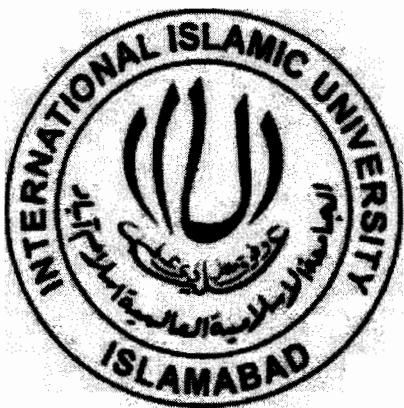


**Democracy in India and Pakistan: A Comparative Study of Parliaments**  
**(1989-1999)**



Researcher	Supervisor
<b>MUSHARAF IQBAL</b>	<b>Dr. HUSNUL AMIN</b>
<b>M.S Politics and IR</b>	<b>Assistant Professor</b>
<b>50-FSS/MSPSIR/F09</b>	<b>Department of Politics and IR</b>

**Department of Politics and International Relations**  
**Faculty of Social Sciences**

**International Islamic University Islamabad**

**2012**

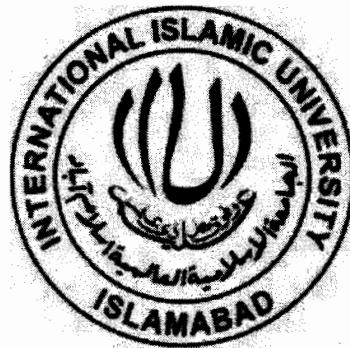


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**DEMOCRACY IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF  
PARLIAMENTS (1989-1999)**



**MUSHARAF IQBAL  
M.S Politics and IR  
50-FSS/MSPSIR/F09**

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Philosophy Degree  
in Politics and International Relations with Specialization in "Democracy in India and  
Pakistan: A Comparative Study of Parliaments (1989-1999)" at the faculty of Social  
Sciences' International Islamic University Islamabad.

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① Democracy in India and Pakistan

**IN TH NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST MERCIFULL AND BENEFICIENT**

**DEDICATED**

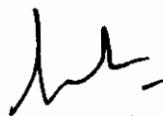
**TO**

My beloved parents, brothers and sisters, all of them have been a great source of  
inspiration for me during writing this thesis.

## Certification

Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "**Democracy in India and Pakistan: A Comparative Study of the Parliaments (1989-1999)**" submitted by **Musharraf Iqbal** Reg # 50-FSS/MSPSIR/F09, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of M.S/M.Phil Politics and International Relation.

Supervisor



Dr. Husnul Amin  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Politics and International Relations  
International Islamic University  
Islamabad

Internal Examiner



Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Politics and International Relations  
International Islamic University  
Islamabad

External Examiner



Dr. Noman Omar Sattar  
Director  
Area Study Centre, Quaid-i-Azam University,  
Islamabad

Dr. Husnul Amin  
Incharge, Department of Politics and International Relations

Professor Dr. Nabi Bux Jumani  
Dean,  
Faculty of Social Sciences,  
International Islamic University,  
Islamabad

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## **ACRONYMS**

CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PML (Q)	Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e- Azam)
IJI	Islami Jamhori Ittehad
JUI	Jamiat ul Ulema Islam
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreke Insaf
MQM	Mutahida Qomi Movement
J.U.P	Jamiat Ulema Islam
J.T.I.	Jamiat Tulba-e- Islam
PDA	Pakistan Democratic Alliance
I.N.C	India National Congress
C.J	Chief Justice
B.P.C.	Basic Principles Committee
M.N.A	Member of National Assembly
M.P.A	Member of Provincial Assembly
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
PCO	Provisional Constitutional Order
LFO	Legal Frame Work Order
N.A	National Assembly
B.D	Basic Democracy
CJCSC	Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee
EBDO	Elective Bodies Disqualifications Ordinance
J.I	Jamat-e- Islami
ISI	Inter Services Intelligence
MMA	Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal
C.D.A	Capital Development Authority
N.A.B	National Accountability Bureau
NFC	Finance Council

IRDp	Rural Development Program
TRYSEM	Training for Rural Youth for Self-Employment
BJP	Bharatia Janata Party
UPA	United Progressive Alliance
UF	United Front
CAP	Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Soon after independence, Pakistan and India adopted the West Minster model of democracy, with some necessary alterations in the Government of India Independence Act 1935. Both the states emerged with the split of Sub-continent into two parts. Hindus and Muslims, who constituted the majority of the population of undivided India, had been living together for centuries in the Indian Sub-continent since the very inception of the Muslim rule in 624 A.D. The two were later subjugated by the British East India Company, with the active support of the British government. After the 1857 war of independence, the two communities were, however, estranged. During the entire British rule, suspicions developed amongst them and the Muslims claimed a separate state on the basis of Two-Nation Theory.

The division of the Indian Sub-continent led to the creation of two states of India and Pakistan. The two states have similarities in geography, history, culture, politics and education system despite ideologically differing from each other. Geographically, they are situated in South Asia; historically, they have lived under the British colonialism and got independence from it simultaneously: politically, they have federal parliamentary political system; and ideologically, they are different because one is a Hindus dominated secular state and the other is an Islamic country.

When democracy was introduced in the two newly independent states, India showed successful results with the claim of being the largest democracy in the world. No matter how alarming the domestic situation might have been, it is a fact that the

Indians never turned their back towards the democratic values with the result that democracy has never been interrupted or hampered in the country. Military and civil dictators never ventured into playing with the fate of democracy.

However, in Pakistan, the adoption of democracy under similar environment showed opposite results. Initially the inaptitude and self-aggrandizement of the politicians and later the adventurism on the part of the men in uniform derailed the democratic process intermittently time and again. The adventurers put the democratic ideas and principles in abysmal depth and pursued despotic methods to rule the country.

Pakistan and India, being in the same region, are politically, socially, culturally and economically similar to each other (both are developing), with the only difference that the latter is geographically and numerically superior to the former. They have the same history and the same political structure, are multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-ideological national communities, and have national political parties. Under the auspices of the All India Muslim League and the All India National Congress, the united India was divided into two independent dominions. Here the question arises as to how did they lead to diametrically opposite results? Why democracy is flourishing in India and not in Pakistan?

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

According to 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan, the united India was divided into two countries, India and Pakistan. Soon after the division, the leaders started work on framing constitution for the newly established states. India framed constitution in 1949 and held first elections, according to the constitution, in 1951. Since then the electoral

process has been continuing uninterruptedly. After each five years, general elections are held and the existing parliament is replaced by the new elected one. It means that in India, almost every parliament completes its five-year tenure and that is why it is stable. However, some governments could not complete their tenure and were dissolved earlier. Those were dissolved on the basis of constitutional means and not by the military or the president on their personal whims. After 1951, the next general elections were held in 1957 and then in 1962, 1967, 1972 and so on. On the other hand in Pakistan, the constitution making remained a problem, which was finally, resolved 1956. But, unfortunately before that the constitution could have been implemented, General Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law in the country. He ruled over the country dictatorially on different pretexts. When the situation got out of his control, he handed over the reign of government to another military man, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, instead of holding parliamentary elections. The first general elections were, however, held in 1970, but a problem of transfer of power between Awami League and Pakistan People's Party was arisen, which culminated into the disintegration of East Pakistan from Pakistan in 1971. Another General ousted the elected government in 1977 and ruled the country till his death in 1988. In the same year, general elections were held in the country and Benazir Bhutto formed the government at the Center. But President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who also dismissed the Nawaz Sharif government in 1993, dissolved her government just after two years in 1990. As a result of elections, Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister for the second time but after three years in 1996, her government was again dissolved. After that, Nawaz Sharif again became Prime Minister, but General Pervez Musharaf

overthrew him. So the question arises why the parliament is stable and functional in India while it is unstable and non-functional in Pakistan?

### **1.3 Significance of the Study**

Parliament is a political forum for discussing and deliberating national issues and for the sound collective decision-making, and a specific time period is essential for its pursuance. Unfortunately, the parliament in Pakistan has often not been able to complete its full term of five years. Sometimes, it is interrupted by the military and sometimes, by the president. While in the Indian political history, we see no such tendency. This study will enable me to unearth the reasons behind the instability of parliament in Pakistan and vice versa in India and thereby providing remedies for the stability of parliament in Pakistan.

### **1.4 Research Question**

Why the parliament in India is stable and functional while it has been unstable and non-functional in Pakistan during 1989 to 1999?

### **1.5 Hypothesis**

The parliament in India is stable and functional because its leadership is far-sighted and has a democratic vision, while in Pakistan vested interests and lack of a democratic vision on the part of political leadership destabilizes the parliament.

## 1.6 Literature Review

Here, I would like to present the views of the scholars, who have done work on the related topics. All those, who have done work on the nearly related topics, have taken either one or the other aspect of democracy either of India or that of Pakistan, but no one has tried to compare the continuity of democracy (stability of the parliament) in the two countries.

An interesting and thought provoking discourse has always been there between the academic and other circles of Pakistan. Ghulam Kibriya takes stock of this intensive debate being raged in the country about the revival of democracy.

“What is missing in this debate is an in-depth analysis to identify real reasons because of which democracy failed in Pakistan but it did well in Indian”<sup>1</sup>

He goes on to list various reasons, like lack of education among politicians and general people alike, absence of democratic fundamentals, division along provincial, linguistics and ethnic lines, dynastic leadership etc. among others for the failure of democracy in Pakistan. He even describes castes as one of the reasons behind the failure of democracy in Pakistan.

“The first and the foremost condition for growth of democracy is acceptance by all, the sovereignty of the people, even caste system, provincialism and ethnic conflicts exist in India but is the world largest successful democracy”<sup>2</sup>

Otherwise a very thought provoking article, it fails to identify the real reasons for the failure of democracy in Pakistan

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<sup>1</sup> Ghulam Kibriya, The failure of democracy in India and Pakistan, Dawn April, 22, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Kibriya, Ghulam, The Failure of Democracy in India and Pakistan, Pakistan Times, March, 22, 2000.

Atul Kohli argues that democracy has taken roots in India in the face of low-income economy, widespread poverty, illiteracy and immense ethnic diversity. He is of the opinion that the success of the Indian democracy is based on proper balance between centrifugal and centripetal forces, which is operating in the society. The second factor, according to the author, is that the interests of the powerful in the society have been served without fully excluding those on the margins.<sup>3</sup>

The writer may be right but the fact is that there is no balance between the federal government and the governments of the federating units; most of the powers have been given to the central government with nominal powers with the federating units. There is a strong tendency of centralization in the Indian politics. Most of the writers are of the opinion that by the application of the features of federalism, India cannot be called a federation. So from the above discussion, we can conclude that there are not only the above-mentioned factors, but also the far-sightedness and the democratic vision of the Indian leadership and strengthening of institutions, which are responsible for the success of Indian democracy.

One of the principle findings of Reuvane Kahane about the Indian democracy is that unlike the other developing countries, both political as well as objective bridging mechanisms have bridged the antagonistic forces in India. The lag between the political fluidity and economic pace of development, no doubt, accentuates the conflict, but the ensuing haggling through institutions by each of the interest groups for its self interests, promotes the common interests i.e. integration and democratic continuity. His findings are well supported by the data and observations, yet they do

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<sup>3</sup>Kohli, Atul, Why Democracy did not take Roots in Pakistan, Oxford, 2001, pp. 76, 112.

not explain as to whether or not the formula is reliable and as to whether or not, as a social phenomenon, this pattern has its inevitable ifs and buts.<sup>4</sup>

The question is more important because the thesis was written when the events like Babri Mosque and Gujarat riots, had not yet taken place. The mediatory mechanism, aptly mentioned by Kahane, has certainly accentuated in these and many other issues, yet institutional mechanism of the institutions are not efficacious leading to the break down. Negotiations on the basis of universal principles through institutional mechanism, as has been discussed by Revuene Kahane, are missing in many issues related to communal violence in India.

Muhammad Waseem in his book "*The problems of democracy in Pakistan*" argues that the problem of democracy in Pakistan is as old as it itself. The mass agitation at different stages of its political history shows that there is an urge for the revival of democracy in the country. He is of the opinion that the main reason, which hampers democracy in the country, is the lack of mass participation in the decision-making process. It is right that there is lack of mass participation. But the masses are not responsible for that rather it is the political leadership, which does not want to make proper arrangements for the political awareness of the masses so that they may participate in the democratic process positively. It means that the political leaders of Pakistan are shortsighted and lack a democratic vision, due to which they consider the masses incapable to participate in the decision-making process.

Muhammad Waseem also held the administrative structure responsible for hampering democracy, which reduces the masses to passive political spectators. But the fact is contrary to that, because it is not the administrative structure rather the

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<sup>4</sup>Kahane, Reuvane, *Democracy in India*, National Publishers, 2008, pp. 123-132.

attitude of the political leaders, which creates hurdles in the way of democracy. Here the question arises that if the administrative structure is responsible for hampering democracy in Pakistan then why is democracy in India, which has the similar administrative structure, flourishing well?

Again it has been aptly pointed out by analysts that the history of elections in Pakistan lack democratic values. Rigging, horse-trading and political deals are their hallmarks, which have driven nails in the coffin of its democratic system. They opine that the factors responsible for the failure of democracy in Pakistan are corruption, nepotism, embezzlement, and horse-trading, rigging in the elections, military interventions and self-interests on the part of politicians<sup>5</sup>.

Though these writers give an important perspective on the discourse, yet they ignore some important factors, which are the root cause of all the factors mentioned above. These are the shortsightedness and the lack of political and democratic a vision on the part of political leaders, which activate the forces responsible for the failure of democracy in Pakistan. The writers also advocate the need of distribution of power among the three tiers of government i.e. executive, judiciary and legislature. There must be proper coordination between the three state pillars, while the fourth one, the print and electronic media, should play a constructive role to educate the people about democracy and its essentials. For this, a visionary leadership with farsightedness is greatly needed.

Javed Alam, in his article, " *What is happening inside Indian democracy* ", says that the success of democracy in India is not because of the efficiency of the

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<sup>5</sup> Sleig, Harrison, Paul.H.Kreisberg, Dannis Kux, India and Pakistan: The Fifty Years, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.52-54.

democratic governments rather it is the social structure of its society, which has made the Indian democracy a success. The Indian society is composed of different castes some of them are upper and respectable while the others are lower and degraded. The strength of the lower castes is about 80% of the Indian population while the upper class is about 20%. Constitutionally, discrimination on the basis of castes system has been eradicated from the Indian society, but practically it is still there. Socially, the two castes do not enjoy equal status, but the right of vote to every one adult has equalized them. There is no distinction between the upper and the lower castes with regard to the vote of right. It is that right, which has equalized all the castes of Indian society. This, besides others, has made the Indian democracy widely acceptable in the lower castes and, therefore, greater participation in the politics. Besides this, the writer mentions another factor, which has strengthened Indian democracy.<sup>6</sup>

He says that that the right of vote to everyone irrespective of castes and creed, has compelled the political leaders from the upper class to go to the doors of the people of the lower castes for vote. The lower, who are 80%, think that there is no best alternative to democracy where they could have say in the governmental affairs.

He further says that India is a model democracy, morally approved by the people. The right of vote has relaxed the rigidity of the enforcement mechanism of the social structure of the Indian community. The author may be right in saying so, but the role of political leaders in strengthening democracy in any society cannot be neglected. They are the political leaders, who shape and consolidate any political system. Without the leaders nothing great can be done. For strengthening democracy,

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<sup>6</sup>Alam, Javed, What is Happening Inside Indian Democracy, Economic and Political Weekly Volume 34, Sep 1999.

the leaders as well as the community must be far-sighted and have a democratic vision.

Ramesh Thakur in his book, "The Governments and Politics in India", says that democracy succeeded in India because they followed the colonial model of political and bureaucratic structure, with which the masses were familiar and the Indian National Congress, which was the single national party of India, was dominated by the elite class. Soon after independence, the party leaders managed to make it a popular party. This, according to the writer, made the basis of Indian democracy. If such measures can make democracy successful in India, then why has it failed in Pakistan, which shares the same?<sup>7</sup>

Robert W. Stern in his book, "Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia", says that democracy in India is progressing successfully because of two reasons, which are revolution from above and revolution from below. Revolution from above means the politics, the policies of the government like land reforms, green revolution, special representation to the lower castes in the parliament and the provincial legislatures, and also the policies of national integration, which have changed the fate and living standard of the common people. The democracy, which we see in India at present, has been achieved through the process of elimination and reformation. The other reason of the free flow of democracy in India, contrary to Pakistan, is that the army has been made subservient to the civilian masters. It has no ambition to oust any civilian elected government. The second reason, which is responsible for the success of democracy, is the revolution from below that means the political consciousness of the masses. In this regard, the naxalities (small parties and pressure groups) played an

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<sup>7</sup>Thakur, Ramesh, The Governments and Politics in India, National Publishes, pp 334-336.

appreciable role in creating political consciousness among the common people, a force for parliamentary reformism.

The writer may be right in his arguments. However, the question arises that Pakistan also has small parties and pressure groups, but why is democracy not flowing uninterruptedly?

He also mentions the reasons of the failure of democracy in Pakistan. He says that democracy in Pakistan has failed because of authoritarianism and undiminished power of anti-democratic forces. This was exposed during 1970, when the anti-democratic forces of the West Pakistan, to protect their interests, did not transfer power to an elected government of Awami League of Sheikh Mujeeb dominated by Bengalis.

## **1.7 Objectives of the Research**

The objectives of this academic research are to compare and contrast the political history of parliaments in India and Pakistan and to find out:

- The reasons behind the instability of parliament in Pakistan and vice versa the parliament of India.
- The suggestions for a stable parliament in Pakistan.

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

The methodology pursued for the specific study was analytical and comparative because without it the topic becomes useless and unimportant. The literature consulted for studying the "*democracy in India and Pakistan: a study of the parliaments 1989 to 1999*" were comprised of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included newspapers, articles from renowned current affairs

magazines, press clippings in the Associated Press of Pakistan and the Press Information Department Islamabad, and research articles and papers of distinguished scholars. The secondary sources included books and online resources such as internet.

## CHAPTER 2

### Democracy in India: A historical perspective

#### Phase One

##### 2.1 Constitution making in India

After the partition of united India into India and Pakistan, both the countries adopted the Government of India Act 1935 as an interim constitution. Indian leaders, including Nehru, Patel and Dr. Embedkar, started work on the making of constitution for the newly established state. A constituent assembly had already been established before the partition in 1946, which worked till the framing of constitution in 1950. The constitution framed by the said constituent assembly was presented on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950. It was a secular constitution based on justice, equality, liberty and fraternity. This constitution gave the right of vote all adult male and female.<sup>8</sup>

Nehru was of the opinion that the constituent assembly should be a sovereign body based on adult franchise. But the Indian constituent assembly remained the same inaugurated by Lord Wavel based on limited franchise. In fact, this constituent assembly produced nothing of its own. It spends three years in amending the existing constitution, the Government of India Act 1935. It made a little bit modification in the Act to adjust it to the Indian community<sup>9</sup>.

The constitution thus formed was centralized in nature. The emergency powers of the central government were introduced in the new constitution, which were not part of the Government of India Act 1935. This was named as president rule. After the promulgation of the president rule, elections must be held within six months. This

<sup>8</sup> Subalterns, and, Raj, "South Asia Since 1600, M.G Books Limited Bodmin Cornwall,2007, p. 215.

<sup>9</sup> Amal, Ray, W..Bhaskara, Rao,,The Nehru Legacy,Oxford Press, 1991, p. 56.

authority given to the central government was an innovation in the Government of India Act 1935. The other thing, which was new, was the inclusion of fundamental rights, which were divided into justifiable and non-justifiable rights<sup>10</sup>.

Nehru played no effective role in the constitution making. His role was only occasional. He had to play his role, whenever a controversy was arisen. Through his leadership qualities, he could easily resolve controversial matters.

There was a huge difference between the attitude of Nehru and Patel. Their divergent natures made the constitution making easy. There was very a little controversy between different political factions regarding the nature of the constitution. On some occasion, like during the reformation of Hindu Law some controversy arose, but Nehru tackled it with great skill and diplomacy<sup>11</sup>.

Patel's death in 1950 made Hindu Law's reformation easy. Purushattamdas Tandan, a conservative, was the follower of Patel; a Congress president was made the member of the constituent assembly after Patel. Nehru defeated him in the party election and himself became the president of Congress.

By doing so he violated the established tradition that being the office-bearer of the Congress, would disqualify him from any ministerial position.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Hans, Raj, Khana, Making of India's Constitution, Eastern Book Company, Second edition, 2008, pp. 19-20.

<sup>11</sup> Moolamallon, Varky, Pylee, Our Constitution, Government and Politics, Universal Law Publications, 2000, pp. 11-12.

Source: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/40209795> 12/6/11 6: 27 am

<sup>12</sup> Kulke, Hermann, and Rothermund, Dietmar, A History of India,

<http://www.jstor.org/pss/40209795> 12/6/11 6: 27 am

## **The period of India National Congress (1947-1977)**

### **2.2 Nehru era (1952-1964)**

After the formation of the constitution in 1950, Nehru wanted to hold elections as early as 1951, but Sukurmar Sen advised him to delay the same in order to register voters and make other preparations as holding polls with a huge population was not an easy task. After completion of voters' registration, general elections to Lok Sabha were held in 1952. The India National Congress got an overwhelming majority not only in the center but also in all the federating units. Nehru, being the president of the Congress, became the first prime minister of independent India. After taking oath of the office, Nehru took progressive steps for the development of India.<sup>13</sup>

Nehru once said, "The world is my village and all folks my friends". This showed his vision. He considered the world as one nation and one family. He was a democrat and internationalist.<sup>14</sup>

He became the first elected prime minister of India in 1952. Since then he started working for the uplift of the country and the people. He was aware of the democratic values and also about the function of a democratic government. He was abreast of the economic position of the country, which was destroyed under the British Raj. Besides strengthening political institutions, he also paid attention to the rural development and started the following programs:

## **1. Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP)**

## **2. Training for Rural Youth for Self employment (TRYSEM)**

He diverted the struggle for freedom movement towards social and economic progress. He was of the opinion that science and technology could solve the problems of the rural community. Being one of the leaders of India, who had farsightedness, he could foresee the future problems of the country.

