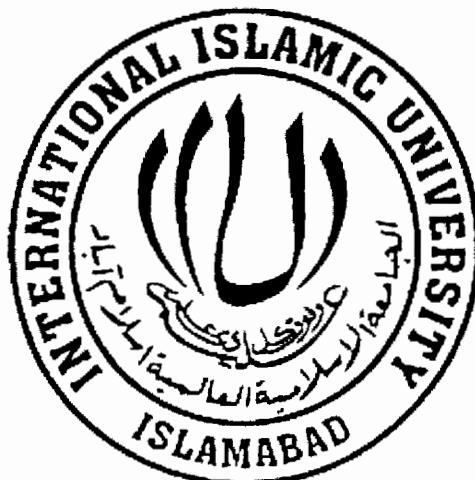


**THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DYNASTIC POLITICS
WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN SINCE 1971**



RESEARCHER:

**ASHIQUE HUSSAIN
REGD.15 FSS/PHDPS/F16**

SUPERVISOR:

**DR. AKHTAR HUSSAIN
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

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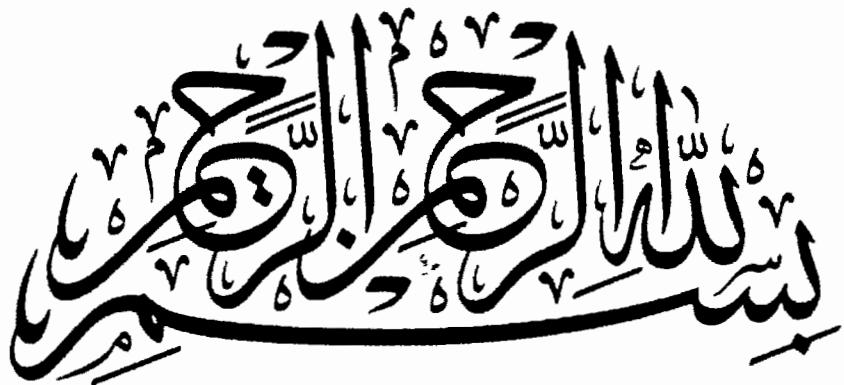
Submitted By

**ASHIQUE HUSSAIN
REGD.15 FSS/PHDPS/F16**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the Discipline of Pakistan Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, and Islamabad.

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

2023



*In the Name of Allah, the Entirely Merciful the Especially Merciful
Al-Faihah [1, 1], Noble Quran*

I dedicate this thesis to my

Niece

Late Almas Jaffar

DECLARATION

I, ASHIQUE HUSSAIN, hereby declare that this Thesis has been put in writing by me in its entirety based on my research work under the guidance of my supervisor Assistant Professor AKHTAR HUSSAIN (Doctor of Philosophy), Department of History & Pakistan Studies Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad. No portion of this research has been copied from any source. Thumbs down part of the research, presented in this Thesis, has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.

ASHIQUE HUSSAIN

PhD PAKISTAN STUDIES

REGD.15 FSS/PHDPS/F16

FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis titled “THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DYNASTIC POLITICS WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN SINCE 1971” put forward by MR. ASHIQUE HUSSAIN, Registration No. 15 FSS/PhDPS/F16 in partial fulfilment for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Pakistan Studies, has been successfully completed under my supervision. I am satisfied with the excellence of scholar’s research work and he is now allowed to get this thesis submitted for the finishing point as per modus operandi of International Islamic University, Islamabad.

Signature:



ASSISTANT PROFESSOR AKHTAR HUSSAIN
(Doctor of Philosophy)
Research Supervisor

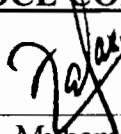
ACCEPTANCE BY THE VIVA-VOCE COMMITTEE

Title of Dissertation: "**THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DYNASTIC POLITICS WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN SINCE 1971**"

Name of Student: **ASHIQUE HUSSAIN**
Registration No.: **15-FSS/PHDPS/F-16**

Accepted by the Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in the Discipline of PAKISTAN STUDIES

VIVA-VOCE COMMITTEE


Professor Dr. Muhammad Zafar Iqbal

Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD



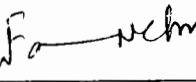
Associate Professor Dr. Mujeeb Ahmad, Chairperson, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD


Assistant Professor Dr. Akhtar Hussain, Department of History & Pakistan Studies.

Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD
(Supervisor)


Professor Dr. Sultan-I- Rome, Department of History, Government Post Graduate
Jehanzeb College, Saidu Sharif-SWAT

(External Examiner-I)



Assistant Professor Dr. Fakhar Bilal, Department of History, Faculty of Social Sciences,
Quaid- I- Azam University, ISLAMABAD
(External Examiner-II)



Associate Professor Dr. Mujeeb Ahmad, Department of History & Pakistan Studies,
Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, ISLAMABAD
(Internal Examiner)

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ABSTRACT

This research work is an attempt to explore the political implications of dynastic politics within political parties in Pakistan since 1971. It has investigated that how dynastic politics had remained effective in the organizational structure of major political parties of the country. To observe the implications of dynastic politics in Pakistani political parties, some functioning political parties such as the Muslim League-Nawaz, Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), Pakistan Awami Tahrik, Awami National Party (ANP), Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (F) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan have been studied in-depth. Main concern is to find out implications of dynastic politics in Pakistani political parties. The work has also analyzed that how the tool of dynasty in politics is used to garner the support of common members and party workers within the party. Moreover, this research work has suggested that a huge number of seats at provincial and national level have been transferred from father to daughter or son, brother to brother and within family. This practice of transfer of power within the family had taken place in post Bhutto era. As a result, dynastic politics has destroyed democratic norms as well as values, political structure and increased non-democratic values as well as nepotism. The dynastic politics have effectiveness in Pakistan People's Party and PML-N. This research study, eventually, tries to describe party politics in Pakistan since 1971 from organizational structure perspective. In this research, an attempt is made to place political parties in a proper perspective. The study has divided political parties in three categories. In first category, federation oriented political parties, in the second category regional parties and in the third category is ethnic political structure based. Thus, the study has tried to develop a modern history party politics in Pakistan from dynastic political perspective.

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ASHIQUE HUSSAIN

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AK/ A.K.	Azad Kashmir
ANP	Awami National Party
GOP	Government of Pakistan
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad
JIP	Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan
JUI	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam
JUP	Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
PAT	Pakistan Awami Tahrik
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
UN	United Nations

GLOSSARY

<i>Awam</i>	Public
<i>Azad</i>	Free or liberated
<i>Azadi</i>	Freedom or independence
<i>Biradari</i>	Brotherhood or tribe
<i>Dastur</i>	Constitution
<i>Dost</i>	Friend
<i>Hiljul</i>	Movement
<i>Hari</i>	Farmer
<i>Hartal</i>	Strike
<i>Hukumat</i>	Government
<i>Jamuori</i>	Democratic
<i>Jamhuriat</i>	Democracy (Government by popular representation; a form of government in which the supreme power is retained by the people.)
<i>Jidujahd</i>	Struggle
<i>Jiye</i>	Long live
<i>Jayala</i>	Stalwart
<i>Kapara</i>	Cloth
<i>Roti, Kapra aur Makan</i>	Bread, Clothing and shelter (<i>Roti, Kapra aur Makaan</i> (slogan of Pakistan People's Party)
<i>Madrassa</i>	Religious School
<i>Muhajir</i>	Immigrant

<i>Mujahid</i>	Freedom Fighter
<i>Musawat</i>	Equality
<i>Muttaqi</i>	Virtuous
<i>Nizam-i-Mustafa</i>	Political System of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
<i>Pasand</i>	Favourite
<i>Pir</i>	Spiritual Leader
<i>Qaumi</i>	National
<i>Quaid-i-Azam</i>	The Great Leader
<i>Sardar</i>	Tribal chief
<i>Sarkar</i>	Government
<i>Sarkari</i>	Governmental
<i>Shaheed</i>	Martyr
<i>Shariat</i>	Islamic Code of Law
<i>Sindhi Shagird Tahrik</i>	Sindh's Students' Movement
<i>Tahrik</i>	Movement
<i>Tarikhi</i>	Historical
<i>Ulama</i>	Religious Scholars/ Plural of Alim
<i>Ushar</i>	Islamic Land Tax
<i>Wadira</i>	Landlord

CHAPTER- 1

INTRODUCTION

This research study is mainly focused on the political implication of the dynastic politics within political parties in Pakistan since 1971. In this context, a few political parties such as the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), Pakistan Awami Tahrik (PAT), Awami National Party (ANP), Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam-Fazul-ur-Rahman (JUI-F) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JI) have been selected. Some other minor political parties have also been discussed due to their dynastic structures and such parties are Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP), Pakistan People's Party-Shaheed Bhutto (PPP-SB), Sindh National Front (SNF), Sindh Awami Tehreek (SAT) and Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP).

The dynastic politics has long troubled Pakistani politics. The whole political scene of this land is weighed down by dynastic politics. It is inherited politics which refers to a political pattern where top positions are being conferred by or based on inheritance from a parent or grandparent in some sense. In Pakistan's stratified, semi-feudal society, patronage and kinship play a huge role in politics. Therefore, it has very deep political implications as per the observation of the researcher such as,

1. According to electoral results of the past three decades, more than half of the seats of national and provincial assemblies have been 'forwarded' from father to son, brother to brother, thus keeping the 'businesses of politics within the family.'

2. The selection of districts, provincial as well as central committees are undemocratic and nepotistic. In the framing of constitution leverage has been provided to them.
3. The way of promotion of the party members within the structure of political parties is very poor and nepotistic.
4. In the framing of the constitution of the party leverage is being provided to the family of the party leaders.
5. In dynastic political parties there is no internal democratic selection of office bearers.
6. Except for a few parties no party has registered members. They don't maintain a membership record. Then how such political parties will provide benefits to the people and will select office bearers.

In the light of above mentioned parameters of political implication of dynastic politics in the political parties have been further described from their organizational structure perspective. Dynastic political parties are family-based parties where all the family members are given important positions.

Almost all political parties in Pakistan are founder personality parties. A founder party is a party which sustains the personality and ideology of its founding leader. Almost all major political parties are founder-based parties ranging from secular parties like PPP and ANP to religious ones like the JUI-F. Moreover, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) Jamaat-e- Islami, and MQM are the exceptions and there is no dynastic structure.

As the fact goes, the political parties in Pakistan have different dynastic structures. Where, several families and individuals are occupant over top positions in the structure of political parties. Every political structure revolves around such individuals. Therefore, it affects the functioning of political parties and has a deep impact over party members and the voters. Such practices also describe the undemocratic attitude of political parties. This research study tries to shed light upon the democratic values of political parties, decision making process and structure of decision-making bodies in order to elaborate the political implications of dynastic politics within political parties in Pakistan since 1971 by answering the following research questions.

1.1 Research questions

1. How do political parties become a tool in the hands of a few families?
2. Why do certain families dominate the body structure and decision making of apparently democratic parties?
3. What are the political implications of dynastic politics within political parties in Pakistan?

A few objectives have been planned to answer the research questions of this research study.

1.2 Research Objectives

1. To explore the prevailing organizational structure of the political parties in order to study political parties as the tools in the hands of a few families in Pakistan.
2. To investigate tactics used by a few families to dominate the democratic political parties in Pakistan from organizational structural perspective.

3. To evaluate the political implications of the dynastic politics within political parties in Pakistan and to see the efficacy of dynastic political structure of the political parties.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This research study tried to analyse the political implications of dynastic politics within political parties in Pakistan since 1971. The dynastic politics within the political parties of Pakistan is a little explored domain which has been scholarly explored in the current study. This research study explains the political implications of the dynastic organizational structure of political parties in Pakistan with the use of different theoretical concepts. The present research study has developed a coherent theoretical framework to explain the implications of dynastic politics in political parties of Pakistan since 1971. Apart from this, the study also tries to cover a few aspects of political developments taking place when an existing political system is not capable of coping with troubles or challenges confronting it.

1.4 Review of the Literature

Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958 (Vol.1)¹ in this volume by Rafiq Afzal is a well written history of political parties in Pakistan. The author starting with defining the Indian Muslims attitude towards politics and political organization in the second half of the nineteenth century; then he completes his description of the psychological and economic state of the Indian Muslim community. The reasons behind the downfall of the Muslims according to the author were abstaining from acquiring western education as a matter of principle and were suffering from the consequences of self-deprivation. On the other hand, Hindus had changed the situation and were

¹Afzal, M.Rafique. *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*. Vol.I.Islamabd: NIHCR, 1986

benefiting from the education and economic opportunities available under the new rulers. This volume elaborates some major constructive steps taken by the Muslim for revivalism of Islam and Muslims. The formation of The Anglo-Muhammadan Educational Congress, (later Muslim Educational Conference), The Muhammadan Literary Society and some other constructive steps became future of the Muslims of subcontinent.

In the second volume of the series *Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969* (Vol.II), the author covers party politics under martial law rule of Gen. Ayub Khan which elaborates various incidents like arrests of political heads, comrades and workers. Not only this but also this volume sheds light upon the political response and revival of political parties in different times. This is one of the best documents to develop thoughts over organization and restructuring of political parties in Pakistan. The volume is also detailed description of political parties like Conventional Muslim League, Council Muslim League and some other prominent parties of those times.

Mariam Mufti's *Pakistan's Political Parties: Surviving between Dictatorship and Democracy*² is the latest source on this subject which provides relevant information on the dynastic political structure of political parties of Pakistan during unconstitutional as well as democratic regimes. The book is mainly focused on political parties as well as electoral considerations in the country. It also covers how political parties survived in authoritarian regimes. Moreover, the work of Mufti deals with several political parties of Pakistan from ideological, organizational, developmental, survival, dynamics and formative perspectives. The author has given scholarly attention towards the aspect of dynastic politics within the parties which provides an insight to understand the problem in a broader sense. In other words, it

² Mufti Mariam. *Pakistan's Political Parties: Surviving between Dictatorship and Democracy*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2020.

can be considered that this book is a comprehensive overview of the political party system in Pakistan.

*The Bhutto Dynasty: The Struggle for Power in Pakistan*³ by Owen Bonnet Jones is a coherent picture of dynastic politics in Pakistan. The foundation stone Bhutto's political dynasty was laid by Pakistan Peoples party pioneer Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was considered as the most pragmatic and intelligent political leader in Pakistan's political history and his elected government was replaced by Dictator General Zia. Jones have attempted to investigate dynastic political impartially and reached the conclusion that aspect of dynastic politics in political parties have affected the roots of party politics in Pakistan. Apart from this, it is the most eminent book of this domain which sheds light on multi-dimensional aspects of the rise and fall of the Bhutto dynasty from a theoretical perspective.

Kalim Bahadur's *The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan: Political Thought and Political Action*⁴ deals with foundation, achievements and its role in transformation of Pakistan from secular to religious-political state. Bahadur has discussed the history of freedom of Pakistan which was opposed by JI. However, it played a major role against emerging anti-Islamic moves such as the emergence of Ahmadi faction in the country resulting in the Anti-Ahmadiyya movement led by JI. The research-oriented work of the author provides a comprehensive knowledge on religio-political parties against military dictatorship in Pakistan with particular reference to the role of JI. The book covers almost all the religious aspects during several decades. This book presents insightful, analytical review of the linkage between religion and politics in Pakistan during this period which is sub-divided into thematically meaningful stages.

³ Jones Owen Bennett, *The Bhutto Dynasty: The Struggle for Power in Pakistan*. New Haven, Connecticut, U.S: Yale University Press.257.

⁴Bahadur, K. (1975). The Jamaat-I-Islami of Pakistan: Ideology and Political Action. International Studies, 14(1), 69–84.

The author has a clear grasp of his subject matter and has adequately stained his arguments with facts. Furthermore, this book is based on the religious authority and structure of the state in Pakistan, as inherited from the religio-political parties in United India which provides a focal point for the country's politics. The writer is of the view that political forces occasionally seemed to dominate the political scene through election campaigns, religious movements, ethnic violence or legislative activity.

