, Sartori argues, 'democracy on a large scale is not the sum of many little democracies' (Sartori, 1965, p. 124). He neglects the account of pluralist and elite emphasize; the fundamental nature of democracy and democratic accountability relay on efficient political competition instead of internal party democracy and participation.

In recent years, party's linkages with society are declining while strengthening with the state. Parties' transforming and decreasing capacity as agents of representation would have long lasting implications for democracy. Research shows a general observation that political parties, politicians as well as parliaments in advanced democracies are experiencing decline in respect of public trust and support. Although, democracy still maintains its higher position as the most suitable system of governance, however, its driving agents have lost faith. There is substantial change that in recent period, citizens prefer to relay more on initiative such as referendum and other measures related to direct democracy, and increasing role and activity of interest groups. Individual citizens and pressure groups increased activity and influence has smashed the role of parties as primary actors of interest aggregating and representative. These shifts and developments are indicators of new style of democracy, which is marked as 'advocacy democracy' in which people directly participate or through channels such as interest groups and being a member of social movements, instead of through political parties' channels. Unelected bodies of interest groups threatening the role of elected representative or policy makers.

Democratic theory pays limited concentration to the role, functions and types of political parties. Their best understanding focuses on the established linkages between 'constituents' and 'representatives' or leadership and followers in the absence of intermediary structures.

When their existing and institutional position is recognized parties are treated rather generically, as formless entities. Party's strong institutional position often defines the popular will of the citizens in their own way. Distorting the public opinion and popular will damage the quest for participatory and deliberative democracy.

Just higher degree of individual participation is not the most required ideal. Rather, citizens' participation in the political system along with a sense of civic responsibility contributes to democracy in effective way. In democracy, political parties must have the capacity to transform the peoples' personal interests and preferences into the common good of all, rather than merely acting as the forces of articulating and aggregating the demands or interests.

The concept of democracy may vary; there is debate on its exact denotation, the question is not just about comprehensive philosophical discussion, but question is about practical implications everywhere in the world.

Distribution of opinion on the necessity of parties in 20 countries

Country	Parties are necessary			Parties are not needed		Opinion balance: (1+2)-(4+5)
	1	2	3	4	5	
Netherland	61	29	7	2	1	+87
Norway	68	21	8	2	1	+86
Spain	58	25	9	4	4	+75
Taiwan	59	23	10	3	5	+74
Sweden	61	20	12	4	3	+74
Germany	58	22	14	2	4	+74

Britain	43	33	19	3	2	+71
Romania	65	14	10	5	6	+68
Czech Republic	39	35	20	4	2	+68
Argentina	66	12	10	6	6	+66
Hungary	45	27	19	4	5	+63
Israel	53	20	16	5	6	+62
Australia	43	28	20	5	4	+62
New Zealand	39	32	20	6	3	+62
Poland	38	29	21	7	5	+55
Mexico	56	13	15	7	9	+53
Japan	37	28	21	9	5	+51
USA	25	31	26	12	6	+38
Lithuania	31	24	24	9	12	+34
Ukraine	43	14	17	8	18	+31

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Political parties in Asia are also coupled with the same above challenge. The National Democratic Institute of International Affairs (NDI) has indicated the public disenchantment of state institutions, particularly distrust in political parties, as there is lack of serious endeavor to defeat corruption and strengthening accountability mechanism (M & Thornton, 2003).

2.7 Conceptualization and theorizing of Political Parties

We find political parties insignificant in the previous writings of Bolingbroke, David Hume and Edmund Burke. Hence Bolingbroke and David Hume could not identify differences between parties and factions. Burke understands the modern idea of party, however, unable to theorize it on the parties. Later on writers like J.S Mill, Walter Bagehot and James Bryce had wide range of general contribution to theories of 'parliamentary' instead of political parties. Systematic literature on parties and party systems was produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

2.8 Evolution and Growth of Parties

There are three broad classified silent phases: Pre behavioral era, behavioral era and post behavioral era:

The first phase is fixed up to the first five decades of twentieth century. Holistic approach is applied; the study of parties was carried on organizational bases. The earlier focus was fixed to the study of mass nature of parties. In this respect, the ideas of Alexis de Tocqueville depict particular attention. He emphasized the significance of mass political parties as the core institutions of civil society. His design of parties comprised of two main forms; the big parties lay emplacing on ideology and the smaller ones standing for interests. The small parties, regardless of their ideological base are mainly forces fixed to their interests, ambitions, scramble for power, and concerned with time based-issues (Lively, 1965, p. 139).

Moisei Ostrogorski, provided wide-ranging analysis of parties. He was the first one identify that parties were gaining significance in the era of democratic politics. According to his analysis, parties' mainly concerned on 'the political feelings and the active wills of the citizens'. They 'tend to become simple aggregates, drawn together, by the attractive force of

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a leader, for the conquest or preservation of power.' Ostrogorski, find out general feature of parties within the perspective of universal suffrage. His work covered a wide range of historical overview of the upsurge and changes took place in the party systems. He sought to examine the consequences of suffrage on the British and American democracy.

Later on, it was Robert Michels, who was committed to explore the organizational aspect of political parties. He considers the oligarch leaning of mass organizations. In his view, every party's organization embodies in oligarchical power rooted in a democratic basis. As through organizations --- the elected maintain their domination over the electors and of the mandatories over the mandators. Although. His study was mainly concerned with intra-party processes. He as a pioneer highlighted the concept of 'iron law of oligarchy' in modern mass organizations. Democracy is better form of government and acceptable as it carry out less evils than any other. Majority surrenders in favor of minority.

Behavioralism provides the foundations of empirical study of parties and party systems. In this phase, efforts were streamlined in establishing electoral politics links with party systems. Maurice Duverger, contributed to systematic and analytical study of European parties and party system. Though his main work was comprised of the party structures in respect of organizations, membership and leadership, but he also put emphasis on party systems with reference to the consequences of members, strength and alliances, further relationship between political parties and political regimes.

Duverger had a discussion on the high range of variations in party organisation "a party is not a community but a collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country and linked by coordinating institution." He explained communities in four aspects, like caucuses, branches, cells, and militia. That process continues in the party by providing links with each other. The underpinning of these four elements provided a basis for

i.e., classifying and theorising political parties. He describes that the above four elements are present in almost all parties. It is very unusual to get away from these four basic elements. Like Michels, Duverger also acknowledged the supremacy of the elite in society. The principle of "government of the people by the people' must be changed with the new version of "government of the people by an elite sprung from the people'. Oligarchy is a fundamental feature of all governments, so the only difference is the training of the oligarch and the regions, which also decide on actions. Duverger firmly believes that liberty as a spirit of democracy and the party system overlap. Next, his point is that the electoral system largely determines the particular party system as these two have a relationship (Duverger, 1954)

According to Sigmund Neumann, "parties of representation" differ from "parties of integration" in that the former strengthen democracy by ensuring people's representation, whereas the latter threaten democracy and self-government by insisting on sticking to their basic ideology. The validity of a party system, according to Neumann, "becomes a test for the stability of a social and political order.'

Anthony Downs led the way to an innovative study of the parties within the milieu of democracy. He formulated a model of democratic government decision-making in which party politics has a core position. He believes that political parties and voters strive for certain specific goals and, more importantly, they rationally act to achieve them. "Parties formulate politics in order to win elections rather than win elections in order to formulate policies.' The Downs Model is well suited to illustrate political rationality from the perspective of economics; likewise, "parties in democratic politics are analogous to entrepreneurs in a profit-seeking economy.' The analogue shows that parties are always concerned to maximize their profit, that is, in terms of maximum votes and other political gains, which are rationalized in the best interest of the party or democracy.

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Downs' model is based on the assumption that every government seeks to maximize political support. In this regard, elections hold a central position in his theory of democracy. Without elections, there is no way to formulate a government in democratic societies. And the existence of political parties is inevitable as an important player in the democratic setup.

Downs' model also puts emphasis on diverse types of two-party competition. It attempts to coalesce the formal objectives of parties in regard to devising and holding on to policies when in office and the informal arrangement that deals with the private motives of the members of beholding politics. The party in government tries at its maximum level to manipulate policies and actions which are necessary to maximize its gains, i.e., votes, without abusing constitutional rules.

The Downsian model later comes into view through the adaptation of the spatial approach in party politics, in which parties to be exposed as' unfettered entrepreneurs 'rationally estimate their intended prospects of electoral success by implementing such programmes which contribute to maximum electoral gains (votes) (Ahmad N. , 2004).

Jean Blondel continues to work on the spatial approach of parties. He describes that there is a need to assess the social background of individuals, which constitutes factors as well as collective developments in parties. The social lifeline of parties is not subject to being detached from the ideology and the general political approach of electors, members, and leaders of the parties.

Ian Budge comes forward as a champion of the spatial theory of parties. The spatial theory helps parties in making policy choices when any reliable information is not available about the outcome of the policy choice. The theory states that political parties carry out a particular area within the policy spectrum which is determined by their ideology.

Budge analyzes numerous models of party policy-making in 20 democracies under the uncertain situation of post-war democracy and reaches the conclusion that parties deeply concerned with their own ideological era do not 'leapfrog' other parties in policy terms. Parties make their own decisions or policies, but they must adhere to their internal ideological imperatives. (Budge, 1994, p. 451)

2.9 Third Phase: Post-behavioral Era (1966-to date)

In this phase, parties and party systems' growth and evolution are greatly influenced by the post-behavioral revolution. On the one hand, this period focused on the application of the rational choice approach, parties, and policy-making processes. On the other hand, it introduced new concerns to the political stage, such as electoral change, legislative behavior, coalition building, and methodological concerns. In the new transformation of the party systems, two perspectives are important: first, party model building in specific cases and applicable in particular countries, and second, party typologies and party theorizations, which are applicable universally as they cover a wide range of countries. The following theories and models explain the important contributions of the final phase:

2.10 arty Model Building: The Notion of C5

The party model building in the first part is summarized by the term "C5. C5 indicates the first letter of C in the starts of the five key models of party theorization, namely, Cleavage, Catch 'All, Consociational, Cartel, and Conservancy.

(a) Cleavage Model

Lipset and Rokkan produced innovative literature on the theorization of cleavage politics. They broadly focused on the institutionalisation of cleavage politics, the transformation of the cleavage structures into party systems. Whatever the type of political system, parties are

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important organizations of mobilization and facilitate the integration of local communities into the nation or federation (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967).

The fundamental subject matter in the analysis of cleavage politics is conflict integration dialectic. What cleavage accounts for their analysis, that is, socio-economic division of groups, consciousness of their respective strength, and their entire organizational expression. Parties create their own alignments separately from the geographical, social, and cultural factors. The criteria of voter's alignments, which are portrayed by the term "cleavage," have two aspects: one dimension is socio-cultural alignments comprising of region, class, and religious denomination; and the second is the political criteria of cleavage groups carrying out the division of "we" versus "they." The term cleavage specifies the organizational expression of the socio-economic division among groups based on realization.

b) Catch' all Model

Otto Kirchheimer was among the first to identify the downfall of the mass parties and the emergence of catch-all parties. He proclaimed the end of ideology and decreasing loyalty compelled the parties to adopt "catch all" strategies.

The catch' all party means a system in which parties want to embrace a variety of other clienteles by sticking to their special working class clientele. They do not rely on a particular set of classes or clients, but rather make the party acceptable to the maximum number of clients or classes. However, the author believed that catch' all was subject matter to major parties; they could achieve success in this regard. The integration potential of the catchall mass party includes many factors. Kirchheimer argues that the 'Catch' all' party should organize its strategies in such a way that the advantages of individual members of the community are greater than the losses. The real outcome of the 'catch' all' party lay in its efforts to achieve the actual priorities of its leaders vis-à-vis the voters. (Choudhary, 2017)

c) Consociational Model

Arend Lijphart broadly focused on democracies, but his work also deals with party typologies and the functioning of party systems. He believed that 'segmental cleavages at the mass level can be overcome by elite cooperation (Lijphart, 1977).

There are two dimensions of party typology; the structure of society as homogeneous versus pluralist and the behaviour of the elites as coalescent versus adversarial. The party elites act in a cooperative manner by following these four practices: grand coalition, segmental autonomy, proportionality, and mutual veto. Despite deepening cleavages, he sees consociationalism as the key model of the party system due to the cooperation of segmental elites.

d) Cartel Model

Peter Mair advocated the cleavage identification model should be replaced with the party identification model. He explores changes in the party system because of organizational or programmatic displeasure, which makes stronger the forces of alignment and de-alignment. 'While re-alignment is channeled through party, de-alignment may lead to decomposition and dissolution of the party' (Mair, 1983, p. 428).

Mair in 'cartel model', Mair described the relationship between civil society and the state. The increased role of the state and the public funding of parties make it possible for the party leaders to hold on to competition and perpetuate themselves in power.

According to Mair, a party's survival significantly depends on the state and it is also an intermediary between the two parties and citizens. Regardless of declining parties, Mair sees 'changing parties' and 'adapting parties' as the dominant trend in the European party system. Parties are changing in respect of 'party structures' which are rapidly becoming stratarchical

in character. Secondly, parties switch on a rising tendency to be state-oriented instead of closely tied to civil society (Katz & Mair, 1995, p. 18).

e) Conservancy Model

This model was shaped as a result of the ecological and anti-nuclear mobilizations of the 1970s and 1980s in the shape of green parties. The Green parties were a specific kind of 'challenger' party; they desired political change in the governance system. These parties' positions and political fates vary from country to country, but many of them have managed their political presence over time. Now these 'challenger parties' are visible as being a part of the political establishment, particularly in Europe and other countries.

They rejected the concept of leadership; they continued to place emphasis on involving all members in political activism, its operation, and decision-making; and they rejected the concept of elite formation. Decision-making must not be exercised by a leader or elite but by the grassroots members and be based on collective decisions. These parties' commitments, deliberations, and actions demonstrated a high level of openness and transparency. Younger generations were inspired and mobilized by their organizational setup and work.

In the late 1990s, green parties were part of many national governments, mostly in European countries like France, Germany, and Belgium. Petra Kelly depicts green parties as "anti-party" organizations, while Andreas Schadler identifies them as anti-system or anti-establishment. In spite of the claims by a few that the green parties are becoming outdated; their significance has increased in electoral politics over time. (Choudhary, 2017).

2.11 Politics of Understanding: Conceptualization

Previous literature does not fix the concept of politics of understanding. However, it may be defined by the meaning of word understanding along with its political application and practises that are explicit through the actions of political actors.

In this study, the concept of "politics of understanding" has been operationalized in terms of the formal or informal agreement of political actors or parties on a certain agenda or course of action. Parties, regardless of their ideological orientations, may be united for the cause of political understanding. In the case of Pakistan, it happened in the transitional phase of politics, and the objective was to bring political stability by uniting democratic forces. This has been embraced as an innovative concept and driving force in determining the course of action of politics by mutual consensus and understanding.

The terms "politics of reconciliation' and "politics of understanding' are being used interchangeably. Reconciliation is more frequently used instead of politics of understanding by the political leaders in defining politics in Pakistan, especially after the agreement of understanding developed through the 'Charter of Democracy' in which all parties extended their cooperation. Asif Ali Zardari frequently referred to and admired his policies as progressive in terms of political reconciliation. He repeatedly stated that his politics were influenced by political reconciliation in terms of accommodating his competitors. Although there is a difference between these two concepts, as politics of reconciliation is a deep concept and has a complex process, politics of understanding is not as complex and its demonstration in the democratic system is usually a phenomenon in the shape of political parties' alliances and common agendas.

The politics of understanding and reconciliation has a few principles of convergence and divergence. During the PPP government, Asif Ali Zardari, who was head of party and head

of state as well, his translation of reconciliation was totally based on his own point of view, which was not in favor of democracy (Tanoli, 2019).

Charter of Democracy may be viewed as a political understanding. Because both the political parties at that time were out of power, none of them were in parliament. The leadership of two political parties were not allowed to participate in politics. So they created understanding, and in attaining power, they launched struggle (Chaudhary A., 2019).

"The term reconciliation has several meanings and applications, perhaps without a common conceptual core to these. An individual can be reconciled to her fate; members of an association can reconcile after some internal strife; or, reconciliation can be pursued as a political goal, as justice may also be pursued. Reconciliation requires general acceptance of the institutional order. Widespread acceptance of a common set of rules of public life is constitutive of peaceful political processes. Societies unable to generate such acceptance are marked by divisive strife and even violence. "Acceptance is a pro-attitude toward, or an endorsement of, a state of affairs."

Reconciliation generally refers to the restoration of a previous order. The process of reconciliation may be experienced between the two friends when they mend their relationship after a period of mistrust and annoyance. It leads to the restoration of the relationship in the previous order. It may restore past political order. However, such a perspective could not be applied in some societies, like in South Africa, as there was an absence of acceptable past political order, which might be restored through reconciliation. However, in the case of Pakistan, it also depicts a different scenario, as it was to establish and revive the order according to the actual structure enshrined in the constitution. It is more related to the practises of political actors, their attitudes, and established political culture.

However, as a conceptual concept, reconciliation implies a prior conflict. It is necessarily partially backward-looking because of a history of injustice. Then, with the acceptance of wrong-doings, it is forward-looking to resolve the issue and to reach out for political settlement as a way forward. And there must be regret for past damage and severe injustice. In practice, the elements of reconciliation are contingent on widespread acceptance, political equality, and expressions of appropriate regret. However, the politics of understanding may not require a history of injustice or conflict. Political parties may have differences on certain specific agendas, but they can develop political understanding. That may be in the form of coalition politics, dualistic politics, or seat adjustment in the scenario of elections. In all these cases, there may not necessarily be a history of conflicts or rivalries between or among stakeholders (Moellendorf, 2007).

Reconciliation can be distinguished on the basis of micro-level and macro-level interactions, as the former refers to local, face-to-face interactions like those between two friends, and the latter involves global interactions between groups of people, nations, or institutions. Its scope includes both forward and backward-looking. Reconciliation as a restoration of the former state is relevant in the case when two friends reconcile. In the case of South Africa, there was no previous racial harmony which could be restored, so the restoration of the former state is irrelevant here (Dwyer, 1998).

However, there is a significant difference between these two concepts: in macro-level reconciliation, the state must be a party; however, in political understanding, the state may or may not be a party. Political understanding minimises dissimilarities and confrontation among parties or groups and leads towards convergence of interests while carrying distinguished identity and ideology and ensures the parameters of mutual cooperation and smooth functioning of the democratic set-up. Motivation towards understanding may be on

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various grounds, as when parties deem it necessary. It may be due to convergence of interests, to readjust politics to the changing political environment, to confront the political challenges with unity or to establish common fronts, and it may be for the sake of the personal survival of the leadership or in the context of threats to the parties' survival or the democratic system. However, it is valuable if it includes broader perspectives and strengthens the democratic process.

2.12 Application of the Rational Choice Theory

Political actors are basically rational actors. They are always concerned with their gains and perform in the political system as is defined in this definition of politics, 'who gets what, when and how.' Politics is not just to pursue or achieve specified goals, but rather the maximization of gains. It is up to the satisfaction or perception of parties whether to pursue relative gains or absolute gains. However, democracy provides limited scope regarding relative gains, and generally, parties rely on absolute gains in their decision-making bargaining.

Rational choice theory, which is part of the behavioural revolution, empirically analyses individual behavior. Anthony Downs applied rational choice theory to analyse electoral behaviour and political parties' competition. Its main argument is that an individual is rational in his choices. Similarly, political actors, being rational actors, review all choices or options and then select the most suitable on the basis of cost and benefit analysis.

Steps in the Rational Choice Process:

1) Identify the relevant agents and make assumptions about their objectives.

(2) Determine the constraints that each agent faces.

(3)Determine the "decision rules" of each agent describe how an agent's choices respond to changes in another—for example, how the quantity of tomatoes purchased might change with price or income. This task is usually accomplished mathematically by the solution of a constrained optimization problem.

(4) Determine how to make the decision rules of various agents consistent with one another, and thus characterise the model's equilibrium. Effective analysis of complex interactions between agents normally involves the use of mathematical methods, which can sometimes be quite sophisticated.

(5) Investigate how the model's equilibrium changes in response to various external events. That is, determine the predictions or implications of the model. Again, this step can involve substantial use of mathematics.

(6) Check to see if the predictions made in step (5) above are consistent with actual experience.

(7)Draw conclusions and any implications (for government policy, for example) implied by (6) (Ogu, 2013)

Adopting the changes and readjusting to the new environment also fall under the criterion of the process of rationality. Political parties' emergence is entitled to a particular environment, and they are instruments in creating new environments as well. Socio-political conditions result in changing parties' perceptions regarding their role. Parties' ability to accommodate the changes contributes to the success. Their adaptive role, particularly in terms of mass aspirations, is more valuable than their educational role (Gopinath, February 2014). The writer supports his argument with the success of the PPP in West Pakistan.

The mainstream political parties, Pakistan Muslim League PML (N) and the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP),[2] in the 1990s adopted the traditional way of politics. That was leading to undemocratic practises, particularly no respect to each other's mandates, hatching conspiracies against each other, chaos and corruption. The traditional way of politics, followed by political actors, is a reflection of narrow-minded rationality and political circumstances of that era.

After all, political parties review their political strategies and demonstrate their commitment to democratic values while avoiding undemocratic and unconstitutional practices. It was a time to act rationally against common challenges and grasp fruit for mutual benefits. The second important reason was the political environment and changed circumstances, which were quite different from 1990s politics, in which undemocratic practises and hatching conspiracies against adversaries were thought to be necessary to overthrow democratic government. On the other hand, the party in government also remained unable to perform its due functions appropriately and particularly failed to deliver to the masses.

In the new format of politics, the two mainstream political parties review their political strategies as well as the consequences for the sake of their democratic survival as well as democracy in the country. The best option to aggregate was to acknowledge each other's political existence in the democratic sphere and respect each other's mandate, to be united against non-democratic forces; and to bring certain democratic reforms to the political system which were necessary to strengthen democracy in the country.

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[2]Pakistan People"s Party was established by Z.A.Bhutto in 1967 and participated in the elections of 1970 that were held under the command of military ruler. The majority in West Pakistan provided it a opportunity to form the government after the separation of East Pakistan. From 1971 to 1977 PPP ruled over the country with great achievements for Pakistan. General Muhammad Zia toppled the government of ZAB and made plot for his death. Pakistan Peoples Party was in doldrums after the death of ZAB. Nusrat Bhutto took the command of the party and it was a time when the important leaders left the party. Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots & Development 19471999*, pp. 140-43

General Musharraf, the country's military dictator, oppressive steps against the leadership of the PML-N and the PPP provided a strong reasoning and compelled the political leadership to celebrate unity against non-democratic forces. Parties acknowledged the drawbacks of confrontational politics, that leg pulling and hatching conspiracies against each other harmed their credibility and that, in the end, both were losers. This was a time to rationalise the win-win situation and to extend cooperation with each other. Otherwise, a democratic nightmare was ahead if they didn't frame their politics and act according to new realities and challenges.

In this respect, the milestone was the "Charter of Democracy". It may be called a unique or historic document in the history of Pakistan. The agreement created a win-win situation for its stakeholders. It laid down the basis of political understanding in the democratic set-up. Political parties agreed to act according to democratic norms and principles and strictly avoid undemocratic practises that adversely affect parties as well as democracy.

So, at that stage, political parties are relatively more mature and act more rationally than ever. This was a period of restoration of democracy after almost eight years of military rule by General Musharraf. Elections were held in 2008 and the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) secured more seats in the National Assembly than any other party and successfully formed a government.

In that period (2008 to 2013), political parties demonstrated a politics of understanding. The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) government and the opposition party, the PML (N), cooperated to ensure a smooth democratic process.

The following are the pin-points of demonstration of political understanding:

For the first time, a government completed its five-year term.

In the province of Punjab, historical adversaries PML (N) and PPP formed a coalition government; however, at the national level, the former was in opposition and later in government.

The smooth functioning of affairs in the parliament and establishing consensus on legislative achievements, particularly the 18th Amendment in the constitution, is considered worthwhile.

The opposition played a positive role instead of hatching conspiracies against the government or to overthrow it. There was a chance for the army to intervene in politics again, but the opposition, remained committed to democracy and discouraged such chances through their firm and overt support for the democratic process.

2.13 Model: Politics of Understanding
A) Factors B) Format of understanding C) Rational Choice

Compelling Factors towards political understanding	Era of confrontational politics	Changing socio-political environment	Common Threats to political parties	Political survival of the mainstream political parties
Impact/Outcome	Collaboration in the form of politics of understanding	Democratic consolidation	Friendly opposition in the parliament	A new beginning/way forward

A new Political culture |
| Measures/ Agreements | Charter of Democracy | Alliance for Restoration of democracy | Coalition government

Dualistic politics | A commitment to institutional reforms |

Rational Actor Model Assumptions: Application on Politics of Understanding

Rationality of compelling factors	Rationality of Cost and benefit	Outcome
Politics of Confrontation challenges

Realization of available better choices while realizing the past | Analyzing the Challenges and threats and visualizing the scope of politics of understanding

Mutual gains of the stakeholders and win-win situation | Demonstration of political understanding

Implementation of democratic code and conduct |
| Political parties realization of their Consistent failure in the democratic setup and disappointment of masses/socio-political conditions | A renewed commitment to democratic principles leading to political survival and strengthening democracy | Consolidations of democratic process |

(Downs, 1957, p. 105)

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The model of politics of understanding is an analytical framework of understanding of political parties' commitment to streamline and readjust their political strategies in the changing political environment.

The compelling factors towards political understanding are cost and benefit analysis of the past experiences of politics of confrontation in the era of the 1990s. Furthermore, the desperate and uncomfortable political environment in which the political parties (PML (N) & PPP) were oppressed by General Musharraf. The top leadership of the two mainstream parties was in exile. The second-tier leadership has limited scope or political freedom to carry on political activities in an unfavorable political environment.

The two parties perceived common threats in the form of the non-democratic regime of General Musharraf and his arrangements to establish a blue-eyed party by managing splits in the two parties (PML (N) & PPP). Parties were scared of their political survival in the environment of their political marginalization. It was inevitable to find ways to get rid of those adverse political circumstances. Their awareness of common threats, as well as their understanding of the implications of confrontational politics and changing sociopolitical realities, led them to establish political understanding and collaborate with one another.

In light of a cost-benefit analysis and a review of better available options to serve political agendas, the politics of understanding was a rational choice. The win-win situation replaced the perception of a zero-sum situation. A way forward was streamlined in the form of the "Charter of Democracy' (CoD). The course of politics was renewed, and it was concluded to bring reforms in the institutions, to follow up the democratic code of conduct, to respect each other's mandate, to struggle for parliamentary supremacy, and to prevent the intervention of nondemocratic forces into political affairs.

2.14 Politics of understanding and Democratic Process: Relationship

The 'Politics of understanding' is an independent variable; it includes politics based on collaboration after the revival of democracy in 2008. It may be required in such circumstances where political parties' struggle for power in the democratic system is unjustifiable according to the democratic code of conduct. And consequently, it has implications not only for political stakeholders but for the entire system. However, when the political stakeholders realized the catastrophic implications of their politics of confrontation, political machination, conspiracies and leg-pulling, they developed political understanding in the form of 'Charter of Democracy'. That agreement highlighted the significance of politics as an art of compromise and consensus.

The parameters of the demonstration of the politics of understanding were as follows:

To avoid confrontation;

To have respect for each other's mandate;

To express solidarity with each other;

To have common fronts against non-democratic forces;

To address systemic or constitutional flaws.