After the failure of the rural cooperatives, in which educated youth were involved to teach the villagers modern ways of cultivation, sanitation, health care and cooperative management, the government took another initiative for the rural development in 1959. That was called Panchayati Raj, whose main aim was to strengthen and develop self-governing institutions. The Panchayat were supposed to be elected, but gradually the rich peasants got control on them and they were made ineffective.<sup>15</sup>

### **2.3 Social Reforms**

Nehru abolished discrimination on the base of caste and creed and imposed strict penalties on that count. The right of vote was given to all the adults, both male and female, and the status of women was improved. These things were not incorporated in the Government of India Act 1935. Hindu women were given the right to marry outside of the family and caste, and to divorce their husbands. Such measures had revolutionary effect on the society.

Due to the socialist policies of the Nehru government, it got the support of the rural community and left no space for the Communists there.

## **2.4 Economic Reforms**

The other step taken by the government for the development of the society was to modernize the state economy. Nehru was of the opinion that the possible way to develop the economy of the country would be the adoption of centralized planning like that of USSR. Accordingly, he established the National Planning Commission in 1950 under his chairmanship. Its main aim was optimum and maximum utilization of the indigenous resources. It announced the first five-year plan in April 1951. Initially it spent public funds of 3.7 billion dollars on the repair of consumer industries, power generation and communications<sup>16</sup>.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> five-year plan, which was announced in 1956, a strategy for industrial development was devised. It diverted public funds towards industrial development, which proved fruitful for the economic uplift of the community. Iron production increased from 4 million tons in 1956 to 11 million tons in 1961 and coal from 38 to 54 million tons, while the power generation was doubled. Nehru, in fact, propagated for socialistic rather than socialist economy. He wanted transformation of the society from capitalism to socialism without disturbing the existing order. He adopted a midway somewhere between.

## **2.5 Nehru Agrarian Reforms**

Nehru thought that the main problem, being faced by India since its inception, was poverty. The cause of it, according to him, lied in the improper distribution of lands. With this in mind, he sent a delegation to the People's Republic

of China to observe its land system and shortly after that got passed Land Reforms Act by each provincial assembly<sup>17</sup>.

According to that act, Zamindars and petty landlordism were abolished and the area owned by a single person was fixed. The area in excess to that was to be taken over by the government and distributed among the landless peasants and cultivators.

## 2.6 Foreign Policy

India during the Congress rule had maintained hard lines with Pakistan. But the Janata government wisely decided to improve relations with Pakistan. Zia, the then president of Pakistan, also expressed the same views<sup>18</sup>.

Nehru, being the premier of India, preferred that India should be isolated from the cold war. A meeting of 25 countries was held at Bandung, Indonesia, and the NAM was formed. India did not want to go to the US block because it was an ally of Pakistan and on the other hand it did not want to be isolated from the USSR because of its border clashes with China. Both China and the USSR were communist states. China's participation in the NAM was followed by its Premier's visit to India and it was reciprocated by Nehru. An agreement of Panch Sheel (five principles of peaceful coexistence) was signed between them. India recognized Tibet as the territory of China.

Nehru also visited the USSR in 1955 and Egypt in 1956, and supported the latter against Britain on the Suez Canal issue.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Sharma, Shalendra, D. Development and Democracy in India, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999, pp. 94- 95.

<sup>18</sup> Palan ,N. Jaya, Foreign policy of India , Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 2001, p. 272.

<sup>19</sup> Subhartsa and Rai, South Asia since 1600, MPC Book Limited, Delhi.

Practically Nehru might not be successful nonetheless he remained the master of Indian politics till his death. This enabled the Congress party to win the subsequent elections. The Congress won Lok Sabha elections 1957 and 1962. Nehru remained the Prime Minister from 1952 till his death in May 1964. He was followed by Lal Bahadar Shastry, but he also died in January 1966 after signing the Tashkent Declaration. Then Indri Gandhi was selected the interim prime minister by the Central Working Committee of Congress till elections, scheduled to be held in 1967.

## **2.7 The Era of Indri Gandhi (1967-1977)**

After the death of Lal Bahadar Shastry in 1966, general elections to the Lok Sabha were held in 1967. Like the past, the Congress got majority and its president Indri Gandhi form the government. The only difference in this election and the previous ones was that this time the Congress got fewer mandate. Indri Gandhi, being sure of success of her party, called the general elections a year earlier in 1971 before the completion of the tenure of her office.<sup>20</sup>

Soon after the 1971 elections, Raj Narain, a socialist leader, filed a petition in the Allah Abad H.C against Indri Gandhi for corruption, economic problems and misuse of government machinery for election campaign.<sup>21</sup>

On June 12<sup>th</sup> 1975, the Allah Abad H.C. accepted the charges leveled against Indri Gandhi, found her guilty of electoral rigging, corruption and other malpractices in the elections 1971 and banned her to take part in politics for six years. In reaction, Indri

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<sup>20</sup> Kumar, Avnindra, Political Science, V.K (India) Enterprises, revised edition, 2010, p.96.

<sup>21</sup> Chopra, P.N, A comprehensive History of Modern India, 2003, pp. 310.

Gandhi imposed the state of emergency. Political activities were banned and important political leaders were arrested and imprisoned.<sup>22</sup>

## Phase Two

### 2.8 The Period of Janata Party (1977-1980)

After the removal of emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi (1975-1977), elections to Lok Sabha were held in March 1977. The Janata Party got the required majority to form the government, while the Indian National Congress was miserably defeated. The Janata Party was an alliance of different political organizations, which were averse to the imposition of emergency by Indira Gandhi. Its government was the first non-Congress government in the history of India.<sup>23</sup>

Morarji Desai was made the prime minister of the coalition government on May 24th, 1977. He kept the ministry of finance under his control, while the leaders of other allied parties were given important portfolios. After the formation of the government, presidential election was held, in which the nominee of the government won.

The defeat in the elections of Lok Sabha and presidency demoralized and destabilized the Congress and most of its members joined other parties.

After consolidation of the government, the Janata Party formally removed all the laws and regulations of the emergency. Amending the constitution was made more complicated so that no one could declare state of emergency. Fundamental rights and the independence of judiciary were reaffirmed. The charges leveled against the political leaders during emergency were withdrawn and the political prisoners were released.

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<sup>22</sup> Kazi, Javed, A Study of Modern India, Book Traders Lahore, 1986, pp. 93-94.

<sup>23</sup> Kazi, Javed, A Study of Modern India Book Traders, Lahore, 1986, pp. 97-98.

It appointed a commission to investigate the human rights violations and corruption during the emergency regime.

It considerably changed the foreign policy of Indri Gandhi, which was composed of hard lines with the neighboring countries. It completely reversed it and established diplomatic relations with Pakistan, China and Bangladesh. Desai even officially visited the Peoples Republic of China.

In the field of economy, the Desai government started sixth five-year plan in order to develop agriculture and rural industries. It emphasized on self-reliance and ingenious industries. It resorted to multinational companies to have partnership with Indian corporations. But it could not prove to be fruitful for the economic development of the country.

## **2.9 Dissolution of the Government of BJP**

Initially the alliance between different political parties of the government was strong, but slowly and gradually dissension among them erupted. The first controversy was on the economic reforms. Economic reforms were not possible in a government composed of divergent natures of political organizations. The Janata Party was composed of socialists, trade unionists, business leaders and the people of different ideologies.<sup>24</sup> The socialist members of the party were averse to Hindu Nationalists' agenda, whose members in the government were Vajpayee and L.K Advani. The differences between Hindus and Muslims further widened the gulf among them. Allied parties of Janata in such a situation demanded that Vajpayee and Advani should opt for one of the two, either to be the members of Janata Party or RSS

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<sup>24</sup> Krishna, Ananth,v. India since Independence: Making Sense of Indian Politics,Dorling Kindersley Publishers, India,2010,pp.117-118.

(Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh). Both of them opted for RSS and resigned from Janata Party.<sup>25</sup>

It also failed to prove allegations against Indri Gandhi. Support for Morarji Desai declined due to worse economic conditions, corruption and nepotism involving his family members. Soon Charan Singh, a member of the coalition government, became against to Desai, who was compelled to resign from the office. Desai put his resignation on July 19th, 1979. President Reddy appointed Charan Singh as the P.M on the condition to get vote of confidence from the parliament, but he failed. There was no other party to be in a position to form the government, so the president dissolved the parliament and announced that fresh elections were to be held in 1980<sup>26</sup>.

## 2.10 Elections 1980

In 1980, elections were held to Lok Sabha, in which the Congress got a surprising majority and Indri Gandhi once again became the premier of India.<sup>27</sup>

This time Gandhi was changed one. Her hard work and ruthless management boasted the economic position of the country by 1983. During this time industrial growth rate in India increased by 7 %. First satellite was flown into the air, which provided color television transmission to all over the country.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Kohli, Atul, The Success of India's Democracy, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 181-182.

<sup>26</sup> Sanghvi, Vijay, The Congress: Indri to Sonia Gandhi, Kolpaz Publications, 2006, pp. 120-121.

<sup>27</sup> Eur, Far East and Australia 2003, 34th Edtiojn Regional Survey of the World, 2002, pp. 447-448.

<sup>28</sup> Mayron, Weinner, India at the polls, 1980: A study of the parliamentarian, American enterprise institute for public policy and research, 1983, pp. 42- 43.

## 2.11 The Era of Rajiv Gandhi

After the death of Indri Gandhi on 31st December, 1984, the Central Working Committee of the Congress nominated Rajiv Gandhi to succeed his mother. Soon after accession to the premiership general elections were held in December 1984, in which the Congress got 415 out of 542 Lok Sabha seats.

It was expected that Rajiv would eliminate the corruption from the society and do away the deficiencies of his mother government. But he failed in all these objectives.<sup>29</sup>

Rajiv, after becoming the premier, signed an agreement with moderate Sikh leaders of Akali Dal in Punjab, restored the democratic government there and released the imprisoned Sikh leaders. But soon he adopted anti-Sikh policies in order to get electoral support of the Tamils in the Haryana state and for that he acted as a broker between warring Tamils and Sinhala in 1985 in Sri Lanka. The purpose of this was to get their support in the state elections in Haryana. But these policies discredited his government, as the Tamil Tigers did not participate in the negotiations.

The important achievement of his government was the anti-defection bill amendment in the constitution, in order to prevent floor crossing by the members of parliament for money. The amendment required the members to resign and re-contest the election if they want to change their parties until a one third of the party do so, which would be regarded a split in the party. This created no problem for the small parties, where one-third majorities could be easily achieved but created a lot of hurdles in the way of coalition governments from 1990 onwards.

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<sup>29</sup> Pletcher, Kenneth, The History of Modern India, Britannica Educational Publishing, 2011, p. 316.

He also emphasized on re-election in the Congress Party to make it a really democratic party. This could not become possible due to subsequent political situations. However, this ambition was achieved during the Rao government in 1991, when the party elections were held in the Congress<sup>30</sup>.

This was followed by power politics between President Zail Singh and the premier. The former was excluded from the decision-making, who started conspiring to replace the premier. This problem could not be solved till the appointment of R. Venkataraman in 1987 as the new president of India.

Besides this, Rajiv had controversy with Finance Minister V.P Singh on his policy of income tax. The finance minister, in order to boast up the economic status of the country, reduced the income tax to 20 %. Initially the scheme was successful as it persuaded many individuals, who were previously evading taxes, to start paying taxes. In order to pursue his policies, raids were made on some influential to pay taxes. Amitab Bachan was one of them, a close friend of Rajiv. This was an ultimatum for other wealthy influential people, who pressurized the government to reverse the policy or they would support the opposition in the subsequent elections. The premier changed the portfolio of V.P Singh and he was made interior minister in January 1987. V.P Singh later resigned and started campaign against the Rajiv government<sup>31</sup>.

This move of the premier realized the other cabinet ministers that their boss might not support the steps they would take. The members of the government as well as the opposition criticized the prime minister and the prominent politicians of the

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<sup>30</sup> Kohli, Atul, Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governerability,Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 345-346.

<sup>31</sup> Krishna,Anant V . India Since Independence:Making sense of Indian Politics,Dorling Kindersley Publishers, India, 2010, pp.296-297.

Congress Party started deserting the government. Resultantly the opposition Janata and Shive Sena parties became strong and they defeated the government in several municipal and state elections. The Congress and the opposition held a meeting with the president to replace Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

The gas tragedy, which occurred in Bhopal in December 1984, further demoralized the government. The incident occurred in a Union Carbide factory, owned by America, preparing dangerous chemicals. The Indian government was not properly informed about that. Poisonous gas was released from the factory, due to which more than 3000 people died and over 5000 were injured. The victims of this tragedy were not properly compensated<sup>32</sup>

This was followed by drought in 1986/87, which caused food shortage in the country and made the life of the common people very difficult. The government's overspending further worsened the already deteriorated situation. These incidents eroded the foundations of the government and in the coming election of 1989 the Congress was defeated. The Janata Dal got majority and formed the government with the support of BJP and left front.

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<sup>32</sup> Amisha, Profile of Indian Prime Minister: Nehru to Manmohan Singh, Mittal publications, 2004, p. 237.

## 2.12 Janata in Power (1989-1991)

In the 1989 elections, the Congress was defeated by Janata Dal, which formed the government with the support of regional parties. V.P Singh, former finance minister of Rajiv government, was made the premier.<sup>33</sup>

But unfortunately soon cracks occurred among coalition parties. Premier V.P Singh was not on good terms with Devi Lal, leader of Lok Dal party in Haryana and his Deputy Prime Minister. Devi Lal resigned from the post of deputy premiership when the premier expelled his son Om Parakash Chautala, the expected Chief Minister of Haryana, on the charge of corruption and electoral rigging to win the seat of Mehan. After acceptance of his resignation, which was initially not accepted, Devi Lal organized a protest campaign against the V.P Singh government, which was soon joined by the BJP with the ambition to become the dominant party in the government.

In August 1990, V.P Singh increased the reserved quota of lower castes in the universities and other government administration in the light of the Mandal Commission's recommendations. But students and unemployed youth took to the streets to press the government to withdraw the said policy. In protest, the BJP deserted the government and motion of no confidence was moved against V.P Singh after just eleven months of the government, which was fallen.<sup>34</sup>

Chandra Shekhar was made the caretaker premier, but after few months he resigned after dismissing the state government of Tamil Nadu. Fresh elections were enforced before the expiry of five-year term of the government.

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<sup>33</sup> Robert, L. Hardgrave, India, Government and Politics in a Developing Nation, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, Stanley A Kochanek Publishers, Michael Rosenberg, 2008, pp.261-262.

<sup>34</sup> Chand, Attar, The long march : Profile of Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar, first Edition, 1991, K.M. Rai Mittal Publications, pp. 460-461.

## Phase Three

### 2.13 India National Congress back to Power (1991-1996)

The dissolution of the government of V.P.Singh was followed by fresh elections on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1991. In this election, the Congress got 232 out of 543 seats, but it was not in a position to form an independent government. The BJP was second to the Congress by securing 120 seats.

During this time, there was a problem of the leadership in the Congress. It was offered to Sonia Gandhi, widow of Rajiv Gandhi, but she refused. Then it was offered to Narsima Rao, who accepted it. The Congress formed the government under the premiership of Narsima Rao.<sup>35</sup>

After taking oath of the office, Rao paid attention towards the economic development of the country, which had been deteriorated during the Rajiv government. He initiated liberalized economic policies in order to fulfill the ambitions of Indra Gandhi. For the economic uplift of the country, he denationalized banks and announced five percent cut in excise duty. By 1995, average tariffs were reduced to 25 percent from 87 percent, foreign investments boosted from US Dollar 300 millions in 1993 to 2 billion in 1995.<sup>36</sup>

In 1992, the ambition of Rajiv to introduce internal party elections in the Congress for office-bearers was fulfilled, which had not been held since 1969. Election was held for key posts of the Congress.

<sup>35</sup> Krishna, Ananth, India since Independence: Making Sense of Indian Politics, Book Traders Lahore, 1998, pp. 385-386.

<sup>36</sup> Aggarwal,Adishe , P.V Narsima Rao : A Scholar Prime Minister,Anish Publications, 1995, pp.144-145.

The incident of the destruction of Babri Mosque at Ayodhya by Hindu militants occurred in 1992. This was supported by the BJP, an opposition party. Ayodhya is located in the state of Uttar Pradesh, which was being ruled by the BJP, which failed to protect the 400-year old Mosque. This incident was followed by countrywide riots, particularly in the Muslims dominated areas. Over 1600 people were killed. The central government dissolved the state government of BJP. This was followed by 15 massive bomb blasts in Bombay on 12<sup>th</sup> March, 1993, in which hundreds of people lost their lives and a lot of others were injured. The Hindus deemed it to be reaction against the destruction of Babri Mosque and Dawood Ibrahim, a Muslim, was held responsible for the planning of the said incident.

The government of Narsima Rao was further weakened by the sugar shortage in the country. The public blamed the government for providing an opportunity to the business class to make profit to get their support in the subsequent elections.<sup>37</sup>

The other reason, due to which the Congress lost the next elections, was corruption. Majority of the members of its government were found involved in corruption and embezzlement. Once police raided a minister's house and discovered a mattress full of bank notes. The worst ever scandal of corruption was unearthed in 1996 when the police found a ledger containing 17 million US Dollar paid in bribe to prominent Indian politicians. The ministers were not the only to be found involved in corruption even Premier Narsima Rao was himself suspected of corruption. However, he remained Premier till the 1996 elections, in which the Congress was miserably defeated.

## Phase Four

### 2.14 Two United Front Governments, the Period of Turmoil in Indian Politics (1996-1998)

It is common with the Indian public that it responds to the tales of corruption very promptly. This is what happened in the 1996 elections, when the public rejected the Congress because of its members' involvement in corruption. The Congress secured 140 Lok Sabha seats and faced the worst ever defeat in its political history. Rao resigned from the party leadership because of the charges of corruption in September 1996 and it was offered to Sonia Gandhi but she again refused. Seteram Kesri was made the leader of Congress.<sup>38</sup>

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Cases of corruption were filed against Rao in the court, but before facing any sentence he died in 2004. No party got the majority in the 1996 elections to form the government independently, but finally the BJP succeeded in making the coalition government under the leadership A.B Vajpayee. However, it lasted for only 12 days as it failed to get the support of the minority parties, because of its role in the demolition of Babri Mosque. Then with the support of the Congress, the United Front formed the coalition government with H.D Gowda as premier. Gowda, after taking oath of the office, launched the Common Minimum Program, commonly known as CMP, in order to satisfy the allies of the United Front and the Congress. Equal share was given to all the coalition partners in the cabinet to avoid the past experience of coalition government. Gowda carried out the task with great skill and confidence on 5<sup>th</sup> June 1996.

<sup>38</sup> Vohra, Rambir, the Making of India: A Historical Survey, M.E Sharpe Publications, 2001, p. 301.

The CMP initiated by the new premier was a novel model of progress and development, which reconciled with secularism, federalism, modernization and social justice. In real sense, it could be called the synthesis of Indians. According to this program, the United Front government wanted to strengthen federalism through devolution of central political, administrative and economic powers, and to improve the economic and social status of the different castes of Indian community. It guaranteed maximum wages to the agriculture workers, subsidies for fertilizers and essential commodities, made education a fundamental right and set the aim to eradicate poverty and illiteracy by the year 2005. Besides this, it also decided to abolish corruption and to bring transparency to official conduct.<sup>39</sup>

The Janata leadership made a sage strategy by offering alternative to the BJP extremism and Congress' corruption, but it could not develop good relations with the Congress. Soon the Congress, which was in the opposition, started conspiring against Gowda, because according to it, his policies were against the public interests.<sup>40</sup>

Another Janata leader I.K Gujral replaced Gowda in March 1997. I.K. Gujral, being the leader of third largest group in the Lok Sabha, was made the caretaker prime minister till the election to be held in March 1998.<sup>41</sup>

## **2.15 Fall of the Government of Gujral**

The public showed lack of interest in the Golden Jubilee celebrations of India. The government observed that there must be some reason behind the people's lack of interest in state activities. The speaker of the Lok Sabha convened a special session of the parliament to discuss the problems being faced by the state and to offer

<sup>39</sup> Vohra, Rambir, The Making of India: A Historical Survey, M.E Sharpe Publishers, 2001.p. 299.

<sup>40</sup> Vohra, Rambir, the Making of India: A Historical Survey, M.E Sharpe Publications, 2001, p. 301.

<sup>41</sup> U.N, Gupta, Indian Parliamentary Democracy, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 2003, p. 217.

suggestions for it. But the central government failed to give effect to the said suggestions.

Meanwhile, a controversy erupted between the two members of Janata Dal - Laloo Parasd and Sharad Yadav - for the office of the party's president. In this struggle Sharad Yadav emerged victorious, but the party split in two factions, Janata Dal and Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD). The Janata Dal was the main pillar of the United Front government and Prime Minister Gujral belonged to it. This shook the foundations of the United Front government. Three members of the newly established party were still ministers. The coalition partners demanded the withdrawal of ministerial posts from the RJD members, as they were no longer members of Janata Dal. The P.M refused their demand.