The book, *Voices of Resurgent Islam*⁵ is detailed document about the leaders of Islamic resurgence in various modern Muslim states. It is a thought-provoking collection of essays by eminent scholars which is very useful to understand modern trends in Islamic thought. This volume is to present a thorough understanding about the Muslim world. It has also explored the origins, development, prospects, and implications of the Islamic resurgence through both analytical studies. The major influences have been presented on history and the resurgence. The book is a valuable document that provides an insight into the lives and works of 20th century and contemporary leaders in Islamic revival and resurgence. The document supports researcher to analyze phenomenon of 'resurgent, militant, or fundamentalist' Islam.

*Jam'iyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan, 1948-1979*⁶ is a valuable book that covers the struggle movement of one of the prominent political parties of Pakistan. It sheds light upon the formation and working of the party from 1948-69. Among the major topics covered are the Anti-Qadiani Movement, movement against Ayub Khan, steps against socialism, East Pakistan crisis, 1973 constitution and some other valuable steps taken by the Jam'iyyat. The book elaborates the prestige of the Ulama and their work as successors to the prophet. Under the umbrella of JUI, the Ulama played a very

⁵Esposito, John L., ed. *Voices of Resurgent Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

⁶Ahmad, Mujeeb. *Jam'iyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*. Islamabad: NIHCR, 1993.

important role to protect Pakistan and its integrity. According to the author, the Ulama played a prominent role in the Pakistan movement. Hence, it was the duty of Ulama to protect this holy land and implement Islamic principles for peace and justice.

*The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan*⁷ is a better analysis of political implications of the organizational structure of political parties; the most comprehensive study on subject of Jamaat-i-Islami. This book is an exhaustive account of the events that unfolded during the previous couple of years on the Pakistani political scene. It especially focuses on the changes in the strategies of Jamaat-i-Islami (one of the oldest and influential Islamic revival movements). The origins, historical development and political strategies of Jamaat-i-Islami from its inception up till 1993 are helpful in the current study. The author in this document discusses Maulana Mawdudi's vision of shaping the Jamaat's political agenda and plan of action while keeping in view development of Pakistan. The book contains three parts i.e. 'History' (Development Jamaat, ideological notions of Abul A'la Maududi. Second part, 'Structure and Social Base' elaborates the structure of the Jamaat. The third part is based on 'Politics'.

A valuable book, *The Politics of the Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam Pakistan 1971-1977*⁸ is valuable study of a significant Islamic party and its experience of building an Islamic state in Pakistan. According to this piece of study, ulama are the nucleus of a state or society that is based on Islamic principles. The book highlights the efforts of the Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam to turn Pakistan into an Islamic state. It is an authentic source on the role and influences exercised by religious parties in Pakistan. Dr. Pirzada has achieved a first as there is no other well researched work on the topic. The

⁷ Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

⁸ Pirzada, Sayyid A. S. *The Politics of the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam Pakistan: 1971-1977*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000.84.

lack of academic work on religious politics in Pakistan is a serious omission. It is a whole school of thought in Pakistani politics which has gained in influence and power. Ulama claim that they stand for an Islamic system of government based on the pattern of the caliphate. This book attempts to analyze this claim by comparing the performance of the religious parties, particularly the JUI, with socialist and centrist parties in national politics.

The book, *The PPP Rise to Power*⁹ is a valuable source on the selected research topic. The book is theoretical, and research oriented that gives an outlook of history of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and politics of factionalism in Punjab with particular reference to upsurge and decline of PPP.

The conceptual approaches of the author are based on permutations and the author considers Pakistan politics as an environment of conflict among the class parameters. First permutation includes grouping and dominant post-colonial institutions that are the formation of civil bureaucracy, military officer's corps and their hegemony. Second permutation is inversely proportional to the first one that consists of political parties and their leaders whatsoever. The author is of the opinion that PPP emerged as a transitional political organization with multidimensional political ideologies but the author neither provides a coherent approach on political ideology of PPP nor clarified PPP as a political party rather than a political mass movement. An obscure election manifesto of PPP is neither apparently analyzed and elucidated nor expressed in order to understand clearly. On the contrary, the author explains a pragmatic approach on politics of Bhutto.

⁹Jones. Philip E. *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise To Power*. USA: Oxford University Press, 2004.

The author Fazl-e-Muqeem Khan's¹⁰ book entitled *The Story of the Pakistan Army*, Samuel P. Huntington's¹¹ *Political Order in Changing Societies*.¹² *The Armed Forces of Pakistan*¹³ define the role of the military in nation building and political interventions. The role of the military in politics is visible to explore the political implications of organizational structure of political parties in Pakistan. The incompetent political leadership compels a reluctant military to govern. This propagandist literature virtually regards the military as a neutral political umpire with a natural desire to serve as a protector of the state.

The *Military in Pakistan: Image and Reality*¹⁴ in his book writer examines the image building efforts of the military, especially the army, against the backdrop of its expanding role during the Indo-Pakistan wars. A book entitled *A History of the Pakistan Army: War and Insurrections*¹⁵ is a useful addition on the subject of political implications of organizational structure of political parties in Pakistan since 1971. It covers the politico-strategic history of the Army, civil-military relations and Army's role in India-Pakistan wars and insurgencies.

Ayesha Jalal's *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*,¹⁶ Saeed Shafqat's¹⁷ *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*, Tariq Ali's¹⁸ *Pakistan: Military Rule or Peoples*

¹⁰ Fazle Muqeem Khan, *The Story of the Pakistan Army* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1963).

¹¹ Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1968).

¹² Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *The Armed Forces of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002)

¹³ Raymond A Moore, *Nation Building and the Pakistan Army 1947-69*(Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1979).

¹⁴ A.R Siddiqi, *The Military in Pakistan: Image and Reality* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1996).

¹⁵ Brian Cloughley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: War and Insurrections*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

¹⁶ Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins Of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

¹⁷ Saeed Shafqat, *Civil Military Relations in Pakistan: from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto* (Boulder, Colarado: Westview Press, 1997).

¹⁸ Tariq Ali, *Pakistan Military Rule or Peoples' Power* (New York: William Moro and Co, 1970).81.

Power and Husain Haqqani's¹⁹ *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* view the military conspiring with foreign powers especially the U.S. to gain and consolidate its power at the expense of political forces. These authors find the military as highly exploitative in fulfilling its institutional and the organizational interests and interventions in organizational structure of political parties in Pakistan. Jalal even argues that Pakistan army aligned with Britain and then with the U.S. in an attempt to underscore the national political forces. Her narrative, however, is based on a linear-historical description of events that explains the inactivity of the civilian leadership. The civil bureaucracy is viewed as a rent seeking institution materially and politically benefiting through its alliance with Washington.

The relative strength of political institutions is next to nothing as there is an underlying conspiracy to strengthen bureaucracy at the expense of social and political forces in Pakistan. Similarly, Shafqat while taking military action as a post-independence phenomenon develops a 'military-dominant party hegemonic system' to discuss politics from Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto. He has treated the pre-1971 period as partially hegemonic. In addition, the writer has only emphasized the political hegemony of the military thus, ignoring socio-economic dimensions of the concept.

Another recent book published by a veteran Pakistani journalist Zahid Hussain²⁰ is *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*. Zahid Hussain has produced an important and informed inside look at the military and religious politics of Pakistan. He shows the links between the major Jihadi groups of Pakistan and the ISI. This is one of the best books ever published on Pakistan and militancy, the

¹⁹ Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005).

²⁰ Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005).155.

militants and the military and the role of state's secret agencies. He has also touched on the drawbacks and weakness of General Pervez Musharraf's support for American 'War on Terror'. It is a good addition of literature on the Musharraf regime. Chapter two of the book entitled "The Civil-Military Hiatus and Praetorian Politics" is useful as the author criticizes the military regimes policies from 2001 to 2007. However, the author has not covered the developments in sequence.

The author Christophe Jaffrelot, in his book "*Pakistan: Nationalism without a nation*" explains of "Pakistan's complicated political mosaic focuses on ethnic tensions within the country, the Muhajir movement, Pukhtun and Baloch nationalisms, and the 'Punjabization' of the country²¹." The book also elaborates the country's multifaceted status within the South Asian region, combined with its foreign policy. The document sheds light upon various shocking questions, description, explanation and justifications of the political organization and the deeply flawed institution of democracy.

Another book, *the struggle for Pakistan, A Muslims home land and global politics* is written by Aysha Jalal²². This book is complete description of history of Muslim in India since 1947. The Muslims have vivid historical background having a list of "assassinations coups, ethnic strife, and a breakaway of Bangladesh in 1971. The state has been victimized by the forces of extremism, authoritarianism and terrorism. The writer elaborates that, a Nuclear –armed Muslim nation has remained heavy internal and external pressures. Jalal, in this elaborated piece, highlights the dilemmas of territorial disputes with India Afghan policy of regional conflict and entrusted friendship with the United States of America. How generals divested the

²¹Choudary, M. *Pakistan: Nationalism Without a Nation?*, edited by Christophe Jaffrelot. London: Zed Books, 2002.

²²Sana Haroon (2016) *The Struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics*. By Ayesha Jalal. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014.

peace in the region in proxy war after 9/11 Pakistan has been designated granule for Islamic extremism. The writer defines that, label of “breading granule for Islamic terrorism” for Pakistan is American behaviour. Jalal elaborates how pluralism and democracy are parallel in the state like Pakistan and what would be the repercussion in the flier. It is an informative book on the political implications of the organizational structure of political parties in Pakistan since 1971.

Ayesha Jalal’s book is merely for those people, scholars, academics who know the history of Pakistan and its timeline. The document encompasses a big story of the formation of Pakistan in its current shape. Some major topics of this book such as the partition of Pakistan and military interventions are admirable. In order to understand the leadership crisis dilemma of Pakistan in historical perspectives this book is supportive. Moreover, the contemporary history of Pakistan is well defined in this document. The major theme revolves around military power and proceedings. Ayesha Jalal in this book sheds light upon the military interventions in Pakistan. Poor leadership and poor civil government for a short time had divested the structure of the state Bengal debacle and was a great loss for Pakistan during 1970s. Had there been no injustice in Pakistan there would have been no such condition of Pakistan today.

*Condemnatory Pakistan Political Process, Conflicts and Crisis*²³ by Veena Kukreja provides valuable information about several aspects of political history of Pakistan which includes military coups of several decades and their non-democratic policies, problems of democracy in Pakistan and political role of democratic governments in political institution-building process. The author also places an analysis that PPP has never been the strongest political party of Pakistan since its

²³ Veena Kukreja, *Contemporary Pakistan Political Process, Conflicts and Crisis*. New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2003.

inception. The book provides basic evidence on comparative analysis of organizational structure of political parties in Pakistan

The book, *My Dearest Daughter* by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed²⁴ is one of the most valuable books, based on the personal political experiences of the author which he shares with his daughter Benazir Bhutto in the form of a message from the death cell. Author was a great leader of Pakistani masses who conveyed message to his daughter through this book that as the paradise of God is under the feet of mother so as the paradise of politics is under the feet of people and without kissing the ground you cannot be big and without knowing the smell of soil, you cannot defend your soil.

This book was a message of awareness for the author's daughter. Benazir Bhutto's political autobiography *Daughter of the East*²⁵ is an illustrated picture of the author which attempts to justify her ideology on almost every aspect of her life from imprisonment, exile and to acquire power. The authoress puts opinion on dictatorship that it is a dangerous game of deception and conspiracies and also expresses her views that terrorism, from her mother land can be eliminated by the promotion of principles of democracy.

The book *Political Parties and Democracy*²⁶ is a valuable resource on the topic by Richard Gunther and Larry Diamond. Political parties are one of the core institutions of democracy. But in democracies around the world, rich and poor, Western and non-Western there is growing evidence of low or declining public confidence in parties. In membership, organization, and popular involvement and commitment, political parties are not what they used to be. Theoretically, writers

²⁴Bhutto Zulfikar Ali. *My Dearest Daughter: A Letter from the Death Cell*. US:University of Michigan.1994.

²⁵Bhutto Benazir. *Daughter of the East: An Autobiography*. Simon & Schuster UK. 2008.

²⁶Gunther, R., & Diamond, L. *Species of Political Parties: A New Typology*. Party Politics. 2003.

consider the essential functions that political parties perform in democracy and the different types of parties. Historically, writers trace the emergence of parties in Western democracies and the transformation of party cleavage in recent decades. Empirically, they analyze the changing character of parties and party systems in post-communist Europe, Latin America, and five individual countries that have witnessed significant change: Italy, Japan, Taiwan, India, and Turkey.

The book *The Political Parties of Pakistan* by A. B. S. Jafri.²⁷ It is also a valuable document that will support the development of a comparative analysis over the selected topic. *Breaking the Curfew: A Political Journey through Pakistan* by Emma Duncan.²⁸ It examines the volatile political complexion of Pakistan and the effects of President Zia's death, the war in neighbouring Afghanistan, and the booming heroin and weapons trades that threaten the stability of the nation. The book is one of the best commentaries on Pakistan, its society and politics. It is written in an era of strict censorship in Pakistan. Surprisingly, Duncan does get a bit critical but there is a grain of truth to many of her critical observations. She narrates her encounters with politicians, generals, businessmen and many others. There are anecdotes aplenty alongside an insightful analysis.

The book *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm* by Owen Bennett-Jones²⁹ elaborates that Pakistan with its political instability, Islamic community, pressing economic and social problems, access to nuclear weapons, and proximity to Afghanistan, stands at the centre of global attention. It elaborates Pakistan's past, recounts its recent history, and assesses its future options. In this book, journalist Owen Bennett Jones looks at

²⁷A.B.S. Jafri. *The political parties of Pakistan*. Karachi: Pakistan Royal Book Company, 2002.

²⁸Duncan, Emma. *Breaking the Curfew: A Political Journey through Pakistan*. London: 1989.

²⁹Bennett Jones, Owen. *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm*. United Kingdom: Yale University Press, 2009.46.

Pakistan's turbulent past, recounts its recent history, and assesses its future options. A new introduction brings the account fully up to date.

The book written by Rauf Klasra with title *Eksiasat Ki Kahaniyan* is also a valuable document that presents an insight over the subject matter. The book is filled with palace intrigues and power games in Pakistani politics. Former friends ditching old friends for new ones, relationships breaking due to assumed personal slights, grudges due to flippant remarks exploited by willing sycophants, and professional flatterers and archiving high office, in short, the political arena of Pakistan is exactly like a children's playground without any adult supervision. This book also sheds light upon some famous political personalities of Pakistan.

Another valuable book Pakistan: *Beyond the Crisis State* by Maleeha Lodhi³⁰, brings together an extraordinary array of experts, including renowned Pakistani journalist Ahmed Rashid, Pakistani American sociologist and historian Ayesha Jalal, and Zahid Hussain, *Pakistan: Beyond the Crisis State* takes unique stock of the Islamic republic's fundamental strengths and weaknesses. This is a good book about Pakistan, with a lot of optimism thrown in for good measure. This optimism was in air after the floods of 2010 and the post 18th amendment furore. However, in retrospect the crisis state has prolonged Pakistan's economy, politics and society and therefore the optimism ensconced in the essays, seem a little out dated and artificial.

1.5 Research Methodology

This study is in the qualitative research paradigm. It is a normative analytical discussion while talking about the democratic values in political parties who claim to

³⁰Lodhi Maleeha. *Pakistan: Beyond the 'Crisis State'*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2011.

be democratic. The research study has operationally defined the democratic values like non-dynastic, will of the people, and the decentralization of decisions. There is a gap between the constitution of parties and prevailing political culture. Such parties are non-democratic and have dynastic nature. For the purpose of the study a number of the political parties are selected on the basis of their electoral performance and apparent dynastic structure prevailing within the parties.