The Democratic Process is a dependent variable. It was facing challenges on various fronts. However, those were directly or indirectly related to political parties' malfunctioning to cope with the challenges. There was a need to streamline the democratic process in accordance with the principals enshrined in the constitution and time-by-time pledges of the political parties in their manifestos. The democratic process in Pakistan even suffered from a few basic prerequisites, such as the discontinuity of the democratic process

Democratic process experienced changes in respect of the following variables:

a) Democratic Consolidation;

b) Democratic code of Conduct;

c) Constitutional Reforms.

d) Power sharing in the parliament;

a) **Democratic Consolidation**

The most significant impact of the Politics of Understanding is the continuation of the democratic process, as each government completed its five-year term following the 2008 elections. It is unprecedented that the democratic process acquired momentum, and it happened due to political understanding as well as the commitment demonstrated in the charter of democracy. It was concluded in the 'charter of democracy' that political parties would respect each other's mandate. Furthermore, political forces would not allow non-democratic forces to intervene in the democratic system. The unity of political forces was regarded as the most formidable barrier in the face of non-democratic forces. As such, it remained common practise in the decade of the 1990s, when two parties kept on disrupting the democratic process by launching conspiracies against each other's governments. So, in the second democratic transition (1988-1999), no government completed its term of five years.

Political parties during the military regime of General Musharraf reviewed the adverse consequences of their political malign and short-term gains of the politics of confrontation. So, political consciousness led to a paradigm shift in politics in the form of politics of understanding, which strengthened the democratic process.

b) Democratic Code of Conduct:

Practicing democratic norms is the primary factor that contributes to the growth of political institutions. The more political parties act upon democratic norms, the more democratic stability there is and vice versa. Democratic norms are the essence of democracy.

In the decade of the 1990s, the two parties, PML-N and PPP, followed a political paradox which was contrary to political, social, and democratic norms. It was a self-constructed paradox based on vested interests and a narrow vision of politics. It had severe implications not only for political parties but for the masses and the country also suffered from those adverse political conditions.

However, in the Charter of Democracy, they realized the irony of their past politics and expressed a renewed commitment to observe the democratic code of conduct in their politics. Somehow, commitment to democratic norms was demonstrated after the restoration of democracy in 2008. President Zardari's PPP-led government often claimed that its politics was mainly based on harmony and reconciliation.

Constitutional Reforms

Constitutional amendments were required to restore it in its parliamentary form and the distorted clauses by the military regime of Genera Musharraf. The 1973 constitutional clause of 58 (2), through which the President was empowered to dismiss the parliament, threatened the democratic process. In the 1990s, while implementing that discretionary power, four democratic governments were dismissed turn by turn. Although the military regime incorporated that clause into the constitution, it was practically used by civilian Presidents under the guise of charges of corruption, bad governance, and incompetence, i.e., against the government at the time.

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Power Sharing in the Parliament

According to Timothy Sisk, power-sharing is: "a set of principles that, when carried out through practises and institutions, provide every significant group or segment in a society representation and decision-making abilities on common issues and a degree of autonomy over issues of importance to the group" (Carvalho, 2016).

According to Huntington, the origin of power-sharing is to address the challenges in the aftermath of independence, likewise implementing and consolidating democratic processes in diverse societies (Huntington, 1991).

In view of theoretical terms, power-sharing agrees to the conciliation of clashing groups that have a history of antagonisms and discrimination. Its main requirement is to have stable societies by developing inclusive political representation. However, there may be diverse ways of achieving power-sharing (O'Flynn and Russell, 2005).

It was a unique political development in the history of the country that two adversary political parties (PML-N and PPP) agreed to power-sharing in parliament after the 2008 elections. The willingness of the two to work together in the form of power-sharing strengthened their political understanding beyond their commitment to have respect for each other's mandate. Then, it promoted consensus building to respond to the issues with collaboration.

2.14 Conclusion

Political parties' existence in the democratic system is inevitable. But, it has been observed that political parties are declining the faith of the people everywhere regarding their membership, elections turn out and performance. Hence, there is no alternative of political parties because they are the necessary feature of democracy. Academics and international community have great concerns regarding the reforms of political parties.

Political understanding and reconciliation, the two have partial configuration as in case of former there may or may not exist rivalry between the parties before political understanding, however in case of later there must be a hostile relationship before the process of reconciliation. In case of Pakistan political understanding has a broader scope and impact on democratic process. It was not just to settle or readjust the party's own cause but it has implications beyond that for the whole democratic process. However, state was not a party in this case but state must be a party in the process of reconciliation.

Political understanding provides a way forward and minimizes dissimilarities and confrontation between or among parties or groups, providing a broader spectrum of convergence of interests. Political comprehension does not imply that parties must compromise on their distinct identity and ideology. However, it has scope to streamline the parameters of mutual cooperation and the smooth functioning of the democratic process. Motivation for understanding may be motivated by a variety of factors, including when parties deem it necessary; convergence of interests at any given time; the need to readjust their politics in response to changing political environments; the need to confront political challenges unanimously; or the need to establish common fronts; and it may be motivated by the personal survival of the party leadership or in the context of potential threats to the survival of the party as a whole. However, it is valuable if there is broader political agenda

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and consensus among all stakeholders, which is required to strengthen the democratic process.

Political understanding is a process, and its span may be short-term or long-term depending on the perception, motives, and commitment of stakeholders. In developed or stable democracies, it may be observed as a usual process, because of the stable democratic processes and mature performance of political parties in the democratic system. Political dynamics and political party characteristics differ in those democracies from developing countries where the nature of political parties and democracy is still in trouble or transitional phase. Furthermore, it is a necessary phenomenon where the political environment is based on confrontation and that confrontation is also unjustified or contradictory in view of the theoretical constraints of the constitution of that country. Similarly, democracy in Pakistan has been coupled with various challenges, among them the most important being the continuity of the process. The discontinuity of the system has serious implications for the growth of political parties. Otherwise, parties would have been groomed better through the process of periodic elections. The dominance of the two parties over the political system would have been curtailed by the alternative choice of a third force, which happened too late.

The model of politics of understanding explains the motives, process, and outcome, through which this process is accomplished. Political parties, being the institutions of society, derive their basic essence from society and their whole creditability depends upon their performance and compatibility with the aspirations and interests of society. Threats to political survival, zero-sum games, and a changing political environment compel the parties to readjust the course of politics. The realization of being looser leads them to make the rational choice. It was a win-win situation for the stakeholders.

Chapter Three

Political Parties and Politics of Pakistan: From confrontation to Political Understanding

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of politics from confrontation to conciliation since the inception of Pakistan. Pakistan's political system evolved from the subcontinent's British political system. Political parties were active in the subcontinent, with the Indian National Congress (the pioneer party) and the Muslim League among the oldest. The Muslim League struggled for an independent state of Pakistan under the charismatic leadership of M. Ali Jinnah and finally succeeded on August 14th, 1947. After the creation of Pakistan, the Muslim League was a popular party among the masses. However, its decline began after the death of M. Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, and the party was deprived of genuine leadership and indulged in power politics for narrow political interests. The power tussles between the Governor General and Prime Minister further added to the political unrest in the country. And parliament was uncomfortable with the overriding discretionary power of the governor general to dissolve the national assembly. Governor General Ghulam Muhammad had exercised his discretionary power and dissolved the first constitutional assembly in 1951.

Incompetent politicians, immature politics, and a lack of commitment to strengthening democracy not only undermine the trust of the masses but also provide the reasoning for non-democratic forces to intervene in politics and ultimately run the state. It was the result of adverse political circumstances that Martial Law was imposed by General Ayub in 1958. After ruling for a decade, he was forced to resign in 1969 and was replaced by General Yahya Khan, who arranged the first general elections in 1970. The Awami League of Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman won the elections, and the Pakistan peoples party (PPP) emerged as the second

largest party. Lack of understanding and consensus between Bhutto and Mujeeb led to the disintegration of Pakistan into Bangladesh and Pakistan on December 16, 1971. The second parliamentary phase of Pakistani politics started with the restoration of democracy in 1971. Z. A. Bhutto, as Prime Minister of Pakistan, introduced progressive policies and, more importantly, the constitution of 1973, with the consensus of all political stakeholders. In 1977, Military Chief General Zia ul Haq imposed Martial Law in the context of political confrontation and allegations of ragging in elections on Z. A. Bhutto.

As General Zia's military rule ended, democracy was restored and elections were held in 1988, Benazir Bhutto formed her government, which was prematurely dissolved by the then President. Although, in the era of the 1990s, democracy was functioning in the country, it was under unstable conditions as no government was able to complete its five-year tenure.

Again, democracy was overturned by the military coup of October 12, 1999, by General Musharraf, who suspended the constitution and appointed himself as the "Chief Executive", and ordered that the President must follow his instructions. A state of emergency was declared on October 15. He introduced the "Provisional Constitutional Order" (PCO), and took a few other steps to prolong his rule. He expressed that economic revival, national integration and good governance would be of top priority in his goals.

However, a significant development emerged to revive democracy in the country, as two main stream political parties unanimously drew out their future plans and courses of action for politics, which was laid down in the form of "Charter of Democracy", which is viewed as the third most important achievement after the Pakistan Resolution of 1940 and the Constitution of 1973, in which particularly two main stream parties, PML-N and PPP, extended full cooperation and consensus towards each other. Political parties demonstrated the strong will to restore parliamentary democracy in the country, which was endorsed by

some fifteen political parties in All Parties Conference (APC). 'Charter of Democracy is a turning point, which ends politics of confrontation and settles the contours of politics of understanding.

3.2 Establishment of Political Parties in the Sub-Continent

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 on the idea of A.O. Hume. This party claimed to be a representative body of all minorities, including Muslims. A few of the Muslim leaders also joined Congress because they considered it useful to have a platform to express their views, and to have proactive participation in the political arena, keeping in view the interests of the Muslims of the subcontinent. However, soon it was realized, that, the agenda of the organization was just to promote and safeguard the Hindus' interests. While observing discrimination, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, a prominent Muslim leader and educationist, warned the Muslims not to join the Congress as it was useless at that moment and suggested the Muslims focus on their education, in which they were far behind the Hindus.

After some years, being deprived of any organized platform, Muslim leaders realized the necessity of an organization of their own. On December 30, 1906, Muslim leaders participated in an annual meeting of the Muslim Educational Conference', which was held at the residence of Nawab Saleem Ullah of Dacca, who at the end of conference presented a resolution for the establishment of a political organization for Muslims. He highlighted the importance of an organization for Muslims and also proposed the name 'All India Muslim League'. The resolution was supported and ratified by all the leaders present in the meeting (Adnan, 2006).

The following were the objectives of the Muslim League:

1. To promote the feelings of loyalty among the Muslims of India and the British government.

2. To safeguard the political rights and interests of India's Muslims.

3. To eliminate hostility among Muslims in India and other communities (Afzal, 1976, p. 5).

The annulment of partition of Bengal due to Hindus' fierce protest and other political developments forced the Muslim League to adopt a shift in the course of Muslim politics and policy. The rise of the new leadership, who were inspired by the Pan-Islamism of Jamal al-Din Afghani and a few Indian Muslim scholars, A group of western-educated Muslims were dissatisfied with the approach of "unconditional loyalty" to the government. They desired cooperation with the Indian National Congress because joint efforts could be materialized in view of the constitutional reforms. Due to the dynamic and influential leadership of M. Ali Jinnah, the Muslim League and Congress established political understanding in the form of an agreement known as the "Lucknow Pact" in 1916. It was the first and last consensus-based agreement between the league and Congress. It was all due to Jinnah, and he was titled as the "ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity" (Afzal, 1976, p. 5-6).

The Muslim League had passed through three stages between 1906 and 1958. At first it was a pressure group in the period of (1906-1940), then at the second stage a nationalist movement in the period of (1940-1947), and at the third stage a political party in the period of (1947-1958). The last stage can be sub-divided into two periods, the early years (1947-1954) when it was all in all or the dominant party in the country's politics. Whoever, in the last four years (1954-1958) its position declined as the only party in the country's politics because the other parties emerged on competitive fronts (Aziz, p.184).

3.3 Decline of Muslim League

After the Lahore resolution of 1940, the chief objective of the All India Muslim League was to struggle for an independent state for the Muslims of the sub-continent. After seven years, the objective was achieved. The ML took over the charge of government to run the state affairs of the newly born state. M.A. Jinnah, who was a man of letters and action, always followed the democratic code of conduct. He, as the first governor general of Pakistan, tried to maintain the supremacy of the rule of law and settled glorious precedents in this regard. However, after his death on (September 11, 1948) there was no parallel leadership to him, to run the state affairs efficiently and further, to energise the ML. He took initial measures wholeheartedly for constitution making in the country; like the establishment of the "Basic Principles Committee' (BPC). Another of his core achievements was the objective resolution, which was unanimously passed by the parliament. The resolution provided guiding principles and a road map for the constitution (Akhter, 2011). Later on, ML was surrounded by challenges due to vacuum of leadership. And it was difficult to keep a strong hold on the league with incompetent leaders and their poor arrangements. The Muslim League blew the opportunity to become a well-known national political party. Politicians indulged in power politics and personal gains were more important than the party or state interests. Within three years of independence, new parties emerged from the Muslim League. Unlike, Indian National Congress, which maintained its survival as well as strong hold in the country for a long time, i.e. till 1969, as a single unified power.

The League's supremacy over the legislature and administration halted the process of democratization in respect of its roots in the masses. There were also regional political parties, existed even before the independence of Pakistan. Almost all of them opposed the creation of Pakistan. However, after independence, they changed their anti-Pakistan narrative into patriotism and some of their prominent leaders joined ML (Pobre, 1971).

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The League was reluctant to lay the foundation of a multi-party system and to accept the necessary legitimacy and functioning of the opposition in a parliamentary democracy. The League's agenda was to incorporate pre-partition parties rather than allow them to retain their separate identities and function in parliament as opposition. The other parties, time and again, felt oppressed by the League on the ground of patriotism. The Red Shirt, Jamaat-i-Islami, Ahrar, and East Bengal-based Congress faced challenges due to the perturbed conduct of the League with them. In the early 50s, an opposition party formed by Suhrawardi and Mamdot (old Leaguers) was not recognized by the League (Inayatullah, 1997, pp. 130-31).

The following four factors are highly important in shaping the early political process: the failure of Muslim League to maintain its space as a strong party; second, the withholding of a highly centralized system of government (the supremacy of the executive branch); third, the elite class of Punjabi mahajjir control over the key decision-making posts (Noman, 1990, pp. 9-11). Before the creation of Pakistan, a decade before partition, ML had conflict with regional political organizations like the Unionist Party in the Punjab and the Krishak Parja Party in Bengal. On certain occasions, it managed to make deals with some of those parties.

Although the Muslim League had exclusive rule at the center and in the provinces, the struggle for power within its ranks threatened its growth and compromised its governing capability. As a result, new opposition groups emerged in the ranks of the League. Likewise, most of the leaders of the Jinnah Awami League, Awami League, Krishak Sramik Party, Nizam-e-Islam Party, and the Republican Party, who had been politically active along with the Muslim League in the first decade of independence, were once part of the League.

The Muslim League, which remained dominant at the central and provincial levels, has experienced a decline since 1954. It was defeated in a provincial election in East Bengal and then, in 1956, the removal of Prime Minister Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, who presided over a

coalition ministry at the center. In 1958, martial law was imposed, and then the military and bureaucracy exercised the power. Political parties, even the officially formed Convention Muslim League, played a secondary role in the era of controlled democracy after the so-called restoration of democracy in 1962 (Ahmad, 2010).

3.4 Development of Political Parties in Pakistan

Constitutional Paradigm:

According to Article 17 of the 1973 Constitution, citizens are free to form any sort of association or union, subject to observing certain limits entitled to the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order, or morality.

Exceptions and Qualifications

The Constitution fixes that state employees are ineligible to join any association or to be a member;

Logical constraints imposed by law to protect Pakistan's sovereignty or integrity, public order, or morality;

Political parties are not allowed to promote any kind of sectarian, ethnic or regional hatred;

Political parties must account for the sources of their funding.

Every political party must hold intra-party elections to choose its officers (Omar Farooq, 2010).

Under article 62 of the constitution, a candidate for the parliament is required to meet the following qualifications:

One who has good character and is not violating Islamic injunctions;

To have proper knowledge of Islamic teachings and practises and the obligatory duties enshrined in Islam, and to abstain from major sins;

His actions were never found to be against the country's integrity or the Pakistani ideology.

The criterion for the disqualification of a candidate under article 63 is as follows:

3.5 The Political Parties Order, 2002

By promulgating Political Party Order 2002, Genera Musharraf claimed that it would create a conducive political environment in respect of promoting a federal and democratic system as per provisions of the Constitution. However, political parties perceived it as an act of their own marginalisation and anti-democracy. Under Article 63, if someone is convicted of a crime, he will be ineligible to contest elections. Furthermore, a criminal who fails to appear before a court is considered an absconder, and such a person is barred from running for party office.The above article was troubling for many politicians, as the leadership of the PPP in exile in Dubai was facing corruption charges in Pakistan. They consider it their victimization. Raja Pervaiz Ashraf, the then PPP's central information secretary, explains, "The PPO is a negation of democracy. Parties have their own internal rules and practices. This was purely a Benazir Bhutto-specific provision "(Crisis, 2005).

This order was enforced on June 28, 2002. The Political Parties Act, 1962, was replaced by this order. The following requirements for the political parties were placed in this order:

a) "Political party shall have a distinct identity of its structures at the national, provincial and local levels;

b) It shall not undermine the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan, or indulge in terrorism;

c) It will not promote sectarian, regional, or provincial hatred;

d) Should not bear a name as a militant group;

e) It should not impart any military or paramilitary training to its members, etc.

The Order made it binding on the political parties to formulate their constitutions, stating clearly:

a) The aims and objectives of the party;

b) Its organizational structure at the federal, provincial and local levels, wherever applicable;

c) criteria of membership;

d) Membership fee;

e) Qualifications and tenure of the party leader and other office bearers;

f) Criteria for receipt and collection of funds; and

g) Procedure for the election of party leader and other office bearers, selection or nomination of party candidates for election to public offices and legislative bodies, and method and manner of amendment in the constitution of the party.

This order further explains that every political party shall have to adopt the procedure of an elected general council at all levels, i.e. federal, provincial, and local. Individuals (office ...urers) must be elected through elections within the party. That is a perquisite requirement. The party leaders and other office holders should be elected in accordance with the party's constitution. Parties must ensure equal opportunities for contesting individuals. Within sixty days of the closing of the financial year, parties are bound to submit their accounts statements audited by a chartered accountant to the Election Commission. According to the constitution, the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) and the Election Commission will ensure free and fair elections.

Political parties are also required to provide equal opportunities for contesting party office, including that of the party leader, and all members of the party should constitute the

Electoral College for the intra-party elections. The order binds the parties to submit a consolidated statement of the accounts of the party duly audited by a chartered accountant, to the Election Commission within sixty days from the close of each financial year. In order to ensure free and fair election, the constitution held the responsibility of the institution of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) and the Election Commission. Appointed by the president, the CEC may be a serving or retired judge of the Supreme Court or a High Court, or qualified to be appointed as a judge of these courts (Article 213). The CEC may not hold any other office of profit in the service of Pakistan (Article 216). Election Commission is constituted with the responsibility to organize and conduct the election of National and Provincial Assemblies and to make necessary arrangements 'to ensure that the election is conducted honestly, justly, fairly and in accordance with law, and that corrupt practices are guarded against' (Article 218). In order to facilitate the Election, Commission and the Commissioner, the executive authorities in the center and the provinces are made responsible to provide assistance for the conduct of whole process (Article 220) (Ahmed, 2010).

If political party receives any kind of donation through cash, kind, stocks, hospitality, accommodation, transport, fuel and any other incentive, assistance or facilities by any foreign government, multinational or domestically incorporated public or private company, firm, trade and professional association shall be entitled as illegal.

After the creation of Pakistan, societal condition had adverse effects on the growth of political parties. Low literacy rates, poor economic conditions, a lack of political consciousness, poverty, weak social and political structures, people's strong attachment to primaeval groups, casts, bridaries, and tribes, and a lack of social, economic, and cultural contacts and interaction among different regions of the state are examples of such factors. Henceforth, these conditions particularly affected the growth of national political parties in the political arena. However, later on, with gradual change in society in respect of

improvement in political consciousness, new information technology and an increase in the volume of small industry, led to the emergence of the Pakistan People Party (PPP) in 1967, and later on, in the 90s, the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) (PML-N).

Yet, possessions from the colonial era were still persistent in the growth of parties. Although, there was gradual change in many respects and national political parties were functioning in the national sphere, mostly active in urban areas and with low contact in rural areas. In that part, the important factor was the absence of regular elections, that they did not increase their rural base to incorporate these people into the political process. Ethnic divisions in society, like, Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch, and Mohajir, also discouraged the growth of parties. To unite the Muslims on religious grounds was a strong factor during the struggle for Pakistan. After independence, some religious factions as well as people in urban areas were committed to that notion. These ideological perceptions and the role of religion in politics have also disrupted the growth of national democratic parties. Even secular parties were careful to organise themselves on other than a religious basis. Some religious parties, such as Jammat-e-Islami and JUI, were interested in implementing the principles of Shariah, as to convert Pakistan into an Islamic state was unpatriotic (Inayatullah, 1997, pp. 127-29). They insisted on the pre-partition appeal and commitment in which the Islamic perspective of the state was the dominant slogan. They put mainstream parties on the defensive over issues related to the Islamic perspective, as well as their refusal to recognize non-Muslim political parties' full membership.

3. 6 Voters Turn-out in elections (1970-2002)

Since first general elections of 1971, voter turnout and peoples' trust in political parties have been declined in Pakistan. From the 1970 to the October 2002 elections, the decline in voter turnout is 21.62 %. Turnout dropped in each province: by 22.49% in Punjab, 21.86% in

Sindh, 13.24% in NWFP and 11.14% in Baluchistan. A study also showed results about difference of turnout declining in rural and urban areas. For instance, in rural Punjab, the turnout has constantly been higher by nearly 10% than in the urban.

Everywhere, political parties are facing the challenges regarding their organizational structure and declining confidence of the people, which is necessary for their assurance as effective organizations. The declining creditability of parties strengthens anti-party movements and increases the number of independent candidates. More importantly, often parties define and portray national interest which best suits to their own interests instead of being rational one. Sometimes, justify their party interests while underlying the shadow of country's national interest (Ahmad N. , 2004).

Table: 3.1

Voters Turnout in Elections, 1970-2002

	1970	1985	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002	
	%	%	%	%	%		%	No. of voters
NWFP	48.09	40.63	33.92	35.7	34.59	27.8	34.85	3,087,448
FATA	NA	73.25	77.75	59.7	61.8	33.7	25.53	327.772
Islamabad	NA	65.35	57.91	57.3	57.51	46.1	51.28	196. 698
Punjab	68. 63	60.14	46.49	49. 6	47.07	39.8	46.14	19,035,539
Sindh	60.08	44.38	42.38	43.3	28.23	31.3	38.22	6,177,787
Balochistan	40.56	36.33	25. 69	29.2	24.96	23.2	29.42	1,004,219
Total	63.42	53. 69	43.07	45.5	40.28	35.4	41.8	29,829,463

According to Huntington (1968) point of view, political stability and political participation of the masses are directly proportional to each other and they have an effect on political development. In this regard, a survey conducted in Pakistan validates the notion that there will be more political stability, if there is increase in political participation.

Table: 3.2

Responses	Respondents	Percentage
Agree	71	68.3
Disagree	17	16.3
Uncertain	16	15.4
Total	104	100

Political participation relation is not just fixed to political stability rather it is an important factor for political parties and political development. As the following survey indicate the results.

Table: 3.3

Political Participation is Vital for Political Parties and Political Development

Responses	Respondents	Percentage
Agree	71	68.3
Disagree	17	16.3
Uncertain	16	15.4

65

Total	104	100

Results indicate that 68.3 % respondents agreed that political participation has an important role for political development and without it political parties could not be considered as true representative of people. However, 16.3 % disagreed and 15.4 % were uncertain about it (Mushtaq, Baig, & Mushtaq, 2018).

3.7 Military Regimes: De-Politicization of Political Parties

The conditions of society had a negative impact on the growth of political parties. Low literacy rates, poor economic conditions, a lack of political consciousness, poverty, weak social and political structures, people's strong attachment to primaeval groups, casts, bridaries, and tribes, and a lack of social, economic, and cultural contacts and interaction among different regions of the state are examples of such factors. Henceforth, these conditions particularly affected the growth of national political parties in the political arena. However, later on, with gradual change in society in respect of improvement in political consciousness, new information technology and an increase in the volume of small industry, led to the emergence of the Pakistan People Party (PPP) in 1967, and later on, in the 90s, the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) (PML-N).

Yet, possessions from the colonial era were still persistent in the growth of parties. Although, there was gradual change in many respects and national political parties were functioning in the national sphere, mostly active in urban areas and with low contact in rural areas. In that part, the important factor was the absence of regular elections; that is, they did not increase their rural base to incorporate these people into the political process. Ethnic divisions in society, like, Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch, and Mohajir, also discouraged the growth of parties. The desire to unite the Muslims on religious grounds was a strong factor during the

struggle for Pakistan. After independence, some religious factions as well as people in urban areas were committed to that notion. These ideological perceptions and the role of religion in politics have also disrupted the growth of national democratic parties. Even secular parties took care to organise themselves on non-religious grounds. Some religious parties, such as Jammat-e-Islami and JUI, were interested in implementing the principles of Shariah, as to convert Pakistan into an Islamic state was unpatriotic (Inayatullah, 1997, pp. 127-29). They insisted on the pre-partition appeal and commitment in which the Islamic perspective of the state was the dominant slogan. They put mainstream parties on the defensive over issues related to the Islamic perspective, as well as their refusal to recognise non-Muslim political parties' full membership.

The second important stage of indirect rule was experienced when Martial Law was lifted in 1985. Benazir Bhutto (Z. A. Bhutto's daughter and the PPP's custodian) returned to Pakistan from exile in 1986 to reorganize his party politics and participate in the 1988 elections. Although IJI was created to keep PPP's return to power in check, PPP successfully formed a government at the federal level. However, the government was toppled by the president in 1990. The then COAS and agencies were also involved in engineering the grounds to dismiss the government. They also continued victimization of leadership and managed a split in PPP. Henceforth, rigging in the 1990 elections was a deliberate effort to eliminate the PPP from politics. Consequently, IJI held power and resulted in the confrontation between Nawaz Sharif-led IJI and the PPP. Nawaz Sharif was uncomfortable with President Ishaq Khan and there were serious differences over various issues. A split took place in PML and resulted in PML (N) and PML (J). PPP took advantage of the situation and allied itself with the President. However, new elections were announced in 1993. When the PPP formed its government in 1993, there were serious differences and clashes between the opposition led by the PML (N) and the government.

This tense relationship left no space for mutual trust between the two. Opposition followed same politics of confrontation with the government. Extreme political steps against each other not only undermined the democracy but minimized the prospects of political parties' as dynamic forces in democratic spectrum.

After imposition of martial law in 1958, Ayub Khan banned political parties. Their collection of funds and ownership of property were also barred. However, after the introduction of 1962 constitution, they were allowed to revive their politics. Although ban was lifted but still he attempted to block the functioning of Jamaat -i- Islami in the political system, which survived due to the intervention of the judiciary. The weak structure of league, persecution of Awami League and maltreatment of new born party PPP, depressed the smooth growth of political parties, and their performance and role in national integration (Inayatullah, 1997, pp. 132-133)

Ayub was determined to transform parliamentary form of government into presidential. In that perspective, his legal measures were meant to restrict the revival of politician as well as to dent their strength. He introduced the Public Offices (Disqualification) Order, (PODO) and Elective Bodies disqualification order (EBDO). EBDO was applied on the members of legislature but did not hold any public office. The charged personals with misconduct and corruption were given the choice to take retirement from public office for the period of six years or face trial under the prescribed act. Most of the politicians adopted the first choice than to face the trial (Singh, 2008, p. 47) With this order few leading politicians like Suhrawardy, Qayyum Khan, and Ayub Khuhro were disqualified and more than 6000 persons were banned from party politics (Shafqat, 1997).