On another occasion Laloo Parasad was charged of 158 million dollar corruption. But he remained the Chief Minister of Bihar. The central government took no action against him. The Bihar High Court passed a verdict against him and he was put behind the bar. He resigned from the office of the Chief Minister. This further weakened the government of United Front.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, the Jain Commission on the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 presented its findings, but the central government failed to punish the offenders. These and other events finally made the then president N.K Narayanan to dissolve the Lok Sabha in December 1997.<sup>43</sup>

Fresh elections were announced to be held in March 1998.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Vohra, Rambir, the Making of India: Historical Survey, M.E Sharpe Publications, 2001, p. 302.

<sup>43</sup> Chande, M.B, Betrayal of Indian Democracy, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1999, p.296.

<sup>44</sup> Paul, Dettman, R., India Changes Course, Praeger Publishers, 2004, pp.1-5.

I.K Gujral, being the leader of the third largest group in the Lok Sabha, was made the caretaker Prime Minister till the elections to be held in March 1998.<sup>45</sup>

## Phase Five

### 2.16 Government of BJP (1998-1999)

Following the dissolution of the I.K Gujral government in December 1997, elections to the Lok Sabha were held in March 1998, in which no party could get the required majority to form the government alone. All the three big parties were in a position to form the government with allies.

The BJP and its allies secured 264 seats, the Congress 168 and the United Front 101 seats. The BJP, however, managed to form the government. A.B Vajpayee was sworn in as the P.M on March 19, 1998.

The BJP and its allied parties made a National Agenda to make the state strong and stable and to tackle all the problems faced by the state, due to which the government of Gujral was dissolved. The National Agenda was composed of policies and programs, having consensus of all the allied parties of the government. They agreed on one point that the only aim of their government would be the stability of the country and that the BJP would not pursue its own agenda of Hindutva.<sup>46</sup>

The Vajpayee government was one of the strong ones in the political history of India because no opposition party was in a position to pose any threat to it. Opposition leader Sonia Gandhi of the Congress assured the government of her support in its economic policies for the stability of the country.

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<sup>45</sup> U.N. Gupta, Indian Parliamentary democracy, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 2003, p.217.

<sup>46</sup> Ahmad, Ishtiaq, India Watch: 1997-1998, Institute of Regional Studies, Islam Abad, 1989, p. 130.

Vajpayee, after taking oath of the office, released the agenda of his government. He said that his government would govern the country with the consensus of all the allied parties as far as possible.<sup>47</sup>

While explaining his economic policies, he said that he would follow a liberal economic policy with the innovation that India would be built by Indians. It was during his government that India became a nuclear power. This was not included in his election manifesto but later on he included it in his National Agenda. No other government had said anything about it.<sup>48</sup>

The cause, which Vajpayee put forward for nuclear tests, was the threat from China, which was a military giant, and nuclear power. So his government conducted nuclear tests on May 11th and 13th, 1998 and India joined the world nuclear club. But unfortunately, the Vajpayee government was dissolved through a vote of no confidence. The AIADMK,(All India Anna Dravida Munetra Kazhagam) a regional Tamil Nadu party, withdrew its support from the coalition government, due to which Vajpayee lost 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority in the parliament. The then president N.K Narayan dissolved his government on April 26th, 1999 and advised him to continue as Prime Minister till the next election<sup>49</sup>.

Fresh elections for the 13<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha were held and the NDA, a 24-party alliance, got the majority seats. This alliance was led by the BJP and it formed the government with A.B Vajpayee, being the leader and founder of BJP, was made the premier of the new government. These were India's third elections within the short

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<sup>47</sup>Jai, Rajiv,Political Trends: Revival of two party system in India Ruling vs. Combined Opposition, Regency Publications,1999, p. 46.

<sup>48</sup> Dettman, Paul, R, India Changes Course, Praeger Publishers, 2004, pp. 21-28.

<sup>49</sup> Whitkar, Joseph, An Almanacs for the year of our Lord, Volume, 134, 2002, pp. 214-215.

span of three years. This BJP government remained in power till 2004 and completed its five-year tenure. Fresh elections were held for the 14<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha<sup>50</sup> in April 2004. The Indian National Congress again attained power under a coalition of UPA (United Progressive Alliance) as it obtained majority seats, while the BJP was miserably defeated. The office of the P.M was offered to Congress leader Sonia Gandhi but she declined. She was of the opinion that Manmohan Singh, an economist, was more suitable for the post. Since India needed economic growth and Manmohan Singh, being an expert in economic affairs, was the most suitable person for the office of the premiership.

He remained finance minister in the government of Narsima Rao in 1990s and he was seen as expert economist, who could take the country on the path to economic progress.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh remained in power from 2004 to 2009. His government embarked on a comprehensive agenda, consisting of its priorities and policies. This comprehensive program was named as the Common Minimum Program (CMP). This program had the following six basic principles of governance:

- To declare all the languages of India as official ones gradually.
- To preserve, protect and promote social harmony.
- Economic growth by 7- 8 percent per year.
- To enhance well-being of the farmers and workers.
- Equal opportunity to all.
- Enhancement of exports.

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<sup>50</sup> Friedman, Edward, and Joseph, Wong, Political Transition in Dominant Party system: Learning to lose,,Routledge Publishers, 2008 ,pp. 34-35.

This program was later on converted to the Common Minimum Performance by the next government of United Progressive Alliance in 2009. The government of Manmohan Singh completed its full tenure of five years and then elections for the 15<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha were held in 2009<sup>51</sup>.

## **2.17 United Progressive Alliance (UPA) Again in Power (2009-till date)**

The United Progressive Alliance led by the Congress again got majority in the fresh elections held in May 2004 after the completion of its five-year government term. Manmohan Singh was again made the Prime Minister on the basis of his performance in the last government. This government is still in power and it is expected to complete its five-year tenure because of the Common Minimum Performance program, which it has initiated.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Parakash, B.A,Indian Economy since 1991: An Economic Reforms and Performance, Dorling Kindersley Publishers, India ,2009, p.573.

<sup>52</sup> Kaminski, P. Arnold, India Today: An Encyclopedia of life in the Republic, Volume one, library of congress publications, 2009, pp. 224-226.

## 2.18 Conclusion

The political history of India shows that parliament in India has been stable since the inception of the country. We cannot see even a single instance of military interference in political affairs. The reason behind this stability is that all the Indian parliaments completed their tenure and learnt democratic values. Soon after independence, the Indian leadership framed a consensus constitution and then elections were held in 1951. They did not waste their precious time in quarrelling with each other on petty issues instead they utilized maximum time for strengthening parliament, democracy and political institutions.

After 1951 elections, India held parliamentary elections after each five years smoothly and without any hindrance. Till 1975, a single party dominated the Indian politics and no other party was in the field. During this period, internal democracy was also maintained in the ruling Indian National Congress party as it constantly conducted polls for its office-bearers. The people had confidence and trust in the party. However, in 1975 when Indira Gandhi imposed emergency in the country, the Congress lost the confidence of the common people. This was also resented by most of the party leaders, who quit the Congress to join a new political party BJP. In the next elections, the BJP defeated the Congress and formed the government in the center. This shows the vision and the love of Indian political leadership for democratic values and also the political awareness of the masses.

The other reason of the stability of Indian parliament is that India abolished big landholdings / feudalism after independence. In this way, the door was opened for the common people to enter the country's politics.

Coalition governments followed the emergency imposed by Indri Gandhi. During the period from 1989 to 1999, we see that parliament was comparatively unstable. The reasons for this instability were the conspiracies hatched by the India National Congress and sometimes-constitutional requirements.

In 1989, the Janata Dal formed the coalition government with other smaller parties, but it could not last for long and was dissolved by the President when it lost a no-confidence motion after desertion of the BJP, a coalition partner. The reason for the dissolution of the parliament this time was legal and constitutional. The Congress again formed the government as a result of majority, which it got in 1991 Lok Sabha elections... It completed its five-year term and was miserably defeated in the next general elections, which were held in 1996. Now the BJP along with political allies formed the government. This government was dissolved because of the conspiracy of the Congress Party. In the 1998 elections, no party got the required majority to form the government alone, but the three main parties were in a position to form the government with the help of coalition partners. However, the BJP managed to form the coalition government under the premiership of Vajpayee. His government was, however, dissolved on the basis of no-confidence motion.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the parliament in India is comparatively stable and functional. All those governments, which were dissolved were either constitutionally defective (lack majority in the parliament) or because of the conspiracy of India National Congress. There is no interference on the part of military in the affairs of the government. The Indian Constitution has specified the role of army and it is considered a high treason to break the processes of democracy.

The Supreme Court is more than ready to take any military adventurer, who will try to usurp the democratic rights of the people, to task.

The politicians have never asked the military to intervene. Whenever any army general had given any statement about the government, he had been sacked. The army cannot think of taking over the government, as the parliament is strong enough to detract it. No politician is ready to accept martial law in the country. The constitutional role of army is clear and no army general can deviate from it otherwise he will have to face the law of country.

## CHAPTER 3

### Democracy in Pakistan: A Historical Perspective

#### 3.1 Introduction

The political history of Pakistan begins with the creation of All India Muslim League in 1906 when the Muslims of the Sub-continent came to know that they were a nation by every definition of the nation. They demanded and struggled for a separate independent state where they could live according to their wishes. They achieved Pakistan on the basis of Islamic ideology under the auspices of All India Muslim League on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1947.

#### Phase One

#### 3.2 Constitutional Development in Pakistan (1947-1956)

Constitution is regarded as the backbone of democratic political set-up. It guides the governors in all state affairs, as it embodies rules and regulations.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah once said, "I have had one underlying principle in my mind, the principle of Muslim democracy. It is my belief that our salvation is in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that," our decision in the affairs of the state shall be guided by discussion and consultation". These words clearly manifest the proposed constitution of Pakistan."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Rafiq, Muhammad, Pakistan since 1947, Nadeem Younis Press, Lahore, 2010, pp. 132,158.

When Pakistan came into existence on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1947 it adopted Government of India Act 1935 with a little modification in order to fit it to the newly established state, as an interim constitution. According to this interim constitution, parliamentary form of government was established in the country, the Quaid-e-Azam became its first Governor General and Liaqat Ali Khan was appointed as the Prime Minister of Constituent Assembly.<sup>54</sup>

The Constituent Assembly comprised 69 members, whose number was later on increased to 79 when the princely states were acceded to Pakistan. Most of the members of this assembly were those, who were elected in the 1946 election from that area, which was later called Pakistan. This assembly had to perform dual function. It had to function as legislative body of the country and to frame constitution for the newly independent state of Pakistan.<sup>55</sup>

The Quaid-e-Azam reiterated time and again that the future constitution of Pakistan will be democratic, embodying Islamic principles, but it does not mean to be a theocratic state. But, unfortunately before that he could give constitution to Pakistan acceptable to every segment of the population, he died soon after independence in 1948. This created a lot of problems for the constitution making body. Soon after his death, a struggle started between the conservatives Ulema and the modernists. The main pillars of the conservative Ulema were Moulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani (Jamiat-ul-Ulema Islam) and Moulana Moudodi, founder of the Jamat-e-Islami. Moulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani was the general secretary of Pakistan Muslim League at that time. It shows that even the Muslim League leadership was itself not agreed on any

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<sup>54</sup> Rabbani, Ikram, Pakistan Studies, Carvan press ,Lahore,2006,p 163.

<sup>55</sup> Salamat, Zarina,Pakistan since 1947-1958: A Historical Review, National Institute of Cultural Research ,Islamabad,1992, pp. 47-48.

single formula for making the constitution of Pakistan. This group demanded Islamic system based on Shariah and started a movement to that effect. This adversely affected the constitution making process. Malik Ghulam Muhammad and Mohammad Hashim were representing the modernists.<sup>56</sup> In order to redress the grievances of the two groups, Liaqat Ali Khan formed a committee to prepare a draft constitution. The representatives of the two opposing groups were made its members. Liaqat Ali Khan, being the head of this committee, was able to reconcile both these groups and the Objective Resolution was approved by the assembly on 12th March, 1948, which is the preamble of the three constitutions of Pakistan.

Main features of the Objective Resolution:

Sovereignty belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority, which He has delegated to the people of Pakistan to be exercised in His name, is a sacred trust.

- ❖ The state shall exercise its authority and power indirectly through its representatives.
- ❖ The principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as laid down in Islam, will be observed.
- ❖ The Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives according to the teachings of Islam, Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).
- ❖ Adequate provision shall be made for the interests of the minorities to freely profess their religion and develop their own culture.
- ❖ It also proposed for a federal parliamentary system.

Hindus in the Constituent Assembly mainly opposed this resolution. They thought that the state, which will be based on the Objective Resolution, would be a

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<sup>56</sup> Khan, Hamid, Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, Oxford, 2001, pp. 59-60.

theocratic state like the one in Saudi Arabia, but Moulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani satisfied them by clarifying to them the difference between Islamic and theocratic states. In fact, the pioneer of the Objective Resolution, keeping in view the divergent factions of the society, had used very diplomatic language in it. A lot of things were left vague in it. It satisfied the Jamat-e-Islami by assigning sovereignty to God over the land of Pakistan. It also ensured the modernists that Pakistan would not be an Islamic state because the word Islamic was not used with the name of Pakistan.<sup>57</sup>

### **3.3 Basic Principles Committee**

Soon after the endorsement of the Objective Resolution in March 1949, the Constituent Assembly, in order to outline the future constitution on the basis of Objective Resolution, set up the Basic Principles Committee.<sup>58</sup> This committee was composed of 24 members and was authorized to form sub-committees on different matters to facilitate its working. The important of these was Islamic Teaching Board to guide the BPC in the light of Islamic teachings.<sup>59</sup>

The BPC, after hard deliberations and consultations, submitted its provisional report in September 1950. This report proposed the following:<sup>60</sup>

- The executive head of the state will be the president and he will appoint any member of the legislature as P.M.
- He was also empowered to appoint the provincial governors.

It entrusted the emergency powers to the president.

Any specific ideology was not made essential for the president.

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<sup>57</sup> Mahmood, Safdar, Pakistan, Political Roots and Development, 1947-1999, 2003, p.37.

<sup>58</sup> Khan, Hamid, Constitutional and political development in Pakistan, 2001, pp.67-68.

<sup>59</sup> M, Rabbani, Ikram, Pakistan Study, Caravan Publishers, 2006, p.166.

- Federal parliamentary form was recommended.
- The P.M. could be removed by the vote of no confidence.
- It proposed bi-cameral legislature - the upper house and the lower house. The upper house was to represent the federating units on equally basis and the lower house to represent the nation on the basis of population.<sup>61</sup>

All the political factions from different angles criticized the provisional report.

It was not acceptable to the religious leaders in common and the Jamat-e- Islami in particular; because it had not enumerated that the head of the state must be a Muslim. On that occasion, Moulana Moudodi said that the state, which will be based on this report, would be like a Sikh Imam of the mosque.

The leaders from East Pakistan raised objection against this report because they were not represented in the upper house according to their population, which was about 56% of the total population of Pakistan<sup>62</sup>

It recommended Urdu as an official language of the state. East Pakistan leaders again objected this because majority of their people spoke Bengali. Urdu speaking people were negligible there. This problem could be easily solved by the recognition of two official languages like in Switzerland, where we see three official languages working successfully.

Majority of the leaders raised objection against the strong central government. They put forward their own recommendation in 1949 wherein they suggested that only defense, foreign affairs and currency may be with the central government and the

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<sup>61</sup> Mahmood, Safdar, Pakistan Political Roots and Development 1947-1999, Oxford Press, 2003, pp. 37-38.

<sup>62</sup> Salamat, Zarina, Pakistan since 1947-1958: A Historical Review, National Institute of Cultural Research Islam abad, 1992, p. 52.

remaining must be given to the federating units. It was objected on the ground that it had given almost dictatorial powers to the president and he along with the P.M. and other ministers were debarred from being summoned in the court. This was regarded as against democratic values.

The power of vote of no confidence was given to both the houses of parliament and it was difficult for anyone to get majority in both the houses. The leaders of East and West Pakistan raised this objection. In fact, the modernists, including the then P.M. Liaqat Ali Khan, were not in favor of constitution based on Islamic principles.<sup>63</sup>

Ulema of both parts of the country started countrywide campaign against this report and demanded that it should be buried. They put forward a 22-point formula for framing the future constitution of the country. They asserted that if the future constitution were not based on these points, such constitution would not be acceptable to them.

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<sup>63</sup> Rabbani, Ikram, Pakistan Studies, Carvan press, Lahore, 200, pp. 84-88.

### **3.4 Final Report of the BPC**

In order to redress the grievances of all the political factions, the final report of BPC was presented, in which all those sections, which were objected by one group or the other, were modified. It was presented during Khwaja Nazimudin's period in December 1952<sup>64</sup>.

Following were the main principles of the report:

- ❖ This provided that the president must be a Muslim male.
- ❖ He will be elected in a joint session of the parliament.
- ❖ He will not be a member of the legislature, so is not responsible to it
- ❖ He will be elected for a five-year term, during which he cannot be summoned in any court of law and any kind of action will not be taken against him.
- ❖ It proposed for a bicameral legislature with parity in both the houses. The form of government will be federal parliamentary one.

The aim of the final report of BPC was to remove all the objections at the provisional report of the BPC. But all the politicians and the communities due to the following reasons criticized it:

- The federating units of West Pakistan raised objection against the parity in the legislature as at that time there were five federating units of Pakistan and to give 50% seats to one federating unit is a violation of the principles of the federation. On the other hand, the East Pakistan voiced for more than 50%

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<sup>64</sup> Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Political Roots and Development, pp. 39-41.

seats in the legislature on the basis of its population. The population of East Pakistan was 56 % of the total population of Pakistan.<sup>65</sup>

- To maintain parity between the two wings of Pakistan is against democratic values.
- The East Pakistan's leaders on the ground criticized this that it empowered the center and made the federating units weaker. They demanded a weak center and autonomy for the federating units. This demand should have come from the small province, the demand of the biggest province give a sense of secession.
- The other thing, which was denunciated by the modernists, was the creation of the Ulema Board, to guide the Constituent Assembly regarding the Islamic ideology to be contained in the future constitution. The modernists thought it to be undemocratic to give the law-making authority to a few unelected people.
- The Ulema rejected the report on the ground that it was insufficient from Islamic point of view. They thought that it was not enough to say that no law contrary to Islam will be promulgated. Instead the existing laws must be brought in conformity to the Islamic principles. The orthodox demanded that everything in Pakistan must revolve around Islam and nothing should be outside the domain of Islam.
- According to the report the name of the country was to be Pakistan, but this was not acceptable to the religious leaders. They wanted at all costs that the official name of the country must have the word 'Islamic'.

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<sup>65</sup> Salamat, Zarina,,Pakistan since 1947-1958:A Historical Review: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Islam abad,1992,pp.54-55.

- The report had empowered the president to appoint any person, whether he is a member of the parliament or not, as the P.M. of the country. This was regarded against of the principles of federation because it gave dictatorial powers to the president. This was not acceptable to all the political leaders.
- This report does not provide for the protection of the judiciary.
- The BPC's final report could not satisfy any political faction of the time. It could not prove to be a solution to any existing problem rather it aggravated the situation. It could not satisfy the politicians of either East Pakistan or West Pakistan. In such a situation, the then Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the government of Khwaja Nazimudin and appointed Muhammad Ali Bogra as the P.M.<sup>66</sup>

But the people of East Pakistan rejected Muhammad Ali Bogra as their representative. However, he held talks with the politicians in order to pursue the constitution making process.

The action taken by the Governor General against Khwaja Nazimudin was unconstitutional. The Governor General, in fact, wanted all the powers of governance in his hand, while Khwaja Nazimudin was asserting powers given to him by the constitution. The Governor General's action violated three important elements of the parliamentary form of government.<sup>67</sup>

- ❖ According to the parliamentary form of government, the Governor General must be a titular head of the state and impartial. By dismissing Khwaja Nazimudin, he violated this tradition.

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<sup>66</sup> Sher, A, Qayum, "Pakistan Studies, Shirakat Printing press, Lahore, 1990, p 165.

<sup>67</sup> Sardar, Ali, Choudhry, Constitutional history of Pakistan, P.L.D. Publishers 2006, pp 37-38..

- ❖ He plundered the solidarity of the cabinet and of the party.

The role of the legislature in making and unmaking of the government was neglected.

The first Constituent Assembly failed because the honorable and trusted politicians like the Quaid-e-Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan, had passed away and after them, there was no other leader, who could keep the divergent political factions intact and united. And those, who were left, paid no attention towards constitution making rather they were fighting with each other for their own vested interests. During its six-year life, the CAP could hold only sixteen constitutional meetings.<sup>68</sup>

At the initial stage of Pakistan, the political leadership opted for a parliamentary form of government on the line of Britain, but they declined social responsibilities bestowed on them and their attitude was questionable. The politicians, who got a chance to become parliamentarians, were not trained for that.<sup>69</sup>

Soon after assuming the office of premiership, Muhammad Ali Bogra presented his own formula in the Constituent Assembly in October 1953 to solve the constitutional crisis.

According to his formula, a bicameral system of parliament was proposed, to be composed of two houses, the upper and the lower ones. The total membership of the upper house was to be 50 to be equally divided into five units.<sup>70</sup>

The lower house was to be composed of 300 members, divided between the five units on the basis of population. This formula created equality between the East

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<sup>68</sup>Choudhry,Sardar,Ali,Constitutional History of Pakistan, Educational Book Company, Lahore,1982, pp 37-41.