The present study is mainly descriptive as well as analytical in nature. Therefore, it comes under the umbrella of the qualitative research paradigm. In the qualitative paradigm, I have used individual interviewing techniques for qualitative data collection. The data was further supplemented by observation of relevant documents and notes regarding the topic. Qualitative research approach provided me an opportunity to be involved more and more in particular the natural milieu. He came with rich insights that exist in the natural world.

In primary sources I have collected data from the constitutions of major political parties. I have also explored the most important variables of study like the democratic values of the party, power of decision making within the party, the worth of the will of people and top leadership within a family. The primary data was collected from the manifestos of the selective political parties as well. In this study the secondary data collection was also included as the review of research papers, journal articles, newspapers, government documents, working papers, and all other research data.

There are many types of sources like primary and secondary but the current research is highly based on primary data. I have consulted for material and sources with administration of the prominent libraries of Pakistan such as, the Central Library of International Islamic University Islamabad, National Library of Pakistan, National

Institute of Pakistan studies library, and Central Library of Karachi University, Sindology Research Library Jamshoro Sindh and the Central Library of the University of Sindh, Jamshoro.

In order to reach the reliability of data the primary and secondary sources of data collection were used. The primary sources such as different reliable books, articles, and HEC approved journals were used. Moreover, the internal as well as external criticism was applied to check the reliability.

1.6 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework for this work is based on structural functionalism. It is a basic conceptual framework of this study that observes functioning of dynastic politics, feudal structure as well as the semi feudal structure approach within the political parties. The structural-functional approach helped the researcher to conceptualize political implications of organizational structure of political parties in Pakistan. Moreover, it has brought into knowledge how feudal structure entered the political parties.

Pakistan has been involved in the practice of dynastic structure of politics. Almost all of the prominent political parties of Pakistan are somewhat associated with the dynastic policies. Dominant of these forms are feudal system, tribal system and caste system. These systems have been practised in the region for ages. Clans, tribes, caste and biradari play an important role in remaining in power business through elections. In feudal structure the powerful feudal lords uses their authority upon poor peasants. In rural areas of Pakistan these feudal lords are very influential even law abiding agencies avoid taking action against them. Many of the feudal lords have stepped into Pakistani politics and after making successful careers in it, are making

headway for their next generations. Feudalism exists in all the regions of Pakistan but Sindh is considered as a heaven for feudal lords. In this regard the ‘structural-functionalism’ approach has helped me to explore prevailing feudal-style democracy and dynastic politics within political parties in Pakistan.

Not only Sindh but also the provinces of Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa faced multiple forms of feudalism. It has also been observed by me that the caste system in Pakistan started playing a role in Pakistan’s political arena. People who migrate from rural areas to urban areas of Pakistan have their feudalistic mind-set. Though the structure of political parties in urban areas is wealth and interest based even then people get help run their election campaigns based on clans, tribes, caste and biradari. In such a consequence, the political implications of the dynastic political parties mainly revolve around managing and strengthening family interests. The constructed theoretical framework helps to highlight non-democratic values present among major political parties in Pakistan.

1.7 Organization of the study

This research study is divided into six chapters with an introduction and a conclusion.

Chapter-One: Introduction The introduction of this research study is composed of the detailed introduction of the topic followed by the description of prominent scholars about the political implications of dynastic politics within political parties in Pakistan.

Chapter-Two: Theoretical Framework deals with theoretical framework. This chapter explains “Structural functionalism, or simply functionalism”. It is a basic framework of this study that “sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.” Another perspective is “Role theory is a

perspective in sociology, social psychology and in political sociology that considers most of everyday activity to be the acting out of socially defined categories. Each role is a set of rights, duties, expectations, norms and behaviours that a person must face and fulfil.³¹ It stands on the examination that the public act in conventional methods. Moreover, the individual role and behaviour is situation specific based on various factors. Role theory is used to assess the role of politicians. The concept of role theory is used in political sociology which deals with everyday activities of leaders, political workers, and the members of party committees.

Chapter-Three: Major Political Parties of Pakistan: A Brief History

This chapter covers major political parties of Pakistan. The major political parties are those parties who contest elections and win maximum seats or secure votes not less than five percent in the general elections. The chapter also discusses the organizational structure and role of such political parties in the arena of Pakistani politics. It also presents a brief history of political parties of Pakistan.

Chapter-Four: Dynastic Politics: The Role of PPP and PML (N) in Politics of Pakistan

Chapter three is mainly focused on PPP and PML (N) the two most electorally successful political parties in the last couple of decades. Their contribution in the development of political culture of Pakistan cannot be put out of sight. It also explains the implications of the dynastic politics in these two political parties.

Chapter-Five: Dynastic Politics within ethnic, religious, and minor political parties of Pakistan

³¹Hindin, Micelle J. "Role Theory" in George Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publication. 2007. 3959-3962.

Chapter four explains the dynastic politics within the ethnic, religious, and minor political parties of Pakistan. It discusses influence of dynastic politics within the structure of political parties of the country. The chapter sheds light upon the political parties like Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP), Pakistan People's Party Shaheed Bhutto (PPP-SB), Sindh National Front (SNP), Sindh Awami Tehreek and Tehreek-e -Labbaik Pakistan (TLP).

Chapter-Six: Role of Non-Dynastic Political Parties of Pakistan

This chapter deals with the role of non-Dynastic political parties of Pakistan. The political parties such as Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JI) are discussed in this chapter.

Conclusion

It presents the overall conclusion of this research study.

CHAPTER- 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

In this chapter, relevant theories are discussed to investigate the political implications of dynastic politics within the selected political parties in Pakistan. The significance, value and need of theoretical framework in any dissertation are crucial because it provides direction to analyse the problem from theoretical perspective. The prominent scholar “Christopher S. Collins” elaborates that “theoretical framework” as a concept carries some other word like conceptual framework, paradigm, and epistemology.³²

Therefore, theories such as structural functionalism, or simply functionalism theory and role theory have been marked out to develop a comprehensive theoretical framework. To understand thoroughly theories related to this subject, chapter two is divided into two main sections. The first section reviews the theory of structural functionalism or functionalism. In the light of the opinions presented by a few prominent scholars, the section reveals practicability of structural functionalism in political parties.

It has also been elaborated that the rational role of functionalism in political behaviour and "value-neutral" assumptions. The game of self-interest becomes the fundamental element of human nature. In this regard present discourse helps to understand the political life of an individual. It also helps to understand structure of political system, political changes and public interest.

³² Christopher S. Collins, Carrie M. Stockton. *The Central Role of Theory in Qualitative Research*. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, Vol.5, No. 1, August 30, 2018, 1-10.

The second section deals with role theory to define the problem in the light of constructed theoretical framework. In the second section, the role theory its description as well as practicability is mainly focused to understand the role of political parties in Pakistan. It seeks to comprehend decision-making perception, structural and institutional limits and human behaviour. Role theory also enables the biases and ideas of political systems prevailing in a particular democratic society. This theory draws attention to development of traditional societies running on old patterns and their roles. The concepts like role of modern state, privileged living standard and reform paradigm help to understand the problem from theoretical perspective.

It also sheds light upon social variables that contribute to political as well as social progress of a country. The prevailing political culture, dynastic structure of political parties and its implications can help to define the concept of modernization paradigm. The last part of this chapter explains that it is a most excellent foundation for political study. This part of the chapter begins with a concise description of concept, its applicability and controversy. It also describes an examination of nature of role theorizing. The structure of political parties in Pakistan is viewed from role perspective. In addition, the theory has also discussed a list of terminologies like normatively, political philosophy and logical positivism in an organized approach.

2.1 Structural Functionalism or Functionalism

Functionalist opinion explains that society is like human body which is composed of different organs. The organs work together for a system, likewise, different institutions work collectively for a system. The role of institutions in an organized system is to function and reproduce. Mutual consensus of institutions within society present has a healthy environment. The proponents of functionalism describe the

smooth running of institutions as a function.³³ The history of functionalism emerged during early twentieth century. The prominent scholars like Malinowski and A.R Radcliff Brown seek to explain functionalism school of thought in social context.³⁴

There are two major segments of functionalism which evolved between 1910 and 1930. One is bio-cultural or psychological function which was proposed by the well-known sociologist Malinowski. The other version is structural functionalism presented by social anthropologist Alfred Reginald Radcliff Brown. According to Brown, by development of relationship we maintain social network in society. Individuals, according to him are irrelevant and can be replaced.³⁵ Before enlightenment people believed that social structure was divinely devised that happened because of God's interference in human affairs.³⁶

Emile Durkheim French scientist and modern philosopher of nineteenth century provided some solid grounds along with brief explanations regarding social structure and influential factors as variables of the Society. He counted some solid reasons about how the social order moves functionally. In his arguments the factors and variables of the society are interdependent. The members of the society, their behaviours and actions are the basic institutional structure of society.

Durkheim focuses on relationship between institutions such as religion, law, education, Government and governing bodies which serve and form the structure of a society. In his words every institution performs role in progress and growth of society. Deviance and rebellion are positive characters of the society which can bring changes

³³ Jarvie.I.C.*Functionalism*. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1973,39.

³⁴ Walter Goldschmidt, *Comparative Functionalism: An Essay in Anthropological Theory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966, 163.

³⁵ Ibid., 164.

³⁶ Jarvie, *Functionalism*, 41.

for the betterment of members of the society. Durkheim opinion reveals that limitations cannot be equal with changes within the society.³⁷

Emile Durkheim further elaborated that human beings make social orders which are supposed to function equally to keep the complex and interrelated society functions smooth and correspondent via sharing values, norms, language and symbols for balanced interaction.³⁸ In a political system, an individual functions to form an organized system for survival. The structural organization of political party is similar with the two major concepts of Emile Durkheim. The first is mechanical solidarity which includes emotional interaction and sentimental dealings on the ground of comparable characteristics of social units of the society including farming and preindustrial activities that have chained the society. Common shared values in the villages are collective purposes and example of mechanic solidarity. Other is organic solidarity which counted division of labour by producing engineers and development of mechanic cities. Here individuals have their own separate need-based purposes.³⁹

The interdependence by making deference within functions and activities of members are also basic provisions. Factory tasks, military and governing bodies are the example of organic solidarity. In his point of view social disorganization occurs due to poor bond of social institutions or solidarity. Other philosopher and theorist of nineteenth century specifically Ferdinand Tonnies and Henry Maine have also developed similar concepts of structural functionalism. Karl Marx one of the renowned philosophers of his time pointed his opinion that division of the society occurs on the basis of haves and have nots. This division occurs in classes which are

³⁷Emile Durkheim and Functionalism, assessed from

<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/alamosociology/chapter/reading-theoretical-perspectives-on-society/>. accessed on dated 16-8-2020

³⁸ Ibid.,

³⁹Mechanical and organic solidarity by Encyclopaedia Britannica, retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/mechanical-and-organic-solidarity>. accessed on dated 5-9-2020

based on birth, wealth and occupation. The industrial revolution promoted the wealthy class and poor class remained underprivileged. His class consciousness was based on workers' unity. He believed that capitalism could overthrow the wealthy until they develop class consciousness. He condemns capitalism as wealthy class takes all fruits and leaves nothing for poor class. His notion of class structure is visible in dynastic politics. Organizational structure of many political parties is class oriented. Poor people chant slogans for life under open sky and rich enjoy table tea in carpeted room. The belief of Karl Marx about class consciousness faced bitter criticism as his views were tried to prove wrong by several capitalist opinions.

2.1.1 Structural-Functional Approach and Politics

In beginning it has been elucidated that structural functionalism was originated from functionalism. It has also some roots in system theory⁴⁰ from anthropological studies. During 1960s Structural Functionalism reached its peak of recognition. Because of difficulties to study international politics this new approach appeared.⁴¹

It helps to understand functions of structures within systems. Here the term structure defines to understand different movements, political systems their elections and organizational structures. The prominent scholar Almonds asserts functions like socialization of political parties and members, game of interest, communication styles as input functions in a political organism.⁴² The output of functions, however, is rulemaking, rule implementation and others. For the comparative analysis of different political systems of third world countries the Structural Functionalism is helpful framework to understand. However, it stands on a systems model. According to Gabriel Almond every political system is based on a structure. The political systems

⁴⁰Rodin, Miriam, Karen Michaelson, Gerald M. Britan, et al. *Systems Theory in Anthropology*: Current Anthropology 19, no. 4 (1978): 747–62. Retirived from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2741987>. Accessed on date 15-6-2021

⁴¹Goldschmidt, *Comparative Functionalism*. 164

⁴²Jarvie, *Functionalism*.41

can be compared for the cause of political as well as state development. Political cultures may be modern and primitive in nature. Traditional political cultures get influence of modern political culture. As was in undivided India, British culture as well as Indian culture influences each other.⁴³

The prominent scholars like Talcott Parsons, David Easton and others supported this approach in politics. On other hand several critiques presented their opinion to elaborate a system, its structure, stability, permanence and survival. In a particular system political unfairness combined with *status quo* maintenance bring drastic changes that may let down it. If positive changes do not prevail in a system (political) in specified span of time it may not bring development for society⁴⁴

This chapter, however, deals with some demerits of structural functionalism due to which study of politics becomes somehow difficult to understand. During 1960 it became difficult to understand political system of newborn countries on the old patterns of US and European politics. Hence, Structural functionalism as a new approach appeared to study Nation-state and its function in particular structure. It became easier to understand political system, political party or any movement (guerrilla) for the proponents of structural functionalism.

Structural functionalists presented their argument regarding political system of the West that four challenges prevail such as state-building in which infrastructure development, taxation and other important matters are required to be handled. In the process of nation-building political loyalties followed by transfer of power from one leader to another leader is mandatory. However, the participation means provision of

⁴³Groth, A. J. *Structural Functionalism and Political Development: Three Problems*. Western Political Quarterly, 23(3), 1970, 485–499.

⁴⁴Sklar Richard, "Political Science and National Integration: A Radical Approach," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (1967): 15-45.

political as well as fundamental right to the non-property masses. In the last fourth challenge (distribution) there is need of proper sharing of goods and equal distribution in society.⁴⁵ These challenges are also being faced by third world countries as well. Therefore, for the solution of such challenges the sever pressure appears on national political system. In result, structural functionalist views the violence and instability in political system of a country.

2.1.2 Almond's Model: Structural Functionalism

Gabriel Abraham Almond very prominent political scientist of the 20th century has revealed some essential qualities of a political system. In his opinion global political systems possesses the complex as well as simple structures. The western political system is very rigid and complicated; on the contrary, third world countries are blessed with simple structures. Though, there is huge difference between political systems and structures, but their functions are almost similar.⁴⁶ One can compare these systems from multiple dimensions and by the frequency of performance. From cultural point of view all political systems are mixture of modern and traditional cultures. Primitive societies are somehow influenced by the developed global cultures. While defining purposes and behaviour of political systems. From Structural functionalists' opinion all political structures are comprehensible and can be compared for performance of functions in a system. Almond in his model of structural functionalism further described that all kinds of political system possess structures for the performance of certain functions.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Goldschmidt, *Comparative Functionalism*. 165

⁴⁶ Lawson, K., & Poguntke, T. *How Political Parties Respond: Interest Aggregation Revisited* (1st ed.). Routledge. 2004. 36.

⁴⁷ Almond A. Gabriel. *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).

Structure by his viewpoint is a group of institutions working for state such as, legislature, executive, judiciary and so on so forth. Every institution performs his role in order to run a state system (Almond called it political system). Thus, for two purposes one comes to learn about structural functionalism. One is to compare different political systems as well as political parties in a particular state. Second to assess the various aspects of the political system combined with operational process of our political system.