On July 5, 1977, General Zia declared martial law and promised elections within 90 days. However, the elections were to be held on October 18, 1977. Henceforth, when date reached

close to his claim, he postponed elections on the plea to first complete the process of accountability, then a new date would be announced. Furthermore, he also followed the precedence of former dictator Ayub Khan and barred all political activities.

Another strict measure adopted by General Zia was the amendment of the Political Parties Act 1962, in which it was introduced that political parties would submit their accounts to the Election Commission and then be valid for registration. If a party not fulfilling that providing, would be restricted to hold any political activity. Later on, the above requirement was relaxed. However, only a few minor parties got registered and many of them remained unregistered including the PPP. General Zia ul Haq[3] followed the strategy to put aside PPP from general elections which were to be held in 1979.

3.8 Opposition Politics: Implications for Democracy

In the early political history, opposition played very weak and insignificant role inside and outside parliament. However, with the passage of time it gained momentum regarding its due role. Actually, there was lack of considerable parties in the opposition except the Pakistan National Congress (PNC) that had 11 members in the house, comprised of former congress members from East Pakistan. Hence, PNC activities were limited to parliament. Their loyalty was often questioned, as they raised objection on defense expenditures. The basic factor regarding ineffective role of opposition was its little strength and size in front of strong position of ruling party (Muslim League). Hence, the opposition significant contribution was in respect of Objective Resolution in1949.

The strength of the opposition in various legislatures was as follows:

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[3] He was born in Jullundur, East Punjab on August 12, 1924. An Arain from a lower middle class family, he was educated at St. Stephen"s College in Delhi and joined the British Indian army in 1944. He was commissioned into the Indian cavalry in 1945. He was appointed chief of the army staff in 1976 by Z.A. Bhutto. He assumed the office of President of Pakistan in 1978 but retained his position as chief of the army staff .Shahid Javed Burki& Craig Baxter, Pakistan Under the Military, Eleven Years of Zia-ul-Haq, PP. 184-192 15 The Pakistan Election Compendium, Vol. 1, PP. 347-53.

Table: 3.4

Legislature	Year	Government	Opposition
First Constituent Assembly	1948	62	14
Second Constituent Assembly	1955	61	18
National Assembly	1956	51	28
Punjab Legislative Assembly	1951	153	44
N.WF.P Legislative Assembly	1952	81	4
East Pakistan Legislative Assembly	1954	296	13
East Pakistan Legislative Assembly	1955	179	122
East Pakistan Legislative Assembly	1956	173	130
West Pakistan	1956	164	139

When friction and breakdown come into sight in the Muslim league then Muslim opposition parties got an opportunity for their emergence. Even many former leaguers formed their own political parties, at the end of 1949, out of 13 recognized opposition parties nine were formed by former leaguers, in Punjab. Overall, near about twenty parties were active in Pakistan at that time, and the ML strength and membership was incompatible to any other party.

The religious oriented parties, except Jamaat-i-Islami and later on Jamiat-al-Ulama-i-Islam, were largely confined to their religious agenda and remained undecided about their role in politics. Muslim League downfall and the sudden configuration and transformation from one-party to multiparty after 1954, provided an opportunity to look forward and organize level

headed opposition in the house that would be able to maintain influence and keep on check on government proceedings (Khan H. , 2001, p. 468).

It is argued that an effective opposition is more feasible in a two-party system than in a country where political power is fragmented. The ineffective opposition is not a problem in Pakistan; rather, it is a problem in a large number of democratic states. The long dominance of one party results in the opposition's impotence or the appearance of being violent if they fail to gain office. The absence of an effective opposition, however, was not peculiar to Pakistan. A large number of new democracies have faced a similar hiatus.

If the domination of one party lasts too long, the opposition is either reduced to impotence through sheer despair or, losing all hope of entering office, turns aggressive. The former danger is more valid in emerging countries (Aziz, p.185).

3.9 Opposition Politics 1971-99

It was second parliamentary phase from 1971 to 1977, in which government completed its tenure. Furthermore, opposition played relatively efficient role in the parliamentary proceedings.

The Government was intolerant and authoritarian in dealing with opposition. Many journalists, student activists and labor leaders were arrested and pro opposition media organs were also banned. Government banned the National Awami Party (NAP), on the grounds that its activities based on "prejudicial to the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan", in another notification of the same date, government forfeited the funds and properties of NAP. Then government moved on and made a reference to Supreme Court, under Section 4 of the Political Parties Act, 1962, in which Supreme Court declaration uphold the government decision. However government action and court upholding the same decision was question mark and criticized (Khan H. , 2001, p. 468).

The third phase of parliamentary democracy also witnessed victimization and confrontational politics led by two major parties PML (N) and PPP, during their respective turn of rule. After the end of era of General Zia ul Haq, democracy was restored and two party system emerged in Pakistan. And four governments were precipitately dismissed between 1988 and 1999. In such type of circumstances opposition legislative role remained highly ineffective. Opposition preferred to suppress government by focusing on scandals instead of emphasizing over real substantial issues. In the 1988 elections PPP secured 94 out of 217 seats, so emerged as the single largest party. Its adversary, the IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad), secured 50 seats.

It has been usual trend in Pakistan that parties upholding government deny legitimate space to opposition parties (Safdar, 2000, p. 389). Opposition parties had faced unfair treatment led by opponents like ban on their political activities and victimization, dismissal of opposition controlled provincial governments. However, at certain occasions establishment provided strength to opposition by placing pressures on government (Zain, 2010).

3.10 The Era of Confrontational Politics (1988-99)

In November 1988 election, PPP secured majority seats as 94 out of 217, and formed government with the help of smaller parties and independents. Its adversary IJI had 55 seats to run the opposition. However, IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad)[4] had majority seats in the Punjab provincial assembly and formed its government. PPP had clear majority and IJI not even a single seat in the Sindh assembly. With the emergence of these two main parties by-party system became dominant in Pakistani politics. Young leadership of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif raised hopes of better politics, as to put an end the legacy of confrontation and

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[4] Islami Jamhoori Ittehad was formed in September 1988 to oppose the PPP in elections. The alliance was comprised nine parties of which the major were PML and Jamaat-i-Islami.

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toward a new beginning on the trail of reconciliation. But no such dream yielded results as confrontational politics remained an important strategy to step down the adversaries.

There was need of greater political understanding to correct the distortions in the 1973 constitution. It was easy task to establish political consensus and demonstrate the spirit of co-operation as the two young leaders had not any serious ideological differences. Further, they apparently expressed their commitment to democracy, free market economy and denationalization of industries and financial institutions. They were almost on the same page on the core issues of foreign policy.

However, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif consciousness of working together for the sake of democracy and country could not go long, as they indulged in confrontational politics. Consideration of power and personal gains were more important than real policy issues or national interest or political ideology, which defined their animosity. The confrontation was at peak between federal government led by Benazir and Punjab government led by Nawaz Sharif. When federal government due to its antagonism exercised unjustified pressure on the Punjab government, while later challenged the federal authority over each and every issue. There was absence of effective mechanism or institution that could mediate conflicts among political elite. Polarization in society with dominant features of feudal political culture and the tradition of authoritarian rule further added to misery.

Whatever in their access was necessary to implement, no matter how long it is dangerous for democracy, as buying of loyalties of the member of national assembly to change the mandate of rival, spending of state money. Such kind of practices polluted the political atmosphere and threatened the growth of democratic culture and the hopes of economic revival. It was the responsibility of Benazir to be committed to smooth political functions and avoid conspiracies and undemocratic practices. But she attempted to oust Nawaz Sharif from

Punjab by different tactics, bribes, intimidation and misuse of the federal institutions. Most of the Punjabi politicians felt insecure from the high-handedness of Benazir and united themselves with Nawaz Sharif. The enlightened sections of the society observed wrong doing of government; focused on discrimination of adversaries, rather than on political agenda or policies. The government was entitled as corrupt, inefficient, and incapable of running and promoting the interests of the masses or country.

Initially, Benazir preferred to establish compromise with President and military. However, it could not work due to unwillingness of the other side. Balance of power was in favor as President in the form of Eights Amendment. The confrontational politics of government and opposition pushed the country into a new phase of uncertainty. Political dead lock and worst economic conditions had catastrophic effects over political system. Finally, on 6 August 1990, President exercised his discretionary power under 58(2) b, and dissolved the National Assembly.

Then there was way forward in term of new elections, which were held in 1990. Anti-PPP leaders who were disappointed of its bad governance decided to form an electoral alliance with IJI. The ANP and MQM realized the necessity to offer united resistance to PPP, as 1988 elections PPP secured majority seats because anti- PPP groups were divided and they lost seats while competing among themselves. Now they had the common platform and shared hatred against PPP. The role of President and a few of military elements was also vital in establishing the broad- based electoral understanding against PPP.

PPP keeping in view its past performance and its adversaries strong alliance of IJI, also shaped its first ever alliance with other parties to win the elections. However, IJI managed success in elections and formed government at center and in all four provinces as well. The PPP captured only 44 seats in the National Assembly and challenged the election results on

different grounds. It was claimed that elections were not transparent; as army officials and bureaucrats managed to control elections by establishing an election cell in president house. However, rigging allegations were rejected by caretaker government and Election Commission. Furthermore, the IJI leader the then Prime minister Nawaz Sharif also rejected the allegations and supported his argument with the acknowledgement and the report of foreign observers in which elections were declared as free and fair (Malik, 2012).

The Nawaz Sharif government concentrated on economy, which was severely threatened during Benazir government. Various steps like liberalization of investment, creating of easy structures over sanctioning new projects pave the way to economic recovery. The confidence of domestic and international investors was restored by improving the governance style. In 1991 remarkable economic progress was observed as GDP growth rate reached at 6.9 per cent, inflation decreased below as 10 Per cent. The government progress was better than any previous government particularly regarding economic revival.

Hence, the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan felt threat of increasing independence of Nawaz Sharif in political affairs. A few other reasons also contributed in creating rift between the two. The President exercised his discretionary power and dismissed the Nawaz government. The dismissal of government was not on the basis of sound allegation rather personal factors were important, likewise to be ambitious of power and supremacy. As they had differences over appointment of army chief, appointing of ambassadors, economic policies as liberalization, and relationship with other parties. Moreover, In 1990s army's intervention in politics was very clear, as President Ishaq Khan dismissed government with the support of army chief (Mahmood, 1999, pp. 392-95).

Benazir Bhutto Second Term:

October, 1993 elections also produced the divided mandate; however PPP was able to capture 86 seats which ensured its majority in the legislature. The leader of the party Benazir Bhutto established coalition government and became PM second time. This time she seemed powerful, as controlled the Punjab government with the sharing of power with Muslim League faction (Chatta faction) and independents. Another dominant factor was that PPP nominated candidate for President Farooq Leghari defeated the PML (N) Waseem Sajjad. So, there was optimism that this time she is stronger and might complete its five year tenure. Instead of improving her governance style, she repeated a few of past practices, as posting of civil servants and judges on the basis of loyalties with her government. Those bureaucrats who worked closely with Nawaz Sharif were sidelined from important tasks.

By mid-1996, the country was presenting the picture of domestic violence particularly, in Sindh the confrontation between MQM and law enforcing agencies deteriorated the circumstances. And over all law and order situation was getting worse. As the brother of PM was assassinated in front of his home and Asif Zadari the husband of PM was accused of murder. Bitter security conditions, poor governance and corruption resulted economic stagnation. President Farooq Leghari, (a bureaucratic turned politician) who was strong supporter of PPP, turned antagonist towards his favorite party, somehow on justifiable grounds. He exercised his power in hands and dissolved the government under article 58 (2) b. The president declared a call for new elections under caretaker government (Mitra, 2004, pp. 170-72).

Nawaz Sharif Second Term:

In 1997 elections Muslim League remained successful in achieving majority in the legislature. The leader of the party Nawaz Sharif formed government at federal level as well

as coalition governments in all the four provinces. It created hope that leader from diverse parties would be able to establish consensus on important political and economic issues, and it would create better political environment for democracy. However, optimism declined soon, as Muslim League partnership with its allies broke down in 1998. The MQM and ANP separated their way due to grievances against government. Federal government was in trouble in managing its relations with MQM which was not ready to cut off linkages with its terrorist elements. Finally, government enforced governor rule in Sindh in 1998.

The fall apart of coalitions and the lack of ability of different parties to demonstrate political understanding and work together highlighted the immature democratic tradition. It also highlighted that personal gains and party interests are more important than of national interest or country. For smooth democratic functions, it is necessary to accommodate the needs and interests and concerns of other competing groups. Democracy discourages absolute claims and non-negotiable agendas. The essence of democratic politics is entitled with compromises, accommodation, give and take and mutual respect. In developed democracies the coalitions are formed while taking into account the common policy agendas not on the basis of convergence of personal or party power gains.

Muslim League with its majority in parliament brought two significant changes in the constitution, as the thirteen and fourteen amendments. It was an important occasion that all parties including PPP and regional parties extended their cooperation regarding these amendments. The thirteen amendments restored the parliamentary character of democracy by eliminating the article 58 (2) b in which President was empowered to dissolve the national assembly. The fourteenth amendment was about flour crossing, in which the party leader was empowered to unseat party member on the grounds of changing of party affiliation or for violation of party policy or directives or for any activity that is against the interests of party.

The government was struggling with inherited challenges; particularly the economic collapse which gained some confidence later on and its direction was streamlined to recovery. But soon another important development came forward to balance and respond the Indian threat. Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in May 1998; that resulted economic sanctions and threatened the economic recovery of Pakistan (Mahmood, 1999, pp. 399-403).

The differences emerged between army chief General Musharraf and Nawaz Sharif over Kargal issue, as the latter settled the matter while visiting USA and bypassed any consultation with army. In October 1999, Nawaz Sharif plotted a strategy of dismissal of army chief, when he was on his foreign visit to Sri Linka. His flight was not allowed to land in Pakistan. Army was vigilant about the development and soon took over the control of Karachi airport and later seized the control of the government. Nawaz Sharif government with heavy mandate was dismissed by forth military coup of General Musharraf. It has been tradition that majority of the population always welcomed the change in government, no matter whether military government (Abbas, 2005)

3.11 Musharraf Military Regime: Again Controlled Democracy

After military coup of October 12, 1999, General Musharraf suspended the constitution and appointed himself the "Chief Executive", and ordered that President must follow his instructions. A state of emergency was declared on October 15, 1999. Another measure to safeguard his actions was the implementation of "Provisional Constitutional Order" (PCO), under this order courts were powerless from issuing any order against him. He expressed that economic revival, national integration and good governance would have top priority in his goals.

Musharraf introduced seven points:

1. To make efforts for re-building of national confidence and morale.

2. To strengthen the federation, and inter-provincial harmony and restore national cohesion.

3. To revive the economy and restore investor's confidence.

4. To ensure law and order and speedy justice in the country.

5. To depoliticize the institutions.

6. To shift power at gross root level (Devolution of power).

7. To ensure the swift and across the board accountability.

Dismissal of Nawaz Sharif government was welcomed by opponent political parties. The Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA), which includes; Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), the Movement for Justice led by Imran Khan, Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM), these parties welcomed Musharraf regime. These parties expressed their views under the chairmanship of Nawabzada Nasarullah Khan on October 20, "the Nawaz Sharif government had paralyzed each and every institution of the state through conspiracies" and hoped that General Musharraf would initiate accountability to expel the corrupt politicians from politics. Unlike other political parties, Jamaat-e-Islami although urged for accountability of politicians but opposed military rule in the country.

Although, there was international pressure on Musharraf by commonwealth and SAARC regarding restoration of democracy, but unlike General Zia ul Haq, General Musharraf avoided fixing any schedule or announcement regarding restoration of democracy. However, tactically to satisfy the international community he managed local elections in 2001, and tried to justify his decision by saying that democracy would start at local level, and from there gradually it would move to higher levels at provincial and federal through elections in due course. It was claimed that local bodies' elections would empower the people at grass root

level. Basically, it was gimmick to prolong his rule adopted on the pattern of General Ayub's introduction of 'Basic Democracies' (Karman, 2008, pp. 180-85).

There were three new developments in respect of political parties during Musharraf era; the formation of PML (Q), the arrangement of an alliance of the religious parties known as MMA, and third the alliance of the parties known as Alliance for Restoration of the Democracy (ARD), which shared their struggle for restoration of democracy and expressed unity against army rule. As for as PML (Q) is concerned, it might not be called an autochthonous party rather the collection of its leaders and members was dragged from PML (N) and of those minor groups which have a little placement in the political system. Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was the party's president, who followed the instructions of Musharraf and enjoyed support by him until he was in power. The split in PML (N) and formation of PML (Q) was managed on the advice of Tariq Aziz (Musharraf national security advisor). The idea was to dismantle PML (N) strength by creating and empowering the PML (Q). To strengthen the PML (Q), in May 2004, except PML (N) various Muslim League factions and other political parties were merged in PML (Q), with the aim to form a united Pakistan Muslim League (PML).

General Musharraf while complied with the advice of Supreme Court regarding elections, which were held on 10th October 2002, in which round about 70 parties participated. But no political party achieved simple majority which was required for formation of government (Shahzad & Kokab, 2013). The PML-Q with military's support got 77 seats out of 342 in the national assembly and with the reserved seats for woman and non-Muslims and its victory in by elections rose to 122 seats. The PPP-Parliamentarian secured 62, and surprisingly MMA[5] got 45 seats, the PML-N had only 15 seats in the national assembly. The voter turn-out in this

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[5] Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) was a coalition of religious parties consisting of the Jamiat Islami, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F), Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan, Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan, Jamiat Ahle Hadith and a few other smaller groups.

election for national assembly remained 41.8%. Musharraf extended his full support to PML-Q regarding formation of coalition government at federal level. Zafarullah Khan Jamali was elected Prime minister, PML Q accepted him at the nomination of Musharraf. PML-Q knew very well that their political survival was entirely binding in implementing the Musharraf' will in all key decisions (Rizvi D. H., May 2013, p. 34)

For military dictators to suspend and amend the constitution and marginalization of political institution were not enough steps to make stable their rule, rather to prolong their rule they politically co-opted with puppet type of political elite, and also engineered fragmentation in political parties through intelligence agencies. Similarly, Musharraf extended all means to follow the success of PML-Q (The King Party) in 2002 elections.

On August 2000, General Musharraf while having the aim at strengthening his powers introduced "Legal Framework Order" (LFO), which enhanced presidential powers. He established the argument that these amendments aimed at strengthening true and stable democracy. But critics viewed it to legitimize Musharraf own extra-constitutional steps and to ensure his rule which was contradictory to democratic principles. The most important change was article 58(2) b, in which President was empowered to dismiss the National Assembly. Other controversial clauses, transfer of power of the appointment of military chiefs from Prime minister to President and the establishment of National Security Council (NSC) to supervise security matters, and examine the course of action of democracy and governance. NSC members included; the President, the Prime Minister, the four provincial Chief Ministers, the leader of the opposition of National Assembly, the Chairman of Senate, the Speaker of National Assembly and the four men in uniform- the chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff committee, the chief of army, air force and navy. General Musharraf followed Ataturk NSC model in which military had taken permanent institutional role in the country's governance. Major opposition parties opposed illegal actions of Musharraf. He unilaterally

made changes in the constitution and undermined parliamentary supremacy. For many critics General Musharraf followed the track of General Zia ul Haq to avoid any kind of electoral and judicial challenges to his rule.

3.12 National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO): Mutual Bargaining

On November 28, 2007 President Pervez Musharraf got retirement from Army as Army Chief. Now he became second time President (civilian) on November 29, 2007. The National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) was the result of formal deal between General Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto which was notified on October 5, 2007. There was exchange of thoughts among major stakeholders then it was finalized. American Foreign Secretary Mrs. Condoleezza Rice revealed in her book, "No Higher Honor" that she played a role as facilitator and guarantor between the two leaders of Pakistan Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto so that they could reach to an agreement. General Musharraf desired to mend his differences with Benazir Bhutto; it was possible if the two could reach to a power-sharing understanding. That understanding was considered better to weaken the Islamists (Muhammad Rizwan, Muhammad Arshid).

It was silently agreed between the two leaders that Musharraf would stay in office as president and Benazir would have opportunity to come back to country and take part in politics without trial of criminal charges. The purpose was to put an end to political victimization, illegal and unjustified oppression of politicians, almost 8,000 persons – ministers, bureaucrats and politicians were the beneficiaries.

General Musharraf claimed that NRO would create a better political atmosphere and hoped to eradicate the politics of confrontation and vendetta, which particularly had been usual practice from 1988 to 1999. It was decided to wind up cases initiated on political bases which were pending for the last 15 years. The way forward is to offer pardon for the sake of

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progressive politics and reconciliation. The ordinance was not specific to any party rather open offer for all parties. A committee was formed to examine the cases whether genuine or not, however genuine cases would not be illegible for any immunity. NRO paved the way for the return of Benazir Bhutto from exile to lead her party for coming elections (Karman, 2008, pp. 197-99)

The NRO was severely criticized that to condone corruption and protect powerful elites by allowing them to be free of charges and accountability is dangerous development. All judges of the Supreme Court under the headship of chief justice in its judgment declared it unconstitutional, invalid and against the national interests of Pakistan. The Supreme Court further confirmed that "all cases in which the accused were either discharged or acquitted under Section 2 of the NRO or where proceedings pending against the holders of public office had got terminated in view of Section 7 thereof...shall stand revived and relegated to the status of pre 5th of October 2007 position."

In judgment it was also fixed that a monitoring cell within Supreme Court shall be established as a mechanism for monitoring progress of the cases fall in the category of NRO. This measure was assumed necessary keeping in view NAB's partiality and ineffectiveness.

3.13 Charter of Democracy: A Milestone towards Political Understanding

The two main stream political parties' leaders Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif signed the Charter of Democracy, on May 15 2006 in London. Being the main stream political leaders expressed the great concern and deliberation on the political crisis in Pakistan, the factors which put the country on the brink of disaster include; the threats to the country's survival, particularly military's dominate rule and subordination of all state institutions, undermining the civilian or parliamentary supremacy, disdaining of the Constitution, rising poverty,

unemployment and socio–economic inequality, disregarding rule of law, the bulk of hardships facing by masses due to military dictatorship.

Political leadership drawn the conclusion that the military rule and the nation could not co-exist, as the long military take over affected the economy and the democratic institutions and further it also marginalized defense capabilities and the integrity of the country. So it was urged that there was need of new approach and direction instead of regimental approach of the Bonapartist regimes.

The vilification campaign against the politicians in particular and the civilians in general, and victimization of political leaders, workers in the name of accountability and their media trails, were perceived as a strategy of military dictators to 'divide and rule' as to prolong their rule.

It was claimed that our responsibility is to set an alternative direction, insisting on comprising of following characteristics; sustainable economy, socially substantial and progressive nation, politically democratic and pluralist, federally cooperative, ideologically tolerant, internationally respectable and regionally peaceful basis in the best interest of the people, and it is up to people to decide that only they are the sovereign and their elected representative will govern the country as par democratic rule. Father of the nation Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, reaffirmed out commitment to democracy.

Commitment to democracy, fundamental rights, proactive opposition, internal party democracy, observing the ideological and political tolerance, bipartisan working of the parliament through powerful committee system, creating cooperative environment of federation with provinces while avoiding any discrimination, the decentralization and devolution of power, to ensure maximum provincial autonomy, the empower people at the grassroots level, the eradication of poverty, ignorance, want and disease, to take care of

women and minorities rights, the elimination of klashnikov culture, a free and independent media, independence of judiciary, a neutral civil service, rule of law and merit, to be committed to settle disputes with the neighbors through peaceful means.

To get rid of military dictatorship call upon and encourage the people to support the ' :.ocratic forces, people shall be motivated to defend their fundamental, social, political and economic rights for the sake of their own and for a democratic and progressive Pakistan as dreamed by the founder of the nation (Dawn, 2006).

A. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

1. The important commitment was to restore the constitution in its original shape as it was before October 12th, 1999 military coup. The political will demonstrated the replacement of seventeenth constitutional amendment, provisions dealing with joint electorates, minorities, and women reserved seats in the parliament, the lowering of the voting age, and increasing in seats in parliament and the Legal Framework Order 2000.

2. The Chief Executive (Prime Minister) will appoint the governors, three chiefs of forces and CJCSC, as described in the 1973 Constitution.

3. a) The judges to superior judiciary shall be appointed through a commission, a commission comprised of under the chairmanship of chief justice, who never observed oath under PCO.

ii. the other members of shall include the chief justices of the provincial high courts, who never took oath under PCO, failing which the senior most judge of that high court who has not taken oath shall be the member

iii. Vice-Chairmen of Pakistan and Vice-Chairmen of Provincial Bar Association were responsible for the appointment of judges to their respective province.

iv. President of Supreme Court Bar Association

v. Presidents of High Court Bar Associations of Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, and Quetta were responsible for the appointment of judges to their concerned province.

vi. Federal Minister for Law and Justice.

vii. Attorney General of Pakistan.

(a-i) The commission function is to forward a panel of three names for each vacancy to the prime minister, then he shall forward one name for confirmation to joint parliamentary committee for affirmation of the selection through a transparent public hearing process.

(a-ii) The joint parliamentary committee shall consist of 50 % members from the treasury benches and rest of the 50 % includes opposition parties as per their weight in the parliament selected by respective parliamentary leaders.

(b) Judges are bound to observe oath laid down in 1973 constitution, and they shall not be allowed to take oath under Provisional Constitutional Order or any other oath that is contradictory to the exact language of the original oath prescribed in the Constitution of 1973.

(c) Administrative measures will be executed to implement the code of ethics and prevent the misconduct and removal of judges on such charges by any individual through the establishment of commission for appointment of judges.

(c) Administrative mechanism will be executed for the prevention of misconduct, implementation of code of ethics, and removal of judges on such charges brought to its attention by any citizen through the proposed commission for appointment of Judges.

(d) All special courts including anti-terrorism and accountability courts shall be no more there and cases under their trial are to be tried in ordinary courts. Further also required to make a set of rules and procedures, the arbitrary powers of the chief justices to assign cases to different judges and the transfer to different branches shall be put into effect by the Chief Justice and two senior most judges meeting together.

4. A Federal Constitutional Court will be established for a period of six-year for resolution of constitutional issues, in which federating units will have equal representation, the members may include judges or individuals fit the criterion of the position to be judges of the Supreme Court. There will be regular hearing of civil and criminal cases in the Supreme and High Courts. The appointment of judges shall be done in the same method as criterion settled for judges of higher judiciary.

5. It was decided that concurrent list in the constitution will be eradicated. A new NFC award will be declared.

6. The reserved seats for women in the national and provincial assemblies will be distributed to the parties as per ratio of secured votes in the general elections by each party.

7. Minorities will be granted more representation in the Senate.

8. Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) shall be incorporated in the NWFP province after the arrangement of consultation with them.

9. Steps shall be taken to develop the Northern Areas as giving special status and through empowerment of Legislative Council to ensure access to justice and human rights.

10. It was agreed that local bodies election will be conducted on party basis by respective provincial election commissions and constitutional safeguard will be specified to the local bodies, to ensure their autonomous and answerable quest to their respective assemblies as well as the people through regular courts of law (Dawn, 2006).

B. CODE OF CONDUCT

It was agreed that National Security Council will be removed. Prime minister will have authority to head the Defence Cabinet Committee and it will have a permanent secretariat. The prime minister may recruit a federal security adviser to take the duty of the process of intelligence reports for the prime minister. The effectiveness of the higher defence and security arrangement, which based on two decades ago, will be evaluated. The Joint Services Command structure will be made stronger and more effective, and headship formula of rotation among the three services as prescribed in the constitution will be implemented. The prime minister shall be allowed to be elected for third term in this regard ban on third term shall be abolished.