<sup>69</sup>Ziring, Lawrence, Pakistan in the Twentieth Century,:A Political History, Oxford, 2010, p.99.

<sup>70</sup>Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Political Roots and Development, Oxford, 2002, pp 43-44.

and West Pakistan. The total membership of East Pakistan in the parliament was  $10+165=175$  while that of West Pakistan was  $40+135=175$ . This was acceptable to both the wings of Pakistan. Equal powers were proposed for both the houses of parliament. Powers and functions of the Ulema Board were transferred to the Supreme Court. The P.M and the president must not belong to the same wing. But before this acceptable formula could have been implemented, the then Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the government and the Constituent Assembly. Muhammad Ali, along with his constitutional formula, was put into the dustbin.<sup>71</sup>

After the dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly, the second one was formed. This assembly was headed by Choudhri Muhammad Ali. Its total membership was eighty. First time in the history of Pakistan, Commander-in-Chief, General Muhammad Ayub Khan and Major General Iskandar Mirza were included in the second Constituent Assembly<sup>72</sup>.

The four units of West Pakistan were integrated into one and were called One Unit. Representation to the two wings was given on the basis of parity, forty members each. This time the PML had lost its majority and a coalition government was formed. Choudhri Muhammad Ali, after working hard, presented his draft constitution on January 8th 1956, which was adopted on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1956.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Mehdi, Raza, Pakistan Today, progressive publishers, Lahore 1987, p.36.

<sup>72</sup> Mehmod, Safdar, Pakistan political Roots and Developments, oxford, 2003, pp.47-48.

<sup>73</sup> A Qayum Sher, Pakistan studies, shirakat printing press Lahore 1990, p.165.

## Phase Two

### 3.5 First Military Rule in Pakistan (1958-1962)

When the political situations were going to be out of the control and there was no political leader to control the same, there was no option left with the military to take the reign of the government in its hand. General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, imposed martial law in the country<sup>74</sup>.

In October 1958, the political situation of country became worse. The then President Iskandar Mirza held the political system responsible for the deteriorating situation of the country and proposed that the Constitution of 1956 be abrogated.<sup>75</sup>

General Ayub Khan, after consultation with the senior military officials for about a week, dismissed the prime minister and his cabinet on October 7, 1958 and on October 27 he ousted President Iskandar Mirza. With this, his one-man rule started.

### 3.6 Basic Democracy

After assuming power as the Chief Martial Law Administrator and the abrogation of 1956 Constitution, General Ayub Khan needed legitimacy for himself. For the purpose, he designed the system of basic democracies, which was launched in 1960. He initiated this program aimed at getting rid of the traditional political leaders and to transfer political powers to village elders, which would be easily manageable by civil officers. He thought that the village elders were honest and respectable, who

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<sup>74</sup> Hamid, Khan, constitutional history of Pakistan, oxford university press, 2007, pp.127-133.

<sup>75</sup> Rafique, Muhammad, Pakistan since 1947, Carvan publishers, Lahore, p. 202.

could make the development projects more fruitful. However, the desired results could not be achieved because by then the social structure of the villages had changed.<sup>76</sup>

According to that system, there were 8000 union councils consisting of 80000 members, with each one having 10 members. This was the basic tier of Ayub's BD system. Each constituency was designed for 10000 people. It means that each union council included several villages so that it may not be easy for the landlords to control such a large area. He got himself elected as the President of Pakistan in an election in which only basic democrats participated<sup>77</sup>.

In fact, he wanted to oust the landlords from politics. Furthermore to oust the traditional corrupt politicians from the politics, he issued an ordinance called Elective Bodies' Disqualification Ordinance (EBDO).

The members of the union council were to elect representatives for the Tehsil council and likewise, the members of the Tehsil council were to elect members for the district council and vice versa for divisional and provincial councils. All the members of the union council were elected while some of those of the upper tiers were nominated; most of them were serving bureaucrats of the area concerned.

### **3.7 Ayub Khan Land Reforms**

Poverty was one of the major problems in the country since its inception. Millions of the Muslims, after partition, migrated to Pakistan. Industrialization could not be a possible solution for the uplift of the people, because most of the country's population depended on agriculture. And most of the agricultural land was in the

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<sup>76</sup> Maniruzzaman, Talukdar, Group Interests and Political Changes: Studies of Pakistan and Bangladesh, South Asian Publishers, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 81-82.

<sup>77</sup> Burki, Shahid, Javid, Pakistan a Nation in the Making, Oxford, pp. 52-55.

hands of a few landlords, who imposed their own laws and other terms and conditions on the tenants. The laws inherited from the British India were not suitable for the development of Pakistani society. There was no law pertaining to agriculture in force. Only the law of 'might is right' was prevailing. The tenants were at the mercy of landlords, who took the greater share of the produce. The tenants had no interest in the cultivation, as they just wanted existence. They were not less than the serfs. The tenants and the landlords were the two extremes of the society.<sup>78</sup>

Ayub Khan, after assuming power, appointed a land commission headed by Akhtar Hussain, with the mandate to furnish laws related to the land to put the society on sound footing.<sup>79</sup>

The land commission put forward the following recommendations:

No person would hold more than 500 acres irrigated and 1000 acres non-irrigated land. The present owner could retain 150 acres of land orchard and could gift only limited portion of the land to the heirs and relatives. In any case, no person could hold more than 36000 produce index units.<sup>80</sup>

- a. Land more than the prescribed limit would be resumed on the basis of fair compensation in the form of interest bearing bonds redeemable in 25 years.
- b. The resumed land would be sold to the existing tenants, if not purchased by them, would be sold to others. The present tenants could pay in installments.

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<sup>78</sup> Ahmad, Muashtaq, Government and politics in Pakistan, Royal Book Company, 2009, p.181.

<sup>79</sup> Rabbbani, Ikram, Pakistan affairs, pp.137-138.

<sup>80</sup> Rizvi, Hassan, Askari, The Military and politics in Pakistan, pp. 127-128.

- c. Occupying tenants would become full owners.
- d. A guarantee of security of tenure to the tenants was provided.

This was done with the aim to enhance the status and life standard of the tenants as after the implementation of the reforms, the tenants could not be ejected without appropriate compensation and to prevent unlawful rising of rents contrary to the contract.

These reforms were accompanied by four policies related to irrigation, land reclamation, mechanization, and the use of scientific means for cultivation<sup>81</sup>.

Gen Ayub resigned in November 1968 because of public protest against him. One of the main causes of his downfall was the economic policies of his government, which though accelerated the economic progress, but left a wide economic gap and disparity between the two wings of the country. The wealth was concentrated in a few hands. Ayub Khan's family was found heavily involved in the corruption. Two of his sons left Army and became industrialists within days. This greatly affected the popularity and image of Ayub Khan. Because of these reasons, public demonstrations started against him. Meanwhile, the killing of a student by police in Rawalpindi brought the students on the roads against the government. Their movement was led and directed by Z.A Bhutto. These movements finally compelled Ayub to quit.

### **3.8 General Agha Muhammad Yehya Khan (1969-1971)**

This period is known as the period of political disturbance in the history of Pakistan. General Agha Muhammad Yehya Khan, after assuming power, made drastic changes in the political set-up of his predecessor. General Ayub had some trust in the

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<sup>81</sup> Qaisar, Nadeem, *Pakistan Studies: An Investigation into political Economy*: Oxford, p.32.

politicians. General Yehya was against them and wanted complete militarization of the politics. Ayub had shared some powers with the civil bureaucracy, but contrary to that Yehya Khan gave secondary role to the civil bureaucracy. In fact, he wanted to establish a semi military state, which was also followed by his successor military dictator General Zia ul Haq<sup>82</sup>.

On March 25, 1969, after his failure to save his regime in the face of protests by the politicians and the people, Ayub Khan handed over the reign of government to General Yehya Khan, the then Commander-in-Chief, to take revenge from the protestors.<sup>83</sup>

General Yehya abrogated the 1962 Constitution, banned political parties and dismissed national and provincial assemblies. He imposed martial law in the country and declared himself as head of the state.

The Yehya government is regarded as the worst military government in the country's political history, as no improvement could be made in any sphere during his regime. His only aim was to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people and to remove all those reasons, which pave the way for the downfall of Ayub Khan. But instead of smooth transfer of power to the elected parliament, he paved the way for the disintegration of the country.

His regime, contrary to his predecessor, was facing a lot of problems. The most important was the sense of dissention among the people of East Pakistan and their demand for provincial autonomy and political equality.

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<sup>82</sup> Burki, Javed, Shahid, Pakistan a Nation in the Making, Oxford, 1986, pp. 62-63.

<sup>83</sup> Rabbani, Ikram, Pakistan Affairs, Caravan Publishers 19<sup>th</sup> edition 2011, pp.152-160.

To calm down the situation in East Pakistan, General Yehya issued the PCO, whereby political activities were banned and fundamental rights were suspended. The PCO was, however, rejected by the people of East Pakistan, particularly the students. But, this was taken lenient by the military regime, which thought it to be a weakness of the people, which led towards the disintegration of the country.<sup>84</sup>

The other problem was that of labor. The laborers protested for reforms in the labor laws during the Ayub regime and that was also one of the reasons of his downfall. Yehya Khan paid much attention to this problem and assigned its responsibility to Air Marshal Noor Khan, who after consultation with the labor leaders made the following reforms in the labor laws:<sup>85</sup>

- The right of collective bargaining was restored.
- The right of strike and lock-out was also restored
- Trade union set-up was also restored
- It fixed the minimum wages of the workers.<sup>86</sup>

The people of East Pakistan did not like the economic policies of Ayub Khans. Yehya Khan, in order to tackle this problem, formed a financial institution, called Equality Participation Fund with its headquarters at Dhaka. This step was taken with the aim of uplifting the economically backward people of East and West Pakistan.

### **3.9 General Elections 1970**

Yehya Khan, in order to fulfill his promise, appointed a chief election commissioner on July 28<sup>th</sup> 1970 to conduct general elections. It was assigned the

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<sup>84</sup> Grover, Verinder, Arora, Rajana, Political System in Pakistan: Role of Military Dictatorship in Pakistan Politics, Peer Deep Publications, 1995,.pp. 313-314.

<sup>85</sup> Christopher, Candland,,Labour, Democratization in India and Pakistan,Routledge Publishers, 2007 pp. 41-43.

<sup>86</sup> Ahmad, Mushtaq, Government and politics in Pakistan, Royal book company 5<sup>th</sup> edition 2009,p. 320.

responsibility of preparing electoral rolls and demarcation of constituencies after abolishing of One Unit and merger of the princely states of Dir, Swat and Chitral with the NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). The next step was the promulgation of LFO on March 30<sup>th</sup> 1970, being a future guideline for the government with respect to transfer of power. The LFO set up the N.A. with 621 members, 310 from East Pakistan and 311 from West Pakistan.<sup>87</sup>

The N.A. was entrusted with the responsibility of framing constitution for the country within 120 days otherwise it would dissolve. All the political parties welcomed the decision of general elections. In East Pakistan, the Awami League of Sheikh Mujeeb issued its election manifesto based on his six points. And in West Pakistan, the PPP of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto sought to contest elections on the basis of economic issues. He jumped into the elections with his popular slogan, 'Rotti, Kapra and Makan' (food, shelter and clothes).<sup>88</sup>

Both the leaders applied agitation tactics for victory in the polls. They even went to that extent where the workers of one party started beating and disturbing the meetings of the others. The attitude of Awami League made it impossible to hold free and fair elections. Z.A Bhutto exploited the poor and ignorant masses by raising the slogan of 'Rotti, Kapra and Makan (food, Clothes, and Shelter). This was an unrealistic slogan, which got deep into the minds of the masses.

Apparently, Mujeeb had put forward his six-point agenda, but in fact he was in favor of a united Pakistan. He said time and again that his six points were negotiable.

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<sup>87</sup> Ahmad Mushtaq, Government and Politics in Pakistan, Royal book company 2009, p. 325.

<sup>88</sup> Burki, Javid, Shahid, Pakistan: A Nation in the Making, Oxford press, 1986, p. 64.

He once said that he would deal with an iron hand with all those workers, who wanted cession of Pakistan.<sup>89</sup>

When unexpectedly in the elections of 1970, the Awami League got an exceptional majority. The PPP and the military bureaucracy of the time were not willing to transfer power to it. This created a sense of curiosity in the minds of the people of East Pakistan. The military bureaucracy and the PPP leadership did so because they were devoid of a democratic vision and values. This resulted into the disintegration of East Pakistan in 1971. The norms of democracy demand that those, who got majority, must have the right to govern without caste and creed.<sup>90</sup>

In the elections, the Awami League got all the seats of East Pakistan, except two, which were won by the Buddhist Party. In the West Pakistan, the PPP got 82 seats. The Awami League got 75% votes in East Pakistan, but it did not have a single seat in West Pakistan. This manifests the integration level of the country. The PPP even did not contest elections in East Pakistan.<sup>91</sup>

According to the LFO, the N.A had to frame the constitution within 120 days. And it was left to Bhutto and Mujeeb to plan for the future government. But they failed to arrive at any conclusion. Mujeeb was not willing to compromise on his six points, keeping in view the mandate given to him by the people of East Pakistan. The rigid and uncompromising behavior of the leadership plunged the country into a debacle. On the other hand, the PPP leadership was not willing to have any constitution without its assent.

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<sup>89</sup> Arif, K.M, Working with Zia,,Oxford University press, 1988,p.20.

43 Razeshta, Sethna,,Seduction and Dark Democracy, Dawn March 6th,2011.

<sup>91</sup> Mehdi, Raza,Pakistan Today, Progressive publishers, Lahore, 1997, p.42.

Mujeeb's attitude had worried Yehya and Z.A Bhutto. Mujeeb had even made close contacts with the leadership of India, particularly Indra Gandhi. Meanwhile, Yehya Khan convened the session of N.A at Dhaka on 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1971. But, when Bhutto and Mujeeb failed to reach consensus, the former adopted a stern behavior and severally criticized six points of Awami League.

In such a situation, Bhutto demanded postponement of the N.A session and extension in the 120 days limit for framing the constitution. In a note of warning, he even said "Udar Tum Idar Hum (you there, we here)".<sup>92</sup>

Because of the prevailing situation, Yehya Khan postponed the N.A. session on March 1st, 1971. The Awami League took this serious and it requested the military leadership to give new date for the N.A session. The military leadership however, outrightly rejected this on 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 1971. The Awami League started a civil disobedience movement. To pressurize the authorities, Mujeeb directed his party workers not to cooperate with the government and to withhold taxes. The Flag of Pakistan and the portrait of Quaid-e-Azam were burnt.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 1971, Yehya invited prominent politicians from both the wings of Pakistan to discuss the holding of N.A session at some future date. Mujeeb rejected it. However, it was declared that the N.A session would be held on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1971 at Dhaka. Mujeeb put forward following demands to consider participation in the N.A session:<sup>93</sup>

- ❖ Removal of martial law
- ❖ Enquiry into the loss of lives

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<sup>92</sup> Rizvi, Askari, Hassan, Military and Politics, Oxford University Press, 1979, p. 242.

<sup>93</sup> Sher, A. Qayum, Pakistan Studies, Shirakat Printing press, Lahore, 1990, pp. 168-169.

❖ Transfer of power to the elected representatives

Mujeeb did not wait for the government's response and directed his party workers for killing and looting in East Pakistan. The Awami League workers killed all those, who were not in favor of Mujeeb's six points.

On March 15<sup>th</sup> 1971, Yehya rushed to Dhaka to meet Sheikh Mujeeb. He had also taken with himself prominent politicians from West Pakistan. In a meeting with Yehya Khan, Mujeeb demanded a loose confederation. In such a situation, Yehya ordered the military to restore law and order in East Pakistan. The leaders of Awami League, including Sheikh Mujeeb, were arrested. With this, a civil war started between the military and the workers of Awami League.

The law and order was restored there as a lot of Awami League workers fled to India. With this, India got a chance to intervene in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The Indian P.M said that it was a threat to their country and demanded withdrawal of all the people, who had entered the territory of India.<sup>94</sup> But the people said that they would go back to their country if there were a stable government there.

In between such a situation, an Indian airplane was hijacked and was taken to Lahore. Pakistan was blamed for that. Pakistani flights over the land of India were banned and with this the two wings of Pakistan were bifurcated.

In November 1971, Indian troops entered into the land of Pakistan and started fighting against its forces. On December 3rd 1971, a full-fledged war started between India and Pakistan. The forces of Pakistan could not face the Indian military and on 16<sup>th</sup> December, Pakistan was divided into two parts<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>94</sup> Anne, Noronha, Santos, Military Intervention and Secession in South Asia, 2007, p. 38.

This demoralized the army and Yahya Khan handed over power to Z.A Bhutto. The tragic end of East Pakistan was not surprising in the light of prevailing situation and the politicians' lust for power. It was mainly due to the failure of politicians that East Pakistan was amputated from Pakistan. The political scene was covered by Mujeeb and Bhutto and after the elections, their ambitions and desires for power pushed the country towards disintegration.

### **Phase Three**

#### **3.10 The Era of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1972-1977)**

The first phase of nationalization started in January 1972, when the government took control of thirty-one industrial units. A board of industrial management was formed under the chairmanship of Federal Minister for Production to manage the nationalized industrial units. This step was taken to put an end to the exploitation of the laborers and workers by the industrialists, who earn a lot by investing meager sum of amount. They amassed huge wealth because of non-intervention of the government in industries. Due to this, wealth concentrated in a few hands, which created economic disparity in the society. By taking such measures, public enterprises became an integral part of the state economy.<sup>95</sup>

The second phase of nationalization started in 1973 and ended with taking control of the rice husking units in 1976. During this phase, the industries of cooking

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<sup>95</sup> Rabbani, Ikram, *Pakistan Affairs*, Caravan Book House, 2011, p.160.

<sup>96</sup> Khalid, bin, Saeed, *Politics in Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, 1981, p. 98.

oils, sugar, and cotton were nationalized in order to stop hoarding, which caused price hikes of the essential commodities.

Besides this, private commercial banks were also nationalized to control the supply of capital and to regulate allocation of resources. Through nationalization, the government clipped the wings of industrialists. It greatly affected the twenty-two families, who had accumulated wealth during the Ayub regime.

The main aim of the government, by nationalizing industry and banks, was to establish socialist economy, which was its election slogan, but unfortunately this was not achieved. It also did not improve the economic condition of the poor people, who were the backbone of Pakistan people's party.

### **3.11 Agrarian Reforms**

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto wanted to stop exploitation of the tenants and other laborers at the hand of big landlords. He was of the opinion that the main obstruction in the way of agricultural development was the landlords.

He introduced agrarian reforms in 1972, putting restrictions on the area, which a single landlord can hold. No person could hold more than 150 acres irrigated and 300 non-irrigated lands in the first phase in 1972 and in the second phase in 1977, it was to further reduce to 100 acres irrigated and 200 non-irrigated lands. Finally it was fixed at 250 acres irrigated and 500 acres non-irrigated land.<sup>97</sup>

Had the policy implemented, it would have produced fruitful results.

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<sup>97</sup> Saeed, Shafqat, Civil Military Relations in Pakistan, West view Press, 1997, p. 150.

The other important element of the agrarian reforms was provision of the right of pre-emption to the existing tenants. It was aimed at ensuring security of tenure of the tenants.

In November 1975, the government exempted the small farmers holding up to 12 acres irrigated and 25 acres non-irrigated land from land revenue and other local taxes while taxes were increased on land holdings more than that limits.

### **3.12 Labour Reforms**

The main strength of the PPP came from the labor force and the middle class people therefore the party could not neglect them. The PPP government introduced labor reforms, whereby medical coverage, compensation for injuries at work, compulsory group insurance and safeguards against arbitrary termination of employment were guaranteed to the labors.

It was made the responsibility of the industrialists to bear the educational expenses of one child of each laborer. New rules regarding gratuity, bonus, and leave compensation at retirement were made. Maximum wage was fixed.<sup>98</sup>

Besides labor reforms, it also paid attention towards education and in March 1972, an educational policy was announced. Education was made compulsory and free. The education policy was divided into two phases. First phase was announced in October 1972, under which education was made compulsory and free up to class eight. The second phase, which began in October 1974, education was made compulsory and free up to class 10. To meet the requirements of free and compulsory education, new schools and colleges were opened.

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<sup>98</sup> Lan, Talbot, Pakistan a Modern History's Martin's Press, 1989, p. 232.

Privately owned educational institutions were nationalized and better service conditions were guaranteed to the employees of educational institutions.<sup>99</sup>

Side by side the education, proper attention was paid to the health sector. A health policy was devised. It was first time in the history of Pakistan that the need for health improvement was felt. The health policy, initiated by the PPP government, promised to provide medical coverage to all the people and to make it in the easy approach of the common people. Countrywide campaigns against malaria, small pox and cholera were started. New hospitals and dispensaries, equipped with medical equipment and staff, were opened.

### **3.13 Formation of 1973 Constitution**

One of the major achievements was the formation of the 1973 Constitution, which is still in force. It was adopted on the mutual consensus of all the political parties. In framing the said constitution, views of all the political parties were accommodated. With consensus, the presidential system was rejected and replaced by the parliamentary system. In a parliamentary form of government, the real powers vest with the P.M and his cabinet and the president is a titular head of the state. In such a system, the cabinet is held responsible to the legislature. This constitution embodied the aspirations of political parties and the people, due to which it is still in force. However, each successive government made a lot of amendments in it in order to make it suitable for retaining its power. This constitution was implemented on August 14th, 1973.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Henery,Korson, *Contemporary problems of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, Pakistan,, p. 122.