He has separated some functions of political system by classifying it into input and output functions. For the better understanding of common people his classification presents a comprehensive, well-articulated and self-explanatory scheme. Among the input functions, Political socialization and recruitment is first function. It is one kind of on-going learning of member that involves his emotions. It makes a person habitual of a particular political culture. He associates his feelings, emotions, belief and interest. In developed countries religious places, nongovernmental organizations and political parties socialize people to participate in a political system. From Almond's point of view, it is rare in third world countries. For political socialization it is essential to segregate the boundaries of political system, otherwise it will fail to acquire clear shape.⁴⁸ While defining political recruitment he revealed members should be selected from different classes, groups and communities of the society. For the performance of specific functions in political system these people should be trained. By doing all the stability of the political structure becomes possible.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Gabriel, *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. 135.

⁴⁹ Kay Lawson and Thomas Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*. Islamabad: Routledge, 2011, 102.

The second input function of political system is 'Interest Articulation'. Once a citizen becomes member or proponent of a political system, he starts raising demands to be articulated. This is common behaviour of public around the globe. Every human action is interest oriented. Almond in his analysis, lists some interest groups such as, Institutional (bureaucracies etc.), non-associational (religious, ethnic), Anomic (disorganized) and Associational groups (trade unions, industrialists). These interest groups try to gain their interest by any means. They develop pressure upon authorities for their personal or organizational interest. In the lust of power and privilege such groups even stand against state. Structural functionalism highlights agreements between such interest groups based on mutual interest. They keep no permanent enmity or friendship but self-interest. Many political parties perform role of interest group or pressure group when ousted from power particularly in Pakistan.

The third input function is 'Interest Aggregation' of the political structure. Here the political demands are added into policy programs.⁵⁰ Any ruling party or government structure cannot entertain demands of citizens, interest groups or any pressure groups separately. Therefore, the formulation of general policies is a way out to accommodate interest for the smooth function of a structure. The policy of interest articulation and aggregation varies in democracy and in authoritarian system.

The fourth input function of political structure is 'Political Communication'. Communication is the only way to get all previous three functions done. Without effective communication the structure will not be able to discharge any function. It should be fundamental concern of all the interest groups to communicate their needs and demands to the concerned authority. Political communication is quite rejected in authoritarian systems. In short, all input functions of a structure depend upon the

⁵⁰Almond, Gabriel; Powell, Bingham; Dalton, Russell; Strom, Kaare (Eds.) *Comparative Politics Today*. New York: Addison-Wesley-Longman, 2005. 634-684.

effective political communication. Regrettably, in the political system of Pakistan such trends do not prevail. After input functions defined by Gabriel Almond model of structural functionalism there comes the turn of output functions of political systems.

The output functions consist of rulemaking in which a political party or any power maintains rules and regulations in the guidance of law and parliament. Another is ruling application and rule adjudication where rules enable system to progress for state. Almonds presented his opinion regarding output functions of political structure that such functions are not consistent. Western democratic states are somehow similar in their functions whereas the Third World countries or new states having different nature. Some of them assume political democracy in which organs of the state such as legislature, executive and judiciary have full authority to function.⁵¹

In some countries that prevails tutelary democracies in which elites are entirely dominant. Whereas institutions like legislature and judiciary did not exercise their power fully. In Modernizing oligarchies bureaucracy as well as army holds powers. They are powerful enough to run state according to their personal interest.⁵² In Totalitarian oligarchic the elites, civil and military bureaucrats and party heads run the state. Common people have no value in such structures. There is another system that is traditional oligarchy where the dynastic structures have grabbed the power command. Administrative control lies in the hands of hereditary monarchy. In such kind of structures ordinary people are subjugated and live according to the wish and desire of their masters.

⁵¹ Gabriel, *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. 139.

⁵² Goldschmidt, *Comparative Functionalism*. 166.

2.1.3 Criticism on Structural Functionalism

Structural-Functionalism as a theory is accused of multiple allegations like other theories. Contemporary scholars of Almond presented a list of allegations on structural functionalism. It has been highlighted that this theory is traditional in viewpoint. Furthermore, it is *status-quo* centric. It does not even elaborate the concepts like role, function in detail. The terms are defined simply to understand the meaning.⁵³

According to the analysis of Alexander J. Groth Professor Emeritus there are three main issues with structural functionalism as an approach to view the political system of the globe. Indeed, it is an influential and stimulating study. Comparative and development politics always require observing scientific study from different aspects. This is for the purpose of reliability and validity of the study presented. Moreover, failure of theory, irrelevance and its accuracy to the specified field is highly important. The claim of functional approach for extension in scientific objectivity and accuracy has created confusion. A junk of unlinked terminology in a framework is quite irritating.⁵⁴ It provides hints of relationship among people, institutions and the event. The approach also provides a list of common denominators in order to compare different political system prevailing in world.

Structural functionalisms assumptions that beyond ideological, cultural, and economic or any difference global societies share determining political functions. It is not surprising that by providing prediction pattern, understanding of analogously, interrelated structures of societies and their functions. The structural functionalism

⁵³Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*.35.

⁵⁴ Almond, Gabriel, Powell, Bingham, Dalton, Russell, Strom, Kaare (Eds.) *Comparative Politics Today*(New York: Addison-Wesley-Longman) 634–684.

has required worldwide recognition. The main concern of this segment is to highlight pitfalls of the approach. Some widely discussed are confusing terminologies.

Gabriel Almond's claim of specifying political element for statistical formulation or quantitative values couldn't work properly. Due to complications in terms of relationship that would develop all this practicable. In case of terminology the approach extended generalization instead of specification. The terms used in approach are inherently very loose. Terms such as "interest articulation", "interest aggregation", "Rule adjudication" and "balance of payments" are very confusing while describing political system.⁵⁵

2.2 The Role Approach as a Theoretical Framework

The role theory elaborates the social behaviour of different roles in a structure. The approach helps to analyse social networks at 'micro, macro. and intermediate levels. The role of individual in different perspectives has been highly discussed in this theoretical paradigm. Broadly, the study of Role theory helps to understand the roles of party members as well as workers in a political system. The different version of this approach referred as structural theories facilitate to form framework in the domain of social science. Furthermore, it guides that every social status is connected with a particular role and every role has to qualify a social status. The Role is one kind of behaviour pattern (dependability between objects). Since decades role theory has gained scholarly attention to describe individual behaviours, attitudes, traditions, responsibilities, status, and role.⁵⁶

In the context of sociology, it was presented by Ralph Linton and in the field of Social Psychology by George Herbert Mead who further developed the

⁵⁵Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*.36.

⁵⁶Ibid., 37.

terminology of the approach. The theory brings to light families and their roles combined with affiliation of collective ideologies of the specific society.⁵⁷ The role theory is also described as explanatory framework for the credits and benefits of volunteering and assisting others for basic needs including health concerns and improves skills for well-being member of the society. The theory is basically originated in the work of Robert Merton who was an American socialist.⁵⁸

2.2.1 Significance of Role Theory

Realistically, the theory came under focus mainly when scientists ponder over the social life and started comparing it with theatre where various actors performed their roles and characters and called those roles predictable. It was early 1930s when scholars and socialists took the role theory in focus independently. There were about three main contributors who presented the theory in their own view and developed main themes of the Role Theory in different perspectives and selected agendas. Ralph Linton, who was an anthropologist, categorized it as major source for analyzing the structure of society. He elaborated the dynamic aspect of 'Role' in a social order.⁵⁹

On the other hand, George Herbert Mead who was a prominent philosopher counted roles as results of gained skills via interaction made by individuals within a society. He claimed that members of the society learn language and all other components of society via interaction and try to adopt their positions and roles within society. Third one was Jacob Moreno who was a psychologist who gave the concept of habituality. He claimed that roles are habitual which sometimes become harmful as

⁵⁷ Ralph H. Turner, *Sociological Theory* (New York: The Free Press, 1968), 233-254.

⁵⁸ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press, 1968).

⁵⁹ Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*.39.

a person adopts such tactics and develops primary relationships and bonds. A person does so because he finds it a useful strategy for further roles' creation.⁶⁰

Some other core insights of the Role theory have been developed by contemporary scholars from which Muzafer Sherif's studies are worthy of pointing. He gave some brief details about norms, values and traditions of society. Talcott Parson's functionalists approach also emphasized over norms, sanctioning, consensus and socialization which are major functional elements of the Role Theory. Role structures and processes are briefly analyzed by a few prominent scholars of Europe such as Michael Banton, Ragnar Rommetveit, Anne-Marie Rocheblave and Ralf Dahrendorf and some others who have worked for "Homo Sociologicus" and presented their research papers and essays with enclosed evaluation of the role theory.⁶¹

The role theory encounters various set of normative expectations which are adopted by agents to define specified positions and status in social structure with the responses of behaviours while interacting within a society. The roles of the agents are found as centre point in regard of status and named them as interviewer and respondent. Normative expectations are associated with respective roles with behavioural development. Agents learn to correspond with the help of gained experiences and prior knowledge acquired by primary sources as well as by vicarious observations. For being trained and skilled agent the interviewers must have to acknowledge the set of normative expectations while interacting with respondents.⁶²

⁶⁰ James, Wright. D. *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Elsevier Science & Technology, 2015.

⁶¹ Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*. 40-50.

⁶² Ibid., 41.

In the context of politics, the Role Theory helps to learn and develop the roles of various factors of the society along with the profound allocated authorities for desirable roles of the society for a better and maintained governing process. It helps to understand shaped politics with formulated framework. It makes the way out for solution and decision making for authorized members of the society as per their status and roles. It guides for elements of the maintained and balanced societies including freedom of speech, justice deliverance, rights and liberation of every individual along with democratic rule. The theory is also affiliated with political science which leads towards better political system with suitable solution.⁶³

Role theory justifies Peoples role to be performed socially. It includes the role from primary levels which starts from family relations such as mother, sister, wife, teacher, boss, manager, servant etc. It also talks about the abilities of adherences in the context of expectations claimed by society with the measuring tools of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours of roles of the members.

Role theory counters the skills of decision making along with different perspective of decision maker with regard the political fields along with International Relations. Counting from the past research, the Role theory has become primary source to the approach for re-emerging the study of politics and International Relations. The newly updated research on the theory focuses on decision makers which are commonly called agents and recognized those agents as structure of the embedded institutions.⁶⁴ The Role theory scholars argue for Theoretical models and demands that models must be simultaneously considered as per state's material capabilities.

⁶³Robert K.Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*.New York: The Free Pres.1968.16.

⁶⁴Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*.41-50.

It also claims for improvisation and more unwavering tactics of perception of decision maker agents of the society who have their own biases and views for task shaping grounds specified for foreign policy. The theory provides an open hand to the scholar to construct the models of ideational factors and elements with the reference of material for better understanding of foreign policy and decision-making in a wide range of states from smaller States to the newly developed states with emerging powers.

2.2.2 History, Differentiation and Confusion

The development of role theory revolves around the academic contribution of some prominent scholar such as Ralph Linton (mid-20th century scholar) from anthropology, George Herbert Mead (American social theorist) from social philosophy, Jacob Levy Moreno (Romanian American psychiatrist) from very rich field of psychology, Talcott Parsons (well-known sociologist), and Robert Merton (founding father of modern sociology) have discussed on significance of role theory in a political party. There is also a list of scholars who presented their opinion on different perspectives of this approach. The insights of such contributors enriched the text of role theory and broke cage of traditional writing. To illustrate, several authors used concepts like role, function, behaviour in different context. The actual meaning of terms wrestled with differing social system forms.⁶⁵

In the field of political science role theory is very much useful theoretical framework. It proposed that in a political structure every individual, member, party worker, office bearer and even party leadership has a role to perform. In organizational structure of a political party individual performs roles of chairman,

⁶⁵Alvin Magid,*Role Theory: Political Science, and African Studies, World Politics*.311-330.

secretary president, general secretary, finance secretary and many others. These people are bound to perform task for the successful running of a system.⁶⁶

If a political party is not organized, like members do not perform their task, it will not be able to win elections to form government. Another thing is to be pointed out that role theory guides that if a system has no set principles for assigning the task to individual it will crash. For example, lack of intra-party election leads to crash of political party. In the third world countries it has been practised that senior party members of a political party try to accommodate their friends and family members on important positions.⁶⁷

In elections, most of the political parties distribute seats on the grounds of nepotism and corruption making many individuals unable to perform their roles. It is very much important for the survival of structure that individual should manage their roles. Every role has a set of well guided principles. Role theory holds that individuals should perform their roles as compared to that of the actors on stage. Every dialogue, move and action act are scripted for required result. The limitations in the performance of role cause poor performance. In political system the roles of party members and cabinet are well articulated. Members who violate the rules create trouble for all the system. For the smooth running of function, integration of society is required and that is possible by determining the norms.⁶⁸

2.2.3 Role Theory from Structural-Functional Perspective

Functionalist opinion illustrates that a person is expected to perform his task in a structure. Inappropriate performance of an individual is violation of norms and values

⁶⁶ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*.18-31.

⁶⁷ Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*.41-50.

⁶⁸ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*.18-31.

of society. Certain behaviours are expected to be unchanged in a vibrant system for smooth functioning.⁶⁹ It is granted if a doctor asks personal questions or even touch body parts of patient by good intention. It is doctor's role from functional perspective that he performs for well-being of the patient. If any other professional tries to perform task or duty of a doctor same as he did, it will be violation of norms and values of society.⁷⁰ Moreover, the practice of doctor (role) is not concern of any other individual (professional). In Functionalist perspective role must be socially regulated based on the examples of behaviour. There must be an effective communication between roles of social structure. Apart from this, role interactions should be worldwide acceptable as interaction between teacher-student and mother-child.⁷¹

Logically, such role interactions are conflict free around the globe. Mother keeps soft corner when speaks with her child likewise a teacher has high hopes of student learning when lecturing in class. A wide range of academic discourse agrees upon this postulate of peace and harmony in close relationships of society. From the Interactionism perspective the role is not permanent. Individuals negotiate during role performance in an arrangement. While taking the example from the teachings of the prominent scholar George Herbert Mead in his role taking model for children defines three stages.⁷² In first "Preparatory Stage" (up to age 3) a baby gets ready to take role and begins with imitations. By careful watch and observation children perform like people around them.

In the second stage that is "Play Stage" (3 - 5). The children try to develop relationships with other children or people around. At this stage children perform role

⁶⁹Magid, *Role Theory: Political Science, and African Studies*. 311-330.

⁷⁰Turner, J. H. The structure of sociological theory. Homewood, Ill., Dorsey Press.1974. 259-271.

⁷¹Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*.41-50.

⁷² George Herbert Mead, 2016, *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*. Assessed from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mead/> date. 15-3-2020

as directed by parents and teachers at school. In third stage which is “Game Stage” (early school years) children come to know their social positions and recognize relationships. Children also demand for things as an individual from parents. They understand parent's role in their lives.⁷³ However, a few limitations are also discussed in this section to see how far role theory is appropriate with restrictions in the theoretical framework of this research study. Like other sociological theories Role theory also went through some criticism. It has a broad meaning in social sciences. Four major critical analyses were presented by scholar on role theory.⁷⁴ First, it focuses on social influence (conformity) which he promotes change in behaviour of an individual in order to become part of group. However, role theory should highlight social policies which promote social order to accept global challenges. The second criticism highlights that the way by which role theory describes socialization is not comprehensive. It does not help an individual to comprehend culture properly. The third criticism explains that role theory has not dealt with human for choices.⁷⁵ The human agency is quite neglected factor in the role theory. The fourth criticism on role theory describes that it encourages the idea of segmentation in its description. Above mentioned critical aspects show that there is less place of role theory in the study of human participation.⁷⁶

2.3 Describing Political culture of Pakistan within the context of Structural Functionalism& Role theory perspective

The political parties not only in Pakistan but around the globe function in a particular structure. These structures are based on the norms, values, customs, traditions and

⁷³Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*.41-50.

⁷⁴Robert K.Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*.18-31.

⁷⁵Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond Interest Aggregation*.41-50.