13. The political leadership agreed to establish Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the acknowledgement of victims of torture, imprisonment, state sponsored maltreatment, and accountability led on political intentions. The commission will also inspect and bring forth its finding on military coups and elimination of government from 1996.

(b) A commission shall also find out the causes and responsible individuals and suggest recommendations for incidences such like Kargil.

(c) To make accountable NAB and other Ehtesab operators to take into account misuse of office by them through purgery and injustice and violation of human rights since its formation.

(d) The politically motivated NAB should be replaced with an independent accountability commission. Prime minister in consultation with opposition leader shall nominate its chairman, and it will require conformation by joint parliamentary committee in which 50 per cent members from treasury and 50 per cent from opposition parties respectively in the same procedure as appointment of judges through transparent public hearing. The recommended nominee shall fall in the criterion of political impartiality and judicial propriety.

14. The independence of press and electronic media will be ensured. Access to information will become law after parliamentary debate and public scrutiny.

15. The chairmen of public accounts committee in the national and provincial assemblies is subject to be appointed by their respective opposition leader.

16. The defence cabinet committee will look after and ensure an effective Nuclear Command and Control system and act as a force against any prospect of leakage or proliferation.

17. A good relationship with India and Afghanistan will be preferred despite outstanding disputes.

18. Resolution of Kashmir dispute should be according to UN resolutions and desires of the people of Kashmir.

19. Efforts will be made to improve governance for the betterment of common citizens, by providing access to education, health, enhancing opportunities of jobs, controlling price hike,

curbing illegal redundancies. Further, a commitment was expressed of curbing lavish spending by promoting and practicing simplicity.

20. Equal opportunities will be provided to Women, minorities, and those who are under privileged.

21. There must be a respect for electoral mandate of government and acceptance to due role of opposition and no one shall adopt extra constitutional steps to undermine each other.

21. We will respect the electoral mandate of representative governments that accepts the due role of the opposition and declare neither shall undermine each other through extra constitutional ways.

22. The political parties neither shall be a part of military sponsored government nor support to military to hold on political power or to overthrow a democratic government.

23. To curb corruption and floor crossing voting for the Senate and indirect seats will not be through secret method rather through open identifiable ballot. Violation of party discipline in the poll by any party member shall cause disqualification in this connection a letter to be sent to Speaker or Chairman Senate by the party leader with a copy to the Election commission for issuance of notification within 14 days of receipt of letter failing which it will be considered to have been notified on the expiry of that period.

24. Like Parliamentarians all military and judicial officers will file their annual assets and income declarations, that is to make them accountable to the public.

25. National Democracy Commission shall be formed to advance and construct a democratic culture and it will assist the political parties to enhance their capacity building on the basis of their strength in the parliament in a fair manner.

26. Terrorism and militancy in the country are due to the wrong policies of military dictators, ∵rsal of democracy are strongly condemned, and will be strongly confronted (Dawn, 2006).

C. FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

27. The political leadership expressed the will of an independent, autonomous and impartial election commission. Prime minister and opposition leader while having consultation shall forward three names for each regarding the appointment of the chief election commissioner and its members, and secretary to joint parliamentary committee, composed on the same method as followed for appointment of judges in superior judiciary, while observing the transparent public examination. If Prime minister and leader of opposition failed in consensus building then they will forward separate lists to the joint parliamentary committee for further procedure. The method of the appointment of provincial election commissioner shall remain the same by committees of related provincial assemblies.

28. Unconditional return of the leadership of political parties who are at exile and the release of politicians in prisons and their participation in elections shall be ensured. All parties and personalities shall have open opportunity to participate in elections. The eligibility criterion for politicians to be graduated will be abolished as is causing corruption and fake degrees.

29. Local bodies elections shall be arranged within three months after general elections.

30. The respective election authority shall have right to suspend and ensure the neutral administrators for all local bodies from the creation of a caretaker government for conducting general elections.

30. The concerned election authority shall suspend and appoint neutral administrators for all ¹ ·¹ bodies from the date of formation of a caretaker government for holding of general elections till the elections are held.

31. Elections process shall be free, fair and transparent under a neutral caretaker setup. The members of the caretaker government and their immediate relatives shall not be allowed to contest election.

D. CIVIL - MILITARY RELATIONS

32. Measures were suggested regarding the accountability of the ISI, MI and other security agencies, as they shall be accountable to government through Prime Minister Secretariat, Ministry of Defense, and Cabinet Division. DCC will approve budget after the recommendation of respective ministry. No political wing of intelligence will be allowed. A committee will be made to reduce waste and bloat in the armed forces and security agencies. All higher posting in these agencies shall be done with the sanction of the government through respective ministry.

33. The indemnities and savings initiated during military regimes in the constitution shall be subject to review.

34. Defense budget shall be brought into the parliament for debate and sanction.

35. Defense ministry shall be authorized to take into account military land allotment and set cantonment jurisdictions. A commission shall be established to review and examine the legitimate status of land allotment as per rules and regulations, along with to take into account all state land allotment including military urban and agricultural since military coup of October 12th, 1999 to bring those accountable who have involved in malpractices, profiteering, and favoritism (Dawn, 2006).

36. There shall be a review of business regulations of the federal and provincial governments in respect to ensure conformity with parliamentary form of government.

Charter of Democracy (CoD) is viewed as the third most important achievement as well as Magna Carta of Pakistan after the Pakistan Resolution of 1940 and the Constitution of 1973 in which political forces extended their full cooperation and consensus in the State. Political parties demonstrated the strong will to restore parliamentary democracy in the country, which was endorsed by some fifteen political parties in All Parties Conference (APC). The landmark achievement of (CoD) is comprised of four major components such as, Code of conduct, necessary constitutional alteration, management of the civil-military relations and arrangement of the free and fair elections. No doubt, it was the commitment of particularly two main stream parties to articulate imperatives of transition from military-led controlled democracy to actual democracy and governance based on democratic norms.

According to Mehboob Tanoli Senior journalist of Pakistani newspaper Express Tribune, Charter of Democracy was apparently was a protective document for democracy, but in its practical shape political parties advanced their own interests instead of strengthening democracy. That document pushed away MQM, which was political reality; in the long run both parties protected each other's corruption (Tanoli, 2019).

As CoD was basically between two parties PML-N and PPP, but, now there is third force and major party that is PTI. Although the Chairman of PTI participated in the meeting, but later on he used to criticize the CoD as the politics of "Muck Muka", as it was to protect their corruption.

Surely, in Pakistan there is need of CoD, it is necessary for all political parties including Imran Khan, because in future he may face troubled situation (Orkazi, 2019).

According to Arif Chaudhary, CoD was political understanding because both the political parties at that time were out of power none of them in the parliament. Then tried to show the each other that they have understood the past, and they have understanding between themselves, and at that time it was all academic. At that time there was nothing to do or give. Ok let's have an understanding, as it is memorandum of understanding (Chaudhary, 2019).

In the scenarios of CoD political parties expressed their commitment that they would not create such an environment in which army could get an opportunity to intervene in politics. The two parties are lacking internal democracy. And these two parties emerged under military establishment. They never regret their past and their growth during military regimes. There is hereditary politics and these parties have been limited to their families. Party head decide each and every thing that is not democracy. The charter was to protect their rule and give an opportunity to each other to rule. But they tolerated to each other in corruption. There was no concrete study taken out before charter (Swati, 2019).

In view of Zahid Farooq, the latter and spirit of CoD was democracy. It was to strengthen democracy and to avoid the leg pulling. As a result PML-N supported the PPP. However, CoD was not implemented according to all agreed principles, likewise, strengthening of institution and appointment of judges (Farooq, 2019).

When the two leaders were ousted from the country, then they signed CoD. It's a historic document in the history of Pakistan. A few of things have been implemented and certain

things still pending. Likewise, various institutional reforms are required in NAB and ECP. Except, PML-Q all parties endorsed it (Raza, 2019).

Charter of Democracy was rationalization of political wisdom of political actors and the part of historical evolution of political parties and democratic process. Previously, the demonstrations of such like political understanding for the sake of improvement of overall democratic system which was in the best interests of parties and country had been missing. Perhaps, it was not easy process to develop political understanding between two arch rivals and break down the contour of traditional politics. Politics of understanding gave birth to a new beginning to drive politics on democratic principles. In this respect, Charter of Democracy is a milestone document if it continues to be implemented in its letter and spirit.

3.14 From confrontation to Understanding: An Overview

Pakistan after its inception, being a new born state, faced the serious challenges regarding its survival. However, political leadership had vision, will power and optimistic view to resolve the issues. Quaid-e-Azam was aware of the challenges of state-building and nation-building. And he tried at his best level to stream-line the democratic process in accordance with democratic principles. But, soon after his death the discourse and dimension of politics experienced contrary developments to his vision. Later on, political unrest and confrontation kept on undermining the democratic process. First constituent assembly was dissolved due to confrontation between Governor General and Parliament. The second important phase of Politics of confrontation is comprised of power tussle between Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman and Z. A. Bhutto, and the former tussle with opposition.

The politics of confrontation was surged in the second democratic transition (1988-1999). The two main stream parties (PPP & PML-N) followed extreme steps which caused political instability. It was undemocratic and irrational politics by any way. It was short-sighted vision

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of politics which just resulted zero-sum game. The political system was required equilibrium which was at the verge of collapse.

However, when rationality prevailed, it changed the perspective from politics of confrontation to politics of understanding. The realization to readjust the political discourse and adaptation with the changing realities was rational strategy for their political survival. Perhaps, they had no ultimate way just to adjust with the changes in the larger socio-political environment. The shift in politics was experienced in the third democratic transition form 2008. However, its process was initiated during Musharraf regime, when political parties agreed 'Charter of Democracy' (COD) in London. The agreement was comprised of broad based principles to reform and revive the entire political discourse. That agreement was the basis of politics of understanding. Then democratic process experienced progressive shift in the light of COD.

The democratic process experienced the following shifts:

To give up politics of confrontation;

To have respect for each other mandate;

To have smooth transition of power from one government to another;

To resist the non-democratic forces intervention in politics;

To restore the parliamentary nature of constitution;

To promote the consensus based politics.

3.15 Conclusion

Pakistan, as a newly formed state, faced significant economic, political, and social challenges. Low literacy rates, poor economic conditions, a lack of political consciousness, weak state institutions, poverty, people's strong attachment to primeval groups, casts, ·idaries, tribes, and weak social, economic, and cultural contacts and interaction among different regions of the state all had a negative impact on the growth of political parties.Henceforth, these conditions particularly affected the growth of national political parties. However, later on, with gradual change in society in respect of improvement in political consciousness, new information technology and an increase in the volume of small industry, led to the emergence of the Pakistan People Party (PPP) in 1967, and later on, in the 90s, the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) (PML-N).

All military regimes in Pakistan have in one way or another adopted a policy of de-politicization of political parties. The steps regarding undermining the parties include elections on a non-party basis, creating a rift in parties and managing elections according to the wishes of the dictator, and discriminating against mainstream parties. In the early period, the opposition's role in parliament and outside was too weak and insignificant. However, with the passage of time, it gained momentum regarding its due role. However, in the era of the 1990s, the opposition role was condemnable as to having hatched conspiracies to overthrow the government, even by undemocratic means.

The three new developments in respect of political parties during the Musharraf era were the formation of PML (Q), the arrangement of an alliance of the religious parties known as MMA, and third, the alliance of the parties known as the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD), which shared their struggle for the restoration of democracy and expressed unity against army rule.

General Musharraf claimed that NRO would create a better political atmosphere and hoped to eradicate the politics of confrontation and vendetta, which particularly had been the usual practise from 1988 to 1999. It was decided to wind up cases initiated on political grounds which had been pending for the last 15 years. For military dictators to suspend and amend the constitution and manipulate political institutions were not enough steps to make stable their rule. Rather, to make effective and sustain power, they politically co-opted with puppet types of political elite and also engineered fragmentation in political parties through intelligence agencies. Similarly, Musharraf used all means to ensure the success of PML-Q (The King Party) in the 2002 elections.

Basically, the Charter of Democracy (CoD) laid down the foundation of politics of understanding. The document laid out a comprehensive roadmap to move forward on the democratic track. On the one hand, the victimization of two main stream parties, the PML-N and the PPP, by military dictator General Musharraf drove them to fight for survival and to unite in order to resist the unfavourable circumstances. On the other hand, the country's changing socio-political environment oppressed the parties to experience political compromise and demonstrate politics of understanding. This stage was to rationalize politics according to changing political circumstances and challenges. The parties' commitment to move forward by creating a conducive environment and adopting democratic behavior was a necessary step to restore the trust of the masses.

Chapter Four

Materializing of Politics of Understanding: Paradigm Shift

4.1 Introduction

Democracy in the country was restored after 8 years of military rule by General Musharraf. ..: ruled the country as a powerful dictator and distorted the constitution according to his interests and took manifold steps to prolong his rule as a powerful dictator. Likewise, he introduced the devolution plan and managed to establish PML-Q (the King's Party), while oppressing and creating a split into two main stream political parties. However, his confrontation with the Judiciary gradually weakened his power, and finally he was forced to quit when he was a civilian President. The establishment of the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) was formed by political parties in 2005 to restore democracy in the country. The achievements of civil society regarding the restoration of the judiciary and political parties' alliance in the form of ARD and Charter of Democracy 'were significant developments which strengthened the democratic forces and weakened Musharraf as a strong ruler. The alliance was first an organised effort to restore democracy, but remained ineffective until the leadership of PML-N and PPP reached a critical turning point when they signed the "Charter of Democracy", a detailed and comprehensive roadmap for future politics.

Elections were to be held in December 2008, but were postponed due to the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, and finally held in February 2008. The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) achieved a majority of seats, and PML-N received the second position in terms of its seats in parliament. The PPP and PML-N formed a coalition government, which was the outcome of political understanding between the two parties. The joint working relationship of the two adversaries, PPP and PML-N, in the light of the "Murree Declaration' presented a picture of

mature politics in which the two arch rivals formed a coalition government. The political understanding of the two main stream parties also falls under the criterion of dualistic politics. It is a form of government in which the leading political parties are engaged in dualistic politics, simultaneously as a part of government and opposition.

The political understanding between the two parties was threatened on the issue of the restoration of the chief justice, as President Zardari was unwilling to restore the CJ despite the continued demand of civil society and the PML-N leadership of Nawaz Sharif. Zardari was afraid of CJ and that he might undo the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) that was made between Musharraf and former PPP Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto before her return to Pakistan from self-exile.

The eighteenth amendment to the 1973 constitution was the most necessary move to restore the constitution in its parliamentary form as well as to address the demands of provincial autonomy. The amendment is also important because of the consensus building of political parties that has already been a rare feature in parliament, even on issues of national importance. It was the reflection of the political parties' commitment to the Charter of Democracy to strengthen parliamentary democracy, ensure provincial autonomy, independence of the judiciary and Election Commission, and to strife for the socio-economic development of the state. Similarly, another legislative development was the Nineteenth Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan, which was basically brought in view of the Supreme Court judgement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The consensus building on the 7th award of the National Finance Commission (NFC) is also the success of democratic forces. The award incorporated the demands of the provinces of Baluchistan, Sindh, and KP, and a multifactor formula was agreed based on population, poverty, underdevelopment, and inverse population density criteria.

4.2 Transition of Power: From Military to Civilian

Third democratic transition witness visible socio-political changes in the history of Pakistan which were different from previous transitions of 1971-77 and 1988-99. The third phase of democratic revival is the part of evolutionary process dependent on socio-political and socio-economic conditions. In this respect, the struggle of civil society and movement for the independence and restoration of judiciary played pivotal role by challenging the powerful dictator, otherwise democratic nightmare might had prolonged and democratic forces struggle to restore democracy in the country might take more time than it happened in 2008. Other paramount changes in the form of a vibrant media and political parties renewed commitment to democracy, and their efforts to establish consensus building for the sustaining of democracy contributed to successful democratic transition (Ahmad & Rafiq, 2017).

In view of a theoretical approach the process of political change from an authoritarian to a democratic system is a form of transition to democracy. The transformation studies describes that the growth of democratization happens in succeeding phases and that process starts with a crisis in the established regime that challenges the erosion of its legitimacy and power, like in case of Pakistan, General Musharraf confrontation with judiciary created crisis and then civil society movement put him on the verge of collapse and streamlined the way towards restoration of democracy. During that transitional phase, the power of the authoritarian elite was threatened and experienced a revolutionary or a reformist process ("pacted transition"), which enforced towards elections (Michaelsen, 2011, p. 11).

General Musharrarf clinging to power remained intact until his confrontation with the then Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary. Although he prepared grounds against Chief Justice for his misuse of power, but actually, he suspended him due to his personal motives, as the Justice Iftikhar was proactive in his moves, particularly his concern on the disappearance of 6000

persons since 2001. After the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan being front line state against US led war on terror faced worst conditions in the form of suicide bombing by the terrorists groups. In the scenario of terrorism government agencies were involved in disappearance of many suspected individuals and put them under secret detention. Chief Justice appeared keen in this matter, to recover the enforced disappeared individuals from illegal detention. It was troublesome situation for Musharraf; however, to safe his side, he simply repudiated enforced disappearance. Second important factor which led Musharraf to confront with Judiciary was a petition in the apex court against his dual status as the Army Chief and quest to run as a candidate for President by the then constituted assemblies of 2007. General Musharraf observed the foreseeable situation that Chief Justice on legal grounds would not provide him any relaxation for his re-election as President at the same time with his position as the Army Chief. To continue his grip over the political affairs, Musharraf was not reluctant to avoid the extreme and unconstitutional steps. Keeping in view the above scenario, Musharraf suspended the CJ Iftikhar on March 9, 2007 (Kumar, June 2007).

There was a great amount of frustration after the suspension of Chief Justice. The Lawyers community organized movement named "Adliya Bachao Tehreek" (Save the Judiciary Movement) to ensure the independence of Judiciary. Although movement was non-violent and lawyers got united across the country but government adopted hard measures, as according to Human Rights Watch, "authorities violently suppressed the ... [acts of resistance,] beating lawyers, opposition activists, and media personnel covering unfolding events." However, the lawyers' community movement accomplished its desired goal of reinstatement of CJ on July 20, 2007. But the real fruit was still away as after a few months Musharraf suspended the constitution and imposed emergency on November 3, 2007. Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) was enacted to decide the affairs according to his

well suited strategies instead of facing judicial oversights. According to Musharraf the implementation of PCO was necessary to fight against terrorism effectively.

Musharraf claimed that emergency rule is justified because of the "increasing interference by some members of the judiciary in government policy, adversely affecting economic growth" and the "weakening of the writ of the government by… constant interference in executive functions, including …economic policy, price controls, and downsizing of corporations."

Lawyers were again at forefront to protest against the dictator's act of emergency as well as suspension of the constitution. Most of the senior judges reacted and bluntly refused to accept the unconstitutional state of emergency and PCO. Aggressive measures were taken against Judges, and Lawyers. Especially Lawyers faced difficult time followed by crackdown, arrests and detention. Due to immense pressure of Lawyers' movement and as well as international pressure Musharraf declined and quit his position as a head of the Army on November 28, 2007 and lifted emergency on December 15, 2007 (Phelps, 2009).

General Musharraf gradually goes down weaker after the success of lawyers' movement as well as the restoration of judiciary. However, still he was a part of the political system as a civilian President. After repealing of emergency, Musharraf announced the schedule for general elections for January 2008. But they were postponed until mid-February due to assassination of Benazir Bhutto[6] on December 27, 2008.

The achievements of civil society regarding restoration of judiciary, and secondly, political parties' alliance in the form of ARD and Charter of Democracy' were significant developments which strengthened the democratic forces and weakened the Musharraf as a strong ruler. Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) was formed in 2005, by two

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[6] Benazir Bhutto the leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), was a daughter of former Prime minister of Pakistan Zulifqar Ali Bhutto. Benazir became Prime minister of Pakistan for two times. She was assassinated during addressing election campaign at Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi. Her mysterious assassination is still unresolved matter.

mainstream political parties---- Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N), Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and fifteen other parties. The ARD's purpose was to strive for the revival of civilian rule, as the alliance agreed to these words: "effective political strategy for the restoration of real democracy and the supremacy of parliamentary institutions." The alliance was first an organized effort to restore democracy, but remained ineffective until the leadership of PML-N and PPP reached a critical turning point and signed the "Charter of Democracy," a detailed and comprehensive roadmap for future politics (Fruman, 2011). However, despite the joint "pro-democracy" platform of the Democracy Charter, Benazir signed a separate NRO with Musharraf (Nelson M. J., 2010).

4.3 Elections 2008: Political Scenario

2008 elections were leading towards restoration of democratic process after long period of military rule of General Musharraf. Although, general elections were held during Musharraf era in 2002 and elected government completed its five year term, but these elections were largely managed by him in favor of his king party (PML-Q), who ultimately served to his interests. Following the local bodies' elections, a grassroots level of democracy system (Devolution Plan) was introduced as a parallel system of governance to parliament and it undermined the stronghold of parliamentarians in the political system. All these actions aimed at strengthening his authority, legitimacy and ruling the country as long as possible.

A few months ago of elections, Benazir and Nawaz Sharif were striving to come back in Pakistan. The former negotiated NRO with Musharraf to ensure her safe return to Pakistan and to get rid of NAB cases established during previous governments. The NRO was materialized On October 5, 2007 and US also encouraged the deal between the two (Rizvi D. H., 2013). This deal was not only beneficial to Benazir rather other parties and thousands of

officials charged with allegation of corruption also benefitted. Benazir also secretly agreed to extend her support to General Musharraf for his next term as a President. She after her return to country followed her own direction to run the politics instead of following what was agreed in deal. She instead of supporting Musharraf as a president for next term rather adopted anti-Musharraf stance.

The return to Pakistan of the two most popular political leaders filled the leadership vacuum and charged their support that would have not been possible otherwise. It also contributed to the revival of democracy as the leaders expressed their firm commitment to lawyer's movement and reinforced anti-Musharraf momentum and threatened his grip as a powerful military dictator (Fruman, 2011).

Benazir returned to Pakistan on October 18, 2007, when lawyers movement was in the midst phase. She was warmly welcome by huge crowd of masses. She charged the political environment of the country particularly through her election campaigns, although she was informed about alarming security threats, but she was not willing to disconnect herself from election campaigns. Benazir addressed a huge crowd at Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi. And soon after the accomplishment of her speech when she was about to return back, she was targeted and assassinated on December 27th, 2007. Her assassination sparked anger and riots almost all over the Pakistan. Farahnaz Isfahani expressed that the Benazir's murder "has unleashed a wave of emotion throughout the country". After her death, there was chaos and situation seemed out of control. Then, Asif Zardari played his role to calm down the wide spread demonstrations. In those circumstances, it was not possible to conduct the elections on proposed date, then later on finally held on February 18, 2008 (Islam, 2013).

After assassination of Benazir Bhutto, Asif Ali Zardari was next to lead the PPP as Co-chairmen, he expressed utmost determination to contest the elections. He declared

"Democracy as the best revenge". Further he expressed his will to carry on the vision of Benazir Bhutto. Asif Zardari acknowledges the challenges to his party and tried to mitigate any chances that party may be divided into factions after being deprived of the leadership of Benazir Bhutto.

In the scenario of upcoming elections 2008, political parties were divided into grouping; as one side comprising of PPP, PML-Q and MQM, desired to construct a "transitional" government with continuing relations to Musharraf. On the other side, PML-N and two religious parties the JUI-F and the Jamaat-e-Islami had clear cut anti-Musharraf stance and sought "transformation" in the system while rejecting him altogether. However, when elections approached, JI boycotted the elections on the pretext of the creditability of transparent elections because Musharraf was still present as a civilian President. Tehreek-e-Insaaf (Pakistan Movement for Justice) also boycotted the elections (Nelson M. J., 2010)

PPP carried on its campaign largely based on traditional slogans of Z.A. Bhutto Roti, Kapra and Makan, (food, clothing and house) i.e. highlighted unemployment issues. PPP leaders also thought it a wise strategy to highlight Benazir assassination as their credit to charge their supporter and masses as a card of sympathy during election campaign. Whereas PML-N campaign was focusing on restoration of judiciary and General Musharraf steps against judiciary, democracy, and his role in war against terror. Laal Masjid operation was also considered a serious issue to be highlighted. Although there was polarization in Sindh however PPP supporter raised slogan "vote Bhutto Jo Karza" (casting of vote is debt to Bhutto (PPP) (Mushtaq, 2010).

However, before the elections of 2008 political parties were united on one point agenda to remove Pervez Musharraf from political scene. That agenda was also a strong cause of cooperation and harmony among parties after a long time.

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Nawaz Sharif was also afraid of similar concerns raised by Jamaat-i-Islami about the credibility of elections in presence of Musharraf. He announced to boycott the elections, however, Asif Zardari successfully convinced him to proceed with elections (Chawla, 2017, p. 3).

4.4 Election Results

However, elections held on February 18, 2008. Election results were disappointed for pro-Musharraf PML-Q at central and provincial levels. Similarly religious parties also experienced massive decline compared to their rise in elections 2002. The two main stream parties and adversaries PPP and PML-N secured a maximum number of seats. PPP was at first in respect of their seats in the National Assembly, secured 121 out of 342 seats, 30.6 percent of all votes. PML-N being second secured 91 seats in the national assembly, 19.6 percent of votes, and simple majority seats in the Punjab assembly (the largest province). PML-Q got only 54 seats, although fewer seats than PML-N but percentage of votes was higher as received 23 percent of total votes (Fischer & Kiessling, 2008). Awami National Party (ANP) had better margin of seats against Islamist 'Jamiat Ulma-i-Islam' (Mulana Fazal-ur-Rehman group). However the two parties were in a strong position to be a part of coalition government with PPP or PML-N.

The political parties largely accepted the election results, although most of the International and domestic observers acknowledged rigging in the elections, but not at large scale. In Sindh, PPP achieved visible majority in rural areas and MQM proved strong in urban areas. So, MQM was in a better position to be a part of PPP government at Federal level as well as in Sindh provincial government. In Punjab, PML-N gained majority number of seats and Mr. Shahbaz Sharif got obvious majority for formation of government in the province. In NWFP, PPP joined ANP for formation of government in province. In NWFP, the Islamist coalition experienced obvious decline as compared to their previous victory, as the voters preferred to

vote for moderate political parties. In Balochistan PML-Q secured more seats than other parties but failed to form government and PPP was successful in forming a coalition government in the province (Fruman, 2011).