<sup>100</sup> Peter Blood, ed. *Pakistan: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994.  
<http://countrystudies.us/pakistan/> 8-6-2011 6:56 pm

Before enforcement of the new constitution election to the senate, it, s chairman and vice chairman and the president and prime minister were held. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was appointed P.M on 12 August 1973.after that the new constitution was enforced<sup>101</sup>.

### **3.14 General Elections 1977 and the fall of Bhutto**

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto overestimated his popularity among the masses and on January 7th, 1977 announced general elections to the national and provincial assemblies. March 7 and 10 were prescribed as polling days for national and provincial assemblies. The president dissolved the assemblies on the advice of the prime minister in accordance with the constitution. In fact Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was not satisfied with the parliamentary system and wanted to replace it with one, which required a 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority in the parliament to carry out amendment in the constitution. For the purpose, he launched a vigorous countrywide campaign.

On January 21, nine opposition parties formed an election alliance, named as PNA. The alliance attracted public attention and large crowds were seen in its meetings. On the other hand, its leaders were corrupt and inefficient and its workers were weak.

Elections were held in the country on the prescribed dates. The PPP got 4/5<sup>th</sup> of the total seats of N.A while the PNA managed to obtain less than 1/5<sup>th</sup>. The rest were won by the independents, who, following the tradition, sided with the ruling party. With the addition of independents, the PPP percentage of N.A seats increased to 81.5 %. The PPP received 58% votes while the PNA got 35%.

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<sup>101</sup> Khan Hamid, political and constitutional history of Pakistan, Oxford University Press Pakistan, 2007. p 291.

The election results were surprising, as the PPP became a majority party at the center. The PNA leveled allegations against the ruling party of a wide-scale electoral rigging, rejected the results and announced boycott of the provincial assembly elections, which were scheduled to be held on March 10.<sup>102</sup>

The PNA launched a massive movement against the PPP and secured resignation of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and impartial elections. The then COAS General Zia ul Haq overthrew the Bhutto government and dissolved the new assemblies. The Election Commission of Pakistan upheld the views of PNA. It was found that in a number of constituencies in Sindh, the number of casted votes exceeded the registered number of votes.<sup>103</sup>

The PNA leaders met on March 9, 1977 and took following decisions:

1. Elections to the provincial assemblies will be boycotted.
2. The PNA members of the National Assembly will resign from their membership.
3. Immediate resignation of the Chief Election Commissioner was demanded.
4. Strike was called on March 11th.
5. Fresh elections were demanded under the supervision of military and judiciary.

The PNA movement was very successful as only few voters could be seen at the polling stations on March 10.

On March 11, the strike was very effective. All the Bazaars were closed and vehicles could hardly be seen on the road. The strikers at some places in Sindh tried to obstruct railway track.

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<sup>102</sup> Javed, Shahid, Burkey, Pakistan under Bhutto, Macmillan press Hong Kong, 1988, PP. 176- 177.

<sup>103</sup> Ahmad, Manzoor u din, Contemporary Pakistan, Royal book company Lahore, 1982, p. 82.

Encouraged from the successful 11<sup>th</sup> March strike, the PNA launched a movement for the resignation of Bhutto and holding free and fair elections.

Z.A Bhutto felt weakened when some members of his party put their resignation and others stressed for holding fresh elections. Bhutto personally accepted electoral rigging in some constituencies and proposed to hold fresh elections there. He invited the PNA leadership for dialogue, but there was one demand at their lips that was the resignation of Z.A Bhutto.

## **Phase Four**

### **3.15 Second Military Rule in Pakistan: the Zia Regime (1977-1988)**

The regime of Z.A Bhutto was accused of violating the 1973 Constitution by introducing dictatorial amendments to it.

The central government was interfering with the affairs of the provincial governments and once it dissolved the Balochistan government. Such kind of measures created contention between the government and the opposition. Meanwhile, in 1977 general elections were held, in which the PPP got surprising majority. The opposition blamed the government for electoral rigging and in protest it boycotted the coming provincial assembly elections. This situation provided an opportunity to the COAS to take over the government. Z.A Bhutto was put under court trial, a verdict was passed against him and he was accordingly hanged<sup>104</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup> Mahmood, Safdar, *Pakistan Political Roots and Development*, 2003, p. 76.

### **3.16 Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO)**

In order to establish his government on sound footings, the CMLA issued the PCO in March 1981. The Constitution of 1973 was kept in abeyance. It was asserted in the said order that efforts will be made to restore democracy and to transfer power to the elected representatives as soon as possible. According to the PCO, the powers of the judiciary were clarified and political activities were banned throughout the country.<sup>105</sup>

On December 24, Majlis-e-Shoora (federal council) was established to assist the government in adopting the Islamic judicial system. General Zia, while addressing the first Shoora, which was formally formed in 1982 with 350 members, said that he wanted to transfer power to the elected bodies, for that he would restore the 1973 Constitution with some necessary amendments.

### **3.17 Amendments in 1973 Constitution:**

- Balance will be maintained between the powers of the president and the prime minister.
- The forces will have no constitutional role.
- The president will appoint a person as the P.M, who commands majority in the House.
- Elections will be held on basis of adult franchise.
- The president will have the authority to return a bill to the House for reconsideration.

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<sup>105</sup> Anthony, Hayman, *Pakistan Zia and After*, Shakti Publications, 1989, p. 46.

- The president can dissolve the N.A when he feels the need to hold fresh elections.
- The president in consultation with the Chief Justice will appoint the chief election commissioner.
- The president will be the supreme commander of the forces.
- The president will also appoint the provincial governors.
- The National Security Council will be established and emergency will be imposed in consultation with it. <sup>106</sup>

### **3.18 Election 1980**

After the promulgation of PCO and amendments in the constitution, Zia outlined his 18-month long political plan for holding elections of the representative bodies. This program was divided into two stages. In the first stage, the local bodies were to be elected for a five-year term. Special seats were reserved for peasants, workers and other depressed classes. Local body polls were held in 1983, in which 71767 members were elected to 4100 union councils, 84 district/agency councils, 129 municipal corporations, 285 town committees and 39 cantonment boards.<sup>107</sup>

In the second stage, elections to the National and provincial assemblies, and the Senate were to be held. Zia promised said that after the completion of this process, martial law would be lifted and democracy restored. There was one major flaw in this plan and which was that the procedure for the election of president was not outlined. The political parties, saying that it was nothing but a plan to prolong martial law only, rejected the 18-month long political program.

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<sup>106</sup> M.G, Chitkara, Converts do not Make a Nation, Nangia Press APH Publishing Corporation, 1989, p. 146.

<sup>107</sup> G.W, Choudhry, Pakistan study, progressive publishers, Lahore, p. 62.

### **3.19 National Referendum 1984**

The political parties rejected Zia's political plan because it did not provide the procedure for the election of the president. The political parties grouped together and formed the MRD for the restoration of democracy. In such a situation, there was no way left for Zia to legitimize his position. He issued an order for holding of referendum in 1984.

The question, which was put forward for referendum was: Whether the people of Pakistan want the Islamization process initiated by General Zia ul Haq? It was to be answered either in yes or no. The referendum was held on December 19, 1984 and 97.7 % people voted in favor of Zia. As a result of this, Zia became the President of Pakistan for five years. He took advantage of the Islamic zeal of the people for strengthening hold on the government<sup>108</sup>

### **3.20 Election 1985**

After becoming the President, Zia announced that the elections of the national and provincial assemblies would be held in February 1985. He prescribed some specific rules for the polls, which were: elections would be held on non-party basis with adult franchise, separate electorates system would be followed for the Muslims and non-Muslims and the strength of the National and provincial assemblies and the Senate were increased. The elections were held in March 1985. These were the only elections, which were termed free of rigging and fraud. Most of the ministers of Zia were defeated. After the elections, it became too difficult that who should form the government at the center and the provinces, as the polls were held on non-party basis.

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<sup>108</sup>Mehdi, Raza, Pakistan Today, Progressive publishers, Lahore, 1978, p. 56.

After thorough deliberations, a joint session of the Parliament was convened on March 23, 1985, where Zia was sworn in as President and Muhammad Khan Junejo was appointed as the Prime Minister.<sup>109</sup>

Soon after taking oath as Prime Minister, Junejo started work on getting the approval of Parliament for the 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment and other orders passed by martial law regime. This move was strongly rejected by the opposition members. They even rejected the President's choice for the office of the National Assembly Speaker and got elected Fakhar Imam instead of Khwaja Muhammad Safdar. This added to the contention between the President and the opposition.

After elections and installation of a civilian elected government, no valid ground was left for Zia to remain as CMLA, so he lifted martial law on December 30th, 1985.

### **3.21 Dissolution of the Government Junejo**

During the premiership of Junejo, a major incident took place at Ojri Camp in Rawalpindi. This was an ammunition depot, which caught fire and the missiles, which were stored there, were fired in all directions killing a lot of people and damaging precious property. All that occurred due to the negligence of military. Prime Minister Junejo wanted to dismiss General Akhtar Abdurehman and General Hamid Khan for their negligence in Ojri Camp incident.<sup>110</sup>

Before that Junejo could have taken action against the generals, the President dismissed his government on May 29<sup>th</sup> 1988, using discretionary power obtained by

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<sup>109</sup>Blood, Peter, Pakistan: A Country Study, Washington, GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994.  
Source: <http://countrystudies.us/pakistan/8-6-20011 7;3 pm>

<sup>110</sup> Yaseen, Rizvi,,Election, 90 Pakistan, Shirakat Printing Press, Lahore, 1990, p. 26.

him under the 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment in the constitution. Both the generals were close friends of Zia.

The longest premiership of Pakistan was dismissed arbitrarily and out of the context of the domestic politics. Unfortunately Zia died in a plane crash on 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1988 at Bahawalpur.

## Phase Five

### 3.22 The Unstable Democracy (1988-1999): Government of Benazir Bhutto (First term 1988-1990)

On August 17th, 1988, Zia ul Haq along with few other generals and the U.S Ambassador, died in a plane crash in the desert of Bahawalpur. Soon after Zia's death, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Senate Chairman, assumed the office of president

Benazir Bhutto filed a petition in the Supreme Court for holding elections. The Supreme Court upheld her petition and the Acting President declared to hold general elections on party basis. The elections to the N.A. and provincial assemblies were held on November 16 and 19, 1988 respectively. The PPP won 93 N.A. seats and the IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad) got 60 seats. In the by-elections, the IJI got seven more seats and the PPP won five seats.<sup>111</sup>

Benazir, being the head of the party having majority in the N.A., was asked by the President to form the government. The session of the assembly was convened on November 30.

<sup>112</sup>She took oath as Prime Minister on December 1<sup>st</sup> 1988. After assuming the office of Prime Minister by her, it appeared that the dream of the PPP workers was fulfilled.  
Election to the office of the President:

After the formation of the government, election to the office of the President was held on December 12th, 1988. Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan contested for the said office. Ghulam Ishaq Khan won by 348 votes against 91.

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<sup>111</sup> Aziz, Sartaj, Between Dreams and Realities, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 97- 98.

<sup>112</sup> Hamid, Yousaf, Pakistan, :A study of Political Development, 1947-1997, Vanguard Publishers, p.220.

### **3.23 Dissolution of the Balochistan Assembly**

The first important event, which took place during the government of Benazir Bhutto and within two weeks of its formation, was the dissolution of Balochistan Assembly by Governor General Musa Khan on the advice of the Chief Minister. The federal government was blamed for it. However, the federal government assured that it has no hand in the dissolution of the assembly and that soon it would be restored. But before that, the High Court of Balochistan restored the provincial government.

After this incident, the traditional confrontation between the government and the opposition started. This hostility created rifts between the central government and the IJI government of Punjab.

The central government, in order to hold complete hold on the country, devised a strategy to destabilize the PML-led IJI government in Punjab. The PPP started luring few independent legislators in the Punjab Assembly by offering incentives to them. A complete struggle for the subjugation of each other started. Due to this, no business could be held on the floor of assemblies. The people became fed up of that and desired an end to the uncertain situation.<sup>113</sup>

### **3.24 Dissolution of Benazir Government**

Benazir Bhutto was averse to the 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the constitution before coming to power as it had given discretionary power to the President to dissolve the N.A.

The PPP government had not got the required 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority to remove the hurdles in its way. However, it started a campaign to that effect. President Ghulam

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<sup>113</sup> Aziz, Sartaj, Between Dreams and Realities, Oxford press, 2009, p. 99.

Ishaq Khan as Benazir wanted to curtail his powers took this much serious. The PPP government was fully involved in corruption and favoritism. Benazir appointed her mother as senior minister and kept three portfolios herself.

In Sindh, there was an alliance between the MQM and the PPP. As there was a wide difference in their policies, the two parties could not go together.<sup>114</sup>

Soon after this, a no-confidence motion was set against the PPP government and the MQM workers started killing innocent people in Karachi and Hyderabad.

Amid these circumstances, Benazir Bhutto announced the retirement of CJCSC Iftikhar Sirohi. The President reacted very sharply and declared that it was the power of the President to retire or appoint the authorities of forces and not of the P.M, according to 1973 Constitution. The political situation at the center worsened along with law and order situation in the country. The prevailing political situation in country compelled the President to dismiss the Benazir government on 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1990.<sup>115</sup>

### **3.25 Nawaz Sharif Governments (1990-1993)**

After the dissolution of Benazir government, N.A. elections were held on October 29<sup>th</sup> 1990. The two major groups contesting the elections were the IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad) and the PDA (Pakistan Democratic Alliance). The IJI was led by the PML (N) headed by Nawaz Sharif and the PDA was led by PPP headed by Benazir Bhutto. The PML (N) was an ally of the IJI and the PPP was that of the PDA. In the

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<sup>114</sup> Aziz, Sartaj, Between Dreams and Realities, Oxford press, 2009, p. 102.

<sup>115</sup> Rizvi, Yaseen, election, 90 pakistan, shirakat printing press Lahore 1990, pp. 69-70.

elections, the PPP got 46 N.A. seats and its ally no seat while the IJI won 105 N.A. seats and majority in the four provinces.<sup>116</sup>

The IJI, with simple majority, was in a position to form the government but its leadership decided to include non-IJI groups, such as the MQM and the JUP (Niazi) in the cabinet. This was one of the commendable steps taken by Nawaz Sharif, who was made the P.M of Pakistan on Nov 6, 1990. Nawaz Sharif pledged to provide speedy justice, work for the economic uplift of the country and support the Muslims all over the world.

For the economic uplift of the country, the privatizations program was initiated. Initially 115 units were privatized. This was in line with the modern economic policies.

Besides this, he also initiated a yellow cab scheme, which had dual objectives, i.e., to provide jobs to the unemployed and to fulfill the needs of the public transport. The construction of motorway also started during the premiership of Nawaz Sharif.

### **3.26 Dissolution of Nawaz Sharif Government**

Initially the relations between the P.M and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan were friendly. Nawaz Sharif, when he was C.M of Punjab, has supported the President. But the friendly relations between them could not last longer. Their ties became sour on the occasion of the appointment COAS. After the death of General Asif Nawaz on January 8<sup>th</sup> 1993, both of them wanted to have their own person as the COAS. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, using his discretionary power provided to him by the 8<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Pakistan a country study, by federal research division,2010, p. 252.

Amendment, appointed General Abdul Waheed Kakar as the COAS. On being ignored, Nawaz Sharif made up his mind to set aside the notorious 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment.<sup>117</sup>

But unfortunately, Nawaz Sharif did not have the required majority in the parliament to repel the 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment from constitution. So he approached the opposition for support. In such a situation, Benazir Bhutto played a very clever role. On one side, she assured Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of her support and on the other she gave assurance the President of her backing and also promised to support him in the next presidential election.

It added fuel to the fire when the widow of late General Asif Nawaz blamed the government for the murder of her husband. From this, Nawaz Sharif felt that it was a conspiracy against him from the presidential quarters. On April 17<sup>th</sup> 1993, Nawaz Sharif addressed to the nation and leveled allegations against the President for conspiring to dissolve his government. The very next day, the President dissolved the government and announced that election to the N.A would be held on July 14th, 1993.

Mir Balkh Sher Mazari was made the caretaker P.M.<sup>118</sup>

Nawaz Sharif challenged the President's action against his government in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The apex Court upheld his plea, declared the action of President illegal and unconstitutional, and restored the Nawaz government.

The President along with the PPP started conspiracies against the Nawaz government. Finally, Nawaz Sharif was compelled to resign. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was also made to quit under an agreement reached with the help of the military.

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<sup>117</sup>Paula, R. Newberg, *Judging the State: Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 218-220.

<sup>118</sup>Corinne, J, Naden, Benazir Bhutto, Michelle Bison Publishers, 2011, pp.65-66.

### **3.27 PPP Returns to Government, Benazir Government (1993-1996)**

Following the dissolution of Nawaz government, elections were held to the N.A and provincial assemblies on 6<sup>th</sup> and October 9<sup>th</sup> 1993 respectively. In this election, the PPP got 86 seats and the PML (N) 72 seats. The PPP managed to form the government with the help of PML (J), independents and minorities representatives. It also formed governments in Sindh and NWFP, while the PML (N) formed governments in Balochistan and Punjab. Benazir Bhutto became the P.M for the 2<sup>nd</sup> time on 19<sup>th</sup> October, 1993. Then elections for the presidency were held, which were won by Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari of the PPP by securing 274 votes against 186 by Wasim Sajjad.<sup>119</sup>

### **3.28 Performance of the ppp Government**

Like the previous one, the performance of the PPP government this time was not satisfactory. Democratic norms were frequently violated, as the decision-making was shifted to the P.M Secretariat instead of the cabinet and the parliament. The economic conditions of the country deteriorated because of the defective policies of the government. Major industrial units were shut down due to the government's financial policies.

The PPP workers indulged in corruption and favoritism and the party had no control over its members of National and provincial assemblies. Lawlessness could be seen everywhere.

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<sup>119</sup> Waseem, Muhammad, *Election 1993 in Pakistan*, Vanguard Publishers, 1994, pp. 147-148.

Besides this, the relations between the government and the judiciary were also not good due to the appointment of judges. In such a situation, the Jamat-e- Islami give sit-in, in front of the parliament to compel the government to resign.<sup>120</sup>

Because of the above-mentioned situation, President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, in order to save the country and its wealth, dissolved the Benazir government on November 5th 1996. Malik Miraj Khalid was made the caretaker P.M. Benazir challenged the President's action in the S.C, which did not uphold her plea and did not restore her government.<sup>121</sup>

### **3.29 Nawaz Sharif Governments (1996-1999)**

Following the dissolution of PPP government, fresh elections were held on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1997. The PPP and the PML (N) were the two main opponents in the polls. The PML (N) got an amazing majority in the election. Benazir Bhutto leveled allegations of electoral rigging against the President.

Nawaz Sharif became the P.M on February 13th, 1997. This time he was the most powerful premier because he had 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority in the National Assembly at his back.

The 1997 elections were free of rigging and the voters cast their votes in a mature way. This strengthened the evolution of democracy in the country.

This time Nawaz Sharif was mature and developed friendly working relations with the President. He passed a bill for the deletion of 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment from the constitution and done, the President sign it. With this, the discretionary power of

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<sup>120</sup> Bahadur, Kalim, Democracy in Pakistan: Crisis and Conflicts, Har Anand Publications, Delhi, 1898, p. 46.

<sup>121</sup> Dutt, Sanjay, India's Pakistan 52 years outlooks, Nangia APH Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 2000, p. 26.

dissolving the National Assembly was taken from the President. This was the first challenge; the PML (N) government faced and got over it successfully.

### **3.30 Economic Policies**

For the recovery of budget deficit and debt retirement, Nawaz Sharif started the “Qarz Utaro Mulk Sanwaro” scheme.<sup>122</sup>

The people responded to it with great zeal and showed much faith in the leadership of Nawaz Sharif. But payment of such a huge debt was not possible with this scheme. He also initiated a fixed term deposit scheme in order to get funds for improving the economy, but it did not have any fruitful results.

Accountability:

Nawaz Sharif, during election campaign, had promised to the nation that he would work for the elimination of corruption from the society and recover its plundered and looted wealth. For the purpose, he set up an accountability bureau with Senator Saif ur Rehman as its chairman. Saif was empowered to deal with all those, who had amassed wealth illegally. The bureau did much for the eradication of corruption and the recovery of national wealth. CDA Chairman Shafi Sehwani was sentenced to five-year imprisonment with Rs. one million fines on April 30<sup>th</sup> 1997. The other example is that of the resignation of the Naval Chief on the ground of corruption. This in fact warned all the people to abstain from corruption. He set an example for the future governments.

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<sup>122</sup> Baxter, Craig, and Kennedy, Charles, West view press 1989, p-1

### **3.31 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment in the Constitution**

The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment in the constitution is another achievement of the Nawaz Sharif government. Under this amendment, floor-crossing, horse-trading and party defections were made illegal. The anti-defection bill was moved in the parliament and was passed unanimously.

It was during the second term of Nawaz Sharif that Pakistan became a nuclear power. His government responded to the Indian nuclear test on 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1998 at Chaghi and thus maintained a balance with India.

The whole country was on the way of progress and prosperity but unfortunately on October 12th 1999, COAS General Pervez Musharaf overthrew the Nawaz government.

## **Phase Six**

### **Third Military Rule in Pakistan (1999-2008)**

#### **3.32 Background of the Military Takeover**

Nawaz Sharif's interference in military affairs estranges his relations with it. On October 5<sup>th</sup> 1998, Chief of the Army Staff General Jehangir Kiramat, while addressing at Naval War College, proposed the establishment of National Security Council to deal with the national problems of the country. Nawaz Sharif took it as an intervention in politics and on 7<sup>th</sup> October, the COAS was compelled to resign. This was taken as humiliation by the Pakistan Army.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Khan, Hamid, Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 485-487.