⁷⁶Alvin Magid, "Role Theory" Political Science, and African Studies", *World Politics* Vol. 32, No. 1, (Jan 1980): 311-330.

particular cultures of their societies. In Pakistani politics most of the political parties are dynastic in their structure. Such parties function to regulate their structure. Top slots of political parties keep power and authority within a particular dominating family and carry on this business for personal interest. The examples of PML-N and PPP along with other ethno religious parties are worth mentioning here. While functioning in a strong political structure maintain dynasties and the game of power remains in their hands.

In political parties, they are either dynastic or not, every worker, office bearer or member performs his role. The role theory like structural functionalism describes here the roles of political parties, their members and office bearers. Dominant political elite within the political parties select office bearers as well as award tickets to those people who perform their roles as they are assigned. For party interest, national cause and personal gains these selected people function in well-designed structures. It would be an accurate example if the Political culture of PPP and PML-N of Pakistan may be discussed from structural functionalist perspective as well as from role theory perspective.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto played a pivotal role in bringing people to the peace and prosperity. In the light of well-articulated rules Bhutto formed PPP with intentions to serve the people of Pakistan. After his death Benazir Bhutto continued the mission of her father. She confirmed her legitimacy as an independent leader because of that functionalism which was structured for people of Pakistan. Even at her first return on April 10th, 1986, under the rule of dictator Zia-ul-Haq, he was warmly welcomed. In the perspective of role theory people, the workers played their roles. Undoubtedly, that return was a clear claim of political succession as she conformed herself the only inheritor of political legacy or Bhutto dynasty founded her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Moving to the other major political party of Pakistan that is Pakistan Muslim League (N), which is the most dominant party in the context of renowned political structure and dynasty. Mian Nawaz Sharif founded PML-N, along with the support of his younger brother Mian Shahbaz Sharif. The Party is generally known as one of the most prominent federation oriented political parties of Pakistan.⁷⁷

Due to strong political functioning and structure, the PML-N got rise. In the start, most of the mercantile families from the urban areas of Punjab were the strengthening tools for the party and played their roles. Slogans of the party were based on non-feudal politics. But party seems to be nothing more than family enterprise because of its structure. Mian Nawaz Sharif was elected as the Prime Minister of the state of Pakistan for three times (1990, 1997 and 2013). The PML-N was highly structured party. It came under the solid allegations of corruption and conspiracies with neighbouring countries during its all tenures because the concerned person did not play their roles. Moreover, worst conditions compelled Sharif family for exile in 2000 due to the Military Coup of Parvez Musharraf. The exile went for long terms until their return in 2007 and participation in the general elections of 2008.⁷⁸

In the general election of 2008, the Sharif brothers won most of the seats from Punjab Province and once again Shahbaz Sharif was appointed as Chief Minister of Punjab. After securing seats of National Assembly in majority in general elections of 2013, PML-N formed government in centre, Punjab and Baluchistan. After the saga of Panama case, the party was presided by Shahbaz Sharif. Though the PML-N comes

⁷⁷ Abid Hussain, Qamar & Fani, Dr. Muhammad Ishaq. *Political Dynasties and Candidate Selection*. 20-30.

Pakistan Social Sciences Review, Vol. 4, No. 01 (2020):106-120.

⁷⁸ Javid Hussain Cheema and Naseer. *Dynastic Politics in Punjab: Facts, Myths and their Implications*. Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives, Vol. 3, No. 01, (2019):01-13.

from a different socio-economic origin, but the political implications of the party are personality based no doubt Sharif family is enjoying the status of being heads of the party in the series from Sharif brothers to their decedents.

Nawaz Sharif's daughter Mariam Nawaz and Shahbaz Sharif's son Hamza Shahbaz have been groomed for next generation's quiz.⁷⁹ The organizational structure of PML-N is very accommodative in order to facilitate Sharif family members to perform their role. The politics of PML-N is just personality based and is sharing the cult with primordial characteristics. It is based on patronage gripping scenarios. Strengthening the family status along with increase in economical field is considered as priority of the holding bodies of PML-N.

Not only Sharif Brothers but there are some other random dynasties which have been raised under the structure of PML-N. Parvez Ilahi who served as the speaker of National Assembly and Chief Minister of Punjab played his role and created space for his relatives in National Politics. The dynastic structure of PML-N shows that the office bearers of the party did not play their roles according to their party constitution. The functionalism of the party could not prove its democratic structure after viewing dynastic structure.

Conclusively, it can be elaborated that the approaches like structural functionalism and Role theory help to understand political system, different movements, their elections and organizational structures. Scholar like Gabriel Almonds, Talcott Parsons, David Easton and others assert functions like socialization of political parties and office bearers, game of interest, communication, working styles as input functions in a political organism. Not only PPP and PML-N but also

⁷⁹Mufti, Mariam. *Dynastic Politics in South Asia*. South Asian Journal (2009). 9-20.

for the comparative analysis of different political systems of third world countries these concepts are helpful framework to understand.

CHAPTER- 3

MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES OF PAKISTAN: A BRIEF HISTORY

Introduction

Chapter three is an attempt to give a brief history of party politics to explain establishment and organizational structure of major political parties of Pakistan. This chapter deals with a description of the history and organisational structure of the parties selected through purposive sampling of the parties. The parties selected for the purpose of the study include those parties which have apparently developed dynastic tendencies over the years. The parties so selected are discussed hereafter in the succeeding sections of this chapter. The first section discusses the organization and growth of Pakistan People's Party. The second section covers the foundation of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz, its historical background and organizational structure. The third portion of this chapter describes the Awami National Party (ANP) and its political ideology. The fourth section is about Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (F) and its origin. Most of the major political parties in Pakistan are founder parties sustaining around the personality and ideology of its leader.⁸⁰

In this chapter, political ideologies, manifestos, foundations, organisational structures and their role in Pakistani politics are discussed to see how the leadership of these political parties played their role in promoting dynastic tendencies and culture within the political parties of the country.⁸¹ It has been assumed that political parties

⁸⁰ Philip E. Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 143.

⁸¹ Muhammad Aslam Brohi, *The Role of Military in the Politics of Pakistan (1977-1988)* (Jamshoro: Pakistan Study Center, University of Sindh Jamshoro, 2012), 23-45.

in Pakistan have distinct political ideologies. Thus, their leadership is confronting to safeguard their own interests and they made attempts to empower their own positions within the parties since the birth of Pakistan on 14 August 1947.⁸²

3.1 Pakistan People's Party

3.1.1 Origin

Historically, Pakistan People's Party is one of the largest and dominant national political parties of Pakistan, founded by a young Sindhi Politician named Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1967. The emergent need of an independent political party had risen during the civil-military rule of General Ayub Khan because of his imbalances and self-interested governing policies.⁸³ In very young age Zulfikar Ali Bhutto joined the cabinet of President Ayub Khan. Soon after the joining, his extra-ordinary skills gained him great fame at National as well as international platforms of political matters. Bhutto dealt with important portfolios before being a part of foreign ministry in 1963. He was a strong Nationalist and a political ambitious.⁸⁴

Bhutto stood with solid arguments against Ayub government when Ayub went for the support of United States of America for neo-colonial interventionist policies in course of robbing the power of those states which were enough capable to serve their nations. Such cases became the bone of contention between Bhutto and Ayub administration. Bhutto along with veteran Marxist ideology laid the foundation stone of his own independent political Party (Pakistan People's Party). Soon after the creation, the PPP had been conceived as a populist left-wing political party which

⁸² Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 87.

⁸³ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*. 178.

⁸⁴ Stanley Wolpert, *Z.A Bhutto of Pakistan: Its Life and Times*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993)3-5.

challenged the administration of Ayub who led the country for about 11 years (1958-1969) under the military-bureaucratic establishment.⁸⁵

With the rising opposition against Ayub establishment, the PPP became the voice of thousands of the people who found the PPP a perfect platform for their progress. In the general elections of 1970, the party had developed four internal lobbies which further promoted the manifesto and purpose of the party. After the separation East Pakistan (Bangladesh) the PPP secured its reputation as a National Political Party of Pakistan. The Pak-Indo War of 1965 was a major incident which had portrayed the image of Z. A. Bhutto as a hero of the Nation. The story went on further praise after his memorable speech he delivered during a session of the United Nations' Security Council. Bhutto utilized that fame for developing his independent and strong political career. After spending about 9 years in the cabinet of Ayub, Bhutto's skills regarding the state issues and foreign affairs along with dealing policies had become enough good so that he developed a highly structured political party.⁸⁶

In the perspective of ideology, vision and mission PPP enchanted slogan of Islamic Socialism though a great number of early leaders of the Party were communists. The ideology and organizational framework of the party was mainly influenced by conservative minds. The PPP has always been counted as an ideological party with solid ideological beliefs since its inception. Following the socialism, the PPP was the platform of socialists. Its missions and vision is mainly focused on common people's progress with assisting hand for youth. The PPP worked for provincial autonomy. Missions of the PPP is focused on labour rights along with equal distribution of wealth and sources amongst the members of society. The PPP

⁸⁵ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*. 145

⁸⁶ Ibid., 148.

wanted to transform Pakistan into a social democratic state. It always promoted the secular egalitarian beliefs along with the establishment of social justice and strong national defence.⁸⁷

3.1.2 Political Ideology of PPP

Like all other national Parties of Pakistan, the PPP also stands with some solid slogans with emotive sentiments as its manifestos. As the party came into existence as a socialist party which is clearly derived from it's the entire time cheered manifesto “Roti Kapra aur Makaan” (bread, cloth and shelter). The grandson of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto's eldest son Bilwal Bhutto Zardari who is the possessing the chairmanship of the PPP, has expanded the promises by including “Ilam, Sihat aur Sabku Kaam” (education, health and jobs for all). The Bilwal-led PPP is carrying the manifesto about educational development specifically in rural Sindh.⁸⁸

The PPP is leading political party of Pakistan which debates over Water Crisis and takes the issue as foremost manifesto of the party.⁸⁹ In the organizational structure of PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari currently holds the chairmanship and his father Asif Ali Zardari is the President of the Party. Among other notable politicians belonging to the PPP are Nayyar Hussain (Secretary General), Sherry Rehman, Agha Siraj Durani (Speaker of the Sindh Assembly), Some other Leading political members are Haider Zaman Qureshi, Maula Bux Chandio, Qamar Zaman Kaira, Makhdoom Ahmed Mehmood, Nisar Ahmed Khuhro, Muhammad Humayoon Khan, Haji Ali Madad Jattak, Ch. Latif Akber and Amjad Hussain Azhar.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Wolpert, Z.A *Bhutto of Pakistan*.133.

⁸⁸ *The Dawn*, (Karachi) 31 December, 2018.

⁸⁹ *The Kawish* (Weekly) 1 June, 2016.

⁹⁰ *The Dawn*,(Karachi)15 January 2019.

The Central Executive Committee of the PPP is functional and monitoring body which holds party's highest leading decision-making authority. Another appointed organization runs under PPP is the PPP-Young Organization which is led by young leaders and deals with parliamentary issues of young leaders.⁹¹ PPP plays very active role in Pakistani politics. Rising as the socialist political party of Pakistan, it has been promoting the civil rule over military rule. In 1981, the PPP's left-wing formed the 10-party alliance against the military rule of President Zia-ul-Haq. It was named as the movement of restoration of democracy (MRD). The MRD was one of the most prominent anti-Zia movements against his dictatorship.⁹² Moreover, in recent decades, the PPP passed the 18th Amendment in the constitution of 1973 which reduced the power of president and increased the autonomy of provinces in the tenures of 2008 and 2013.⁹³

The PPP strengthened the political lobbies by maintaining the relationships with opposition parties while holding the houses. The PPP at political grounds worked for better ties with neighbouring states as well. Organizational Framework and political beliefs of the PPP are also well managed. But here the questions are being raised regarding the leadership as the command of Z. A. Bhutto's PPP is in the hands of young Bilawal Bhutto and his father Asif Ali Zardari.⁹⁴ The present chapter, in addition tries to answer the question that how the leadership of this political party plays role in the stabilization of political institutions of the country. It was the first political party that challenged General Ayub rule in 1969. It worked for stabilized governing system within Pakistan. PPP appointed a committee with assigning task of framing the profound and well-structured constitution of Pakistan of 1973. The

⁹¹ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*, 150.

⁹² Abdul Qadir Mushtaq, "Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD)", *Journal of Human Resources and Leadership* (2013): 111-126.

⁹³ *The Kawish* (Weekly), 20 April 2014.

⁹⁴ *The Dawn*, (Karachi), 18 July, 2018.

developed articles of the constitution 1973 drafted by the PPP government tells the mind-set of the PPP's leadership since its start as democrats.

The PPP under the leadership of Z. A. Bhutto echoed with its political agendas of nationalization of major industry. The PPP introduced land reforms were effective efforts to end the feudalism and social inequality in rural Sindh.⁹⁵ It was again PPP, which brought Baluchistan back to the national mainstream and increased the shares of province in NFC award. The PPP's stabilized and structured policies have great influences on political institutions of Pakistan. Maintained relationship with opposition is one of the examples how the PPP deals with very complicated issues. It was again the PPP's government which had completed ever first democratic tenure and power transition since the creation of Pakistan (2008-2013).⁹⁶

Most of the well praised and formed civilian reforms had been approved in the tenures of the PPP. Another credit goes to PPP in the form of Benazir Bhutto who had been appointed as first female Prime minister of a Muslim State. She led the party for two electoral victories (1988 and 1993).⁹⁷ After her assassination in 2007, her husband Asif Ali Zardari led the party along with senior command and formed the Government in 2008. The PPP government worked for regional areas' recognition such as the acceptance of Gilgit Baltistan in 2009. Currently the Bilawal-led PPP is holding the government of Sindh province along with dealing of friendly ties with other political oppositions and challenging the PTI-led government.⁹⁸

In short, the PPP founded by the young Pakistani socialist earned the reputation as a national political party of Pakistan. From multiple perspectives it can

⁹⁵ Chandio, *Politics of Sindh under Zia Government*.132.

⁹⁶ Kawish (Hyderabad), 12 November, 2014.