Table: 4.1

Party Representation in the Assembles (as of 29.5.2008)

ANP	BNP-A	Ind	MMA	MQM	NPP	PML	PML-F	PML-N	PPP	PPP-S	Total
13	1	18	7	25	1	54	5	91	123	1	339

NWFP Assembly

ANP	Ind	MMA	PML	PML-N	PPP	PPP-S	Total
46	9	14	6	9	30	7	121

Punjab Assembly

Ind	MMA	PML	PML-F	PML-N	PPPP	Total
2	2	36	4	164	106	364

Sindh Assembly

ANP	MQM	NPP	PML	PML-F	PPP	Total	
2	51	10	3	9	90	164	

Balochistan Assembly

ANP	BNP-A	Ind	MMA	NP	PML	PPPP	Total
4	7	10	10	1	20	11	63

	ANP	MMA	MQM	PML(N)	PML(Q)	PPP	Others	Indep	Total
Pakistan	2	2	8	20	23	31	4	11	100
Islamabad	0	1	0	45	19	30	1	5	100
Punjab	0	0	0	29	29	28	2	11	100
Sindh	0	1	30	2	12	43	9	3	100
Balochistan	4	13	0	4	24	23	8	24	100
NWFP	16	13	0	14	15	19	6	15	100

Source: Dawn Election Cell data

Table: 4.2

National Assembly Election Results 2008

Political Group	Total	Directly elected	Reserved non-Muslims	Reserved (women)
Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP)	125	98	4	23
Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)	91	71	3	17
Pakistan Muslim League	53	41	2	10
Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM)	25	19	1	5
Independents	18	18	0	0
Awami National Party (ANP)	13	10	0	3
Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA)	7	6	0	1
Pakistan Muslim League (Functional)	5	4	0	1
National Peoples Party (NPP)	1	1	0	0
Balochistan National Party (Awami)	1	1	0	0

Pakistan People's Party (Sherpao)   <u>**1**</u>   <u>**1**</u>   <u>**0**</u>   <u>**0**</u>

http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241_08.htm

Party/Coalitions	Votes Won	Percentage Of total vote	Seats Secured	Percentage of seats Secured
PPP (Pakistan Peoples Party)	10,606,486	31%	121	36%
PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz)	6,781,445	20%	91	27%
PML-Q (Pakistan Muslim League Quaid e Azam)	7,989,817	23%	54	16%
PML-Q (Muttahida Quami Movement)	2,507,813	7%	25	7%
ANP (Awami National Party)	700,479	2%	13	4%
MMA (Muttahida Majlis e Amal, a coalition of Islamist parties)	772,798	2%	6	2%
Other	5,166,433	15%	26	8%
Total	34, 665,978	----	336	---

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

Although, Musharraf blue eyed party PML-Q was wiped out in elections at central and provincial level, and his opponent parties won the elections, yet he was not ready to decline as a President. He realized that new parliament would not tolerate him as a President of Pakistan. As soon, after formation of government his impeachment sounds on the surface, then to avoid the punishment he himself resigned from presidency on August 18, 2008. In the next month, September 6, 2008 the co-chairman of PPP, Asif Zardari was elected as President of Pakistan through Electoral College (comprising of members of National & Provincial Assembles) (Fruman, 2011).

4.5 Formation of Government: Power-Sharing of Parties

In the post-election scenario, the two main stream parties PPP and PML-N strategy to form a coalition government was a historical development towards political understanding instead of following the traditional pattern of politics and promoting undemocratic or antagonistic environment. The two arch rivals' unity in the parliament raised the optimism of a progressive political environment and stable government (Fischer & Kiessling, 2008).

In the Nineteenth century, British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli explained that "Coalitions, though successful but their triumph has been brief". The two coalition partner of PPP and PML (N) were not only ideologically different from each other rather had been arch rivals to each other. However, country's complicated issues; likewise security situation, law and order situation in Karachi, movement of separatism in Baluchistan, and decline of economy were the important factors in the formation of coalition government. Furthermore, 'Charter of Democracy' was basically a contributing factor towards establishing a political harmony. It was deemed that cooperation between the PPP and PML-N would contribute to smooth democratic process. A stable government was required to meet the challenges of war on terrorism. USA also had the concerns regarding political stability in Pakistan. However, to bring political stability was a difficult task due to serious challenges in the country (Kanwal, 2017).

The process of formation of government was completed smoothly. Yousaf Raza Gillani was elected as a Prime Minister of Pakistan, and Dr. Fahmida Mirza was elected as Speaker of National Assembly. Ch. Previz Elhi, (PML-Q) was elected for the chair of opposition leader. Cabinet Ministries were distributed among coalition partners, in whom Muslim League (Nawaz) comprised of 9 and PPP 11, sum up 24.

In the largest province Punjab, PML-N won the majority of seats; however, PML-N and PPP formed a coalition government in the province. PML-N elected Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan Khosa as the Chief Minister on interim basis. Later on, after winning the by-election Shahbaz Sharif replaced him on 8th June. He got elected as 21st Chief Minister without any competitor candidate, and got 265 out of 371 representatives vote.

In Sindh, PPP was in a position to form government without including any other party. However, Asif Zardari preferred to include MQM as an ally in his government, despite of differences with them.

North West Frontier Province (NWFP). The alliance of six religious parties (MMA) experienced an obvious decline as compared to their rise in 2002, as just secured 5 seats. ANP achieved maximum margin of seats and formed coalition government with PPP. Amir Haider Khan Hoti, an ANP leader was elected as the Chief Minister of the province.

In Baluchistan, the boycott of some of the regional, nationalistic parties provided open space to PML-Q again to emerge as the strongest party with heavy mandate. The PML-Q failed to form its government in the province as PPP tacitly installed its government with the support of forward blocks of the PML-Q, Independent candidates, and the religious party JUI-F (Fischer & Kiessling, 2008).

4.6 Potential Coalition Building and Discord

Political parties' undemocratic behavior has been a big hurdle in creating a pro-democratic political environment. The political history is largely full of the demonstration of authoritarian tendencies of the political elite. Politicians' inability to resolving the conflicts through negotiations or to establishing consensus on important issues prelude a pitiable picture. It is argued that elite consensus is inevitable phenomenon for the smooth functioning and growth of democracy. It is interesting, that leaders or politician once striving for

democracy, later on, after coming to power ruled out democratic norms and adopted authoritarian style of power to run the country (Fischer & Kiessling, 2008).

It was first time that two leading parties PPP and PML (N) despite having history of victimization, animosity and hostile politics (especially in the era of 1990s) get together and agreed to share power in the parliament. It was observed as a new beginning and practical demonstration of Politics of understanding and a sign of mature politics. The nature and rational of alliance and political understanding of (PPP & PML-N) was different from previous coalitions or alliances, like Democratic Action Committee (DAC) 1968, Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) 1977, Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) 1983, Islami Jamhoori Itehad (IJI) 1988 and Pakistan Awami Tehreek, (PAT) 1998), which invariably, were formed in the context of their inadequate representation in parliament or political marginalization, and with the aim to overthrow the opponents from power (Shafqat, 1998, p. 294) .

Murree Declaration is considered a landmark achievement for democracy in Pakistan, which was agreed between PML (N) leader Mian Nawaz Sahrif and co-chairman PPP Asif Ali Zardari. It was basically an agreement of power-sharing in the form of a coalition government. Following is the text of Murree declaration.

Text:

1-Allied parties, the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League (N) resolve to form a coalition government for giving a practical shape to the mandate, which was given to the democratic forces by the people of Pakistan on February 18, 2008.

2-This has been decided in today's summit between the PPP and the PML (N) that the deposed judges would be restored, on the position as they were on November 2, 2007, within 30 days of the formation of the federal government through a parliamentary resolution.

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3-The parties agreed that all allied parties would fully support the candidate for the position of the prime minister, nominated by the PPP. The PML (N) suggested that the candidate for prime minister should be such person who can take ahead the common agenda of the allied parties.

4-The parties agreed that the speaker and the deputy speaker of the National Assembly would be from the PPP while the speaker and the deputy speaker of the Punjab Assembly would be from the PML (N).

5-Both the parties agreed that the PML (N) would be a part of the federal government while the PPP would be a part of the Punjab government.

6-This is the solid opinion of the leaderships of both the parties that the allied parties are ready for forming the governments and the sessions of the national and provincial assemblies be summoned immediately.

The leadership of PPP and the PML-N agreed to form a coalition government. It was demonstration of politics of understanding, which happened after long history of political upheaval and deterioration. Nawaz said that understanding is to work "together for a democratic Pakistan" for translating into action the mandate given by the people of Pakistan to democratic forces. Nawaz Sharif agreed that his party would support the nominee of the PPP for the office of the prime minister. And similarly, Speaker and deputy speaker of the National Assembly from PPP, and PML-N respectively would have Speaker and deputy speaker of the Punjab Assembly.

However, the main challenges were the reinstatement of judges who were deposed during Musharraf era. And to abolish the Article 58 2(b), it was introduced in the Seventeenth Amendment which empowered the President to dismiss an elected National Assembly.

His authority to appoint governors in the provinces and fix the appointment of Chief of Army Staff including others Navy and Air force chiefs.

As Musharraf was no more in power so the political environment was conducive for political parties to run their election campaigns (Jetly, 2009). While PPP and PML-N agreed on smooth working relationship, however, the main challenge was to act according to Charter of Democracy and agreed set of principles in Murree Declaration.

The understanding between two parties was threatened on the issue of restoration of Chief Justice. President Zardari was reluctant to restore CJ despite the strong concerns and demand of Nawaz Sharif and civil society. Zardari was afraid of CJ bold judgments; particularly he feared that CJ might undo the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) which was concluded between Musharraf and former PPP Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. However, Nawaz had serious concerns that Zardari must act according to Murree Declaration, in which restoration of CJ was promised. Zardari tried to convince Nawaz that restoration must be through constitutional amendment instead of resolution in Parliament. The later was not agreed and sought the restoration through resolution. However, Zardari exercised delaying tactics instead of resolving the issue according to commitment (Khan H., 2021, pp. 531-33). There was just a political rhetoric in the statements instead of resolving the matter in democratic spirit. As Minister for Law and Justice Farooq H Naik said the matter of restoration of judges would be settled according to the satisfaction of all the parties.

Naik said: "Since we are set to settle this matter according to the democratic norms and since the proposals of the rest of the parties of the ruling alliance are yet to be ascertained, it would not be proper on my part to give my own opinion in this regard. "The only thing that I could reassure is that we are bound to honor the Murree Declaration and we would resolve this issue to the satisfaction of all the parties involved."

PML-N realized the statements of PPP leaders as political stunts and decided to part their ways from coalition led by PPP and finally stepped down from federal ministries on May 13, 2008. Nawaz Sharif in a formal announcement stated, "After thorough deliberations PML (N) has finally decided to separate ways from the ruling coalition government". He further added, "In a comprehensive letter to Mr. Asif Ali Zardari I requested for a timely implementation of .... agreements, however, he pretended as the agreement is not a sacred document like the words of Holy Quran which can't be changed, therefore, PML (N) has decided to separate the ways from coalition government of PPP" (Rizwan & Arshid, 2014).

On 20 February 2009, lawyers' community requested Nawaz Sharif to participate in long march.. PML-N leadership and a few other parties decided to be a part of long march in order to reinstatement of sacked judges. In this regard, Nawaz Sharif started his journey from Lahore to Islamabad. Government was not ready to resolve the issue and exercised all necessary measures to block the long march as section 144 was imposed and ways towards Islamabad were blocked. Despite government's strict measures, the long march was initiated on its fix date and was expected to reach its final destination Islamabad between 15 and 16 March 2009. The government was under huge pressure and opinion was floating that government may not sustain its survival because of intense institutional conflict. Keeping in view serious threats and sensitivity of the issue, PPP leadership expressed willingness to resolve the issue peacefully. Finally, Prime Minister, Yousaf Raza Galini, announced reinstatement of judges at midnight on public TV, that country was passing through crucial times and his party always preferred to resoles the issues through reconciliation. Political parties and other actors must respect the mandate of governments. It is important to strengthen democracy in the country. He had respect for Long March which reflected the sentiments and democratic right of political parties and lawyers community. Keeping in view the commitments likewise; COD, Murree Declaration and other promises, he announced the

restoration of CJ Iftikhar Chaudhry and other judges. At the same time he invited other political actors and leadership of PML (N) to engage in politics of reconciliation for the sake of democracy (Rizwan & Arshid, 2014).

Another troubling development between two parties emerged when President Asif Zardari imposed governor rule in March 2009 in Punjab for two months. It was in reference to disqualification of Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N) Chief Nawaz Sharif and Chief Minister Punjab Shahbaz Sharif by Supreme Court. Governor Punjab Salman Taseer was given the responsibility to run the provincial affairs. However, President did not suspend the provincial assembly, only chief minister and his cabinet was stopped from working.

Spokesman for the President Farhatullah Babar said, 'On the advice of the Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani, under Article 237 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan the President has imposed Governor Rule in the province of Punjab with immediate effect for a period of two months,' (Dawn, 2009).

The philosophy of reconciliation did not have a smooth seafaring because when the coalition governments with the PML (N) at the center and in the provinces could not work adequately, PPP urged the PML (Q) to join the central government as a coalition partner. In the first phase, the PML (Q) was considered an arch enemy of the PPP government. During the election campaign, PPP declared Chaudhry brothers and Pervaiz Musharraf as the persons behind the murder of Benazir Bhutto and issued hate speeches and statements. In turn, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain and his cousin, Pervez Ilahi, accused Zardari for the murder of his wife. However, PPP considered it better choice to include PMLQ as a part of coalition government at the center, an offer to which the PMLQ leadership responded positively. This decision was taken due to unpleasant experience with PML (N) as a part of coalition government. Zardari said, "Through dialogue, we will also find a solution to the political

challenges faced by the coalition government today". He expressed his commitment to the philosophy of reconciliation and tried his level best in engaging political adversaries in the mainstream politics. The arrangement of formulation of a coalition government fixed proper adjustments in the allocation of ministries in May 2011. The head of the PML (Q) Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain declared "We will contest next senate election together with Pakistan People's Party." The Muttahida Qaumi Movement also decided to re-join the governing coalition in both Sindh and Center in October 2011. However, opposition criticized the above political arrangements and labeled it the negative posture of compromised politics based on the philosophy of reconciliation (Chawla, 2017).

4.7 Collaborative Democracy: Advantages of Dualistic Politics

After 2008 elections, politics of Pakistan represent the picture of collaborative democracy__ that is a form of government in which the leading political parties are engaged in dualistic politics as simultaneously as a part of government and opposition. In the scenario of complex election results no party was able to achieve absolute majority, required to form its own government. However, PPP achieved simple majority at center and formed a coalition government. However, after a short period of time, the PML-N, the second largest party in the national parliament left the coalition government and joined the role as a leading opposition party.

The elections result produced diverse picture in the four provinces of Pakistan. The PML (N) gained a clear majority in the provincial assembly of Punjab, and formed the provincial government. The PPP, the second largest party in the Punjab Assembly, played role as the leading opposition party. So, the PPP and PML (N), the two political parties with maximum number of seats, were simultaneously engaged in the political process as ruling and

opposition parties. The organization of dualistic politics led to the foundation of what is called collaborative democracy.

Elements of Collaborative Democracy

Analyzing the Pakistan's political system after 2008 elections, there are five necessary elements of collaborative democracy. First, there must be a federal structure of state and not a unitary state, because this feature cannot be applied to unitary state. Second, the parliamentary form of government is more suitable to collaborative democracy than presidential form of government,. Third, there is need of functioning of multi-party system as well as contesting elections in the democratic setup. Countries with single-party system like China and North Korea cannot establish collaborative democracy. Fourth, the leading party should bring forth a multiparty federal government but be seated in opposition in one or more provincial assemblies. If a single party wins majority seats enough to form government and do not makes alliances with other parties to form federal and provincial governments then collaborative democracy cannot be established. Fifth, the most important characteristic, the leading political parties should engage in dualistic politics as they are part of government and opposition at the same time (Khan L. A., 2013).

Collaborative democracy is something different from coalition government as the former is fixed according to above five attributes and later is even possible in a unitary state, where there is multi-party system. As in Israel a single party may not achieve necessary majority to form national government. In those circumstances, the leading party has to establish alliances with other parties to form a coalition government. That might not be called collaborative democracy because a leading opposition party may be entirely excluded from the government. On the other side, if all leading parties are part of the coalition government, then parliament is deprived of dynamic opposition, the sine quo non for universal democracy.

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As explained above that collaborative democracy is applicable in a federal state and fulfilling the principal of a leading opposition party which is not part of government at federal level however may have established government in one or more provinces. As the PML (N) is the leading opposition party in the federal government but it has established its own government in the province of Punjab.

Moreover, collaborative democracy cannot be cultivated even in a federated state where there is presidential form of government. For instance, USA is a federation with presidential form of government as an elected president forms the federal government whereas elected governors form provincial (state) governments. In US, President belonged to democratic may or may not extend collaboration towards Republican Congress or republican governors for solving federal and state issues. There occur frequent gridlocks between the Executive and Congress that display the non-existence of collaboration (Khan L. A., 2013).

However, in a federal state, collaborative democracy is applicable as a leading opposition party at federal level may be the ruling party in one or more provinces. As the PML-N was a leading opposition party at federal level but it had its own government in the province of Punjab.

However, collaboration is inevitable if no single party is able to achieve majority seats to form its own government. For instance, in Pakistan, after 2008 elections the PPP had not absolute majority in the National Assembly to form its own government. Therefore, they had to collaborate with other parties and formed coalition government. Furthermore, even if a leading party rests with an absolute majority in the parliament it may however form a multiparty government to expand political collaboration.

In Pakistan, the PPP was restricted to form a coalition government due to insufficient seats. Even if they have an absolute majority in the parliament it may include other parties as part of government to extend political collaboration. This collaborative opportunity is not possible in a presidential form of government that is particularly fixed to a two-party system (Khan L. A., 2013).

4.8 Dualistic Politics: Impact on Democratic Process

Dualistic politics yield positive results due to important feature of collaboration. Dualistic politics happens when a leading party simultaneously playing the role of opposition and as governing party, and vice versa. As PPP established its government at center and was leading opposition party in the Punjab. The PML (N) formed its government in the province of Punjab and opposition party at center. The PML-N critiqued the governance of PPP at national level whereas the PPP critiqued PML-N politics in the Punjab.

Dualistic politics is considered to be different from conventional politics as the latter is mostly concerned to find out flaws in the government and may be tortuous to irresponsible or unnecessary criticism. However, dualistic politics restricts the opportunity of wider criticism because it itself as a governing party stands a subject to criticism.

For example, the PML (N) criticized the PPP for governing flaws at central level; similarly, the PPP had the opportunity to criticize the PML-N governance in the province of Punjab. However, largely, the PML-N role had been termed as friendly opposition. Imran Khan, the Chief of the Pakistan Tehrik Insaf, used to criticize the exchange of hard criticism between the two parties PPP and PML (N) and titled it as *nura kushti*, that is fake fight.

In dualistic politics, if stakeholders behave in a responsible manner then it contributes to the stability of the system. On the other side it has damaging effects to system. In Pakistan,

conventional politics damaged the system and paved way to military coups. As party in opposition which did not have stakes in any government central or provincial preferred to oust the government by any means. However, after elections 2008, the two parties PPP and PML-N had collaborative stakes to preserve democracy and avoid conventional politics. So dualistic politics is valuable to safeguard the system against imprudent conspiracies and c. .tabilize government by unlawful means. It provides the systematic defense to respect the each other mandate and not to let down the system particularly on the mercy of non-democratic forces.

There are more chances that leading political parties may engage themselves in collaborative politics. Collaborative democracy becomes more viable when there is a multiparty coalition government at federal and provincial levels. However, for effective collaborative democracy there must be a vigorous but pragmatic opposition. And parties should avoid undermining each other's government while being part of government or opposition. Dualistic politics strengthens the democracy in the scenario of collaborative environment while defusing the degenerative conspiracies, unlawful collusions, and military interventions (Khan L. A., 2013).

4.9 Consensus in Legislation: Eighteenth Amendment

The 18th amendment in the 1973 constitution was significant achievement which reversed the 17th amendment (enacted during General Musharraf era) and ensured original parliamentary nature of the constitution in the preface of executive powers to be exercised by Prime Minister. The amendment is also important because of consensus building of political parties, which was rare feature in the parliament even on issues of national importance. It was the reflection of the political parties' commitment to the Charter of Democracy to strengthen

parliamentary democracy, make sure provincial autonomy, independence of judiciary and Election Commission and to strife for socio-economic development of the state.

Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR) comprising of 27 members led by Mian Raza Rabbani was assigned task to complete constitutional reforms. The PCCR proposed 95 amendments in around 70 articles. The members had consensus on majority of amendments, however there was deadlock in respect of renaming of NWPF and appointment of judges, which was resolved soon (Islam, 1973).

Both houses of the parliament unanimously approved and finally after the signature of President on April 19, 2010 became law.

General Zia was the first to enhance the presidential powers by introducing 8th amendment in the constitution. And President empowered with the provision of 58 (2) B (his discretion to dissolve the National Assembly) exercised his authority in the circumstances of conflict (between President and PM). Three elected governments were dismissed by President on charges of incompetence or poor governance etc. However, 8th amendment was reversed with 13th amendment during Nawaz Sharif government in 1997.

In the 18th amendment the Prime Minister real position as executive chief was restored in respect of appointment of heads of forces and members of judiciary. President role was largely fixed as ceremonial head of state; however, he must be informed on important internal and external policies.

It also delegate considerable powers to provincial assemblies and abolished the two-term limit for the office of Prime Minister, in this way Nawaz Sharif got advantage to be elected Prime Minister for third-term.

The Act includes a total of 102 amendments, which have amended, substituted, added or deleted various provisions of the Constitution (Annex-I). General Zia by introducing 8th

amendment altered over 90 articles and General Musharraf altered 26 articles by enacting 17th amendment in the constitution.

The renowned article 58 (2) (b), (President's power or prerogative to dissolve the parliament), which was initially enacted by General Zia was similarly followed up by General Musharraf after his military coup has been abolished from the constitution.

...icial Commission and a Parliamentary Committee shall have the responsibility to appoint the judges of Supreme Court and High courts, which was previously exercised by President in consultation with Chief Justice.

The name of province of NWFP was renamed as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. The PML-N had long kept on pending that issue, and avoided for renaming during their tenure of government. Similarly, a change was made in the spellings of names of two other provinces likewise "Baluchistan" to "Balochestan" and "Sind" to "Sindh".

Article 6 of the constitution is related to punishment of person found guilty of High Treason. Hence in the 18th amendment, a new clause 6(2A) has been incorporated which explains that courts including Supreme Court and a High Court shall not validate an act of High Treason. The change was made keeping in view previous practices of military dictators to get validated of their military coups by courts.

The Eighteenth constitutional amendment was a serious endeavor to create balanced federal structure and ensure the provincial autonomy. Significant changes were implemented to ensure devolution and empowerment of the provinces. The Long-standing concurrent legislative list was abolished, and provinces were granted more autonomy by providing legitimate constitutional rights regarding governance, legislative powers, production of electricity, management and utilization of their natural resources. The following articles are related to provincial autonomy: 70, 142, 143, 144, 149, 157, 160, 161, 167, 172, 232, 233, 234. The most important was article 42(b) and (c), which empowered provincial assemblies

to make criminal law, criminal procedure and evidence. However, previous laws will stand by unless replaced by new legislation of respective assemblies.

However, the provinces are still unable to take on the full responsibilities transferred to them according to the 18th amendment. Further, mechanism of bodies like the Council on Common Interests and the National Security Council, coordinating bodies among provinces and the center in sharing governance is still largely inactive. The 18th constitutional amendment was an attempt to craft a balanced federal structure in Pakistan, and gave more institutional power to the provinces.

Another important achievement of the 18th amendment is the reinstatement of parliamentary form of government. In this respect following articles were altered: 46, 48, 75, 90, 91, 99, 101, 105, 116, 129, 130, 131, 139, 231 and 243. The Prime Minister, Parliament and provincial assemblies were granted more powers in the following areas: duties of Prime Minister to President; holding of referendum; Assent to bills by president and governors; status of Prime Minister as Chief Executive, Election of Prime Minister by NA, Conduct of Business, appointment of provincial governors, provincial cabinets, executive authority of provinces, election of chief ministers, duties of chief ministers to governors, provincial governments' conduct of business and appointment of services chiefs. Previously, according to article 46 Prime Minister was bound to inform President regarding all decisions taken in the cabinet meeting, and President had the power either to consider the decision or send back for reconsideration. Yet according to new amendment President did not have the power of reconsideration. According to Article 48 President was empowered to hold referendum on national issues of high importance. However, according to new amendment, the Prime Minister with consultation of joint session of parliament will hold referendum.

The formation of caretaker government is an important junction during elections period, its sole responsibility is to conduct elections in a transparent manner and transfer of power to the newly elected government. Once the government complete its tenure caretaker government is formulated by consensus between government and opposition. This amendment in the constitution elaborates that appointment of personals for caretaker government must follow the criteria of fair, neutral and impartial. Constitutional amendment is to set out the jurisdiction of the caretaker government. Along with other responsibilities an important function of government is to facilitate the citizens to take part in elections. In respect of political rights of the citizens, the International Convention for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) explains, "Political clout of any government is depending upon the rights of every citizen to take part in state affairs including the right to be elected or to vote etc" (Rizwan & Arshad, 2014).

Article 25A deals with the Right to education: state's obligation to provide free and compulsory education to the children from 5 to 16 years. The 18th amendment created troublesome picture in the face of regulating health to provinces in the absence of checking authority. The provinces yet don't have the capacity to handle this critical area of social wellbeing and service to people. "The Drug Act of 1976, the law regulating pharmaceutical sector in the country, and the regulatory structures formed under it for registration, manufacturing, quality assurance of medicines and adjudication of contraventions, etc, also does not exist anymore under the 18th amendment."

WHO expressed concerns regarding the devolution of health sector to the provinces. Substantial changes were required for implementation likewise to settle down the legal, regulatory and policy frameworks. Many critical issues were resolved however there was need to address the critical issues and 48 federal laws were highlighted for amendments according to the real spirit of 18th amendment (Seidle & Khan, 2012).

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A well known lawyer and Former Minister, Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. S. M. Zafar who was a member of the constitutional committee which framed the 18th Amendment in the constitution, expressed his view during conference arranged by Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) that granting more fundamental rights was above any criticism. Those rights include free and compulsory education by the state for citizens comprising of age 5 to 16 years, right to information and right of fair trial for each citizen, granted through amendment. It was good progress, having a look at contemporary world most of the people have such like fundamental rights. However there were a few other important things which were part of amendment, likewise strengthening of Election Commission to conduct free and fair election. The tenure of the members of election commission has been fixed and their removal procedure in case of any judicial misconduct could happen by the judicial supreme council. So it has been made powerful institution than ever according to amendment.

The second, institution of judiciary has been empowered. The constitution of 1973 carried on provisions regarding tenure, removal of judges, as their tenure was secure and removal was not possible. They had powers and right to ensure their writs and suo moto jurisdiction and contempt of court. However, the process of the induction of the judges should be corrected. The previous procedure was arbitrary, non-institutional and discretionary that's why sometimes there were incompetent or bad judges sometimes jiyalas, sometimes diwanas and others. Such kind of diwanas in the judiciary had perused their own way whatever they liked. So we institutionalized the process of judicial appointments. Discretionary and arbitrary powers were abolished on the part of individuals. In the previous document it was between the two Prime Minister and Chief Justice. Chief Justice had the final authority however Prime Minister could debate with him to reach out the compromise. That was abolished and transferred it to institutions (Supreme Judicial Council and a Parliamentary Committee). The

Supreme Judicial Council composed of eleven members of the two; government and judiciary.

The Council of Common Interest was established in 1973 constitution to settle the common interests between the center and the provinces. It was a body in which participation of provincial and central ministers worthwhile to debate and establish consensus over the related _ _ _.cerns. Since its inception, it had been dysfunctional and meaningless till 2007. Eighteenth amendment strengthened the CCI to perform its due functions. It's a good idea for bringing the provinces and the center together (Zafar, 2011).

Senator Zafar appreciated the eighteenth amendment that granted sufficient autonomy to the provinces, however, he criticized the step to abolish the concurrent list and recommended that subjects of national curriculum and higher education, standard of drugs, environment, and population must be kept with the federation.

Babar Sattar also highlighted changes in the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment regarding the process of the appointment of judges. He criticized the judiciary's stand point on the appointment. Transparency and security of tenure are important to ensure the independence of judiciary but appointment of judges by judges not appropriate measurement. However, in the Nineteenth Amendment, changes has been incorporated judicial commission is more powerful with its increased checks and balances and consensus would prevail.