He appointed General Pervez Musharaf as the Chief of the Army Staff, in supersession of one senior general. Besides this, in order to keep hold on power, he made the Chief Justice to resign. Through the 13<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment, he curtailed the powers of the President and through the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment; he curtailed the powers of the parliament.<sup>124</sup>

The Kargil crisis added fuel to the fire and the relations between the government and the military became further tense. Nawaz Sharif was not satisfied of General Pervez Musharaf and wanted to oust him from the office. The Lahore Declaration had normalized the relations between India and Pakistan. But the Kargil crisis again strained the ties. In the Kargil region, Mujahideen, supported by Pak Army, occupied few mountain peaks. The Indian Army ejected the Pak Army personnel. A war started between the two countries. The Pak Army entrapped the Indian military, but due to Indian propaganda, Pakistan was blamed for all the fiasco. Nawaz Sharif unilaterally went to the United States, signed an agreement there and declared ceasefire. During retreat, a lot of Pak Army Jawans were martyred. The military blamed Nawaz Sharif for all of this.<sup>125</sup>

The Kargil issue strained the relations between the government and the military. On October 12th, 1999, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif appointed General Ziaudin as the new Chief of Army Staff in place of General Pervez Musharaf, who was returning to Pakistan after an official visit to Sri Lanka. The plane with Pervez Musharaf on board was not allowed to land at any airport of Pakistan. Instead its pilot

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<sup>124</sup> Askari, Hassan, Rizvi, Pakistan in 1999: Back to Square one, University of California press, Volume .40 no.1 (Jan/Feb) 2010.

Source. <http://www.Jstor.org/stable>

<sup>125</sup> Bianda M. Chengappa, senior fellow, IDSA, "fourth military take over"  
<http://idsa-india.org/an-dec9-2.html> 04-06-2011, 6:53 pm

was instructed to land somewhere in Gulf countries. Since the plane was short of fuel and was not able to go to the Gulf countries, so it was allowed to land at Nawabshah. However, the military took over the control of important places, including Karachi airport and the plane landed there.

Soon on television channels, it was announced that after a while Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharaf would address the nation.

In his address to the nation, General Musharaf said he took over the reign of the government to save the country from further destabilization. The military decided not to impose martial law in the country and instead an innovative system was introduced in the country.

On October 14, 1999, General Musharaf imposed emergency in the country and became the chief executive. The constitution was temporarily suspended and the President was allowed to function. The N.A, the Senate and the provincial assemblies were dismissed and the Provisional Constitutional Order was issued.<sup>126</sup>

### **3.33 Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO)**

According to it, it was decided that all the courts of the country would function according to the constitution and the country would be governed according to the constitution as nearly as possible.

No court would pass any order against the chief executive.

The PCO guaranteed fundamental rights provided that they might not be in conflict with the terms of the emergency.

The President was to act on the advice of the chief executive.

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<sup>126</sup> V.A, Pai, Panandiker, Problems of Governance in South Asia, Konark Publishers, 2000, pp. 220-225.

All laws of the state without constitution would be in force.

The PCO also provided for National Security Council to be headed by the chief executive. Its other members would be the Chief of the Air Staff, the Chief of the Naval Staff and three experts in finance, law and foreign affairs.

On October 17<sup>th</sup> 1999 in his address to the nation, Gen Musharaf announced his following seven-point agenda:

- ❖ Re-building of national confidence and morale.
- ❖ Strengthening of federation by restoration of provincial harmony and national cohesion.
- ❖ Revival of economy by restoration of the confidence of the investors.
- ❖ Ensuring law and order and speedy justice.
- ❖ Depoliticization of the state institutions.
- ❖ Devolution of power to gross root level.
- ❖ Ensuring accountability.<sup>127</sup>

### **3.34 Nawaz Sharif's Trial for Hijacking the Plane**

Nawaz Sharif was tried for hijacking the plane. The trial took place at Karachi by Special Judge Rehmat Ali Jaffari. The court found Nawaz Sharif guilty and a decree of life imprisonment was passed against him on 6th April, 2000 while his accomplices were acquitted. Later on Nawaz Sharif left for Saudi Arabia with his family under an agreement with the military government.<sup>128</sup>

The fact is that the military takeover was pre-decided. How was it possible that the chief was in the air and the military took control of all the important places of the state?

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<sup>127</sup>Craig, Baxter, *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society*, Lexington Books Publishers, 2004, p. 55.

<sup>128</sup>Dixit, Nath, *Jyotindra, India Pak in War and Peace*, Routledge Publishers, 2001, p. 373.

The Supreme Court legitimized the military government. Petitions for the restoration of assemblies were heard by a bench composed of twelve judges of the Supreme Court, presided by Justice Irshad Hassan Khan. The bench, in its verdict, upheld the military takeover on the basis of state necessity.<sup>129</sup>

### **3.35 From Chief Executive to the President.**

After the Supreme Court's validation, the military government got confidence and on 20th June, 2001, the chief executive removed President Rafiq Tarar without any resignation or the expiry of the term of his office by promulgation of the President's Succession Order 2001. Pervez Musharaf himself became the president till the selection of new one.

Justice Irshad Hassan Khan administered oath of the office of president without any consideration of the illegitimacy and unconstitutionality of the act. The only argument, which the military put forward in support of this action, was that the chief executive was soon going to India for dialogue on bilateral issues and the office of president was best suited for that.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> THE Herald, Volume 37, 2006.

<sup>130</sup> Shoib, Muhammad, Trade Liberalization and Regional Disparity in Pak, Routledge Publishers, 2009, p. 30.

### **3.36 9/11 Incident and the Pervez Musharaf Regime**

The 9/11 incidents completely changed the world political scenario. It had greater repercussions on the politics of Pakistan and its other neighboring countries. The government of U.S.A. blamed Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, headed by Osama Bin Laden for the said incident.

Pakistan was the strong supporter of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The U.S.A pressurized Pakistan to help eliminate the Taliban movement and other terrorists.

General Pervez Musharaf, due to dire consequences, accepted all the demands of the U.S government, without consulting anyone. He reversed the policy of Pakistan regarding Afghanistan and supported U.S attacks on that country to topple the Taliban regime. The military government provided basis for the U.S forces and also agreed to share intelligence services with it. The situation gave Pervez Musharaf an opportunity to prolong his power with the support of the U.S.A.<sup>131</sup>

Appointment of Irshad Hassan Khan as the Chief Justice of Pakistan:

The military government appointed Irshad Hassan Khan as the Chief Justice of Pakistan, violating the principle of seniority and in the process some senior judges of the apex Court were superseded. Likewise, the new Chief Justice appointed some junior judges of the high courts as the judges of Supreme Court.

This move was challenged in the Supreme Court. However, the Supreme Court, headed by Justice Sheikh Riaz, upheld these appointments. The bench claimed that in the constitution of Pakistan, the principle of seniority is not essential for the

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<sup>131</sup> Wynbrandt,James,Brief History of Pakistan, InfoBase Publishing,2000,pp. 231-232.

appointment of Chief Justice and other judges of the Supreme Court. In fact, the military government did that for which it blamed the Nawaz Sharif government.<sup>132</sup>

### **3.37 Referendum 2002**

General Pervez Musharaf, following the convention set by the past military rulers, announced holding of referendum on 8th April, 2002. The following question was put to referendum, which was to be answered in either yes or no:

“For the continuation of the system of local government, establishment of democracy, continuation and stability of reforms, elimination of sectarianism and extremism and attainment of the ideals of Quaid-e- Azam”, do you want Pervez Musharaf to be the president of Pakistan for five years.<sup>133</sup>

Approximately 97% people of the country voted in favor of General Pervez Musharaf to be the president for the next five years. In this referendum, there were no electoral lists and the people were free to poll anywhere as many votes as one can. The referendum was conducted under the supervision of the Chief Election Commissioner. Due to illegal practices in the referendum, one of the members of the commission, Justice Tariq resigned from his services and later he resigned from the High Court of Balochistan also.

The said referendum was challenged in a number of petitions filed in the Supreme Court. There is a special procedure for the appointment of the President provided in the Constitution of 1973. There is nothing in the constitution regarding holding referendum for the appointment of the President. But on 27th April, 2002, the Supreme Court upheld the referendum conducted by the military government for the

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<sup>132</sup> Waseem, Muhammad, *Democratization in Pakistan: Study of 2002 Election*, Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 91.

<sup>133</sup> Wynbrandt, James, *Brief History of Pakistan*, InfoBase Publishing, 200, pp. 260-261.

appointment of the President. It was validated on the grounds that appeal to the people of Pakistan could not be termed undemocratic and unconstitutional.

### **3.38 Local Government Reforms**

The real test of good governance is democracy. Democracy, in order to be effective, must be indigenized and localized. It should be the behavior pattern, value system and way of life of the activist citizens.<sup>134</sup>

In order to transfer power to gross root level, as annunciated in the seven-point agenda, the military government introduced local body reforms. Every military government in the country used local bodies in order to stabilize their respective regimes and to create their own political cadre.

The Pervez Musharaf government introduced local body reforms contrary to those of Ayub Khan and Zia. He introduced a district government system composed of three tiers. At the base of the system was Union Council headed by Union Council Nazim and Naib Nazim directly elected by the people. Above that was Tehsil Council headed by Nazim and Naib Nazim to function at Tehsil level. At the top was District Council presided by District Nazim and Naib Nazim. The members of Union Councils indirectly elected the members of the Tehsil and District councils.

This system had some serious repercussions. Instead of devolution of power, it centralized it as everyone was looking to Pervez Musharaf. It diminished the role of the provincial assemblies. The tier at division level, which could coordinate the activities of the provincial and district governments, was skipped over from the system. At that time there were two systems functioning at district level, one was

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<sup>134</sup> Azam, Ikram, Pakistan 1989-2003: The Pakistan futuristic foundation and institute Islam Abad, 2003, p. 179.

the traditional deputy commissioner administration system and the second the military-introduced local government. The dual district administration systems confused the people to whom to approach for the redressal of their grievances. The local governments were introduced in order to have their own political cadre in the coming general elections.

### **3.39 Legal Frame Work Order 2002**

For strengthening his hold on the government, Pervez Musharaf wanted to make amendments in the constitution. He assigned this task to the chief of NRB Lt. General Tanveer Naqvi. For this purpose, he consulted constitutional experts, both at home and abroad. In order to know the public opinion regarding amendments in the constitution, he initially introduced two amendments in the constitution. One was for sustainable democracy and the other for strengthening institutions. The people protested against these constitutional amendments and the lawyer bodies totally rejected them. They were of the opinion that Pervez Musharaf had no right to change the constitution and the proposed amendments would undermine the powers of the parliamentary system. In such a situation, Musharaf had no option than to promulgate the Legal Frame Work Order .<sup>135</sup>

Following were the important features of LFO:

- ✓ For the selection of the office-bearers, every political party is required to conduct election within the party.
- ✓ In case of dispute over a bill between the two parties, the bill will be put to mediation committee composed of 16 members from each House.

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<sup>135</sup> John, Wilson, Pakistan: The Struggle With in, Library of Congress Publications, 2009, pp. 107-108.

- ✓ The money bill will be initiated in the Lower House and its copy must be forwarded to the Senate for recommendation. However the N.A can pass a money bill with or without taking into consideration the recommendation of the Senate.
- ✓ Musharaf will leave the office of the chief executive on the day determined by him in accordance with the judgment of Zafar Ali Shah Case.
- ✓ He will hold the office of the president for five years.
- ✓ The N.A seats were increased to 342 with 60 seats reserved for women and 10 seats for non-Muslims. In the same way the membership of the provincial assemblies was also increased. The membership of Senate was increased to 100.
- ✓ Article 58(2) (b) was revived by 13th Amendment to the constitution, which empowered the president to dissolve the N.A at his discretion.
- ✓ It was added to Article 63 of the Constitution of 1973 that defaulters of a bank / cooperative society amounting to two million were disqualified from taking part in election. A person sentenced to imprisonment or a defaulter of government utility bill was also disqualified.<sup>136</sup>
- ✓ Article 63(A) was changed and now it would be applicable to a member of political party, who votes against his party either in the election of C.M / P.M or votes against money bill / a vote of confidence. It would also apply to a member of parliament, if composed of a single political party in a House, on

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<sup>136</sup> Khan, Hamid, Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, Oxford Press, pak, 2007, pp. 297-298.

his resignation from the membership of that political party or joining another political party.

- ✓ Bill passed by both the houses of parliament would be presented to the president for his assent; he may return the bill to the parliament for reconsideration. However, the bill can only be passed with or without amendments by the parliament after going through the process of mediation.
- ✓ The president will appoint governors of the provinces after consultation with the P.M.
- ✓ Article 112(2) (B) was revived thus conferring discretionary power on a Governor to dissolve provincial assembly subject to the approval of the president.
- ✓ Article 140 A was added whereby constitutional status was provided to the local body system.
- ✓ Article 152 A was revived and it was added to it that the four men in uniform namely, CJCSC and the chiefs of the three forces, were included in National Security Council. Their functions were consultation on strategic matters like sovereignty, integrity and security of the state and democracy, governance and inter-provincial harmony.
- ✓ Article 209 was modified and it empowered the Supreme Judicial Council to enquire the matters of the misconduct of the judges.
- ✓ Including four judges of the high court, one from each province, enlarged the membership of the Election Commission.

- ✓ A new provision was added whereby the president would appoint caretaker government on the dissolution of the N.A. The governors would have the same powers in the province.
- ✓ Article 217(13) has been added validating all the laws made during the suspension of the constitution.
- ✓ Article 270 (b) was added declaring all the judges, who took oath of the office under the Oath of the Office of the Judges Order 2002, would be deemed to have been appointed under the constitution. Contrary to that would cease to hold office.

After going through the LFO it could be said that it was an attempt to rewrite the constitution by the military ruler and to subordinate it to the will of the president.<sup>137</sup>

The original Constitution of 1973 provides that the president would dissolve N.A after consultation with the P.M. But by reviving Article 58(2) (b) the president was empowered with discretionary power to dissolve the N.A. This move of the dictator completely impaired the parliamentary system. The P.M and the cabinet were made subordinate to the president. Because of this the president from 1985-1999, which destabilized democracy, dissolved a lot of governments.

The revival of Article 112(2) (b), whereby it was provided that for the appointment of the provincial governors prior approval of the president was made essential, was serious blow to the provincial autonomy.

By the inclusion of the three services chiefs into the NSC, the civilian authority was subordinated to the military.

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<sup>137</sup> Aziz, Mehar, *Military Control in Pakistan: The Parallel State*, Rutledge Publishers, 2007, pp. 27-29.

The LFO allowed the president to be in uniform. This in fact impaired the democratic nature of the state. Article 43 of the Constitution provides that the president cannot hold any office of profit in the service of Pakistan. But Pervez Musharaf, the then President of Pakistan, was also the Chief of the Army Staff and was receiving remuneration from there. This was an illegal and unconstitutional act, legalized by the LFO. This was another blow to democracy, whereby constitution is regarded as the supreme law of the land.

The LFO increased the number of the members of the assemblies and the Senate without any logical reason.

The LFO was an attempt to establish that the civil society and its institutions were inferior to the military and its leadership.

### **3.40 General Elections 2002**

On 16th October, the Election Commission of Pakistan announced that general elections would be held on October 10. The military government formed a new party of those members, who had either left the PPP or the PML (N) and was named as PML (Q). Those politicians, who were under investigation of the NAB, were easily persuaded by the military to join the king's party. Subsequently their cases were withdrawn from the NAB. The others, who became the members of the said party, were bank defaulters and they were also let off on some favorable terms. In order to get majority in the parliament, the ruling elite used all tactics, both legal or illegal, and constitutional or unconstitutional. The whole governmental machinery was active in the support of the newly established party.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Aziz, Sartj, Between Dreams and Realities, Oxford Press, 2009, pp. 298-299.

The other important event of the elections was the formation of the alliance of six major religious political parties, called as MMA (Mutahida Majlis-e- Amal)<sup>139</sup>.

The 10th October polling was termed flawed and serious allegations of rigging were leveled. The European observers termed the elections of rigging and other electoral abuses due to government intervention in the polling process.

The results of some polling stations in Punjab were delayed and those candidates, who had lost, were declared successful the next morning.

Despite rigging in the elections, the king's party could not get the required number of seats to form the government. Unfortunately with the efforts of NAB and ISI, ten members of the PPP Parliamentarian left the party and made a forward block, called Patriots. Six ministries were given to them. For this Article 63 A, which prohibits floor crossing, was suspended. The article was later revived with amendment that once a member, who left the party, would not return to it. This was done with the aim to debar the Patriots going back to their original party, which otherwise, may destabilize the government.

On October 24th, 2002, Zafarullah Jamali was appointed as the P.M. He was rubber stamp in the hands of the president. After two years he quit the office as advised. After him, Choudhry Shujaat was made the P.M., who was replaced by Shoukat Aziz after six months.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> John, Wilson, "Pakistan the Struggle with in, Library of Congress Publications, 2009, p. 108.

<sup>140</sup> Craig, Baxter, *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society*, Oxford Press, 2004, p.101.

### 3.41 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1973 Constitution

There was a tussle between the opposition in the parliament and President General Pervez Musharaf since October 2002. The session of N.A was delayed. A dispute occurred on November, 16th 2002, when the opposition members refused to take oath under the LFO. They declared that they would not take oath under the LFO, but only on the constitution that was in force before October 12th 1999. The opposition member in the parliament kept protesting against the LFO and the Houses could take up no business. A number of rounds of talks were held between the government and the opposition. Finally an agreement was signed between the government amend the opposition. Important points of the agreement were:<sup>141</sup>

- ✓ Extension in the retirement age of the judges of Supreme Court would be withdrawn.
- ✓ The discretionary power of dissolution of the N.A given to the President under Article 58(2)((b) and similar power given to the Governors in the provinces under Article 112(2) (b) would be referable to the Supreme Court within 15 days of such exercise.
- ✓ Musharaf would seek vote of confidence from the parliament and the four provincial assemblies.<sup>1</sup> The President, in the appointment of the chiefs of the forces, would consult the P.M though this will not be binding on the President.
- ✓ Musharaf will vacate the office of chief executive by December 2004.

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<sup>141</sup> Kennedy H Charles, Pakistan in 2004, Runing very fast to stay in the same place  
Jstor :Asian Survey Volume 45, no. 1(JAN/ Feb) Source :<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.1525/as.2005-45.1.105>



In 2008, general elections were held, after the completion of five-year tenure of Pervez Musharaf government. As a result of the elections, the PPP and the PML (N) formed a coalition government. The coalition government pressurized Pervez Musharaf for impeachment and to resign from his post. He could not withstand the pressure of the coalition government and resigned on 18th August, 2008, after ruling the country illegally for nine years. He is the only president, who got for him a safe exit and to live in the country. The fact of the matter is that he tried to get the help of everyone but all in vain. No one was ready to support him. Even the U.S Secretary of State said that impeachment of the president was the internal matter of Pakistan.<sup>142</sup>

### **3.42 The Government of PPP under Asif Ali Zardari**

In the 2008 elections, the PPP got majority seats in the parliament and also in the province of Sindh. It formed the government at the center with the help of allies. Yousaf Raza Gilani was made the P.M. of the country. Gilani after taking oath of the office gave a hundred days program in his maiden speech.

There were two main problems being faced by the government. One was the restoration of judges and the other was the removal of Dictator General Pervez Musharaf. Both were difficult tasks. Musharaf was made convinced that both the parliament and the Supreme Court were not ready to accept him as the president. Musharaf had to take vote of confidence from the parliament, which was an impossible task. At last, reigning for a long time, Musharaf resigned from the presidency.

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<sup>142</sup> Kennedy H Charles, Pakistan in 2004, Runing very fast to stay in the same place  
Jstor :Asian Survey Volume 45, no. 1(JAN/ Feb) Source :<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.1525/as.2005-45.1.105pdf>

After Musharaf's resignation, the parliament elected Asif Ali Zardari as the President of Pakistan. Zardari started new form of politics in the country, which was called the politics of 21st Century. He and his party gave it the name of reconciliation. He invited all the parties, including the PML (N) and signed an agreement with them. Zardari promised to restore the deposed judges but he went back of his promises. At that time, the lawyers' movement for the restoration of judges was in full swing. Nawaz Sharif, PTI and JTI also joined this movement and Zardari was compelled to restore the judges through a long march.

Relations between the government and the PML (N) deteriorated but the latter continued to support the PPP government in a silent manner. The PML (N)'s stance was that they were giving time to the PPP.

The PPP government announced Balochistan Package for the development of the erstwhile neglected province. P.M. Gilani invited exiled Baloch leaders to come to Pakistan.

The NFC Award was given after 19 years, which is an achievement of the Zardari government.

The 18th Constitutional Amendment was also passed by the Parliament and the provinces were given powers. The Concurrent List was deleted from the constitution and the residuary powers were given to the provinces. It was the greatest achievement of the present regime. The 1973 Constitution was restored in its original form. However, there is second side of the coin. The Zardari and Gilani government has been declared the most corrupt government. Differences have aroused between the government and the judiciary. The government is not paying heed to the Supreme

Court decisions. Scandals after scandals have come to the fore. The PPP politicians have looted billions of rupees. The PML (Q) has also got share in the corruption. To protect themselves from the long hands of law, the PML (Q) joined hands with the PPP government. Tension between the government and the judiciary has reached to an alarming stage. There was a problem of fake degrees among the PPP representatives and the Supreme Court disqualified many.