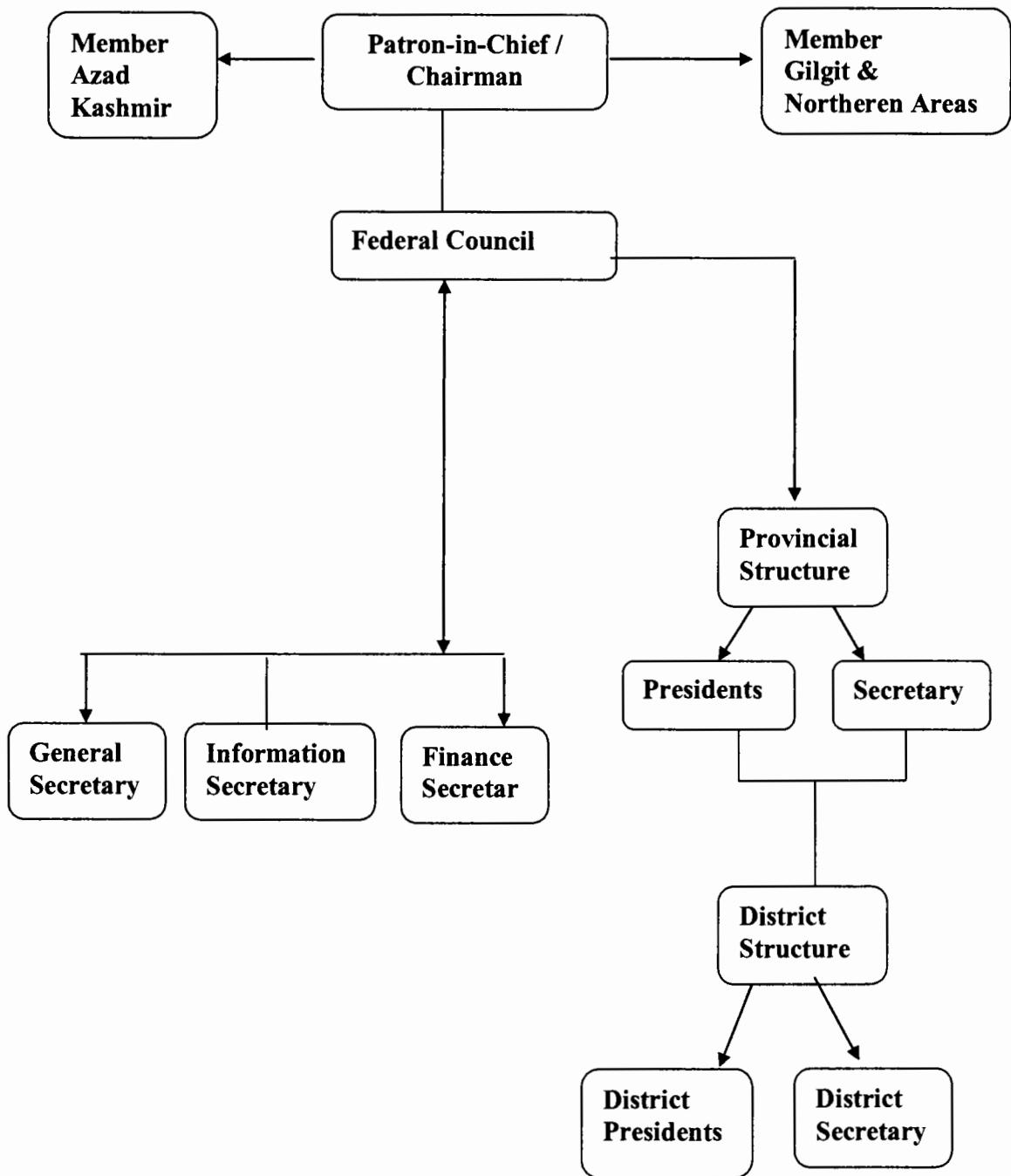
⁹⁷ Brohi, *The Role of Military in the Politics of Pakistan*.23-45.

⁹⁸ Kawish(Hyderabad), 30 November, 2014.

be assumed that PPP is deep rooted and well-structured political party of Pakistan with its constructed base of ideological framework. PPP started its journey from Bhuttoism which was further carried by his daughter Benazir Bhutto to the holding hands of Asif Ali Zardari and his Son Bilawal Bhutto Zardari. The PPP has observed a great shift in ideological pragmatism as Zardari-led PPP was founded in constructing the patronage political base rather than strengthening socialist and ideological base presented by Bhutto. The PPP is still having Bhutto dynasty which is shining sign for PPP's victorious future in Pakistani politics.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*, 150.

3.1.3 Organizational Structure of PPP



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

3.1.4 Violation of the party constitution

Article 2 of the PPP constitution keeps provision to appoint above mentioned office bearers and develop an organizational structure that assures the functionalism of party from top to bottom. Whereas article 4 of the same constitution allow Patron-in-chief (i.e., Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari) being the legal heir to command the party proceeding. He is absolute head of the party. Nobody can challenge his position of chairmanship because he holds the legacy of party founder. His decisions will be carried out by all office bearers. This shows that PPP is personal property of the legal heir not a public party.

Moreover, the procedure of party elections is defined by article 7 of the party constitution. Where it is explained that party elections other than chairman of PPP will be held after three years on regular basis. Every member of the party is eligible to contest for any position. The party will issue tickets to the members of the party mentioned in voter list. It means all the members of the party without any racial and economic discrimination are eligible according to the party constitution. However, in practice the party grants tickets based on nepotism, wealth and family backgrounds. That is the complete violation of the party constitution.

Pakistan People's Party is one of the ruling parties of Pakistan which carries a excellent average seats in upper and lower houses should not bypass the bylaws designed by their leader Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. In no doubt he was leader of high qualities, a lawyer by profession who worked for the glory of Pakistan. The dynastic structure of PPP has weekend its position as democrat party. Even Benazir Bhutto could not bring changes in the party election procedure. In her time when she carried out the chairmanship of Pakistan people's party, she could not followed on her father's

footsteps in the terms of party ticket distribution and in the intra-party elections. After her assassination in 2007 her husband Asif Ali Zardari holds the chairmanship of Pakistan People's Party and served party for three years. He also supported richest people of the country and granted party election tickets to very influential peoples. The dynastic structure of PPP never changed even after the change in party leadership.

Later on, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari held the chairmanship as it belongs to him. It seems like Bilawal Bhutto Zardari got a piece of property in inheritance. Pakistan People's Party again did not bring any other person to work for chairmanship. Here were many seniors' workers or *Jialaa* unlike Makhdoom Ameen Fahim or Aitzaz Ahsan who could run party better than the present Chairman. Pakistan People's Party talks about democracy but they are failed to bring democracy in their own party. It is injustice to the other members of the party; they are working for the party even though the workers are not being promoted. The real struggle belongs to the workers of the party, but the reward is received by influential persons.

Pakistan People's Party is working with the feudal lords in different areas of Sindh. Such tribal heads or feudal lords get tickets and get votes by force, and no one can stand against them. Political party is all about democracy there should be fair election in the party. A person who has leadership qualities should be chairman for the national cause.

3.2 The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz

3.2.1 Origin

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) is one of the factional bodies of Pakistan Muslim League (the converted name for All India Muslim League after the departure

of English Crown in August 1947). AIML served as a hub for the political activities and long run struggle for independence for the Muslims of Subcontinent.¹⁰⁰ After independence different leaders belonging to AIML (by now PML) started developing differences on different issues not only parted ways with the parent party but also organised splinter groups with their own versions and brand names.

This process continued till the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 and even afterwards. As a result of these divisive tendencies in Muslim League during the era of General Zia ul Haq (1977-1988), at the time of the general elections of 1985 rising clashes caused several continuing factions within the original Muslim League.¹⁰¹

In 1988, after the mysterious death of President Zia, a great number of political leaders of right wing formed the conservative alliance and called it the Islamic Democratic Alliance. The Alliance was composed of nine political parties to oppose democratic PPP.¹⁰² In 1993, when Islamic Democratic Alliance got dissolved, Muhammad Nawaz Sharif made his political agendas clear on the board and founded PML-N. He became the President of the party. Before founding his own Party, Nawaz Sharif had already served initially as finance minister and later as chief minister of Punjab during the regime of former President Zia-ul-Haq and was well aware of the political matters of the state.¹⁰³

It is an open criticism that the military rule selected Nawaz Sharif as a fresh voice and leader for the Punjab. This is how the PML-N got rise as a conservative

¹⁰⁰ Brohi, *The Role of Military in the Politics of Pakistan*. 23-45.

¹⁰¹ Amir Ali Chandio, *Politics of Sindh under Zia Government an Analysis of Nationalists VS Federalists Orientation* Unpublished PhD thesis. Department of Political Science and International Relations, Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan, 2009.101.

¹⁰² Tarique Ali, "Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in Pakistan," *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 01 (March, 1984): 57-79.

¹⁰³ Veena Kukreja, *Contemporary Pakistan Political Process, Conflicts and Crisis* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003) 01-348.

political party of Pakistan.¹⁰⁴ It has been argued that political ideology is an important instinct for any political party as motivation and rally support of its workers. Since its foundation, PML-N has been questioned for its ideological grounds. It has been alleged as a party of business class and mark of distinction for the elites.¹⁰⁵ According to political experts the PML-N has never been justified on ideological purposes by its leaders. Its deriving moods have been moulded by religious, cultural, security and social compulsions. After the general elections of 2008, the PML-N had started formulating its ideological framework to meet its basis purposes. The diversion within PML-N's ideology can be observed from Sharif's sourcing in favour of liberal democratic politics.¹⁰⁶

3.2.2 Political Ideology of PML-N

The ideology of PML-N as per it's given documents is to strengthen and stabilizing the economy of Pakistan. The PML-N focuses on enlightening within young generation about political phenomena. The PML-N claims that it took the command of Pakistan after gaining vote bank of the general elections of 2013, when Pakistan was facing hard crisis of energy and economy. It came forward for bringing the initiative of CPEC (China Pakistan Economic Corridor) in Pakistan. It created the hopes for Pakistan regarding the energy crisis.¹⁰⁷

It was called the game changer for Pakistan's economy. Infrastructural development is one of the core missions carried by the party in all of its tenures. Agro-industrial revolution for the sake of increasing opportunities for young

¹⁰⁴ Ayesha Jalal, *Contemporary South Asia: Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1995).1-50.

¹⁰⁵ James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* (New York: Imprint of InfoBase Publishing, 2009).01-324.

¹⁰⁶ *Daily Times News*, 16th November, 2017.

¹⁰⁷ *Daily Times News*, 16th November, 2017.

generation is also included in its mission. The electoral manifesto is a tool by which political parties win elections. Manifesto defines course of action as structuring the vote campaign, coalition of political workers and leaders.¹⁰⁸ The political parties of Pakistan also bring in notice their objective manifestos during electoral campaigns. As far as the electoral manifesto of PML-N is concerned; it is very kind to the public in all sectors. Sustainable Economic Growth and enrichment of power sector have been given priority in party manifesto for which the PML-N accepted the call of CPEC from neighbouring China.¹⁰⁹

Taxation for financial developments, strengthening agricultural sector, standardized reach on information technology and adoption of up-to-date educational system, developments in infrastructure and in the fields of tourism and provoking the sentiments of leadership within the youth are some raising components of the PML-N manifesto. It has been analysed by several political critics that PML-N possesses strong organizational structure and framework along with profound traditional power of bringing any political party into coalition. The PML-N believes in organized party performance, and it has a complete team for selected tasks and actions.

Mian Nawaz Sharif is the leading pillar of PML-N along with some very prominent faces like Raja Muhammad Zafar ul Haq, Shahbaz Sharif (younger brother of Nawaz Sharif and the current President) Ahsan Iqbal (present Secretary General) Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, Sardar Yaqoob Nasir, Pir Sabir Shah, Sartaj Aziz (currently Senior Vice Presidents of the Party) Sardar Ayaz Sadiq, Parvez Rashid, Hamza Shahbaz (Son of Shahbaz Sharif), Maryam Nawaz (Daughter of Nawaz Sharif), Chaudhary Barjees Tahir, Khawaja Saad Rafiq, Mian Javed Latif, Dr. Darshan Lal, Nelson Azim, Raheela Durrani, Abid Sher Ali, Mamnoon Hussain, Mohammad

¹⁰⁸ Dawn Karachi, 25 October, 2017.

¹⁰⁹ Daily Times News, 30th December, 2017.

Zubair, Rana Sanaullah Khan, Hafiz Hafeez ur Rehman, Shah Muhammad Shah, Shah Jamal Kakar, Amir Muqam and Raja Farooq Haider.

The PML-N got rise as the largest and foremost faction of PML with solid ground of founding the base of civil rule following the democratic policies within Pakistan's Government. The PML-N in the start was a part of Islami Jahnuri Itihad (IJI) but soon split from it and became a separate political party of Pakistan.¹¹⁰ The PML-N was commonly known as quasi-Islamic and a party of the Business class. Its image as one-person centred party had possessed great losses to the party. During all three terms of rule (1990, 1997 and 2013) Nawaz Sharif had been accused of solid allegations of corruption. Nevertheless, the PML-N's political strategies have contributed broadly for the open hand of civil rule. Nawaz Sharif was ousted by the military coup in 1999 on grounds of corruption.¹¹¹ In the general elections of 2008 he secured the attention-catching vote bank from Punjab province. During 2013 again he bounced back by winning most electoral polls and was elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan for the third time. The corruption allegations in the form of Panama Leaks in April 2016 trolled Nawaz Sharif so that Supreme Court of Pakistan ousted him in July, 2018. Though Nawaz Sharif's throwing out made great losses to PML-N but still PML-N is considered as one of the major political parties of Pakistan.¹¹²

Here the question arises that how the leadership of PML-N plays role in the stabilization of political institutions of the country. In response to this question, it is crystal clear that historically Nawaz Sharif got the grip over governing sector and ushered into political field with the staunch support of General Zia ul Haq. Eventually, he formed PML-N and contributed for stabilization of the political

¹¹⁰ Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan between Mosque and Military* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005).1-297.

¹¹¹ Kukreja, *Contemporary Pakistan Political Process*.321-338.

¹¹² Dawn (Karachi), 17 October 2019.

institutions of the state. The PML-N was most likely in favour of religious centred politics but in recent moves it has distanced itself from it and promoted liberal democratic policies. The PML-N also served for better ties with neighbouring countries of Pakistan. It was the PML-N who repealed the eighteenth amendment after gaining the power in 1997 for second time. Achievements of nuclear tests along with Kargil incident were also shared by PML-N's leadership. Core focus was paid on motorway project which proved in betterment of the party as well as for Pakistan in 2013.¹¹³

The PML-N signed the Charter of Democracy (CoD) with the PPP in London in 2006. It was the sensible move which made two major parties alliance to establish the democratic rule by putting a stop to the military rule of Musharraf. Again, it was the PML-N which came forward in the lawyer movement and Nawaz Sharif was the person who began to champion the cause of political front. He led the caravan of lawyers and demanded for the reinstatement of Chaudhry Iftikhar as Chief Justice of Supreme Court.¹¹⁴ In short it can be concluded that PML-N supported federation for strong centre and provinces for provincial autonomy. The leadership also struggled to acquire party interests followed by national interest. The foundation of PML-N, political ideology, manifesto, organizational structure and role in Pakistani politics is praiseworthy.

Under the leadership of Sharif Brothers, the PML-N has witnessed great ups and downs since its foundation. Significantly, the rise of the PML-N and the Sharif brothers are rooted in late 1980s along with the well-crafted strategies led by Sharif brothers to build up a great business empire with strong support base in Punjab.¹¹⁵ At

¹¹³*Dawn (Karachi)*, 13 July 2018.

¹¹⁴*Dawn (Karachi)* 18 July 2018.