He criticized the 'Basic Structure Theory' expounded by the Indian Supreme Court. According to that the parliament has the right to amend the constitution without affecting its basic structure, because the basic structure was framed by the original Indian Constituent Assembly of 1952 and the subsequent legislative assemblies cannot alter it. However, Babar Sattar refuted it as flawed theory. How we can regard one parliament superior to another parliament, likewise the parliament which created the constitution of 1973 could not be fixed as superior to the present parliament (Zafar, 2011).

There has been demand for implementation of actual federalism. It has also been strong demand in the Charter of Democracy and Eighteenth amendment is the result of that quest. Still criticism is going on the 18th amendment, as currently PTI politicians challenged the validity of the amendment. Faisal Wadha had hard words regarding amendment, his view was that expect a few of provisions like 58 (2) b rest of the amendment must be roll backed, as it had weaken the federation. So, according to him it was unnecessary empowerment of the provinces which had adverse implications for federation.

4.10 Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution

The Nineteenth amendment was included in the constitution on December 22nd, 2010. The bill was drafted by the same 26-member Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR), which drafted the 18th amendment that established a parliamentary role in top judicial appointments and was unanimously passed by upper and lower house of parliament. The 19th amendment was put forwarded because a few clauses of 18th amendment those were concerned of the subject matter of the appointment of Judges, as the issue was raised in the Supreme Court of Pakistan.

In the 19th Amendment, a new system for appointment of judges in the superior courts was introduced, aimed at defusing a possible source of conflict between the judiciary and the executive. The number of senior judges of the judicial commission was raised up to four. According to amendment the adhoc judges' appointment will be done by the recommendation of Chief Justice in consultation with the Judicial Commission. Further, it is mentioned that in the situation of National Assembly's dissolution the members of the parliamentary committee will be taken form Senate only (Dawn, 2010).

Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani, Speaking in the National Assembly, expressed that the amendment "a gift for the nation." Parliament is powerful than in the past and reflection is consensus over the amendments to the constitution.

He appreciated the political leadership regarding the agreement to the amendments. Raza Rabbani, who led the PCCR, established that democracy was achieving strength in the country as consensus over the amendments was its reflection.

4.11 National Finance Commission: Consensus Building

National Finance Commission (NFC) is placed in the Constitution of Pakistan1973 for the distribution of revenues between the federation and the provinces. Taxes collection from provinces is pooled and redistributed according to designed formula of NFC Award. Since the execution of 1973 constitution, there has been three consensus based NFC awards came into effect in 1974, 1991 and in 1997. However, the NFC awards in 1979, 1984 and in 2000 remained unimplemented due to non-consensus of stake holders over the proposed formula.

Following are taxes which fall in the pool: Income taxes, General sales tax, Wealth taxes, Capital gains taxes and Custom duties. All the taxes were collected as the major source of revenue for the government and then the redistribution of this revenue was always a debatable issue. (Ali & Jalbani, 2011)

Previously the formula of distribution was largely based on population while other factors carried secondary position. The previous awards lacked consensus on the following three grounds: fixing population as a main source of dividing resources, secondly, controlling of revenue generation by federal government, and thirdly federal government receiving of main share. Provinces received 80 percent share in the awards of 1974, 1979 and in 1990 but different situation emerged in 1996 in Malik Meraaj's care taker government which decided award in 1996 and fixed a highly increased share to the federal government of 62.5 % and provinces gained only37.5 % (Musarra, Ali, & Azhar, 2012).

In the 7th NFC Award, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa desire multiple criteria, whereas, Punjab emphasize was to keep on population as a sole criteria. Sindh demands considerable share for revenue (sale tax, services collection) to be weighted more. Punjab and

Sindh receive most tax. The Port of Karachi provides the largest custom duties. KP emphasizes on poverty, while Balochistan stresses the inverse population density in the financial resources distribution. The 7th NFC Award incorporated the demands of Balochistan, Sindh and KP.

Considering a multifactor formula for distribution of resources based on population, poverty, underdevelopment, and inverse population density criteria was a significant development. Federation agreed to sacrifice 10 per cent of its share in favor of provinces. Federal government issued Rs 225 billion more to provinces during 2010-11 (Mustafa, 2011).

Pakistan People's Party government established in 2008 takes into account root causes of lack of consensus amongst the provinces. Prime Minster Yousaf Raza Gillani wished to reform the National Finance Commission that was prerequisite initiative to resolve the issue immediately. Government was keen to establish consensus to strengthen the financial condition of the provinces. In this respect a commission was formed in July 2009 to observe the statistical and economic situation. After analyzing the conditions the commission concluded the distribution of 7th NFC award in December 2009. Prime Minister and chief ministers of four provinces signed the award at Gwadar and finally the finance minister Shaukat Treen announced on December 11, 2009.

Table: 4.3

Revenue Sharing Formula for the 7th NFC Award, 2009

Indicators	Weight	Punjab	Sindh	KP	Balochistan
Population Share	82.0	57.36	23.71	13.82	5.11
Poverty/Backwardness	10.3	23.16	23.41	27.82	25. 61
Revenue Generation/Collection	5.0	44.0	50.0	5.0	1.0
Inverse Population Density	2.7	4.34	7.21	6.54	81.92
Total Share	100	51.74	24.55	14. 62	9.09

Source: PIDE Working Papers, Fiscal Federalism in Pakistan: The 7th National Finance Commission Award and Its Implications, 2011: 73

According to new award provincial share was increased from 47.5 % to 56% for the year 10-11. The federal government also makes a decision to reduce tax collection charges from 5% to 1%. The sales tax on services is the subject to be dealt in provincial list and respective provinces are to be responsible for collection.

Federal government devised a multiple formula for the distribution of resources and all the provinces agreed with. The multiple criteria include; population 82%, poverty and backwardness 10.3%, revenue collection/generation 5% and inverse population density comprising urban and rural development 2.7%. (Musarra, Ali, & Azhar, 2012).

The 7th NFC Award the provincial share from the divisible pool is as follows; Punjab 51.74 %, Sindh 24.55 % Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa 14.62 % and Baluchistan 9.09 %. Political leaders President Asif Ali Zardari, Nawaz Sharif and Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani and politicians form the other political parties and finance and political analysts appreciated the consensus of political leaders in the form of successful 7th Award, and viewed it a remarkable achievement after 19 years of controversial (Waseem, 2010). The consensus building on the NFC award enhanced the trust building among the political actors and was an indicator of fostering national unity. The new NFC Award settled the glorious precedent of sacrifices and adjustment by big and small provinces.

In a federation the center can enjoy a few exclusive powers along with concurrent list while rest of the powers rests with units including residuary powers. "Ideal distribution of power between governments in a federation to be one in each government also was able to act independently within its own water right sphere of responsibility. But concurrency has many

advantages two. It Provides an elements of flexibility in the process of Law making" (Musarra, Ali, & Azhar, 2012)

Regarding the vertical part of the NFC formula, some people think that the federation has reduced its share too much. Some have even argued that the current fiscal deficit issues that the federation faces has a lot to do with this vertical arrangement in the NFC. Since the federation keeps too little, while its expenditure needs and commitments are large, it has to run a deficit. If the basis for the NFC could be redone, the deficit issue might be easier to address (Bari, 2018)

PML-N stressed the PPP government to implement the measures to ensure the provincial autonomy in visualizing the commitment made in Charter of Democracy and as well as in its manifesto. That demand led to the formation of 27 members Special Committee on Constitutional Reforms SPCCR). The representation of major parties like PPP, PML-N and MQM comprising of 9 members and 18 members from small ethnic groups of small provinces were taken on board. The committee under the headship of Senator Raza Rabbani had deliberation on new constitutional package and received 982 proposals in respect of provincial autonomy.

After finalization of committee work it was presented in National Assembly and it was passed with 292 votes and none in opposition. After that, in April 2010, it was gone through from the upper house where it received 90 votes and none vote against for. It achieved its last step after the signature of President on April 19, 2010. So, it was political understanding parties that they successfully completed the process of legislation in the parliament instead of any opposition or political maneuvering. (Musarra, Ali, & Azhar, 2012).

4.12 Conclusion

Undemocratic behavior of political parties has been hurdle in the way to create a pro-democratic environment. The political history is largely full of the demonstration of authoritarian tendencies of the political elites. Politicians in respect of their prime ability to resolve the conflicts through negotiations or to establish consensus building on important issues prelude a pitiable picture. It is argued that elite consensus is inevitable phenomenon for the smooth functioning and growth of democracy. It is interesting, that leaders or politician once striving for democracy, later on, after coming to power ruled out democratic norms and adopted authoritarian style of power and policies.

The most significant development in the democratic process is the completion of five years term (2008-2013) of democratic government in a sensitive political environment, and smooth transfer of power to the next government, which in past proved a crucial barrier to keep on the continuity of democratic process. It was utmost necessary requirement to strengthen the democratic process in fragile political circumstances. It was also necessary to prove the capacity of political parties to run the political business and revive the trust of the masses and establish the image of Pakistan as a democratic state. Consensus building on important issues particularly in legislative process strengthens the democratic process as well as trust on each other. In this respect 18th amendment in the constitution is considered as a landmark which empowered the provinces through devolution of various ministries. It enhanced the trust of the provinces regarding their long-standing demands of provincial autonomy. Similarly, NFC award is a big achievement to have consensus on agreed formula of distribution of pool of financial resources among provinces. It is argued that elite consensus is inevitable phenomenon for the smooth functioning and growth of democracy. Another, positive impact of political understanding of parties is their common front against non-democratic forces, that

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development is a strong barrier particularly against military coups and it would contribute to the continuity of democratic process.

Nawaz Sharif said that understanding was to work "together for a democratic Pakistan" for translating into action the mandate given by the people of Pakistan to democratic forces. The cooperative environment through political understanding enhanced the trust of political parties to work together in a conducive environment. Political parties rationalize their lust for power as well as political activities compatible with the political environment. It was basically realization of the past acts and fresh zeal to strengthen the democracy in the country. Political parties' rationalization of political course outline led them to create conducive political environment and recognize the each other existence.

It was the result of political understanding that the two leading parties successfully experienced dualistic politics and ends conventional politics which has positive impacts on democratic process. As dualistic politics is considered to be different from conventional politics as the later is mostly concerned to find out flaws in the government and may be involved in irresponsible or unnecessary criticism. However, dualistic politics restricts the opportunity of wider criticism because it itself as a governing party is subject to similar criticism.

Whatsoever has been achieved those were utmost necessary steps to move forward, may be signified as the initial phase in strengthening democratic process in a fragile democratic environment, otherwise there is a long way ahead.

Chapter 5

Role of Opposition and Democratic Process

5.1 Introduction

In parliamentary democracy government and opposition are the two side of the same coin and perform the functions in the best interest of state and society. However, their role in the parliament is of different kind; as if government is burdened with heavy responsibilities to govern the state, similarly opposition role is also significant to share burden of responsibilities and support government in its right moves and as well as criticize where public or state interest is marginalized. Legislation is the prime responsibility of parliament, and opposition has a wider scope to influence the legislation as well as to offer its input and constructive criticism, either to support or hinder legislation.

Pakistan is a developing country and the role of opposition since its inception could not grow up as mature as is deemed in accordance with democratic norms. Historical role of the opposition is necessary to understand the political parties struggle for the sake of democracy. In this respect, Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and Alliance for Restoration of Democracy (ARD) are significant junctures of opposition resilience. PNA was formed against Z.A Bhutto government, MRD was launched against General Zia military coup for restoration of democracy and ARD was put forward against General Musharraf military rule to restore democracy in the country.

Throughout General Musharraf rule, the parties PML-N and PPP passed through difficult times. As he marginalized even their due political freedom and the leadership of the two parties were not allowed to come back to country until they concluded agreements, likewise; in case of Benazir, NRO ensured her return to country and Nawaz Sharif returned to Pakistan with the interference of external friends of Pakistan. However, in the third democratic

transition, when General Musharraf was no more in power, after elections 2008 PPP formed government since secured majority number of seats in the National Assembly. Initially, PML-N stood as a coalition partner in the PPP led government but after a few months of being a coalition partner declined and occupied opposition benches. The PML-N led opposition was often labeled as a friendly opposition. It was first time that opposition gone through a unique criticism of friendly opposition. It is important here to analyze the role of friendly opposition, how it looks like either constructive or destructive.

There was shift in opposition politics that it remained reluctant to offer intensive critique even over the important issues of national interest. However, in past opposition always remained intolerant and preferred confrontational politics in and outside the parliament. It was first time in the history of country that opposition avoided to launch any resistance movement to disrupt the democratic process. Previously, governments were dissolved prematurely due to conspiracies led by opposition and politicians' narrow vision and lack of commitment to democratic norms. Such like power politics always resulted in democratic instability, chaos, threatened the socio-economic and socio-political conditions and masses suffered a lot.

It is a rational paradigm in politics because political parties realized that past politics of confrontation, hatching conspiracies and destabilizing the government by hook and crook and disrespecting the mandate of each other not only undermined the democracy but also halted the evolution of democratic process. Then acknowledging the damages of traditional way of politics, there was a renewed commitment in the form of 'Charter of Democracy' to implement justified democratic code of conduct in accordance with the supreme document of constitution of Pakistan. That realization and commitment is the result of rational choice, that political actors are rational actors. This rational choice was copulation due to changing socio-

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economic and socio-political conditions compelled the political parties to adjust their politics in changing political environment.

Due to politics of understanding there was a shift in political culture which is highly important for the growth of democratic process. Likewise, the same two main stream political parties intolerant to each other at extreme level have been engaged in blame game, political victimization, mostly established political cases against each other in their respective tenures of rule and also preferred negative propaganda. However, after their renewed commitment they entirely changed the course of politics as they avoided unnecessary blame game, hatching conspiracies, political victimization and political vendetta etc.

5.2 Role of Opposition

Political party or parties having minority seats in the legislature are always expected to occupy opposition benches in order to play the role of opposition. People elect their representatives that they will play active role in the parliament, either in government or being part of opposition. The acceptance by masses for the vibrant role of opposition in the legislature is a recognized phenomenon in democracies. Government and opposition role is equally important for the smooth working in the legislature. Size of the opposition does not matter rather its potential and constructive role is more important in the parliament, and government has to acknowledge a role of opposition in the state affairs. One of the important roles of opposition is to keep on check on government policies and support the right moves and criticize or counter the wrong moves.

Functions of Opposition: opposition scrutinizes the executive working and oversight the implementation of law and to view the government performance and accountability process. Particularly, it keeps eyes on financial funding and their actual uses. It is utmost necessary function on the part of opposition to keep on strict eyes on financial matters led by the

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government and to ensure the transparent working. Opposition also owns the responsibility to represent the feelings of neglected sections of society or unknown to governmental priorities.

Legislation is the prime responsibility of parliament, and opposition has a wider scope to influence the legislation as well as to offer its input and constructive criticism, either to support or hinder legislation. So, the important role of opposition is its oversight and scrutinizing of the legislation process. The scrutinizing process is accomplished through different ways, as to asking question to Prime Minister and Cabinet members in the parliament, and that debate is helpful in covering the all aspects as well as pros and cons of the expected legislation. Opposition members have the opportunity to play their active role in the parliamentary committees as well. Opposition members can also initiate legislation or present bill on the issues, which they consider necessary. Opposition plays the role of an alternative government and government in waiting. It is even accepted by law that government will rule the country and opposition support the government initiatives in the best interest of state and society, but opposition is not fixed to its constructive contributions rather its role as a 'watch dog' and criticize the government policies and to keep on check over government in its direction is also highly important (Unit 7: The Role of the Opposition)

5.3 The Opposition vs Government: Nature of Relationship

Opposition is supposed to critically review a piece of legislation and its support to government often remains difficult task. Generally, Government runs its business by developing the perception of 'All is well'; however, it is up to opposition to expose the issues to their gravity level. In this regard, opposition representation in the parliamentary committees as well as criticism in the house is useful in exploring different aspects, scope of initiatives and legislation. Opposition and government, establishing of understanding and consensus building on the issues always based on their calculations like significance of issue,

societal pressures, national interest and as well as the party interest. However, opposition often remains selective in its cooperation with government, because the former being 'government in waiting' always tries its best to exploit the opportunities in its favor and gain credit, in order to achieve the confidence of masses, instead of achieving same credit by government.

To support government on a piece of legislation and to have consensus on a policy matter is often a difficult decision for opposition. This could be a statesmanlike approach and in the national interest, but the possibility of negative perception of such stances by civil society and the people can be damaging to the opposition. In particular important minority interests that the opposition represents may feel aggrieved or neglected if consensus is too easily reached. This may result in the opposition putting forward an alternative view even if the national interest dictates otherwise (Unit 7: The Role of the Opposition)

5.4 Pakistan National Alliance (PNA): Vigorous Role of Opposition

Prime Minister of Pakistan, ZA Bhutto, announced the date for elections as the National Assembly on 7th March and Provincial Assembles on 10th March, 1977. And similarly the National and Provincial assemblies would be dissolved on 10th January and 13th January respectively. The elections according to their due date were to be held on 14th August 1978, but Bhutto decided to go for early election, even one and half year of his government tenure was pending. As Bhutto was a popular leader and early announcement of elections shocked the opponent parties. Opponent parties planned to create a common front against him. They realized that it was beyond the capacity of any single party to defeat Bhutto. Opposition parties set aside their ideological and other differences, and a meeting of 9 parties held at the residence of Rafiq Ahmad Bajwa, a member of Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan, and formed an alliance known as Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). In which following parties

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participated: (1) Pakistan Muslim League (PML); (2) Jamat-e-Islami (JI); (3) Tehreek-e-Isteklal (TI); (4) Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI); (5) Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP); (6) National Democratic Party (NDP); (7) Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP); (8) Khaksar Tehreek (KT); (9) All Pakistan Jummu Kashmir Muslim Conference (APJMC) (Bader, 2013, p. 38).

Mufti Mahmood of JUI and Rafiq Bajwa of JUP were ranked as the President and Secretary General of PNA. Nawabzada Nasarullah Khan of PDP was designated as Vice-President and Pir Pagaro of PML held the responsibility as member of the Central Parliamentary Board for issuing tickets. PNA after getting "plough" as the election symbol initiated its campaign on 23rd January. However it was surprising that the way opposition set aside their differences and reached to a political understanding in the form of PNA.

PNA elections campaign was largely based on criticizing Bhutto policies and governance instead of presenting their own comprehensive program or agenda. They stressed that fundamental rights had been usurped during Bhutto era. Unexpectedly, their campaign seemed successful in manipulating public opinion in their own favor and as well as undermining Bhutto's popularity. They presented Quran as their manifesto to target the voters all over the Pakistan (Weinbaum, 1977). However, elections results presented adverse picture to the expectations of opposition, as PPP won the majority seats in the National Assembly and PNA received a very small number of seats in the NA. In the province of Punjab, they just won 8 out of 116 seats, and interestingly not any single seat in Lahore and Rawalpindi, where they had worthwhile public gatherings during their campaign (Wolpert, 1993).

The leaders of PNA expressed serious concerns on the credibility of elections and challenged the results on the grounds of rigging managed directly from the Prime minister office. They

rejected the provincial assemblies' elections. There had been negotiations between PNA and PPP for a few months. And the two parties were about to finalize the process of settlement, but General Zia dissolved the NA and imposed his rule as the martial law administer.

5.5 Movement for restoration of democracy (MRD)

"Pakistan National Alliance" refused to accept the results of the elections of March 7, 1977, on the basis of allegation of ragging over Z.A. Bhutto government. This led to a mass confrontation between Z. A. Bhutto and Pakistan national alliance (PNA). Bhutto created political vacuum due to his inflexible attitude towards opposition. Ultimately, that confrontation and unwise strategy of Bhutto government in dealing with the situation paved the way for direct military intervention in politics. On July 5, 1977 Military Chief General Zia ul Haq dismissed the Z.A. Bhutto government and took over the charge of the country. Z. A Bhutto faced court trail in a case registered against him in which he was hanged on 4th April 1979. After that, political circumstances were not favorable for PPP and with the passage of time it was divided into groups. However, a few influential leaders realized the gravity of the situation and concluded the following important decisions:

PPP does not believe in discriminatory politics, there was need of an alliance with other parties as alone PPP could not achieve any objective, and instead of targeting the institution of army as a whole General Zia must be criticized. (Younas, 1993, pp. 153-54).

General Zia, soon after his military coup promised that elections would be held in 90 days. Irrespective of his promise, he adopted delaying tactics which in turn compelled even his supporter political parties which were aligned in the form of alliance of PNA established alliance with PPP and waged efforts for Restoration of democracy by opposing the military regime, that alliance is titled as "Movement for Restoration of Democracy" (Mushtaq A. Q., p. 2010).

MRD gradually convinced the masses and established the public opinion in its favour, in order to restore democracy. Situation regarding law and order was triggered worst especially in the Sindh, as many people had been killed there. General Zia realized the sensitivity of the circumstances and announced that elections would be held till March 1985. Further, he claimed that army would not play any role which was contradictory to constitution. However, he mentioned that it would be decided later on, that elections were to be arranged on party basis or non-party. He categorically expressed that personally he would endorse presidential system of government. However, he would not present himself for a candidate to run for president elections (Chaudhary M. , 1989, p. 127)

Following are the basic points of MRD:

1. To end the Marshal Law

2. Restoration of Constitution 1973

3. Demand of free and fair elections within 90 days

4. To establish the interim government composed of politicians till the arrangement of elections

In the formation of the above basic point there was a political mistake as they ignored important issues like Kashmir issue, national unity and integrity, war in Afghanistan, corruption and ideological basis. Rather, the movement focus was limited to overthrow the government and attain the power. So, the whole effort and political confrontation aimed at power politics. MRD declared the black day on July 5, 1983, against the completion of six years military rule of General Zia ul Haq. However, MRD led protest could not succeed due to strict government measures, as they arrested many of the workers. On the other hand masses also remained reluctant to participate in those protests. So, the black day strategy could not succeed.

In the whole history of MRD, the date of August 14, 1983 carried great importance, because in the same date in the central session of MRD they decided to a launch movement against Marshal Law, titled as "Awami Therike" (Masses Movement) to "Pakistan Bachao Therike" (save the Pakistan) and later on they changed it into "Civil Disobedience Movement". Although, MRD movement had resemblance with previous movements of 1958, 1969 and 1977, but there was difference of classic technique and groups alliances. Mass movements in Pakistan have been typically rooted in the non-compatibility between the bureaucratic and democratic institutions of the post-colonial state structure. In this perspective, the 1983 movement of MRD can be a conceived of as a manifestation of structural tension (Younas, 1993, p.161).

MRD protests triggered violent particularly in Sindh, and threatened the law and order situation. Government started to oppress the movement and arrested the important and dynamic personalities. On the one side government kept on blaming to damage the public property, on the other side when the movement got slow down at certain occasions they declared the failure and useless effort. It has become clear, that the movement is gauged only through its level of resistance in term of violence or protestors capacity to resist the forces, otherwise the political character or worth have a little scope. Another, important factor for the success of movement is related to economic aspect. Like in Ayub period, the intensity of movement was triggered due to imbalance economic conditions. Similarly, the movement against Z.A. Bhutto was successful due to his economic policies of nationalization of industries and low percentage of productivity, but in respect of MRD movement nothing such like factor existed.

Outcome of the MRD: Success and Failure

MRD generally overall failed to achieve its objectives. Following is the analysis of the movement:

1. People strongly reacted and criticized the PPP and Pakistan National Alliance parties alliance of MRD, because once the later carried propaganda against the former and named its struggle as Jihad and sacred duty. Now it was difficult to understand the moral justification of their collaboration.

2. It is a principle fact that movements which are not based on moral principals always failed.

3. Restoration of democracy was an inspiring but it was not in the larger interest of common man, and people were like fed up of the past experiences of such like political confrontations.

4. The movement ended about after three months and people suffered in term of human and property lose etc.

5. The movement was basically limited to Sindh, where lawyers and political worker presented themselves for arrest but general masses avoided to be a part of any struggle.

6. There was leadership crisis, the movement was not led by any popular leader who might have recognition overall the country.

7. Changing the name of "save the Pakistan" into "civil disobedience" also damaged the movement (Younas, 1993)

Achievements:

1. Although, overall movement was not successful but it brought the fundamental changes in the political system.

2. For long time period MRD kept on a resisting movement in the form of protests, and another pulse their unity and their agenda also carried the deprivation of the masses.

3. The political parties being allied with MRD did not face any differences on the restoration of constitution of 1973 and on the arrangement of general elections.

4. Although government adopted delaying strategy for elections in view of MRD movement that it could not sustain for long time, but after 1977, Marshal Law government faced opposition first time.

5. It was a reaction of the movement that government contacted the political parties which distanced the MRD and started negotiations with them.

   Dr. Waseem wrote: "Such a loss of legitimacy by the non-MRD parties in general can be considered to ba a Net-Gain by sponsors of the 1983 movement" (Younas, 1993).

5.6 The PML-N Posture of Friendly-Opposition

During PPP government the role of PML-N as a leading opposition party was termed as 'Friendly opposition'. It was beyond of traditional politics of these parties. It was comparatively better in term of avoiding confrontational politics. However, this changing role of opposition continued during PML-N government and PPP followed pay off being the opposition party in the house.

Politics without animosity is considered a good thing but there is always a common fear which may prevail at any time and may damage the working relationship of politicians (Dawn, 2014).

The posture of friendly opposition was visible by its way of politics, as the PML-N avoided direct confrontation with PPP. Yet, PML-N managed to highlight their image as a pro-independent judiciary party by demanding the implementation of the Supreme Court verdict on NRO, through which PPP stood major beneficiary among other parties.

PML-N fully supported the 18th Amendment which abolished the constitutional restriction on prime minister to be elected for third–time. It was as per desire of Nawaz Sharif to become a third-time prime minister. In the first quarter of 2010, PML-N kept on preferring an aggressive posture of opposition. Overall, its role was termed as a friendly-opposition. On the one side, it echoed for the implementation of the Supreme Court's decision on NRO on the other side silenced or no practical initiative against President Zardari over his alleged Swiss accounts.

One of the reasons of PML-N led friendly opposition was its government in the province of Punjab, which might be threatened if PPP and PML-Q would have reached to power sharing understanding in the province. PML-N realized that the PML-Q was involved in hatching conspiracies to dislodge the Sharif government in the Punjab. PML-N tactfully defused the chances of such like move by affiliating with a group of PML-Q dissident MPAs.

PML-N established the party structure in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and it was in the line of reorganization of the party in the country. Nawaz Sharif announced the formal launch on December 26 at a public meeting. PML-N refused to become a part of Muttahida Muslim League (MML) while former Prime Minister Zafarullah Jamali efforts to convince Nawaz Sharif for unification of Muttahida Muslim League (MML) ended in fiasco. PML-Q President Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain took initiative of uniting Muslim League by merging his party with Pir Pagara's PML-F, but dropped off the move when Pir Pagara accepted PML-Likeminded group as a separate political entity.

However, the PPP and PML-Q power-sharing at central government paved the way to the former entry into the power corridors and ended its isolation period in the national politics after November 2010. PML-Q Federal Law Minister Dr Babar Awan's meeting with Pervez Elahi on November 3, 2010 paved the way to PML-Q come back into the political arena.

Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif governed the province by his close affiliates and bureaucracy while ignoring the PPP as a coalition partner. The PPP was sidelined in respect of exercising power being a coalition partner. Regarding this issue PPP leaders strongly criticized the Punjab government and issue was highlighted before President Asif Zardari, but he avoided to be engaged in hard reaction or confrontation due to his political understanding with PML-N.