### **3.43 Conclusion**

From the preceding discussion, it can be concluded that the undemocratic behavior of the politicians and the weak role of the parliament are the main reasons for a weak democracy in Pakistan. The parliament has never got its real powers to play an active role in strengthening democracy in the country. Right from the inception of Pakistan, the role of the parliament has never been satisfactory. The first Constituent Assembly (the first parliament) was the defective parliament, which was mostly constituted of non-elected members. The Governor General twice dissolved the said parliament. The succeeding Constituent Assembly was not an elected one and it could not give constitution to the country in nine years. The vested interests of both the liberals and the religious leaders were the main hurdles in the way of constitution making. They were not ready for elections, as they had no roots in the public. In 1956, the assembly passed a constitution. However, before holding of elections under the said constitution, Ayub dissolved the assembly by imposing martial law in the country. He replaced the parliamentary system with that of presidential one. It was only in 1971, that Pakistan got an elected parliament that worked for six years and that also under the civil martial law administrator Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto was at the

helm of affairs and the parliament had little say in the formulation of policies. Resultantly General Zia ul Haq dissolved the second elected parliament of Bhutto with the abrogation of the constitution.

Zia created a dummy parliament in 1985 through non-party based elections, which was dissolved by Zia himself after three years.

A new era of parliamentary system started in 1988, but the elected assemblies were dissolved four times by the presidents in only eleven years. The parliaments were not powerful as Article 58(2b) was hanging like a Damocles Sword on their heads. These parliaments were so weak that they could not dare to remove the infamous Article 58 (2b) from the constitution. This article was replaced through the 14th Amendment by the Nawaz-led government in 1997, but his government was also dissolved along with the parliament. This all shows that in the political history of Pakistan, the parliament never got real powers except for a short duration of 1979-1999. The politicians were themselves responsible for the weakening of the parliament, as they did not allow each other to work for democracy and the country. It is often stated, which is wrong, that the military was responsible for derailing democracy and weakening parliament but the parliamentary history of Pakistan shows that military always gave a chance to the politicians to mend their ways. The army never interfered in the politics on its own but it was always invited by the politicians and welcomed by them. The politicians invited General Jehangir Kiramat, General Kakar and General Aslam Baig but they did not interfere. The politicians were responsible for the 1956 military coup and the 1977 martial law. Statements of the politicians, published in the newspapers, are on record, inviting army to take over the

government. Moreover, the army only intervened when politicians were not able to run the affairs of the country. The era of 1989- 1999 is best known for sit-ins, rallies and long marches. The politicians had no agenda. They always welcomed the undemocratic means of the presidents and the dictators. The weak parliaments could not deliver and played no important role in strengthening the democratic culture. Except the first elected parliament of 1971, no other was able to complete its term so democracy could not flourish in the country.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Comparative analysis**

#### **4.1 Comparative Analysis of Parliaments in India and Pakistan**

Democracy in real sense of the term is based on the sovereignty of the people and rule with the consent of the people. The power to form and change the government lies with the people, either directly or indirectly through their representatives (Parliament). In a democratic political set-up, the government is responsible to the people for its omissions and commissions. Besides this, equal opportunities and laws for all the citizens are the other important elements of democracy. In this political system, every citizen has freedom of expression and right to form association within the ambit of law. Contrary to this, a government, which does not reflect the aspirations and the collective will of the people, is devoid of democratic values. Democracy restricts the rulers to work under the established rules and norms, called the constitution. The rulers under this system enjoy the power to govern so long as they enjoy the confidence of the people. Democracy may vary from country to country on the basis of the community concerned, but it must manifest its basic principles and spirit. Pakistan and India, after partition, opted for this representative form of government.

Pakistan and India have the same span of life and both the countries reached at the maturity age of forty in 1989 but unfortunately the political and democratic culture could not matured in this period in Pakistan. However, India got some democratic stability and political culture.

To compare and contrast the political happenings from 1989 to 1999, it would be better to explain them separately so that we may get a clear and vivid picture of both the countries' politics and the situation of democratic norms.

### **Pakistan (1989- 1999)**

We cannot analyze the politics, political culture and democratic culture in Pakistan in the decade of 1989 to 1999 without linking it with the beginning years of the country's politics. Pakistan came into being with no administrative structure and somewhat same was the situation of its politics.

Founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah assumed the charge of the new country by becoming its the first Governor General. He was the head of the state as well as the head of the government at the same time. He also took control of the newly created ministries of Evacuation and Rehabilitation of Refugees. The States and Frontier Regions were also under his control. Viceroy of India Lord Mountbatten offered his services to the Quaid-e-Azam as Governor General of Pakistan, which was rejected by him. India accepted the offer and Lord Mountbatten became its Governor General. In the presence of a non-Indian Governor General, the Legislative Assembly of India got a free hand to refine the already outlined constitution, which was given by the Congress Party. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's becoming Governor General badly affected the political and democratic culture in Pakistan. At the same time, he was the head of the state and the head of the government, which provided him dictatorial powers. He used the powers ruthlessly, which deteriorated the country's political culture. He dismissed the Chief Minister of Sindh without consulting the Constituent Assembly, which was also working as the state legislature. He also dissolved the government of

Dr Khan Sahib in N.W.F.P and the Balochistan government without consulting the assemblies concerned, which was undemocratic and unconstitutional as according to the Government of India Act 1935, he was not empowered to do so. In this way he set the precedent for his predecessors to use undemocratic means to undermine the already fragile democratic set-up of the country. This move of Muhammad Ali Jinnah opened the way for other adventurers in Pakistan, who followed his footsteps. The same thing was repeated three times by the country's presidents from 1989 to 1999.

The democracy in Pakistan was in the quagmire of undemocratic system from 1950 to 1955. Unelected members like Muhammad Ali Bogra were included in the legislative assembly. Sikandar Mirza invited army to intervene in the politics and constitution making, which though was not its job in a democratic state.

Governor General Ghulam Muhammad deteriorated the already deteriorating situation by dissolving the Constituent Assembly. He did this when Muhammad Ali Bogra and his assembly proposed curtailment in the powers of the Governor General. He took undemocratic moves like dissolving the Constituent Assembly, which was challenged by Moulvi Tameez-ud-Din (Speaker of the Constituent Assembly) in the Sindh High Court. The court declared the Governor General's action undemocratic and illegal. The Governor General appealed to the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which declared the Sindh High Court's decision null and void. This verdict set the precedent, which was followed by the future judges of the Supreme Court many times, except Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah, who in 1993 declared the dissolution of the assembly as unconstitutional.

This short historic review shows that the problems faced by Pakistan during the period from 1989 to 1999 were inherent.

Pakistan could not get a constitution in nine years due to the undemocratic and immature attitude of the leaders and politicians, their short vision, weaknesses and self-interests as they did nothing for democracy but tried to perpetuate their stay in the corridors of government.

In 1988, President General Zia ul Haq dissolved the national and provincial assemblies because of his differences with the elected government of Muhammad Khan Junejo. In fact, the then elected Prime Minister differed with the President on the commissions report regarding the Ojri Camp incident. He appointed his own commission, which held General Abdurrahman and General Hamid Khan responsible for the said incident. He wanted to dismiss the two generals. But before he had taken any action, President Zia dissolved his government, as the two generals were his close friends.

Zia died in a plane crash on August 17th, 1988 and Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the President. Elections were held in October 1988 and the Pakistan People's Party emerged as the largest party with Benazir Bhutto as its leader. The PPP made the government in the center and three provinces with the help of coalition partners. In the N.W.F.P, the elected independent candidates were brought to its side by buying their loyalties. In this way, the money factor was added to the country's politics and it was the start of horse-trading.

The first democratic decade of the political history of Pakistan, from 1989 to 1999, is also known as the period of guided democracy, because of the military

interference in the political decision-making from behind the curtain, instead of providing opportunity to the elected government to govern the country democratically. This, in fact, devalued democracy in the country.

Benazir Bhutto, after getting majority in the 1988 elections, was not sworn in as the P.M. until she gave the consent of not interfering in the military affairs. The intelligence agencies also played a vital role in making and breaking the elected governments.

During this period, a system developed in the country, under which it became easy for the military to manipulate the President to dissolve an elected government. The President was made powerful by amending the constitution in 1985 during Zia's regime, whereby the President was authorized to dissolve the government whenever he likes by using the weapon of 58(2) (b). From 1985 onward, four elected governments had fallen prey to the said article. Nawaz Sharif was once successful in amending Article 58(2) (b). But before its implementation, the President dissolved his government, as the military wanted that the same power must always remain with the President, whom they could easily manipulate.

The inefficient government of Benazir was removed and the assemblies' were dissolved in 1990 by the President by using 58(2) (b). This assembly was the second victim of this notorious amendment to the 1973 Constitution. Charges of corruption were leveled against the Benazir Bhutto government, which were though not untrue. During the two years from 1988-1990, relations between the President House and the Parliament were not cordial. Establishment was against the Pakistan People's Party and was constantly conspiring against it.

The army, however, stood aloof and did not directly interfere as it was giving an opportunity to the democratic forces to develop some democratic culture in the country.

Punjab, the biggest province of Pakistan, was under the rule of Pakistan Muslim League and Nawaz Sharif was its chief minister. His government was hostile to the central government and there were differences between two almost on every important issue. Corruption was high in every department of the government and Benazir Bhutto was not able to run the government in a statesmanlike. Her government was using intelligence agencies for its own interests against the citizens of Pakistan. Because of the above grounds, the then president Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved her government.

Elections were held in the winter of 1990 and the IJI, the coalition of right wing parties, got a simple majority in the parliament and Nawaz Sharif, being its leader, became the Prime Minister for the first time while Ghulam Ishaq Khan was still in the President House armed with the weapon of 58 (2) (b). In the beginning their relations were not bad, but gradually differences aroused between them. The opposition was vehemently opposing the government and criticizing its policies. The Nawaz government was not given an opportunity to work smoothly in its two and a half year's tenure. The Pakistan People's Party embarked on a long march to oust the Nawaz Sharif government.

The role of the opposition was in no way positive as required by the democratic norms. Its one-point agenda was to topple down the Nawaz government, which was also using state machinery against its political opponents. The law and

order situation was not satisfactory in the country. The situation in Karachi had deteriorated too much. The army decided to launch a clean-up operation in Karachi, but Nawaz Sharif, who was the Prime Minister, leaked out the secret information about the operation to the criminal elements in Karachi. The operation could not get its desired goals. It was a crime on the part of the prime minister. The army was annoyed and disillusioned with the political government, which was not sincere to the country. Differences between the political government and the military came to the fore-front when Nawaz Sharif started interference in the military affairs. Meanwhile, Chief of the Army Staff General Asif Nawaz died in a suspicious way. It was blamed that the Nawaz Sharif government was responsible for his death.

Besides differences with military, the Prime Minister was also at loggerheads with the President. In 1993, the differences between the two were on the extreme. The establishment also played its role and many ministers of the Nawaz Sharif government changed horses and resigned from their ministerial slots.

Both the leaders against each other used state media. The President removed the government and dissolved the National Assembly, which was challenged by Nawaz Sharif in the Supreme Court. Chief Justice of Pakistan Naseem Hassan Shah declared the President's action as unconstitutional and restored the Nawaz Sharif government. But the tension continued.

The President addressed the nation from the Pakistan Television and blamed Nawaz for bad governance. Nawaz Sharif also addressed the nation and showed his determination not to resign. When the situation further worsened, the military came into action and made them reach an agreement, according to which both the President

and the Prime Minister resigned the next day. Democracy was weakened by the vested interests of the two men.

It is interesting to note that Nawaz Sharif wanted to remove 58 (2) (b) from the constitution but the opposition was not ready to cooperate. They wanted to remove the Nawaz government, which was possible with the help of this article of the constitution.

The Nawaz Sharif government could not complete its five-year term and mid-term elections were held in October 1993. The Pakistan People's Party emerged as a majority party with 86 seats while the PML (N) got 72 seats. The PPP formed the government in the center with the help of PML (J). It also formed governments in Sindh and N.W.F.P, while the PML (N) established its governments in Punjab and Balochistan. After general elections, the presidential elections were also held and Farooq Leghari became the President. Relations between the government and the opposition were not good since the beginning.

Benazir's second term was the period of unbridled corruption. The corruption was rampant in every sphere of life. The PPP parliamentarians were busy in filling their pockets. Unscrupulously, Pakistan reached to number two positions in the corruption. There was no law and order in the country. The PPP leaders were making new records of corruption. In N.W.F.P. a new history of horse-trading was written and the provincial assemblies of N.W.F.P and Balochistan became vegetable markets. The economic conditions of the country deteriorated. The Jamat-e- Islami staged a sit-in against the government in front of the Parliament House and the situation got out of control.

The judiciary and the government were also not on good terms. There were problems on the appointment of judges. The government had no financial strategy and the prices of essential commodities went high during this PPP government. In this state of affairs, President Farooq Ahmad Leghari hammered the government with 58 (2) (b) in 1996. It was third the time in six years political history of Pakistan that a popularly elected government was ousted.

Benazir Bhutto challenged the action of the President in the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which upheld the presidential action. It must be noted that Farooq Leghari was also a PPP leader, but he dissolved the assemblies and ousted the PPP government, which shows that he was not satisfied with the inefficient and weak government of the PPP. Most of the politicians were corrupt and they were not sincere to the country.

After the dissolution of assemblies, fresh elections were held, in which the PML (N) got a 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority in the National Assembly. Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister for the second term on February 13th, 1997. He got elected his own man as President, so there was no question of differences between the two powerful political institutions of the country.

After getting the 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority and subsequently forming the government, Nawaz Sharif passed a bill for the deletion of 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment from the constitution and by doing so the wings of the President were cut and he became just a ceremonial head of the country. Besides this, Nawaz initiated some schemes to stabilize the financial conditions of the country.

The Accountability Bureau was established to recover the national wealth from the corrupt politicians. But unfortunately, the newly established institution did not do it work honestly. Its chairman Saif ur Rehman was criticized as he was not a fair person and was corrupt himself.

Another amendment was made in the constitution to stop floor crossing and horse-trading. It was named the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment and it was a great achievement of the Nawaz Sharif government.

Relations between the government and the judiciary deteriorated to the extent that the PML (N) leaders attacked the Supreme Court building. Nawaz Sharif once again interfered in the affairs of the military. General Jehangir Kiramat was removed before completion of his tenure and a junior officer General Pervez Musharaf was appointed Chief of the Army Staff by superseding some senior generals. General Ali Quli Khan resigned in protest.

It was a historic moment when Pakistan became the seventh atomic power in the world. There was a great pressure from the USA not to do so. A lot of financial help was offered to Nawaz Sharif, but he ignored it and made the country an atomic power in 1998. As a reaction, the USA stopped its aid and the US Congress, imposing financial sanctions on Pakistan, passed the infamous Pressler Bill.

In the meantime, the Kargil mishap occurred and the differences developed between the army and the government. Nawaz Sharif once again interfered in the affairs of the military. He removed Pervez Musharaf and made General Ziaudin the Chief of Army Staff. There was a stern reaction from the military side. General Pervez Musharaf took over the reign of the government and sent Nawaz Sharif to jail.

From 1989 to 1999, four governments were formed, but they were unconstitutionally removed either by the President or military adventurers. All the four governments were removed on the charges of corruption and inefficiency, and because of over ambitious political leaders.

The power game, which was started by the politicians during in the initial years of Pakistan, continued in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

After analyzing the political conditions of Pakistan during the period from 1989 to 1999, now we are in a position to compare them with those in its neighboring country India.

India also faced the same political turmoil in this period but the reasons were altogether different from those of Pakistan. Unlike Pakistan, India got its own constitution in 1950 and the first general elections were held in 1952. After 1952 the democratic journey continued till 1977. There was only one party, the Indian National Congress, at the helm of political affairs.

In 1975, Indri Gandhi imposed emergency in the country, which was strongly resented by the opposition. In 1977 elections, the Congress was miserably defeated and the Janata Party got majority in the Lok Sabha. The Janata Party made the coalition government with Morarji Desai as the prime minister. However, the coalition partners could not go together and the government was dissolved. Fresh elections were held in 1980 in which the Congress got the majority.

After the death of Indri Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi became the leader of the Congress. Elections were held and the Congress again got great majority and formed the government with Rajiv as the prime minister. Rajiv's Tamil policies and his policy

against Sikhs were strongly criticized. However, the Congress remained in power for a full term of five years. This was followed by fresh elections in 1989, in which Janata Dal and its coalition parties defeated the Congress. V.P Singh was made the premier of the coalition government. He remained in power just for eleven months. A motion of no confidence was passed against his government and Chandra Shikar replaced him. The government was dissolved in 1991 and fresh elections were held on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1991.

When we compare Indian political situation with that of Pakistan, we can see clear differences and different reasons for the ousting the elected governments in Pakistan. The President on the charges of corruption removed the first Benazir government, while the government of V.P Singh was fallen because of his financial and social policies. Another reason for the fall of V.P Singh government was that it was a coalition government comprising of different political parties, having different political ideologies.

In Pakistan, the President dissolved the governments and assemblies unconstitutionally, while in Indian President dissolved the assemblies after the failure of the political parties to form the government.

In the 1991 elections, the Congress got majority and Narsimha Rao became the prime minister. The Congress government completed its five-year term, but charges of corruption and nepotism were leveled against it, particularly against the Prime Minister Narsimha Rao. Besides this, many other incidents occurred like the 12<sup>th</sup> March 1992 blasts in Mumbai and the Babri Mosque's demolition.

We cannot see any similarity between the politics of India and Pakistan in this period. In Pakistan two elected governments were dissolved from 1991 to 1996, while in India the elected governments completed their terms. It was partly because of strong Indian constitution and partly because of the democratic culture in the country.

In 1996 elections, the Congress was defeated because of the charges of corruption. However, no party got a clear-cut majority. The BJP formed the government with the support of other parties. Atal Behari Vajpayee was elected the prime minister but his tenure lasted only for 12 days. After that the United Front headed by Janata Dal made a coalition government and H.D. Gowda became the premier. However, Inder Kumar Gujral, and another leader of Janata Dal later replaced him. In December 1997, the Indian President dissolved the government and announced fresh elections.

There were many reasons for the failure of the coalition government, but the main ones were the differences among coalition partners and the conspiracies being hatched by the Congress.

This was in total contrast to Pakistan, where her own party president on the charges of corruption and inefficiency dissolved the Benazir government. There was no clash among the different state organs in India, but only the political leaders were not coming to terms with each other.

Fresh elections were held in 1998, again no party got majority in the parliament, but the Indian politicians had learnt lessons from the past. A coalition government was formed, setting a National Agenda, consisting of the policies and programs of all coalition partners. They all agreed on one point that the only aim of the government would be the stability of the country. It was a great achievement on the part of the

Indian political leaders. A.B. Vajpayee was made the prime minister on 19<sup>th</sup> March 1998. It was one of the strong coalition governments of India.

It was quite opposite to the political situations in Pakistan. Nawaz Sharif had got a two third majority in the parliament but his government was removed after two and a half years, because of the inherent differences among the state institutions while in India the government completed its five-year tenure. This shows that the Indians have attained political maturity and evolved a strong democratic culture while Pakistanis lack both the things.

#### **4.2 Conclusion**

The above discussion manifests that the parliament in Pakistan could not get stability during the period from 1989 to 1999 because of the undemocratic attitudes, lack of a democratic vision of the political leadership and the irresponsible role of the judiciary. During the initial years, some undemocratic principles were set by the pioneer leadership of Pakistan, which penetrated in to the political culture of the country so deep, that the parliament was not allowed to stabilize. One of those principles is that the head of the state must be powerful enough to dissolve the parliament. The political history of Pakistan tells itself us that whenever any parliament tries to curtail the powers of the head of the state, it is dissolved. The other reason for the failure of democracy via instability of the parliament is the attitude of the government and the opposition towards each other. They remain at loggerheads with each other. Both have on one-point agenda, i.e., for the ruling party how to perpetuate its government and for the opposition how to down the government and form its own. The other reason for the instability of parliament is the political

interference in the military affairs, which provides the military a pretext to take over the reins of government.

Contrary to Pakistan, the parliament in India is somewhat stable. The prime reason for this is that the Indian leadership has a democratic vision and they always follow democratic norms. They do politics for the sake of state building not for their own interests. Besides this, the Indian politics from 1947 to 1975 was dominated by a single political party (India National Congress) so the parliament dominated by a single political party must be stable and strong. But after this period we see instability in the Indian parliament just like Pakistan but the reasons behind this instability are totally different from Pakistan. The parliaments in India from 1989 to 1999 did not complete their five-year tenure and were dissolved by the president earlier than the prescribed time. The reasons were the constitutional deficiencies and not the personal whims and wishes of the president.

## CHAPTER 5

### Conclusions and Suggestions

#### 5.1 Conclusion and Suggestions

After comparing the political history of parliaments in India and Pakistan, it can be concluded that the lack of a democratic vision on the part of political leadership, lack of public trust in the parliament and the subsequent role of the judiciary are the main reasons for the instability of parliament in Pakistan and vice versa in India. The lack of public trust in the parliament allows the undemocratic forces to intervene in the political affairs. The public trust in the parliament in India is comparatively greater than that in Pakistan. That is why that no military intervention is seen in the Indian politics and that the sanctity of its parliament has never been trespassed. The political history itself narrates the reasons responsible for the instability of parliament in Pakistan and for the strength of Indian parliament.