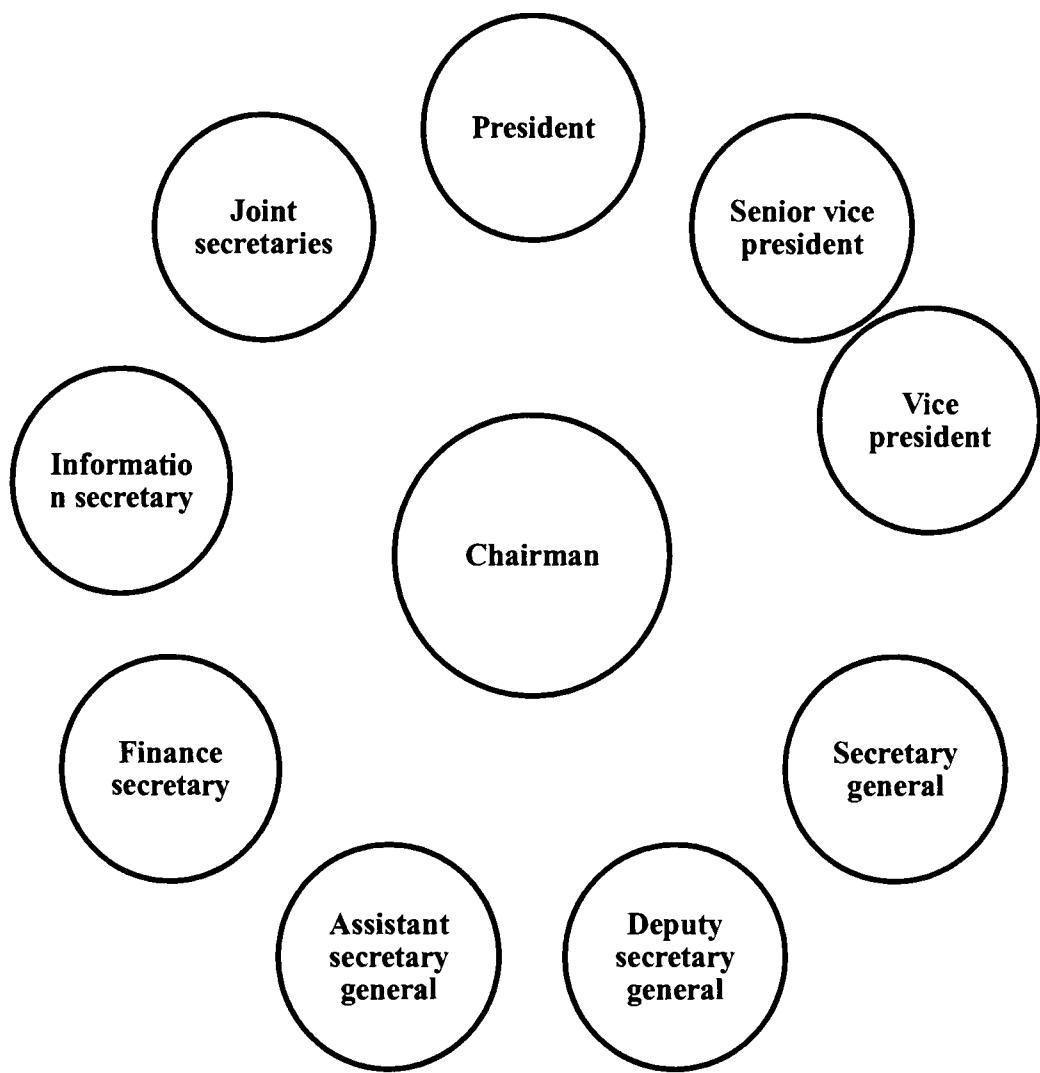
¹¹⁵Iftikhar H. Malik, *State and Civil Society in Pakistan, Politics of Authority, Ideology and Ethnicity*

the time of 1980s, Sharif showed the signs of a confident and independent leader of the coming political party when he served his time to get the support of senior likeminded politicians. After its successful creation, the PML-N got the control over the bureaucracy under the leadership of Sharif's brothers.

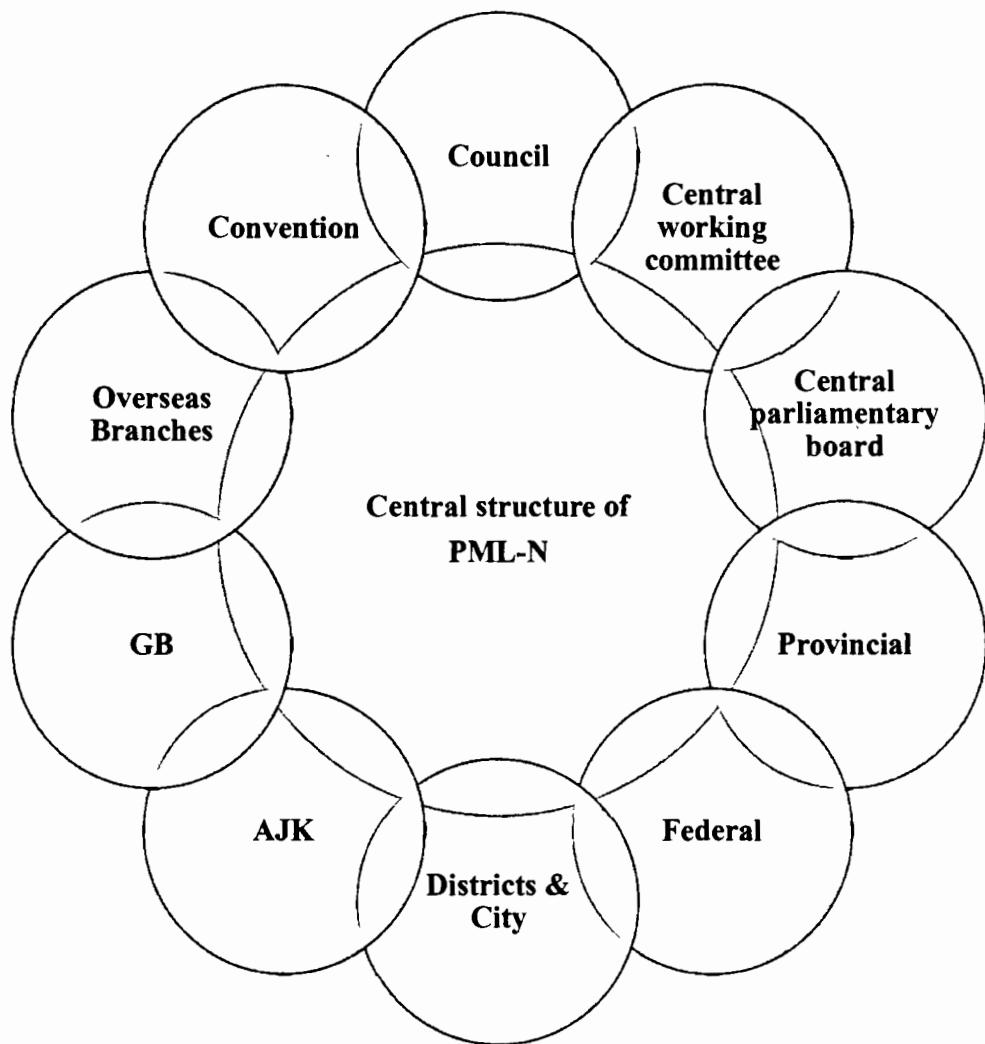
Although the leaders of the party had great skills of political matter dealing but the image of business class party and a franchise of a single family (dynastic) made great losses to the Party. Continues allegations of corruption in all the serving tenures had built a great rock for the PML-N which damaged the reputation of the party. In result the PML-N lost its power even in its native province Punjab in the general elections of 2018. The PML-N's perseverance quality in fighting back can work in some favourable ways for the party in future.¹¹⁶

(London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997).118.
¹¹⁶*Dawn* (Karachi) 20 December 2018.

3.2.3 Organizational Structure of Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

3.2.4 Violation of the party constitution

The chapter one of the party constitution of the PML-N elaborates aims and objectives of the party where it is ensured that fundamental rights of the people will be safeguarded. People will be given all the rights as enunciated by Islam. Practically the situation is different. Party awards tickets to the richest people or family members of senior party office bearers. By this act party violates the fundamental component of party that is enshrined in a party constitution. Party does not elect central office bearers on merit or based on their service for party. The party is based on dynastic structure which is the right violation of their party constitution.

PML-N is one of the major political parties of Pakistan. It also comes under the category of dynastical politics due to violation of its own constitution and favouritism. So, what good can come from a party which advocates good will but instead violates the fundamental rights of people. Moreover PML-N constitution states in section 2 (e) that generous treatment shall be accorded to backward section of population with view of accelerating their educational, economic and social progress. But in reality they are stripping them from their basic rights of freedom and survival by giving party tickets to those peoples who don't know even about absolute poverty.

3.3 Awami National Party (ANP)

3.3.1 Origin

The Awami National Political Party is rooted from the National Awami Party (NAP) of Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman's political party formed in 1957, by which the Pakistan's Bengalis made their struggle for separate land (Currently called Bangladesh).¹¹⁷ NAP was not only Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman's political party but this was a party of the towering leadership of the left politicians of Pakistan of that time across the country.

After the general elections of 1970 ANP under the label of NAP had won in majority from the provinces of Baluchistan and NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and formed the Governments by coalition. During the rule of PPP, NAP had been accused for running separatist movement in Baluchistan and the Party got banned. Many of the leaders of NAP were put behind the bars and alleged for illegal activities

In 1977, when General Zia-ul-Haq toppled the Bhutto regime, some of the leaders of NAP after being released from jails, formed a new political party and called it the National Democratic Party (NDP). But NDP could not survive and got split into parts. In 1986, some major leaders of the NAP from Sindh, Baluchistan and KP revived the NAP and launched ANP as new and converted name for the party which was basically founded by Abdul Wali Khan a Pukhtun nationalist. It had comprised mainly the leadership of Pukhtun, Sindhi and Baluch nationalists.¹¹⁸ This alliance of major leaders from three provinces could not went for long as in 1988 after the death of General Zia-ul-Haq, leaders of ANP from Sindh and Baluchistan broke away and formed their own parties. This act of separation gave the ANP, an exclusive status as

¹¹⁷ M. Rafique Afzal, *Pakistan History & Politics 1947-1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001).123.

¹¹⁸ Muhammad Waseem, *Politics and State in Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2007).130.

Pukhtun Nationalist political party. Factional moves at political grounds by the leaders effected the position of ANP in the electoral grounds.¹¹⁹ During the general elections of 2008 ANP again showed its rise in KP in dramatic move. ANP's inspiration and motivations are derived from the teachings of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan one of the founding fathers of NAP and commonly called Bacha Khan in love by his devoted followers. Party's position is left wing political party.

3.3.2 Political Ideology of ANP

Political Ideology of ANP as per it's given documents is socialist and Marxist which comprises the theme of Progressive Pukhtun Nationalist. It believes in Secularism by implementing democratic socialism with public sector government. It focuses on economic egalitarianism. ANP believes in common man power by making the nation unite and strong under the banner of Nationalism.¹²⁰ Since 1986, ANP has become a representative platform of ethnic groups of Pukhtun of KP. Manifesto of the party is more likely about the needs and demands of Pukhtun of KP as it is more likely a provincial party rather than a National party. The manifesto of ANP is based on three major political areas including the preamble, internal affairs and external affairs. Internal affairs, part of the manifesto, are highlighting the need and improvisation for security, peace and judicial system. The foremost highlighted manifest is about provincial autonomy by the implementation of 18th Amendment of the constitution of Pakistan. It also includes the fiscal reforms and human development with social and economic growth. The preamble part of the Manifesto talks about the spirit of the

¹¹⁹ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000).16.

¹²⁰ Muhammad Waseem, *Pakistan Under Martial Law 1977-1985* (Lahore: Vanguard Book (Pvt) Ltd, 1987).110-116.

Party which is inspired by the teaching of its leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.¹²¹ His teachings are spiritually based on human brotherhood with equality and respect of each and every human being. External affairs talks about better and balanced relationships with neighbouring countries and the West. Overall the manifesto of ANP appeals for its stunt as it stands against extremism and violence. ANP believes in table talks as it finds dialogues the best of negotiations for any in hand problem. ANP claims for strengthening of politico and democratic system with proper rule and law system as base of justice deliverance within societies.¹²²

In the light of organizational structure the founding father of the ANP was Abdul Wali Khan along with Khan Abdul Ghaffar (Bacha Khan). Abdul Wali Khan became the first president of the party. Currently Bacha Khan's Grandson Asfandyar Wali Khan is holding the presidency of the party while Mian Iftikhar Hussain is serving as the General Secretary. Other main leaders of the party include Ajmal Attack Ihsan, Amir Haider Hoti, Ghulam Ahmad Bilour, Zahid Khan, Shahi Syed, Bushra Gohar. ANP has its functioning wings for party matter dealings.¹²³ Pukhtun Students Federation is the student wing of the party while its youth wing is named as National Youth Organization.

ANP has been one of the strong allies of Pakistan People's Party after the Zia's regime. In the general elections of 1997 to 2002 ANP went for some bitter experiences but after the general elections of 2008, ANP secured 15 seats of National Assembly and formed the government in KP in coalition with PPP. The general elections of 2013 were not in favour of ANP as it secured only two seats. ANP's political strategies are more likely based on secularism. ANP supports the non-

¹²¹ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Company Publishers Ltd., 1998).115.

¹²² Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*.106.

¹²³ Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan*.226.

violence policies. It believed in maximum provincial autonomy. It has served mainly in KP and made its representation in political fields as ethnic based party for Pukhtun of Pakistan.

Under the slogan of "Pur Aman Pakistan" (peaceful Pakistan), ANP worked for the stable and peaceful governing system since its creation. ANP emerged as an ethnic political party and got involved in the politic of national level.¹²⁴ For the better and stabilized political system with balanced provincial and federal cadre, it has advocated for implementation of the 18th Amendment of Pakistan's constitution. It believes in leadership under civil rule by discouraging military interventions in Democratic rule in the Country. It condemns external forces' interventions (including foreign states) into internal affairs of the state because ANP promotes autonomy of the state and provinces for institutional developments.¹²⁵

In short ANP is basically a converted form of NAP which became a separate and independent political party of Pakistan in 1986 after so hard political ups and downs. With the belief of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's (Bacha Khan) spiritual teachings, the party has been counted as representative platform of ethnic group of Pakistan's Pukhtun from KP, Baluchistan and Karachi from Sindh. Since its inception the party possesses the non-violence strategy for accessing the rule. It promotes Democratic rule and discourages the military interventions as well foreign forces in the internal affairs of the State.¹²⁶ One most interesting point that in ANP's constitution there was a bar that the President of the party can hold the office at the most for two tenures only, when Wali Khan did not remain the president under this article he was termed Rahbar (Leader) of the party. When Asfan Yar Wali Khan

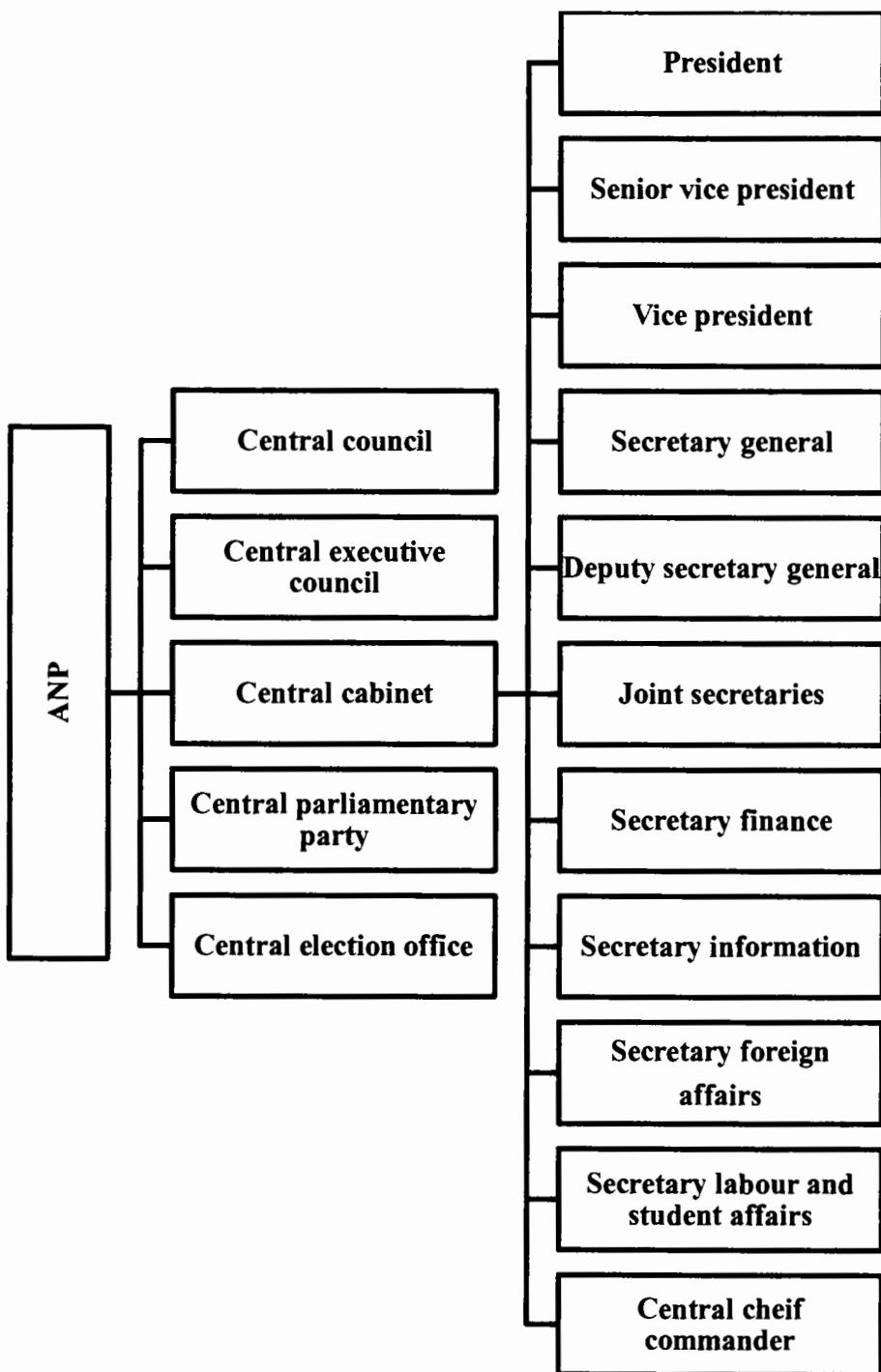
¹²⁴Amin, *Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan*.115.