Punjab Governor Salmaan Taseer and the PML-N government kept on criticizing and leveling allegations against each other which sometimes escalated to violent lines. Provincial Law Minister, Rana Sanaullah's harsh criticism was responded by Taseer and Federal Law Minister Babar Awan (Today, 2010)

Due to their political understanding and soft government-opposition relations the two parties PML-N and PPP have often been labeled with the following terms of 'muk mukka' (relationship according to secret deal) and a similar term 'noora kushti' meaning a fake fight. However the term 'Tabdeeli' is used in positive sense which has been propagated by PTI leadership Imran Khan, who used to criticize the two parties PML-N and PPP and presented his party as a third alternative in a by-party political structure. (Rizvi F. H., 2016)

Parliamentarians' committee proved failure in deciding the caretaker prime minister. So many critics in media disparaged the inability of the politicians in deciding matters and entitled it immature politics. However, when they reached to consensus in finalizing the caretaker chief minister of Punjab, then again they faced criticism carrying the negative essence of politics as 'muk mukka'. Instead of appreciating the PML-N and giving credit of responsible opposition, it was discredited by mocking as 'loyal opposition' and 'friendly opposition'.

According to Dr Julius Kiiza, the party in government tries to implement its policies and programs often consisted with its manifesto. Opposition is widely concerned to offer its criticism on government policies and programs. To have respect for elected government is a characteristic of democratic parties even if they are in opposition. Democratic societies are always concerned with the significant values of tolerance, reconciliation and compromise. Democracies recognize the importance of consensus building which is strengthen by compromise and tolerance. A loyal and responsible opposition is important to democracy. If opposition really performs in accordance with democratic lines then it will strengthen the democratic process and they will have chance to be reelected by impressing masses with their good performance.

Role of opposition according to their constitutional guidelines strengthens the democracy and their due role means respect to constitution and public's mandate. Those, who are unsatisfied with democratic performance and promoted military rule are not aware of actually how democracy is nurtured. Rather democracy gains its strength and maturity with the passage of time. We have to judge the democratic performance while having great patience and discouraging alternative which have dangerous consequences (Panhwer, 2013).

Nawaz Sharif praised the Asif Zardari, when he was leaving office, the later also reciprocated that "politics would be done during upcoming election years and in the meantime he would like to work under the leadership of Mr. Nawaz Sharif". Although it was a tradition to say a few words of appreciation for the outgoing dignitary but Nawaz Sharif style was contradictory to his previous stance.

Nawaz Sharif who once called Asif Zardari as a Mr. 10 percent (looting the public money) and a threat to the very existence of Pakistan but now changed his stance. Both Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif very quickly forgot all the inflammatory speeches of dragging and

hanging Zardari for sellout on Pakistan's integrity to foreign powers and destroying the economy of Pakistan. Similarly, Zardari and his party members accused the leaders of Punjab of depriving the smaller province of their right, but now they forgot the blame game. What can be concluded that all their talk of change, accountability and fiercely attacking PPP government was all meant to grab power.

That the allegation of friendly opposition by PML-N at the center was a harsh truth and that there was no hope for any, even cosmetic, change. Majority of the people of Pakistani faced poverty, ill governance, illiteracy, power breakdown, joblessness and more importantly corruption etc. The reality is that the last five years, PML-N was a friendly opposition, they just changed seats with each other, now it's 'my turn next yours'. President Zardari's statement that politics is not 'confined' to just electioneering and that he would work under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif, was even more depressing. Now it would be advisable for both the parties to merge and select a suitable name for 'two in one' party. I can suggest an easier one 'Pakistan People's party Muslim league Nawaz' (Panhwer, 2013).

In December 2012 the cleric and leader of Pakistan Awami Tehreek Tahirul Qadri, initiated a political campaign for a democratic revolution through electoral reforms aimed at preventing corrupt candidates from participating in the forthcoming elections. He announced that election date must be extended and interim government to be framed with participation of both the military and the judiciary. He then launched a 'Long March' from Lahore to Islamabad and staged a sit-in in front of Parliament House, calling for the immediate dissolution of the parliament, the provincial assemblies and the Election Commission of Pakistan (Joshua, 2013).

The demands raised by Qadri were considered justified as even the Supreme Court lawyers also expressed their satisfaction to his demands. There were also rumors on the surface that

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his campaign was backed out by security establishment. During Zardari government, ever first time the main political parties proved the guardian of the democratic system. However, regarding this issue the then opposition extended their full support to government. The mainstream parties found it difficult to confront Qadri's anti-corruption campaign openly and allowed him to save face through a 'Long March declaration', but its outcome made no concessions. Imran Khan, the leader of PTI, who initially demanded resignation of Zadari, however, later on backed out.

PML-N carried out the role of opposition and remained distanced from the military. However, it was different politics from past when opposition party preferred to have support from military either to exploit government or to dethrone them. Asif Zardari continued to enjoy his power as President of the country with the support of PML-N. Although at certain occasions he had tense relations with military but he had full support of PML-N. The unity and understanding of the government and opposition was also manifest during the adoption of the eighteenth amendment. It reflects the convergence of interests, as for President Zardari important stake related to his political survival and Nawaz Sharif stake introduction of third term for Prime Minister. When Nawaz Sharif took over the government then political situation was stronger than his predecessor. PPP government political restraint contributed to the stability of democratic process, which was further carried out by PML-N (Grare, 2013).

5.7 PML-N Opposition: Aggressive Politics

While PPP and PML-N agreed on smooth working relationship, however, the main challenge was to act according to Charter of Democracy and what was agreed in Murree Declaration. The understanding between two parties was threatened on the issue of restoration of chief justice. President Zardari was reluctant to restore CJ despite the strong concerns and demand of Nawaz Sharif and civil society. Zardari was afraid of CJ bold judgments; particularly he

feared that CJ might undo the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) which was concluded between Musharraf and former PPP Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto before her return to Pakistan from self-exile. However, Nawaz had serious concerns that Zardari must act according to Murree Declaration, in which restoration of CJ was promised. However, Zardari linger on the issue and exercises delaying tactics instead of resolving the issue according to commitment.

There was just a political rhetoric in the statements instead of resolving the matter in democratic spirit. As Minister for Law and Justice Farooq H Naik said the matter of restoration of judges would be settled according to the satisfaction of all the parties.

Naik said: "Since we are set to settle this matter according to the democratic norms and since the proposals of the rest of the parties of the ruling alliance are yet to be ascertained, it would not be proper on my part to give my own opinion in this regard. "The only thing that I could reassure is that we are bound to honor the Murree Declaration and we would resolve this issue to the satisfaction of all the parties involved."

PML-N realized the situation and decided to part their ways from coalition led by PPP and finally stepped down from federal ministries on May 13, 2008. The leadership of PML-N Nawaz Sharif announced separation from the ruling coalition government of PPP. He established his point that his request to Asif Zardari for the implementation of promises according to agreement could not succeed. Rather Zardari disgraced agreement by mentioning that it was not as sacred as Holy Book. So, he decided parting of way with PPP led government. Therefore, PML (N) has decided to separate the ways from coalition government of PPP" (Rizwan & Arshid, 2014).

The PML-N also decided to announce former Chief Justice Saeed uz Zaman Siddiqui as its candidate for the September 6 presidential election. The PML-N chief Nawaz Sharif kept on criticizing Mr. Zardari for not fulfilling promises. He criticized that the PPP had nominated

Mr. Zardari as its presidential candidate and it was violation of an agreement which was concluded by the two leaders on August 7. In which it was agreed that they would evolve consensus on the nomination of new president.

In the last clause of the agreement, the two parties had agreed that "in case the office of the president still retains the powers acquired under the 17th amendment, a nationally respected, non-partisan and pro-democracy figure acceptable to the coalition partners will be put forward as the presidential candidate. "In case the 17th amendment is repealed and the powers of the president are restricted to the original powers as envisaged in 1973 Constitution, the PPP will have the right to put forward its own candidate."

However, Nawaz Sharif expressed his commitment for a "constructive and positive role" while sitting in the opposition and would not "try to destabilize the PPP government". He also reaffirmed that the politics of the 1980s and the 1990s must not be repeated. Further his party would continue support for PPP in implementing Charter of Democracy (Wasim, 2008).

Government formed a committee to settle down the issue, comprising of members Sherry Rehman, Raza Rabbani and Farooq H. Nike. However, other coalition partners have different and mixed point of view on the judges' issue. ANP shared the same point of view as PML-N while Fazlur Rehman of JUI did not support the PML-N regarding the issue, rather considered other issues more important than reinstatement of judges. Hence the committee which was formed to look into the issue remained ineffective. Even, they did not present the resolution in the National Assembly for the debate. The government also shared another proposal to resolve the issue by bringing a next amendment in the constitution (Kanwal, 2017).

However, the issue of reinstatement of judges was resolved under huge pressure, when Nawaz staged long march from Lahore to Islamabad. The lawyer's movement, PML-N

leadership and a few other parties decided to stage long march in order to restore the sacked judges. Government was not ready to resolve the issue and exercised all necessary measures to block the long march as section 144 was imposed and all the ways towards Islamabad were blocked. Despite hard measure of government, the long march was initiated on its fix date and was expected to reach its final destination Islamabad between 15 and 16 March 2009. ꞓʜꞓ government was under huge pressure and opinion was floating that government may not sustain its survival in view of institutional conflict. So, PPP leadership realized the highly sensitive situation, as government survival was at stake, it was deemed necessary to resolve the issue peacefully. Finally, Prime Minister, Yousaf Raza Gallini, announced reinstatement of judges on midnight on public TV, with following words: "I am addressing on an event when we are standing on the cross roads of the history. The nation knows that we always preferred reconciliation, tolerance and respectful politics. We all know that the democracy and the democratic institutions can't be strengthened until political parties and other actors don't respect their mandate. The lawyers and the political parties are presenting their sentiments in the form of Long March; we respect it which is their democratic right. The PPP and its leadership especially late Benazir Bhutto was important part of the lawyer movement. Keeping COD, Murree Declaration and other promise of the leadership in the mind I hereby announce the restoration of Chief Justice and other Judges and it is also notified. He also invited the leadership of other political parties especially PML-N to come and join politics of reconciliation and tolerance for the flourishing of democracy in Pakistan" (Kanwal, 2017).

Another troubling development between two parties emerged when President Asif Zardari imposed governor rule in March 2009 in Punjab for two months, in reference to disqualification of Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N) Chief Nawaz Sharif and Chief Minister Punjab Shahbaz Sharif by Supreme Court. Governor Punjab Salman Taseer was

given the responsibility to run the provincial affairs. However, President did not suspend the provincial assembly, only chief minister and his cabinet was stopped from working.

Spokesman for the President Farhatullah Babar said, 'On the advice of the Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani, under Article 237 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan the President has imposed Governor Rule in the province of Punjab with immediate effect for a period of two months,' (Dawn, 2009).

The philosophy of reconciliation did not have a smooth seafaring because when the coalition governments with the PML (N) at the center and in the provinces could not work satisfactorily, PPP urged the PML (Q) to join the central government as a coalition partner. In the first phase, the PML (Q) was considered an arch enemy of the PPP government. During the election campaign, PPP declared Chaudhry brothers and Pervaiz Musharraf as the persons behind the murder of Benazir Bhutto and issued hate speeches and statements. In turn, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain and his cousin, Pervez Ilahi, accused Zardari for the murder of his wife. But after the unsuccessful experiment of coalition governments with PML (N), PPP preferred PML-Q to be a part of coalition government at the center. Zardari said, "Through dialogue, we will also find a solution to the political challenges faced by the coalition government today". He expressed his commitment to the philosophy of reconciliation and tried at his best level in engaging and addressing the concerns of political adversaries. Not only did both form a coalition government after making proper adjustments in the allocation of ministries in May 2011 but also the head of the PML (Q) Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain declared "We will contest next senate election together with Pakistan People's Party." The Muttahida Qaumi Movement also decided on re-joining the governing coalition in both Sindh and Center in October 2011. These steps attracted criticism from the opposition because he compromised the philosophy of reconciliation (Chawla, 2017).

CoD is still valid and provides the way forward not only for the PPP and the PML (N) but for all the political parties. It is up to the political parties how they express their commitment either in government or opposition (Abbas, 2018).

5.8 Friendly Opposition Impact on Democratic Process

Successful transfer of power from one government to another is a paramount step forward to streamline the democratic process, which without the positive collaboration of opposition was not possible otherwise. It would have positive implications for the continuity of democratic process. Due to PML-N friendly opposition the tasks of legislation in the two-house of parliament completed without deadlock or hurled situation. Smooth functioning of legislative process has a great importance in developing democracies like Pakistan.

Politics of confrontation and unjustified battle of parties for the sake of personal and party interest always have catastrophic implications for democracy, which is implicit by the past politics of two mainstream parties. That's why parties could not complete their respective tenure of government and democracy remained under fragile conditions. Political instability on the one side threatened the institutional growth and also provided opportunity to non-democratic forces to intervene in politics.

Political parties rarely exercised the golden principal that politics is an art of negotiation, as it was witnessed in the previous democratic transitions, which were followed by politics of confrontation, deadlocks and absence of consensus based decisions. Politics cannot be run in black & white as give and take is a general principal.

Previously, political parties' unjustified power politics minimized their chances of co-existence and promoted intolerance into the political culture, until the shift in politics in the form of politics of understanding.

Political parties' commitment to democracy and respect for each other mandate has been practically acknowledged ever first time in the history of Pakistan. It was the foremost step for the continuity of democratic process and periodical elections.

Political parties' commitment to safeguard democracy particularly by non-democratic forces is a worthwhile development in the democratic culture of the country; otherwise, in past the competitor parties were equally responsible for providing opportunity to non-democratic forces for their undue role in politics (Ghuman, 2019).

Political parties by following politics of understanding exercised rational way of politics in comparison to past, so it was mature politics leading to strengthening the democratic process. This shift in politics is carrying historical consciousness of the socio-political realities experienced by political parties and then adjustment of political course of action with the changing political environment.

Continuity of democratic process is inevitable process to strengthen the democracy, as after 2008 elections PPP formed its government and in next elections 2013 PML-N formed its government, furthermore, masses are also instrumental power to judge the performance of political parties and bring change through right to vote.

Commitments in the charter of democracy particularly in respect of institutional reforms is still a challenging issue even after the completion of the tenure of the two main stream parties PPP and PML-N. If situation continues in the same way in the PTI government then institutional growth will be a question mark and shall have serious implications for democracy.

Due to their weak performance the PPP and PML-N could not succeed in achieving even simple majority to form government. Their politics and governance remained beyond masses aspiration and satisfaction. Public realized that they are being made fool on the name of

democracy and political elite is the ultimate beneficiary, so they rejected them in elections. The political vacuum was filled by the rise of a third party PTI , if the two parties could have performed according to democratic norms and take care of peoples aspirations, then the rise of PTI and later on replacing the two traditional parties would have difficult task. Imran Khan in his speeches always exposed the traditional way of politics led by PPP and PML-N. He was successful in exploiting public opinion in his favor which was evident by the huge participation of masses in his rallies time by time, and finally winning the elections 2018.

In a few surveys conducted before elections, when people were asked to whom they would vote for, when most of the people replied Imran Khan or PTI, then they were asked the reason, in response they simply expressed that other parties they had tested for long time, and yet they would like to test Imran Khan because he was untested. So, if the friendly opposition contributed to the continuity of the democratic process it also carried adverse picture as well.

5.9 PPP Role of Opposition

Some observers recalled that 'friendly opposition' has been in play for quite a few years. The concept of friendly opposition was originated in the five years of PML-N opposition for the first time in the political history of Pakistan.

When PML-N leadership felt threats from the army, and PTI's anti-government rallies then senior PPP leaders stand by Nawaz Sharif and released statements: 'PPP is against politics which may lead to the derailment of the current democratic dispensation' and 'PPP will stand by Nawaz Sharif if anti-democratic forces tried to disrupt his government'.

Many in the PPP point to their leadership when asked why the party had been losing its pitch of the main opposition. According to one of them, who used to be in the inner circle of the

PPP, the policy of reconciliation that party boss Asif Ali Zardari pursued during 2008-2013 continues to loom large within the party.

PPP by performing the role of opposition during PML-N government largely followed the policy of reconciliation. "Whether on instructions from the PPP leadership or on his own, ⌐·cd Khursheed Shah has been playing it soft," moaned a sitting PPP MNA. "His role as leader of the opposition in the National Assembly leaves much to be desired."

What irked him was that "Shah Sahib failed even to raise pertinent questions, for example on the government's loan spree, multi-billion rupees metro bus projects and, most importantly to talk about prevailing civil-military relations in the country".

"His choice of non-confrontational politics may have been a good strategy in some ways, but what about the PPP's left-leaning, anti-capitalist philosophy that made it popular and survive against all odds," he asked.

Historically, the PPP has proven more effective politics when in opposition than when in power. Now, the PTI has been trying to take upon the role of effective opposition. The critics of the PPP leadership felt PTI occupied the role of effective opposition and won the support of the masses while carrying the justified demands. That space was filled by PTI because of PPP's negligence to respond the issues effectively. "Even we in the PPP endorse PTI's stand that the prevailing electoral process is faulty and needs to be reformed," (Dawn, 2014).

Pakistan Peoples Party has announced to end its role of "friendly opposition" in the Parliament. Leader of the opposition in National Assembly Syed Khurshid Ahmed Shah neglected the role of friendly opposition that they had played in the parliament. "We would now act as the opposition and not as the friendly opposition that we did in Parliament in order to save parliamentary democracy,"

Khurshid Shah criticized the government for exercising Article 245 of the Constitution that was to deploy the army in the federal capital. He termed it "a political blunder" committed by the government. He remarked: "Neither the Parliament, nor the political parties were taken into confidence over a decision as important as this," "An in camera joint session of the Parliament should have been called before invoking this article,"

According to Shah government behaved in a confused manner and sought unnecessary measures to sort out the political situation. It had put off dialogue with other political forces that resulted chaos in the country. He suggested the government to restart dialogue with political forces otherwise he warned and expressed his fears that democratic system may be jeopardized. (Haider, 2014)

5.10 Conclusion

The role of the opposition in parliamentary democracy is somehow equally important as the government. It has to perform various kinds of functions along with the government; to carry on the business of law-making along with the government; and as a watchdog in the democratic system. The opposition scrutinizes executive work and oversight, law enforcement, government performance, and the accountability process. In particular, it keeps oversight on financial funding and its actual use. It is the most necessary function on the part of the opposition to keep strict eyes on financial matters led by the government and to ensure transparency in its working. The opposition also owns the responsibility of representing the feelings of neglected sections of society.

In a multi-party system, the formation of the opposition may be comprised of more than one party. However, in a bi-party system, the role of opposition is performed by a single party. However, the size of the opposition does not matter; rather, its potential and constructive role are more important for the well being of the country and the masses. In Pakistan since 1947, the role of the opposition has been either ineffective or reflected the confrontational politics of the day, which has adverse implications for democracy. Opposition parties formed alliances and launched movements, among which the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) and the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) are crucial phases of the opposition's struggle for the sake of democracy. Although these movements did not achieve their primary goals, their impact as a tool for continuous pressure building may be considered worthwhile. Their struggle demonstrated the power of politics instead of promoting democratic norms and resolving the issues on the table through mutual bargain. In this regard, governments are also to blame for ignoring the legitimate concerns and demands of opposition parties.

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The concept of friendly opposition emerged for the first time in the history of Pakistan after the third democratic transition. General Musharraf's strategies to oppress the main stream parties are also considered the strongest factor to bring the arch rivals (PPP and PML-N) on the same page and they demonstrated politics of understanding. It was their commitment, according to the "Charter of Democracy' that they would respect each other's mandate, but it could not be justified that the spirit of the charter allowed them in any way to be reluctant about the role of an effective opposition. The opposition's positive and progressive role is always considered worthwhile in the smooth continuity of the democratic process.

Continuity and stability of the democratic process are based on the commitment of political parties. Political parties' structure and organisation lack a few fundamental restructurings like fair internal elections, promotion of intra-party democracy, promotion of democratic norms, and members' loyalty to the party on the basis of principles and ideology.

The politics of understanding largely depends on the opposition's approach to politics. If the opposition adopts a progressive role in strengthening the democratic process, then they are definitely supposed to act in the light of their prescribed role, more importantly as watchdogs and shadow governments. The role of opposition while analysing its practises may be categorized as; aggressive, moderate, or compromised opposition. However, the opposition in Pakistan has never followed the path that is supposed to be either theoretically compatible or result-oriented in terms of strengthening democracy.

Although, in the context of friendly opposition, it has a positive impact in compliance to streamline the democratic process, accepting each other's mandate, somehow growth of democratic culture, but it may be considered as compromised opposition. The question of good governance was compromised in the context of the fact that the government must complete its term of five years. It was compromised politics in the context of avoiding the

effective role of opposition and challenging bad governance. Such opposition can only have a certain kind of positive impact in the case of fragile democratic conditions like Pakistan's; otherwise, in stable democratic systems where opposition has gone through its evolutionary process, the role of compromised opposition could never be exercised while ignoring the national interest as well as massess aspirations.

Final Conclusion

Pakistan's orientation towards democratic state rooted in British colonial period along with its posture of political Islam. Father of the nation, M. Ali Jinnah, soon after the inception of Pakistan had clear stance about the nature of political system. He believed in democracy; the democracy which Islam had taught about fourteen hundred years ago, and he was very much concerned about the minorities' rights in the newly borne state. Furthermore, he clearly stated that constitution making must be framed by the elected representatives of parliament. Further he tried at his best level to streamline democratic process by maintaining rule of law and good governance while discouraging all sort of ills which put the country's survival at stake. However, his settled glorious precedents could not follow or taken into account by his successors. Instead, politics of the country was constrained to confrontation and power politics not only limited to the institution of executive and legislature. It also led to confront with the other state institutions like judiciary and army.

The political understanding is a process, and its span may be short or long depends on the perception, motives and commitment of stakeholders. In developed or stable democracies it may be called as a usual process, because of stable democratic processes and mature performance of political parties in the democratic system. In those democracies political dynamics and the attributes of political parties are different from developing countries where the nature of political parties and democracy yet has to succeed the transitional phase. Furthermore, it is required phenomenon where political environment is occupied by unsatisfactory conditions causing to instability and confrontation and that confrontation is also unjustified or contradictory in view of the theoretical copulations of constitution of that country. Similarly, democracy in Pakistan has been coupled with various challenges among them the most important was the continuity of the process. Discontinuity of the system has

serious implications for the growth of political parties. Otherwise, parties would have been groomed better through the process of periodical elections.

The model of politics of understanding explains the motives, process and outcome, through which this process is accomplished. Political parties being the institutions of society derive their basic essence from the society and their whole creditability depends upon their performance and compatibility with the societal interests and demands. Threats to the political survival, zero sum game, and changing political environment compel the parties to readjust the course of politics. The realization of being looser leads them to follow the rational choice. It was a win-win situation for the stakeholder.

Although, army proved to be the strongest institution since the very independence of Pakistan, because of being the most organized and disciplined institution and Pakistan being security state due to its hostile neighborhood. Army's intervention in politics has been among a few most discussing questions in the country. There is a heavy criticism on their political role either in the form of direct rule by military coup or through the means of indirect intervention. But there are scholars who address this issue not just as a subject matter rather more in the light of the objective grounds realities. And their focus deals with the factors that motivate army to disrupt the democratic process.

Those causes reflect the political failure on the part of political leadership; when the custodians of the parliament or democracy prefer to confront with each other just for their vested interests and undermine the democratic code of conduct, then it leads to catastrophic consequences for the whole system. For years peoples have been made fool on the name of democracy, politicians always justified their wrong doings under the umbrella of democracy. Those who were in power always claimed their commitment to democracy and justified their

each act respectively, similarly those in opposition whenever they muscled to confront with government; claimed their struggle and objectives just to save the democracy.

What indicate this is off course display of immature politics; such kind of politics even marginalized the gradual growth of democratic process and political culture. Infact, the gradual process of growth in democracy took place in succeeding phases. However, democratic process until the military coup of General Musharraf presents the similar practices of politics of confrontation, conspiracies, disrespecting the each other mandate etc.

However, the realization to end the politics of confrontation took place after a long period of sufferings and miseries experienced by the political parties and as well as nation. As political parties agreed to the reformed version of politics and it was in the form of Charter of Democracy (CoD). This stage was rationalization of politics, as explained by Down that political actors are rational, they always opt what is best to their interest. Rationality in term of politics is somehow complicated, however, in term of choice of political actors is understandable. In the context of Pakistan, the top leadership choices although based on their cost and benefit analysis. However, it is another question what is achieved on the cost of what. Likewise, during the era of 1990s, the two political parties PPP and PML-N did not have respect for each other mandate and ultimately preferred their choice to politics of confrontation. That choice might be fixed to the political circumstances and dynamics of that era _condemnable choice which even later on disapproved by the same political parties involved in.

Yet, it is applied here in a comparative recurrent behavior and practices in a particular set of environment and shift from politics of confrontation to politics of understanding. It is between the fluctuating pendulum of confrontation and understanding.

Here, those reasons are important to be highlighted which caused the shift in politics from confrontation to understanding. The leading factors of change in the course of politics have been explained in the model of politics of understanding. First of all, this change must be understood in the perspective of rational choice, because the two mainstream political parties' confrontation with each other put their survival at stake and finally they reviewed and realized the consequences of such like politics. So, it was considered better option to achieve the same purpose of power politics through political understanding instead of confrontation, conspiracies or undemocratic means. Secondly, General Musharraf strategies particularly against two mainstream parties as to deprive them of level playing field by establishing his own king party PML (Q) before the elections 2002, put them out of parliament until the elections 2008. The establishment of king party was managed by creating spilt into major parties. Those members who were opportunist preferred to join the General Musharraf blue eyed political party. Another reason, Musharraf forged the passivism view about the revival of politics of PPP and PML-N. Depoliticizing of political parties was not a new strategy, rather previous military dictators gone through the same tactic strategies of oppressing the opponent parties by promoting the likeminded. Such like strategy is also the reflection of divide and rule as long as possible in an intensive polarized political environment. Irrespective of army ambitions to intervene in politics and implementation of different strategies to narrow down the political scope of the potential rival parties, it must be taken into account in view of narrow vision of political elite. Likewise, when Benazir and Nawaz Sharif were at exile then the former overtly concluded NRO with General Musharraf, instead of taking into confidence the Nawaz and other important political personalities. Although, that deal was fixed between the two but it has implications for the political system of the country and nation.

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Similarly, in the history of country there are various precedents, when the political leadership evolved their personal and party strength through the overt or covert support of establishment. Even, Z. A. Bhutto who is considered an intelligent and dynamic political personality was inspired by Ayub Khan and joined his cabinet in 1963. Similarly, Nawaz Sharif, who also emerged as a political leader with the support of General Zia ul Haq during his military regime.

Political leadership resolving the political issues in a democratic manner often looks alike beyond their political capacity. Their struggle in the frame of power politics without seeking support from the establishment clearly reflects the lack of political will and negligence. And most importantly, it also reflects that the parties could not move beyond the vested interest of party and leadership. Otherwise, political parties striving in the national politics along with their party interests must have greater concern to national interest and democratic code of conduct in resolving the issues without putting up dangers to democratic process. Throughout history political parties could not enhance their capacity to resolve the political issues in a political manner. That's why the other state institutions get the opportunity and start meddling into the political affairs.

The tragedy is that generally politics in Pakistan has been in the hallmark of personalities instead of strengthening the institutions. Institutional growth is more important than evolving of so called personalities, as it yields long live results in the democratic process. There has been lack of leadership, who might have proper initiatives for state building or nation building. Political parties' organizational structure and lack of internal democracy is itself hurdle in the way of emergence of genuine leadership. Leadership evolves through the democratic process not through the process of family politics which has been continue in Pakistan. There is another strong phenomenon that it emerges from the middle class, but

organizational and structural fair play or constraints either promote or undermine the potential of the relevant individuals, who are part of the political system.