Judiciary is always considered as the custodian of the constitution and the democratic system but the role of judiciary had never been satisfactory in Pakistan. Whenever military dictators or any other adventurist had violated the constitution and dissolved the parliament, they get the judicial approval of their unconstitutional steps. This has never safeguarded the parliament and the constitution. Twice in the political history of Pakistan, judiciary has upheld the stance of the parliament, once in the Moulvi Tamiz ud Din case and the other in 1993 when the Supreme Court declared the move of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of dissolving the Nawaz government as unconstitutional. Apart from these two cases, the judiciary has always sided with the dictators against the interests of the parliament. The judiciary has never been

independent in Pakistan and the judges always remain ready to take oath under the PCOs. On the other side, in India the judiciary has played its due role. It is the custodian of the constitution and due to the fear of the judiciary no military general or the president has ever dared to dissolve any elected parliament.

In Pakistan, most of the parliamentarians belong to the elite class. Most of them are landlords, who always try to safeguard the interests of the feudal class. Feudalism is the anti-thesis of democracy. They have no belief in democracy and democratic culture. They are elected because of their financial powers and no one has the courage to compete them in general elections. The landlords often change their affiliations keeping in view their vested interests and caused to destabilize the parliament. In 1993, the landlords belonging to the ruling party changed their affiliations and weakened the government of Nawaz Sharif, which resulted into the dissolution of the National Assembly. Manzoor Wattoo, Wasim Sajjad and Choudhry Brothers left Nawaz Sharif, who was the Leader of the House in the National Assembly. They sided with the President, who was not directly elected. Nawaz Sharif refused to submit resignation and a tussle between him and the President. The then military chief came to the rescue of the system when the politicians took the situation to the point of no return. Nawaz Sharif addressed the nation and expressed his determination to stay and not to resign while the President was adamant to get him removed. The politicians were also bent upon derailing the system, but General Jehangir Kiramat, Chief of the Army Staff, saved the situation by sending the two to home. It was a good opportunity for the military to get hold of the government, but it only saved the democratic set-up. While in India, the constitution has ended the feudal

system. According to the Indian constitution, no one can have more than eighteen acres of land. In 1976, Indri Gandhi dissolved the parliament and called for fresh elections on one point that whether the property is a basic right or not. However, the Indian people rejected the property right and the amendment was made in the constitution that property is not the basic right of citizens. In the absence of feudal system, the Indian parliament is devoid of the menace of landlords.

In Pakistan, the common people have no proper awareness about democracy and politics. They have never actively participated in politics. They consider the politics just wastage of time. The democratically elected governments have never held local body elections, which were only held by the military rulers. The local body elections train the masses at the grassroots level and give them know-how about the politics. In India local body elections are held on time and that is why even a layman also knows about the politics. The common man knows the difference between democracy and dictatorship.

The masses in Pakistan have no trust in the parliament. The public lack of trust in parliament has rendered this body a place for the elite class, which has nothing to do with the problems of the masses. This is the reason that the people did not come on the road whenever the parliament was dissolved. In India, the people consider the parliament a place where their representatives legislate for their benefit. They have great trust in the parliament and the Indian military also knows that it will face harsh reaction in case of any adventure.

In Pakistan, the parliamentarians and others on high pedestal of power have no regard for the constitution. We can cite the example from recent past when Prime

Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani, in total disregard to the rules and regulation, stayed as the chief executive even he was convicted by the Supreme Court in the contempt of court case. According to Article 293 of the Constitution, a convicted person cannot remain as prime minister. The parliament adopted a resolution on May 3, 2012, calling for the creation of new provinces, which is against the constitution. The constitution says that such a resolution should be originated in the assemblies of the provinces concerned only.

Electoral rigging is a part of democratic culture in Pakistan. In 1977, Bhutto rigged the elections on a high scale and the tradition is still in vogue. In case of ballot rigging, the real representatives of the people seldom reach the assemblies and this only gives a chance to the military to intervene in the political affairs. Such things render the parliament an unelected body and that is why the people have little respect for it. In India no one can dare to rig the elections and only the elected representatives of the people reach the assemblies. The politicians of Pakistan are highly selfish and always prefer their own interests over those of the state.

The politicians started following undemocratic traditions since the initial days of Pakistan. They were not able to give the country a constitution for long nine years. Most of the politicians and members of the assembly hailed from India and they had no constituency in the newly established country. They were not ready to hold fresh elections. They had their own nested interests and were least interested in the development of democracy.

In 1956, a constitution was passed but the inefficient politicians could not hold elections in the country. Army had to take control of the government, as the inefficient

politicians had taken the country and its institutions to the verge of collapse. It is also strange that the politicians always welcomed the military government and supported it. In 1962, presidential elections were held where most of the politicians, including those of the PML, sided with Ayub Khan against Fatima Jinnah. The politicians are mostly feudal lords and this feudal system is responsible for the weak democracy via instability of parliament. The land lords have no political ideology, they are only interested in safeguarding their lands and for the purpose they frequently change their party affiliations. There are a few politicians in Pakistan, who may not have changed their parties once or twice in their political careers. Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani belongs to the PPP. Once he was in the provincial cabinet of President Zia. Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Javed Hashmi have changed party for three times. All the political leaders (parliamentarians) have supported the undemocratic forces in the political history of Pakistan. They have no democratic vision and are playing the game for their own interests.

General Ayub Khan handed over the government to another military General Agha Muhammad Yehya Khan, who held elections according to his promise. The elections were free and fair. It was a good opportunity for the politicians to take the affairs of the country in their own hands but that golden opportunity was lost. Mr. Bhutto did not accept the majority of the Awami League. The country was disintegrated and the military was held responsible for it.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto made drastic changes in the constitution. All the chiefs of the three forces were given equal powers and it was decided not to extend the tenure of the army commanders in future. But again these were the politicians, who interfered in the

army affairs. General Zia was promoted as COAS, while superseding senior generals.

In 1977, there were protests in the country and again the political leadership invited the military to the government. The army took over the government and the politicians presented their services to the Generals.

In 1985, elections were held, which were non-parties based. Majority of the politicians took part in those elections. Two big parties – the Muslim League and the Jamat-e- Islami supported the military regime.

From 1989 to 1999, the army remained aloof from the government affairs, but all the governments failed and could not complete their constitutional terms. The politicians themselves dissolved thrice the assemblies during the period.

The elected representatives again and again interrupted in the affairs of the army. Mystery still shrouds the death General Asif Nawaz Janjua. The then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif also removed General Jehangir Kiramat and gave undue promotion to General Pervez Musharaf. In the same way, Nawaz Sharif tried to remove General Pervez Musharaf as COAS and made General Zia u din Chief of the Army Staff in 1999. Though it was all in accordance with the constitution, but the army felt humiliated.

In 1996 general elections, the army and the ISI allegedly distributed money among the politicians to stop Benazir Bhutto from attaining power. The money was allegedly distributed on the directives of the then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The politicians accepted the money and participated in the election under the umbrella of army. They did not care for the democracy or democratic norms.

The role of religious parties in the Pakistani politics is shameful. They supported Zia and also another dictator General Pervez Musharaf. After attaining power, Pervez Musharaf was supported by the politicians, including Imran Khan and Ajmal Khattak. The role of judiciary is not appreciable like the political parties. It never stayed in the way of undemocratic forces.

In 1977, the judiciary approved the unconstitutional steps of General Zia. The judiciary, which is the custodian of the supreme law of the state, supported the dictator. It played a subservient role during the Zia era. All the judges took the oath under the Provisional Constitutional Order. Powers remained in the hands of few (feudal lords) for a long time, keeping the common people outside the domain of politics. No elections were held during the period, keeping the people deprived of their rights.

The political history of Pakistan from 1989 to 1999 is also called the period of guided democracy. There was military interference in the politics from behind the scene, thereby hampering the elected government to govern the country democratically, which ultimately diminished the importance of democracy in the eyes of people. Benazir Bhutto, after getting majority in the 1988 elections, could be sworn in after she consented that her government will not interfere in military affairs. Besides military, the intelligence agencies also played their role in making and breaking the elected governments.

Contrary to Pakistan, democracy is flourishing in India with a stable parliament and the government usually completes its five years term there. India got a workable constitution in the very beginning and elections held soon after its

enactment. For decades there was only one biggest political party in the country, which gave stability to democracy and the parliament. There was no opposition, which could create hurdles in the way of governments. In 1967 the opposition parties emerged and it was only in 1975 that these parties succeeded in getting some space.

While going through the political and parliamentary history of India from 1989 to 1999, frequent changes in the governments can be seen. The governments could not complete their term in the last decade of the 20th Century, but it did not affect the importance of democracy in the country or destabilize the parliament. The parliament was more stable and stronger during this decade. No government was removed by the military nor had the President used derogatory powers. It was the parliament and its members, who compelled the governments to give way to more efficient governments through using constitutional means. Some coalition partners parted ways with the government, which lost confidence of the parliament and it all this happened in a democratic way. There was no horse-trading or any other undemocratic endeavor by the major coalition parties to save the government. The frequent changes established the supremacy of the parliament. The parliament emerged as a more powerful institution as neither the president nor the prime minister tried to be a dictator. It proved that the masses have the real power and they were contacted, whenever a government failed to deliver.

The role of Indian judiciary cannot be overviewed in making the parliament strong. It never gave any opportunity to any dictator to govern the country and always interpreted the constitution judiciously. When Mrs. Indira Gandhi imposed emergency in 1975, the Supreme Court stopped her from doing so.

In Pakistan the feudal system destroyed democracy while in India the parliament destroyed the feudal system. It was given in the constitution that no one would keep more than 18 acres land. In 1976 Indri Gandhi got a simple majority in the parliament and she tried to amend the article in the constitution related to property. However, she failed to do so and advised the President to dissolve the assembly. The assembly was dissolved, fresh elections were held and then the amendment was made to the constitution by the new parliament with majority that property was not the basic human right. This made democracy stable as the feudal lords were crushed and the middle class got power in villages.

The visionary leadership of India also played a vital role in making the democracy strong and the parliament stable. There are old heads that are running the affairs of the state. It has been noted that whenever there were charges of corruption against any minister or leader, they always resigned from their office or post. Such precedents strengthened democracy in India.

A democratic culture had been established in India during the last five decades. Everyone has accepted the supremacy of parliament and no conspiracies have been hatched against the parliament. Once Indri Gandhi imposed emergency in the country, but it was strongly resisted by the people and resultantly new parties emerged on the political scene as a reaction. The masses are democratically aware and they vote for ideologies. The Indian society is divided into different castes, but democracy has made them equal. The high castes leaders have been compelled to go to the doorsteps of the lower class people to seek their vote. This is the reason that the lower classes, who are 80 per cent of the country's population, support democracy. They are not ready to

accept any other system as only democracy can ensure their rights .The right of vote has been given to all the citizens, which has ensured their more participation in the state affairs and democracy.

A democratic culture is seen in the political parties. In the first two decades, there was an internal election system in the Indian National Congress for the key posts. The BJP has changed its leaders many times. There was hereditary politics in the Congress, but it was gradually changed. The political parties with single-family monopoly cannot be seen in India. There is a strong communist party in the country, which always demands democracy within the political parties. Due to afore-mentioned reasons, democracy has flourished in India and is getting stronger with a stable parliament. Military officials are same like the officials of other state institutions and they cannot think of derailing the democratic system. As such the Indian Supreme Court has never given nor will a certificate of acceptance to a dictator on pretext of 'idea of necessity'. It is a marvel that democracy has never been derailed for a single day in India. Though government changes occurred with short intervals during the last decade of 20th Century, but democracy emerged even stronger and the supremacy of the parliament was accepted.

The social structure of the India has ensured greater participation of the masses in the politics. The Indian society is basically of diverse nature, especially with regard to religion. Hinduism is the dominant religion as it is followed by 80% of the country's population. This religion is based on a strong caste system, dividing its followers into different strata. Some of them are known as upper and respectable ones while the other degraded and lower ones. The upper castes enjoy immense privileges

while the lower ones are deprived of the same. The two castes have no social relations with each other. Although constitutional discrimination on the basis of castes has been eradicated from the society, but practically it is still present in the Indian society. The socially divided people have been politically equalized because of vote right for everyone. This compelled even the leaders of the upper castes to go to the doors of the lower caste people for vote. This gives the lower caste people the sense that it is only the democratic set-up through which they can get their due rights and can participate in the political affairs of the country. This has created coordination among the different castes of the Indian society. The lower castes, which are about 80% of the Indian community, consider democracy as the best form of government. This is the system through which they have changed the social structure of the Indian society.

## **5.2 Suggestions for the Stability of Parliament in Pakistan**

Parliament is a political forum where the public is indirectly represented through the parliamentarians. In this forum national issues are debated and decisions are taken. For the implementation of the decisions taken by the parliament, its stability and sustainability is required. Unfortunately the parliament in Pakistan is unstable. Sometime it is hampered by the military and the other time by the President. For the stability and sustainability of the parliament, the following measures are suggested:

The political leadership is regarded as the backbone of a political system and a stable parliament. The stability of parliament largely depends on the attitude and behavior of the political leadership, which must have a democratic vision. A person having a democratic vision cannot deviate from democratic norms. This enhances public trust in the parliament, which in turn guarantees the stability of the parliament.

The political leadership should not make any undue interference in the military affairs. The army should be free to follow their rules and regulations. Undue interference in the military affairs gives them a chance to interfere in the political affairs. In Pakistan whenever the military have taken the reign of government, it is always because of the political interference in their affairs. But in India, since there is no political interference in the military affairs, that is why the military have never derailed the democratic set-up.

For the sake of the stability of the parliament and for the greater cause of the development of the country, both the government and the opposition should be united. They should set aside their personal interests for the sake of national ones. The opposition should play a positive role instead of criticizing each and every act of the government. They should get together to block the way of undemocratic forces to intervene in the political affairs thereby derailing the democratic setup.

The President should be made a titular head in real sense with ceremonial functions only. The power of dissolution of the assembly must be left with the publicly elected Prime Minister and not with the indirectly elected President. The President must be made impartial according to the original 1973 Constitution.

Judiciary is regarded as the guardian of the constitution. It should play its active role in safeguarding of the constitution. It should ensure that everything works according to the constitution. If any act is contrary to the constitution, it should declare it null and void. In this way, nobody will dare to take any undemocratic step. The judiciary can play an active role only when it is independent. But unfortunately it has not been independent since the inception of Pakistan. In order to make it independent the

appointment of the judges should be made by the judicial commission and not by the President.

Education is a pre-requisite of democracy and the stability of the parliament. Democracy is the system that is of the people, for the people and by the people but the people must be educated. Only educated people can demand their due rights and can decide the best for their future. Pakistan has low literacy rate and its people cast their votes without knowing the candidates. An educated person understands the norms of democracy. Only educated persons can elect the right representatives (equipped with democratic norms), which may stabilize the parliament. J.S Mill has rightly said that a democratic system is worse than autocracy or dictatorship where the people are not literate. We need to increase our literacy rate to make democracy a success in Pakistan. The masses of Pakistan are even not aware of the ways how to cast votes.

In the rural areas, uneducated people cannot cast their votes by themselves. They are helped by others to cast their votes. It is good to give the right of vote to such a person who does not know how to fill the form and how to cast his vote? Such people cannot bring change in the society and create hurdles in the way of democracy. Efforts should be made to educate the whole society, which will help make the parliament stable.

It is better to increase literacy rate if we want to flourish the democratic system and stabilize the parliament in the country.

Pakistan got its first and nationally agreed constitution in 1973. This was a good constitution but the dictators like General Zia ul Haq and General Pervez Musharaf, and even its maker Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto defaced it through amendments for their vested

interests. Today, the constitution is not present in its original shape. Article 58(2) (b), the most infamous article, has played havoc with the political structure. The constitution has been abrogated many times and the democratic system derailed. The elected prime ministers of the country always remained in constant fear. As Article 58(2) (b) was hanging like a Damocles' sword upon their heads.

Now after the 18th Constitutional Amendment, the power of the dissolution of the assemblies and government has been taken from the President but the chairperson of the party has been empowered that he/ she can even request the Election Commission to terminate the seat of an elected member of his party from the assembly. In a situation like the prevailing set-up in the country, where the President of Pakistan is also the chairman of his party, he can send the government home any time. Therefore, such a clause is in contrast to the democratic norms and should be deleted from the constitution. This may undermine the value of the parliament and of the public vote.

In Pakistan there is no fair political system and political culture. We have seen horse -trading in the Senate election and also in the formation of different governments. This political structure and culture are in no way conducive for the stability of the parliament. Pakistan needs a presidential system of government in which the people will be able to cast votes to a person of higher capabilities and there will be no question of tribal affiliations. As such only the politics of ideologies will evolve.

The judiciary's role in the country's politics can only be written in black words. The judiciary did not remain free and independent for a long time. That is why

it colluded with the then dictator in murdering Z.A. Bhutto through giving verdict against him. This is still remembered as a judicial murder. The judiciary evolved a term need ideology and always gave judicial approval to the undemocratic moves of the dictators. At present the judiciary has got independence after a mass movement, but still there is a need to do more in this regard. There is a need to evolve a system for the appointment of judges and this power must be taken from the President and the government. The judges should be appointed by the judicial commission headed by the Chief Justice of Pakistan, who should be appointed on the basis of seniority among the serving judges of the Supreme Court. A free and independent judiciary is required for democracy but its role and functions must be clarified in the constitution, so that it cannot interrupt the working of government.

Pakistan has not got a true and sincere leadership till date. The people have been compelled to try one leader after the other. No such leader has emerged in the country, who can lead the people to a common good. Lack of leadership is directly related to the educational system. There is a need to lift ban on the student unions in the universities for the sake of good leadership. The student unions work as nurseries for the political system of the country. These unions produced some of the leaders, who have now national stature. Javed Hashmi, Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed and Jehangir Badar are the products of these unions. The student unions can help build a proper federal political structure as the future leaders of the nation can emerge from their platform.

The electoral process in Pakistan is not reliable. There are always complaints of electoral rigging by the opposition parties. The Election Commission is not free and

the election procedure is outdated. The voting behavior of the masses is also undemocratic. There is tribal system in the country and most of the people cast their votes on the basis of tribal and family affiliations. This behavior can be changed through proper education system. Educated people always cast their votes according to their own will and wishes and do not follow their tribal leader blindly. Their choice will always be better.

The election procedure also needs changes. There is a need for computerized voter lists with photographs and national identity card numbers to restrict fake voting. The Election Commission should prepare a computerized data which must be displayed on its website and the citizens should have an easy access to it. This will make the electoral process fair and reliable. The practice of bogus voting will end forever as the number of voters and their identification will be available on the internet. Complaints regarding polling of bogus votes should be entertained online. There is also a suggestion to allow voters to cast their votes for the candidates of their constituencies anywhere in the country, through the computerized system.

The Prime Minister with the consultation of the opposition parties must appoint the Chief Election Commissioner.

Political parties in Pakistan do not follow the democratic norms. Apart from one or two political parties, the rest are undemocratic in their structure. There are no internal elections in the political parties for the selection of office-bearers. There is hereditary leadership in these political parties. In some political parties leaders are elected for lifetime.

There is a need that the political parties should themselves become democratic, as they are responsible for running the government and flourishing democracy in the country.

The political parties must be bound to hold internal elections for its leadership. But in Pakistan, the so-called party elections are more or less selection of their leaders. The party members should compel their leaders to hold fair elections and it will be far better if the Election Commission of Pakistan constitutionally conducts the internal party elections. This will also ensure the stability of parliament.

The economy of Pakistan is not stable and its leaders or rulers always look towards the USA for financial aid. The foreign policy is not independent. These are the reasons that the USA and other Western powers interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs. The USA supported General Zia in 1980 and then it supported General Pervez Musharaf in 2000 for its own interests.

It was because of the foreign hand that the two dictators derailed democracy and remained in power for almost two decades. Some rulers were imported to Pakistan like former Prime Minister Moeem Qureshi and Shoukat Aziz.

Foreign intervention must be discouraged and Pakistan should evolve a foreign policy of state and not of government, which will be followed by all the succeeding governments. This may strengthen democracy in the country.

The role of opposition is not positive in Pakistan. Opposition parties have always played a destructive role. They have never given a chance to the governments to work for the development of the country. It is a norm in the country that the opposition political parties start criticizing the government from the first day without

any reason. The opposition works only on one-point agenda of how to oust the sitting government. They stage rallies for the purpose. The present opposition is playing the role of a friendly opposition but this has happened once in a blue moon. The major opposition party in the centre is ruling the largest province of Punjab, so it is not coming on the road against the government.

The opposition has the right to criticize the government, but only its bad policies. This criticism must be constructive, as democracy cannot afford destructive criticism. The opposition must play its constitutional role in the state affairs, like consultation on the issues of foreign affairs and law and order situation. When the opposition will consider itself part and parcel of the government, it will never opt for street agitation against government on petty issues.

The media has become a supreme power in the present time of information technology. It is considered the fourth pillar of the state. It is said that the media makes and breaks governments. In Pakistan, the media has got a substantial place. It played an important role during the lawyers' movement for the restoration of judiciary. The most important job of the media is to bring awareness among the masses. The media can also mobilize the masses on the issues of national interests. It can also play an important role in the socialization of society. As far as democracy is concerned, the media can do a lot. It can raise questions on the working of government and expose its shortcomings. The media may create democratic norms and ethics in the society.

The media must come forward to perform its role of not making the governments but that making the masses democratic. It should criticize both the government and the opposition, if any of them, is working against democracy.

The media should also produce and present programs for educating the masses and making them democratic. It can help block the way of dictators by not supporting them and preparing the public mind against them.

If the afore-mentioned suggestions are seriously taken into consideration, then the time is not far away that democracy will flourish in the country and the parliament will not be derailed. Democratization is a very fragile process in Pakistan that needs continuous reforms to block the way of anti-democratic political forces.

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