Political parties affiliation with ideological politics although is of great importance but is lightly discussed. Perhaps, performance has replaced that notion because it is taken more into account by masses and opinion makers. So ideology of a party is less important than their responses to the public demands. It is also understandable in the notion of populism, which has become worldwide recognized phenomenon. It also becomes rational factor for political parties that instead of losing ground just on the basis of ideology which on the other hand may be outdated with the changing political environment, they consider better to be conscious about popular demands and catch up the minds of the public.

Social change has paramount importance for political change, if society has higher level of political consciousness and masses actively participate in political affairs then they bring the real change by their rational choice during elections by casting vote, then it fulfills the criterion which party rightly deserve to rule the country. Contrary to above, if society is lacking of political consciousness then it has binding impact on the stability of democracy. In developed democracies political parties' strength as well as worth originates from the masses. Such like strength is the basis in strengthening the democratic process and automatic barrier against non issues and unnecessary challenges. The democratic structures in the state are referred to– constitution, rules, institutions, policies etc; which evolve in response to the needs, aspirations and interests prevailing in a society. Although, two-third majority in both houses of the parliament is required to bring amendment in the constitution and it is in the context to prevent the frequent changes, yet the past experience manifest that the governments with the required numerical support channelized it more to their political needs rather than to amend it to the changes in the society.

With the rising trend of politics of understanding democracy in the country has been transformed into transitional phase. This is a crucial phase because along with a few other changes as the bi-party system has also been threatened by the rise of third party PTI. Its presence and voters across the country fix it in the limelight of mainstream parties. PTI advanced its politics while criticizing the traditional pattern of politics led by PML-N and PPP, simultaneously, it presented its agenda to reform the politics while energizing the democratic norms. This is a party which harshly criticized the Charter of Democracy, as even its leadership labeled it as a charter of corruption. That's why there are a few voices who demand another charter of democracy, on which all parties must be taken on board with their full support and confidence.

Basically, Charter of Democracy laid down the foundation of politics of understanding. The document settled comprehensive roadmap to move forward on democratic track. If on the one side, victimization of two main stream parties PML-N and PPP by military dictator General Musharraf led them to strife for their survival and establish unified moves to resist the unfavorable circumstances. On the other side, country's changing socio-political environment oppressed the parties to experience political compromise and demonstrate politics of understanding. This stage was to rationalize the politics according to changing political circumstances and challenges. Parties' commitment to move forward by creating a conducive environment and adopting democratic behavior was a necessary step to their own survival and to restore the trust of the masses.

Charter of Democracy was put forward by two parties PML-N and PPP; later on, on the basis of charter they completed their respective tenure of government. Although, at certain occasions, Nawaz Sharif raised reservations that PPP leadership was betraying the CoD. Although CoD was a comprehensive document but parties remained concerned to the immediate challenges to their survival and no serious effort was placed to reform the

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institution. The lack of political will manifest their incompetency and fear, that strengthening of institutions yet unsuited to their poor organizational set up.

The two political parties PPP and PML-N advancement in the form of coalition government also fall in the category of dualistic politics. Such type of unique politics emerged first ever in the history of Pakistan, when the two arch rival parties demonstrated politics of understanding in the paradigm of dualistic politics. Although it has positive implications for the democratic system as well as for parties but it has a little impact for any substantial change for the welfare of the masses. That politics prevent parties to extend hard or wider criticism on each other, otherwise as a part of the federal or provincial government they have to carry the same criticism.

However, PML-N part away from the coalition government just after a few months, although, in the pretext of reinstatement of the then Chief Justice. Actually they rationalized the political scenario of their future politics, that if they continue their politics being a coalition partner, then it would be difficult to justify their position to the masses in elections 2013, and they would be able to avoid the criticism on the governance and performance of government. They considered it better option to lead politics as being an opposition party in the parliament. Further, PML-N had the advantage to run the government in the province of Punjab.

The phase of the politics of understanding practically comes into force after the formation of PPP led government in 2008. Among the achievements of politics of understanding, the legislative perspective is of a great importance, because, first of all it was important to initiate the process of amendments in the constitution which was distorted by General Musharraf according to the protectionist requirements of his regime. To amend the constitution was not possible without the two-third majority in the parliament which was occupied by the two

mainstream parties. In this respect, parties due to their previous understanding in the form of CoD, helped out in developing the consensus on the amendments in the constitution aimed at necessary changes including the restoration of its parliamentary nature. Otherwise, these parties in their previous term of governments could not perform even at the minimum level to address the desired constitutional challenges. They had been the victim of the thirteenth amendment introduced by General Zia ul Haq, but could not reverse that due to their politics of confrontation. Rather continue to suffer, as President exercised his prerogative to dismiss the government of PPP and PML-N in the 1990s. If they would have political will it was not such a big challenge that was beyond their capability to deal with.

However, eighteenth and nineteenth amendments in the constitution of 1973 are credible and contributed in strengthening the democratic process. It removed the constitutional barriers and addressed the grievances and long standing demands of the stakeholders. Legislative process was successful due to the consensus of the political parties. They avoided the unnecessary politicization of the issues which is a usual trend in the country's politics. Similarly, the consensus building on the 7th NFC Award for distribution of resources is also an achievement through politics of understanding. Politics is an art of the possible and the growth of the democratic process is highly dependent in the political environment motivated by peaceful resolution of the issues, stakeholders' consensus on the important issues and move forward instead of political differences. Next to smooth legislative process is to avoid the unnecessary blame game and negative propaganda while ignoring all sort of democratic norms. Due to politics of understanding, there was obvious change in the political culture which for long time had been jeopardized of the fixed political environment of conspiracies, blackmailing, unethical blame game.

The most important achievement due to politics of understanding which is also the prerequisite for strengthening the democratic process is the continuity of the democratic process. The continuity of the democratic process has been a great challenge since the inception of Pakistan. Discontinuity of the process not only undermined the parliamentary politics rather caused many other challenges related to the socio-economic development of ... country. In the continuity of the process political parties go through the process of evolutionary change and as well as their testability by the masses through the process of elections. It also contributes to the process of political socialization otherwise in the dictatorial regimes only a specific version of political activity is allowed to likeminded parties and individuals.

Since 2008, the two governments have successfully completed their term of five years and the current government of PTI is on the track. Although, political parties while having lesson of the past are greatly concerned to the continuity of the democratic process. But regarding the growth of institutions, Pakistan is passing through the transitional phase; Judiciary and army also have expressed their commitment to democracy. So, in the future perspective, there is optimistic view that democracy may not have threat from non-democratic forces and further judiciary would discourage any such move or ratification irrespective of their past role.

Although, in the context of friendly opposition, it has positive impact in compliance to streamline the democratic process, accepting each other mandate and streamlining the growth of democratic culture, but its role may be considered as compromised opposition. The question of good governance was compromised in the context that government must complete its term of five years. It was compromised politics in the context of avoiding the effective role of opposition and challenging the bad governance. Such like opposition can

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only yield certain kind of positive impact in case of fragile democratic conditions like Pakistan; otherwise in stable democratic systems where opposition has gone through its evolutionary process, the role of compromised opposition could never be exercised while ignoring the national interest as well as masses aspirations.

Democratic process cannot be strengthened without the implementation of democratic norms. Hence the growth of the democratic norms is too much crucial phenomenon in developing states. The growth of democratic culture is accomplished with the involvement of various factors carried out by political parties. However, the level of democratic culture in the political system is less or more proportional to the overall culture in society.

Political parties yet have to establish and prove as efficient institutions of state and society. Otherwise, they are already declining the faith of the masses.

In a survey, questioner was framed and responded were asked about the perceived role and functions of political parties, concept of political development and role of political parties in political development of Pakistan. Most of the respondents are of the opinion that political parties carry an imperative role in political development of Pakistan but not appreciative yet. Results also reveal that political parties have not even played sufficient role towards the political, social and economic development of the country. Results of survey also illustrate that the political setup of Pakistan needs substantial reforms, capacity building and institutionalization.

In 2012, a Pakistani professor Farakh A. Khan issued an ominous warning about the situation of country's public institutions. "Pakistan suffers from institutional failure," he declared in an essay published about a year before his death. "Failed institutions are unable to correct the problems faced by the society and eventually lead to economic failure...If our leaders are

sincere for change in Pakistan then they have to first get the institutions working again. But do they know how or have the will to do it?"

Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, the president of the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT), expressed his views on Parliament. Leadership ⌐ political parties is so powerful, top leaders decides most of the policy decisions and parliamentarians input consequently having a little role in the policy process, or Parliament as an institution has little impact in this regard. Instead, members of parliament (MPs) spend most of the their time about 85 percent outside Parliament taking board to the concerns of their constituents and concentrating on local development. When they are unable to perform efficient role in the parliament it means a little role in policy. "It is perhaps ironic," Mehboob writes, that "despite being a key political institution...Parliament remains completely irrelevant in resolving any political crisis." Additionally, it has no ability to "discuss, much less lead, a comprehensive reform process on major policy issues." Furthermore, he presents a roadmap leading to parliamentary reform to empower the legislature "to lead and steer".

Findings

1. Explaining 'politics of understanding' in term of changing political scenario in Pakistan is itself a contribution to literature, which has never been explained before.

2. Charter of Democracy laid down the foundation of politics of understanding; it may be explained as the result of evolutionary process and changing socio-political realities in the country.

3. To experience politics of understanding was inevitable phenomenon and best suited to the interests of political parties, otherwise they would have gone through serious challenges of their survival.

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4. Politics of understanding was rational choice of political parties to ensure their existence and maximize political gains as being rational actors in the political system.

5. Democratic process entirely depends upon the way of politics, performance and quality of political parties; similarly, shift in politics in the form of 'Politics of Understanding' streamlined the turn by turn elections and continuity of the democratic process.

Recommendations

"Countries do not become fit for democracy but through democracy" (Prof. Amartya Sen)

Off course, democracy would function better, if political parties improve their performance and achieve higher levels of trust of the masses. It could be possible by instigating multiple steps; first of all, there is dire need to establish intra-party democracy. It is the most desired element to break down the hereditary politics. Political parties expressed their commitment to reform the systematic drawbacks but lacked the will to reform their organizational drawbacks. So, first of all, political parties have to consider reforms within party.

Previously, democratic process was disrupted by army, but now political parties have expressed their firm commitment to the continuity of democratic process and determined to secure the constitution of Pakistan. Now, civilian and parliamentary supremacy rests with the political parties. In this regard, they have to prove as viable organizations having actual roots in the masses.

Politics of understanding is a process and it is the product of historical evolution. This process must be continued through mutual consultation and deliberation. Political parties have realized the advantages of mutual cooperation that have advanced their gains. The scope

of politics of understanding must be enhanced and it must address the reservations who neglect it. Like understanding between PML-N and PPP still exist in some way, but PTI which is currently in power avoids such like politics.

Political parties must promote dialogue among themselves; communication gap and absence of dialogue create unnecessary challenges. Furthermore, there is need of dialogue among state institutions like parliament, army and judiciary. It would contribute in strengthening the system as a whole and eliminate trust deficit. The expression of interest for dialogue has been floated in the recent years by parliamentarian and judiciary. Institutional imbalance can be addressed by approaching institution harmony.

Political parties have to strengthen their organizational strength and prove as institutions reflecting the general will of the people, and as the forces of interest articulation and aggregation in the best interest of masses and country.

Politics is an art of governance, consensus oriented and deliberative democracy is too much important in strengthening the democratic process. Political parties have learnt lesson from their past politics. In the sense, that politics of confrontation had severe implications for democracy as it damaged country's socio-political and socio-economic conditions. Although, now there is realization that it was zero-sum game. But, still there is dire need to promote deliberative democracy. Because, conflicts and issues in national life never to end, and the important thing is the way how issues are approached and managed.

Accountability of political parties is an essential part of democracy, organizations groom through the process of accountability, where each party is responsible for its unconstitutional acts as well as for political and financial misconduct. However, the process of accountability has been politicized in such a manner that it has lost credibility. Recently, it has got momentum to hold accountable the members of parties across the board. However, there

must not be political victimization on the name of accountability. The fair process of accountability would ensure the credibility and stability of the governments.

There are many obstacles in the way of organizing free, fair and transparent elections. Elections reforms is still pending issue, although there is much rhetoric on media, but practically there is lack of concrete efforts on the part of political parties to resolve this long standing issue. It could be resolved by mutual efforts and consensus building of the stake holders. Otherwise, after each election, looser parties have settled the trend of blame-game and propaganda regarding ragging and unfair tactics of level playing field. Once reforms are done with the consensus of all stake holders, then it could not be easy to challenge the results, even if, it continues it would have a little impact.

The entire system must be reformed, in this respect parliamentary democracy should be replaced with presidential form of democracy.

Surely, democracy takes its time to get mature and if there are some shortcomings and evils, those can be eradicated by more democracy, as there is no alternative way.

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Thesis Topic: Political Parties in Pakistan: Politics of Understanding and its Impact on Democratic Process (2008-2013).

1. How do you conceptualize 'Political understanding' and 'Political reconciliation', how these two concepts are interrelated or indifferent?

. What were the compelling factors that led the parties towards politics of understanding? What do you think?

3. What steps were taken to materialize politics of understanding?

4. What is the importance of 'Charter of Democracy' and National Reconciliation Ordinance' in providing base for Political understanding?

5. What you talked about various steps taken by political parties for political understanding, do you think those steps were rationalized or vice versa?

6. What do you think about the impact of politics of understanding on democratic process?

7. How do you visualize the role of opposition during PPP government (2008-13) in the context of political understanding?

8. What is the impact of politics of understanding on political parties, do you think, political parties maximized their gains more than democratic political system?

9. How do you see the future of Politics of understanding in Pakistan?

Arif Chaudhary, Advocate Supreme Court and analyst at TV programs

There is a lot of space in democracy and point of view of rivals has to be accommodated. Then finally public are here to decide which point of view is valid. You are representing the public not self. Then there must be consensus. If it starts, it means you want political process move on.

Reconciliation is much more difficult than understanding; understanding is more academic in nature. Simply understanding does not mean a lot, understanding mean give some accommodation to other parties. In reconciliation you have to give in on certain points. You have to understand the point of view of rivals, the other opposing you, then you have to reconcile with that situation. If there is no understanding there is no reconciliation. And simple understanding is academic. When there is need of concrete steps, which is reconciliation.

Charter of Democracy: This was an understanding because both the political parties at that time were out of power none of them in the parliament. Then tried to show the each other that they have understood the past, and they have understanding between themselves, and at that time it was all academic. At that time there was nothing to do or give. Ok let's have an understanding, as it is memorandum of understanding. And in reconciliation you have to loose or give something.

As far as understanding is concerned that is a point where you still are in a struggle, there is nothing concrete in term of gaining or loosing something, where you just tried to create a political momentum. You want to gain political power and if you go alone you cannot gain the power. So that's mean together. So in order to go to power corridors, we should try to create an understanding. Now we have to launch a giant struggle, as a result of that struggle,

if we win parties would act according to agreed understanding. The leadership of two political parties were not allowed to participate in politics. so they created understanding, for attaining power launched struggle.

National Reconciliation Ordinance: at that stage Musharraf was not as powerful. He had lost his power in many ways. He was looking his control on political affairs. All his tactics could not work, whatever his strategies for bringing Prevez Ilhai and Ch. Shujaat. The political reality of that time was PPP and PML-N. So, he has to cut a deal with one of them. As far as PML-N is concerned, he could not have a deal with them, because, there was no understanding, and no understanding could be created between them which could result into reconciliation.

Politics of Understanding impact on democratic process: In a way you know Pakistan for the first time experienced a transition of political government from one to another. I would call it a merit, government completed its term. I would like to give credit to Zardari. So, this is what we need indeed, because irrespective of political animosity in the country, this should be for sure that who so ever even is elected, he has to stay in power for complete five years. Political system needs completion of tenure and no more interference by any establishment.

Habib Malik Orakazi, President Pakistan International Human Rights Organization

The two political parties PPP and PML-N could not complete their tenure as they did not respect each other mandate. But after all, they understood the reality of political circumstances. And having the realization of their past politics and as the main stakeholder to

rule the country, they signed CoD in London. They frame a formula and sacrifice for certain things. They expressed commitment to respect the mandate of each other.

Nawaz accepted Zadari as President of Pakistan was due to political understanding; it was a broader aspect of politics. If there were no agreement like CoD, then Zardai would have been gone through serious questions. There was understanding of leadership to defend each other.

... CoD was basically between two parties PML-N and PPP, but, now there is third force and major party that is PTI. Although the Chairman of PTI participated in the meeting, but later on he used to criticize the CoD as the politics of "Muk Muka" , as it was to protect their corruption.

Surely, in Pakistan there is need of CoD, it is necessary for all political parties including Imran Khan, because in future he may face troubled situation.

Friendly opposition: opposition has its own role to restrain the wrong moves, like any legislative or economic policy. In Pakistan environment is different that's why it was labeled as friendly opposition. We are not yet democratic country as compared to other countries. Basically, a few other parties in parliament criticized the opposition role as friendly.

However, the true implementation of democratic norms would take time, it would not happen soon or sudden. The things will improve step by step. The important factor is the stability of the democracy. Whatsoever, even the weaker government are acceptable at this stage for the continuity of democratic process. We must give time to democratic governments. Parliament is the most powerful institution but its power is not being exercised accordingly.

Impact on Democratic Process: politics of understanding has overall positive impact on democratic process. And finally people of Pakistan will not accept anything other than democracy.

Shams-Ur-Rehman Swati, President, National Labor Federation Pakistan

COD: We will not create such an environment in which army could get an opportunity to intervene in politics. The two parties are lacking internal democracy. And these two parties emerged under military establishment. They never regret their past and their growth during military regimes. There is hereditary politics and these parties have been limited to their families. Party head decide each and every thing that is not democracy. The charter was to protect their rule and give an opportunity to each other to rule. But they tolerated to each other in corruption. There was no concrete study taken out before charter.

Politics of understanding Impact: although there was continuity of democratic process. However, one important thing is whether government performed and delivered to the masses. In that regard, performance is not satisfactory.

Friendly Opposition: they agreed that they would not challenge each other government. They establish weak cases against each other which could not be proved with solid facts, and they got clean chit.

Quaid e Azam is a glorious example for implementing democratic code of conduct. Although, they glorify his role as an ideal personality, but just to make people fool.

COD: CoD was not for the sake of democracy. It was for the sake of promotion of personal interests of leadership and party survival. Democracy is to sort out the collective wisdom.

Zahid Farooq

There is vacuum of leadership in the country. After Quaid e Azam and Z.A Bhutto had a ьюn, out afterwards there is darkness.

COD: the latter and spirit of CoD was democracy. It was to strengthen democracy and to avoid the leg pulling. As a result PML-N supported the PPP. However, CoD was not implemented according to agreed principles, likewise, strengthening of institution and appointment of judges.

Without opposition we cannot expect the true democracy. They could not strengthen the institutions. They strengthened their personal interests instead of institutions. Politicians are very much keen to their vested interests instead of real issues and public.

Although they glorify the eighteenth amendment but they did not concentrate on the actual factors which led to marshal law. They did not address the root cause.

Pakistani nation also have to think, they have to transform themselves from a mob to a nation.

Nawaz Raza, Columnist and Political analysts, Nawai Waqat Newspaper and TV, Islamabad

In Pakistan, there has been extensive confrontation even in democratic eras. Democratic forces have been fighting against non-democratic forces.

CoD: when the two leaders were ousted from the country, then they signed CoD. It's a historic document in the history of Pakistan. A few of things have been implemented and certain things still pending. Likewise, various institutional reforms are required in NAB and ECP. Except, PML-Q all parties endorsed it.

Impact: it has strong impact as democratic norms were strengthened and they entirely avoided to play down with the government. Similarly, PPP extended support to PML-N when Imran Khan launched the protest in Islamabad. It was not just 'muk muka' (politics of convenience), which is negatively portrayed in the country, rather it was good for democracy. And a few decisions have been remarkable for strengthening the democratic system. Peaceful transition of power, as it never happened in the past. Similarly, President was elected in a democratic manner.

Then there were serious reservations after elections after elections 2018, but parties avoided confrontation and joined the democratic process. PPP restricted the matters to reach out point of no return, which otherwise may result marshal law.

CoD: it was not a product or deliberation of one person, rather a crux of experiences by stake holders and joint effort.

Opposition: opposition role should be considered positive. However, use of abusive language is considered as hard opposition, which does not make a sense. Politics of understanding has positive impact on democratic process.

Mehboob Tanoli Senior journalist, Express Newspaper, Islamabad

Q- 1. How do you conceptualize Political understanding and Political reconciliation, how these two concepts are interrelated or indifferent?

Answer. Political understanding and reconciliation are two different things, but both points compulsory factors of democracy.

Unfortunately ours political parties took deferent meaning of reconciliation,

During the said era of people party Asif Ali Zardari who was head of party and head of state as well, Asif Zardari's translation of reconciliation was totally itself definition, which was not in favour of democracy.

How to prolong government?

How can manage leaders or important personalities?

. ...y on ruling era without carrying constitution.

These were wrong concepts of reconciliation.

Democracy demands reconciliation or understanding for strengthen of constitution and institutions.

Q- 2. What were the compelling factors that led the parties towards politics of understanding? What do you think?

Answer. Political Understanding should base on strengthening of democracy system not for protect each others.

3. What steps were taken to materialize politics of understanding?

Answer.

4. What is the importance of 'Charter of Democracy' and National Reconciliation Ordinance' in providing base for Political understanding?

Answer. Charter of democracy which was signed between PPP and PML-N apparently was a democracy protection document but in practical shape we saw totally selfish step.

That document has pushed away MQM, which was political reality; in the long run both parties protected each other's corruption.

Spurts in wrong sense on the name of CD.

National reconciliation cannot promulgate through ordinance.

5. What you talked about various steps taken by political parties for political understanding, do you think those steps were rationalized or vice versa?

Answer. Those politicians can keep democratic system on smooth way whose agenda is focus ѵᴜᴄ people and country.

Business mind politicians cannot honestly handle the system. Always those leaders or parties gain success who have vision to do something.

6. What do you think about the impact of politics of understanding on democratic process?

Answer.

7. How do you visualize the role of opposition during PPP government (2008-13) in the context of political understanding?

Answer. In PPP government opposition was almost compromised each and every thing on the name CoD, in fact they have to take advantage in next term.

When you have done commitment for next term it's not called understanding.

8. What is the impact of politics of understanding on political parties, do you think, political parties maximized their gains more than democratic political system?

Answer. We can say some leaders strengthen themselves through political understanding.

Only on one occasion we saw positive impact of political understanding when PTI set in was alarming the democracy Tahir Ul Qadri and Imran khan met with army chief,

PPP backed PML-N n and democracy.

Otherwise decision had been taken but two parties understanding protected the system.

9. How do you see the future of Politics of understanding in Pakistan?

Answer. No body predict on future of politics in pakistan, because ours political situation depends on interest.

S. M. Halli political analyst TV Journalist

Q- 1. How do you conceptualize Political understanding and Political reconciliation, how these two concepts are interrelated or indifferent?

Answer. Political understanding pertains to appreciation of the needs of the opposition but Political reconciliation may lead to accepting compromises.

Q- 2. What were the compelling factors that led the parties towards politics of understanding? What do you think?

Answer. The politics of understanding necessitated covering up of each other's shortcomings in the realm of corruption, protection of interests and continuance of rule and completion of term.

3. What steps were taken to materialize politics of understanding?

Answer. The earlier Charter of Democracy was allowed to prevail. Corruption cases against opponents were not pursued.

4. What is the importance of 'Charter of Democracy' and National Reconciliation Ordinance' in providing base for Political understanding?

Answer. The politicians required the Charter of Democracy to seal their personal agenda while the NRO was the legal cover provided to ensure the return of the exiled politicians. It was brokered by the US and Britain.

5. What you talked about various steps taken by political parties for political understanding, do you think those steps were rationalized or vice versa?

Answer. The steps were needed to ensure the return of Democracy but were not necessarily in the National interest.

6. What do you think about the impact of politics of understanding on democratic process?

Answer. It is to be understood that the politics of understanding would have been beneficial to the masses as long as it was in the national interest but since it was to fulfill personal agenda only so it brought misery to the masses as their condition deteriorated.

7. How do you visualize the role of opposition during PPP government (2008-13) in the context of political understanding?

Answer: There was no political understanding but the opposition remained toothless and benign as it did not want to rock the boat but was waiting for its turn to rule.

8. What is the impact of politics of understanding on political parties, do you think, political parties maximized their gains more than democratic political system?

Answer:

The political parties gained nothing as there was no democracy even within the parties. The main political parties of PPP and PML (N) were promoting dynastic politics while PTI chose to enroll electable candidates from PPP and PML (N) despite their track records of corruption

9. How do you see the future of Politics of understanding in Pakistan?

Answer. Politics of understanding will bring about the desired outcome only if corruption is weeded out; there is intra party elections and transparency in the election process.

Aftab Analyst Jaag TV, Islamabad

Political understanding is deep and vast term than reconciliation. Whatsoever, first you have to establish understanding then you go for other term and conditions.

The two parties finally realized that third party (establishment) is getting the advantage of their rivalry. The two parties negotiated and as a result CoD was signed. It is the most important document after constitution in our parliamentary and political history. But again due to the vested political interests, it could not be implemented according to its letter and spirit. And now they are realizing the importance of implementation. They could not establish the truth and reconciliation commission which was agreed in the document. Still they have the realization of the past mistakes. But until the third political party i.e PTI is not convinced to their agenda, it will not be effective.

Impact: The two assemblies completed their time period and the third one is on the way. Yet we need political stability, and we can move forward despite all odds.

Role of Opposition: Political parties move on according to their agenda, they have to maintain their good impression and in case when you are in opposition your impression should not be that you are working as B team of government. However, opposition just keep on using political tactics through different means but they did not destabilize the government.

I don't think that opposition was friendly, the main role of opposition is a watch dog and to highlight the positive and negative fallout of policies. Suppose it was friendly opposition but it contributed to the stability of the system.

Zahid Analyst ARY News, Islamabad

Come back of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir to Pakistan was reconciliation, similarly to provide safe exit to General Musharraf was reconciliation. Understanding is based on agenda; it can be established even without signing any documentary proof. However, for reconciliation it is must first you must have understanding.

CoD: It became possible due to mutual interests of the stake holders. The leadership of two main stream political parties was not allowed to participate in country's' politics. it was the basic reason that they expressed unity against military regime. On the basis of CoD the two parties completed their five years term.

Impact: I can say that politics of understanding has positive impact on democratic process; it has contributed to the stability of the democratic process. However political parties need democracy within party, because without that we cannot expect true democracy in the country.

Main Munir Columnist Jasarat News

Constitution is the supreme document in the country. But it is not being followed by political parties according to its letter and spirit. There is lacking of values in political parties. In the era of 1990s there had been political instability in the country due to various reasons. In that era there had been confrontation between PPP and PML-N. if they could have followed constitution the situation might be different.

CoD: CoD became possible because of the strong commitment of the leadership of two parties. Although, a few of the members in the two parties were unhappy with that development, but that resistance was meaningless before their leadership. The basic spirit of charter was to safeguard democracy.

Impact: As compared to previous democratic eras it brought democratic stability. In respect of a few aspects they followed charter as a constitution. However, if political parties continue to follow the constitution the problems could be tackled with the passage of time.

Results

Conducting of interviews have been difficult task due to various reasons, the most important was to approach the important personalities by following the appropriate references.

Following themes of the interviews have been analyzed:

Charter of Democracy

Politics of understanding Impact on Democracy

Role of opposition

The results indicate that most of the respondents consider the progressive developments in the form of Charter of democracy, politics of understanding and moderate role of opposition.