¹²⁵Talbot, *Pakistan; A Modern History*.116.

¹²⁶Waseem, *Pakistan Under Martial Law 1977-1985*.146.

completed his second term of president ship, the constitution was amended for his sack and the bar of two tenures or terms was changed and hence he is the president of the party till date.

3.3.3 Organizational Structure of ANP



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

3.3.4 Violation of the party constitution

Pakistan's political picture is outlined by a cramped number of affluent families who have shaped their political graphs by influence of power and wealth. Many of these families are from rural landowning and political affinity of their ancestors. Likewise the feudal families holding power in some regions and supremacy based on caste, ethnicity and identity. Politics has been shaped as a monarch by parties drifting electoral seats within their family circles. But, in the concrete they claim to call this democratic selection, making a mockery of people and also ridiculing the state.

In context of dynastical politics, ANP has marked a considerable foothold, shuffling the leadership of their party between their family members. After Abdul Wali Khan, Ajmal Khattak ascended the presidential post of ANP and who was one of his close friends and one of the founding member of ANP. After his eight years of leadership, he was ascended by Asfandyar Wali Khan son of Abdul Wali Khan and grandson of Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan). Asfandyar Wali Khan has been the president of ANP from 1999 till date except one year of leadership of Ehsan Wyne from 2002-2003. Nowadays Aimal Wali Khan son of Asfandyar Wali Khan is seen as a new heir of ANP in its dynastical politics. He is currently serving as a provincial president of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. While ANP writes and claims in their constitution and manifesto that in elections party is meritorious to offer tickets among most loyal members. The Wali family writes their own tickets and seating their sons and grandsons on party tickets.

Likewise party's main leadership seats at the bottom are also dynastical as Muhammad Karim Babak was a MPA of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and after him his nephew Sardar Hussain took his seat and became MPA of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Furthermore, like Amir Haider Khan Hoti former chief minister of KP who is the nephew of Asfandyar Wali Khan, Ghulam Ahmed Bilour former federal minister, his brother Basher Ahmed Bilour provincial MPA of KP and his uncle Haroon Bilour and many more.

The irony is that democracy was introduced to terminate the undivided sovereignty and rule of one person and one family. But, Pakistani politicians managed to sneak in the system and blended the democratic system by intermixing of monarch system. As it seems that it will not come to an end until and unless the people of Pakistan become rational and literate enough to oversee the defect in the political picture.

3.4 Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (F)

3.4.1 Origin

Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (F) right-wing religious political party is factional split of Jamiat Ulama-e Islam which was founded in 1945. JUI came into existence after the elections of 1945 when a large number of Deobandi and Sunni Barelvi Muslim communities of Subcontinent gathered under the label of a religious political platform.¹²⁷ JUI was quite interested in alliance making politics for electoral success. It formed the government in KP with the coalition of NAP.¹²⁸

In 1977, JUI was a leading body of nine-party alliance as anti-Bhutto campaign. Later on JUI led the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) against the rule of General Zia. In 1980s after the death of JUI's president Mufti Mehmood, Fazal-ur-Rahman became the *Amir* of the party. JUI was previously known as Islamic Party but after 1980s' shuffling party more likely became the conservative party which took the command of seminaries and indoctrinated religious students to be motivated towards the ways of Taliban.¹²⁹

This was the period when JUI faced its factional split and Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman became the leader of newly created JUI-F in which F' stands for its leaders name. The second split was headed by Sami-ul-Haq. For years JUI-F worked as a separate and independent party. Later on, in 2018 JUI-S' leader Sami-ul-Haq died and

¹²⁷Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)* (Islamabad: NIPS, 1996).147.

¹²⁸Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*.129.

¹²⁹Kukreja, *Contemporary Pakistan Political Process*.198.

in March 2019, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman pleaded election commission of Pakistan to rename its party once again as JUI.¹³⁰

Under the leadership of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman JUI-F has its ideological links with the Deobandi sect of Islam. Its ideology is based on Islamism, social and religious conservatism. History tells about JUI-F's strong alliance with Secular ideology based political parties of Pakistan such as PPP and ANP. JUI-F more likely follows religious ideological framework for party structure. It seeks for the mission for Pakistan as a state with complete enforcement of Islamic Law and Sharia as the system of governance. Many of the policies and functional structure of the party are based on conservative thoughts. Its belief is totally based on Deobandi School of thoughts. It carries the vision for the young generation of Pakistan as enlightened with the policies and laws of Islamic ideologies.¹³¹

3.4.2 Political Ideology of JUI-F

Under the slogan of "Khuda ki Zamin Par Khuda ka Nizam"(God's law on God's earth) JUI-F Manifesto is based on enforcement of Islamic laws and Sharia. According to the party's given records there are about 22 point based manifesto.¹³² Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman claimed that those basic points highlight the resolutions for the in hand problems of the masses on priorities. Lining from internal affairs of the country the manifesto document includes the all major and functional sectors of Pakistan. From foreign policies to the energy crisis, from educational reforms to the information communication technology the Party counts all the core issues of the people of Pakistan. It condemns the liberalism based rule for which it opposed all other political parties and claimed that those liberal cultures are derived from West. It

¹³⁰ Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*.162.

¹³¹ Dawn(Karachi), 30 August, 2019.

¹³² Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*.162-163.

also oppose the military interventions and its operations in FATA region. It prefers dialogue dealing for negotiations with Taliban.¹³³

JUI-F is currently headed by its Amir Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman. From Historical backgrounds the Party was headed by Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani and Maulana Mufti Mahmood who were the founders of the party. Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Haidri was general secretary of the party. Its political position is right-wing to far-right. Some other foremost members of the party are Maulana Gul Naseeb Khan, Akram Khan Durrani and Maulana Mohammad Khan Sherani. Its National affiliation is Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA).¹³⁴ For the recruitment of new members within the Party, JUI-F more likely depends upon Deobandi mosques and Madrasa which makes it a fundamentally Madrasa oriented theological party. Most of the Party workers come from its religious schools and seminaries where they are being trained. The headquarters of the Party are located in Karachi where gatherings are being called for discussions and decisions.¹³⁵

JUI-F is one of the strongest religio-political parties of Pakistan. It has secured 5 seats of Senate and 13 Seats from National Assembly while 8 seats from Baluchistan Assembly, 16 seats from KP and One seat from Punjab assembly and Gilgit Baltistan Pointing to the roles and performances, JUI-F is continuously triggered between politics of pragmatism and ideology. It is mostly discussed political party of Pakistan which made solid calls for enforcement of Sharia and Islamic laws. On various occasions the party claimed for its stance of practicing Islamic teaching for better and balanced governance system.

¹³³Chengappa, *Pakistan Islamization Army and Foreign Policy*.106.

¹³⁴The alliance of MMA was first made in 2002.See *Daily Dawn* (Karachi) 13 January 2003.

¹³⁵ Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*.164.

The leadership of this political party plays role in the stabilization of political institutions of the country. JUI-F has made core acts for the stabilized political system and smooth governance proceeding. JUI-F is the only political party of Pakistan which has encouraged the table talks as problem solving mood between Taliban and Pakistani government. In 2004, JUI-F's two National Parliamentarians became succeed for arranging a Shakai Agreement between Pakistani government and Taliban Leadership. In 2006, once again JUI-F stood as key factor for negotiating deals between the territories of North Waziristan and KP. JUI-F even went a step up by arranging the negotiated deals between Afghan Taliban and U.S. This made JUI-F in better conditions into the field of politics as compared to JUI-S. JUI-F discouraged the US drone attacks within Pakistan's north western tribal regions. JUI-F's Maulana Fazal ur Rehman headed the Parliamentary committee on Kashmir Issue by holding a staunch position with solid claims regarding the Kashmir Issue. For the sake for proper and stable institutional progress the Party made diplomatic moves and been the ally of different political parties of Pakistan. In 2008, it made coalition with PPP, likewise, in 2013 it became an ally of PML-N and in 2018 it made a broader level of alliance with political parties.¹³⁶

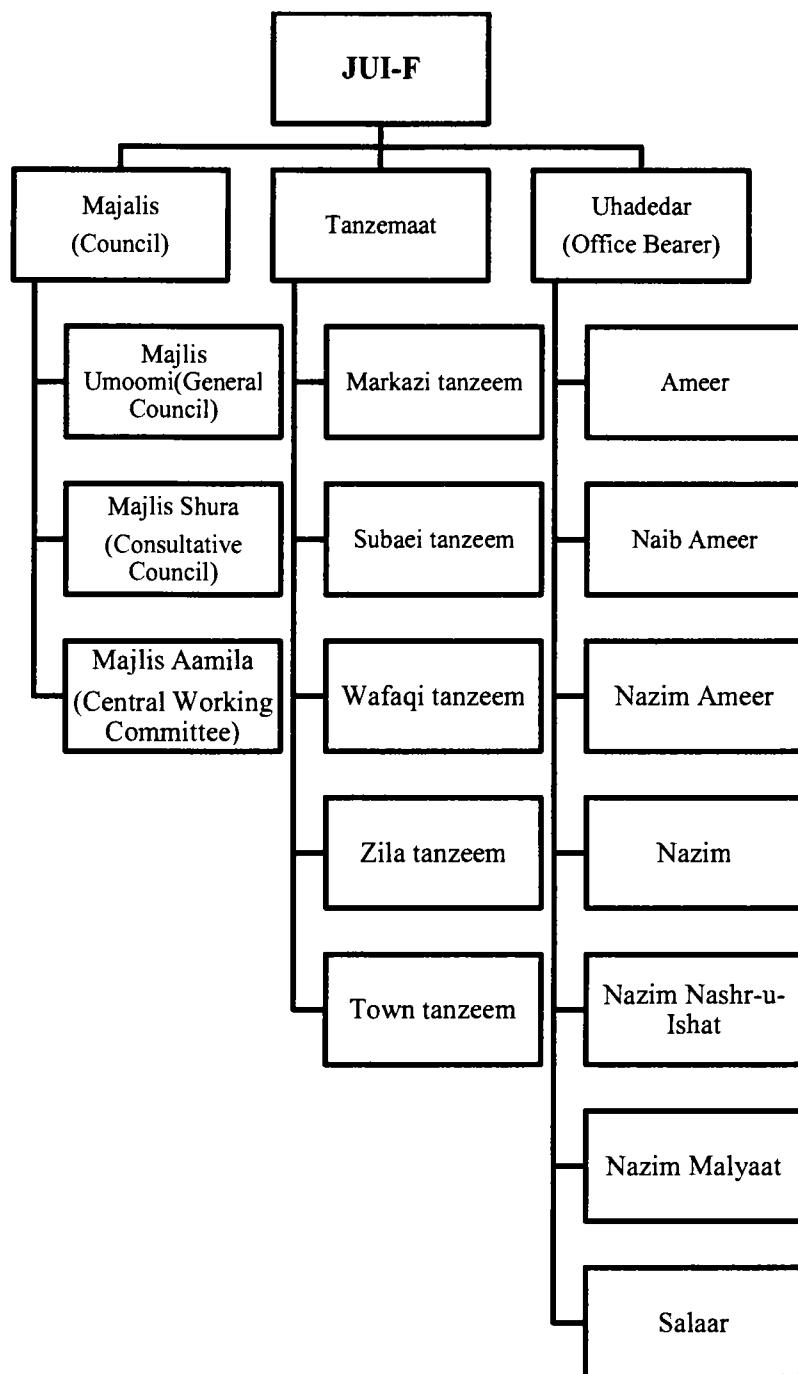
In conclusion, it can be described that JUI-F is right wing religious political party of Pakistan which has its roots and ranks with JUI, one of the cadre of Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind (JUH). Under the leadership of Maulana Fazal ur Rehman, JUI-F a Deobandi sect based political party has developed its status as one of the most influencing religious political party of Pakistan. It has motto of enforcement of Islamic Sharia and Laws for balanced and proper governing system. It prefers Madrasa educational system as prior and official governmental degrees. It has

¹³⁶Dawn(Karachi), 30 January, 2019.

provided some adoptable and appropriate ways for Taliban issues as well as headed the committees for Kashmir issues. It has fellowship all around Pakistan. It has made governments with the coalition of ANP, PPP and PML-N at various phases since being a part of Pakistani Politics.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ (<https://www.dawn.com/news/1406411>). Accessed on 16 March 2020.

3.4.3 Organizational Structure of JUI-F



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

3.4.4 Violation of the party constitution

The present party that runs its proceeding in the name of Islam has also been categorized in the list of dynastic political parties. It is because of their violation of the party constitution. JUI-F claims that it is Democratic Party that follows Islamic teaching. In reality it is acting against its own constitution by doing favouritism, nepotism in selection of office bearers and in distribution of party tickets. The declaration of JUI- F for solving all the social problems in the light of Quran and had this dubious due to undemocratic behaviour within the party politics. In the party, vote is a right of every member to choice their leader, but in dynastic political parties the definition is totally changed. Vote system is formality, there is no any concept of merit, here the top position in party are by choice.

There are various examples of injustice done JUI-F in the selection of office bearers. For example Maulana Rashid Mahmood Soomro was elected as a president of JUI-F Sindh chapter after the sad demise of his father Dr. Khalid Mahmood Soomro. Why the son was selected or elected to replace his father? Why not senior members or workers of the party replaced it? The constitution of JUI-F out rightly discusses the procedure of party elections and this is being violated due to personal interests.

3.5 Dynastic Politics: A Comparative Analysis of Political Parties of Pakistan

Dynastic politics generally refer to legacy of family politics. The organized structure of any political party by which founding fathers of that party enjoy supremacy and dominance over all other members of the party is called dynastic form of politics. In political dynasty most of the family members become involved into politics by taking

it as business.¹³⁸ This business becomes more successive through electoral process. Political dynasties include the involvement of generations. Dynastic families establish their dominance through political and economic tools. That dominance starts from small sectors and leads to national level when members of that dynastic political party become a part of governmental institution finally paves the way to game of politics.

There are two contentions of dynastic politics. First contention is about some characteristics of family backgrounds which lead to the political power of self-perpetuation. Other one is about institutional contention. It is claimed that there are some solid reasons and causes which are responsible for the creating of dynasties.¹³⁹

On the other hand, politics is the way of decision making by the collective options of public. Those decisions are called agreements by which people can live in the form of groups, clans or tribes and countries. Agreements can be developed by taking a lot time due to the involvement of large level of groups.¹⁴⁰

Democratic states may have many threats but among all those threats Political Dynasties are on the top. Political dynasties lead to worst form of politics. According to historians, political dynasties are simply antidemocratic form of rule. It is one of the root causes of the problems faced by Pakistani political structure. It has harsh influences on all matters of Pakistan as a Democratic state; from economic development to social improvements.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*. 139.

¹³⁹ Dal Bo.E. & Snyder.J. "Political Dynasties", *Review of Economic Studies*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (2009):115-42.

¹⁴⁰ Abdul Qadir Mushtaq, Muhammad Ibrahim and Muhammad Kaleem, "Dynastic Politics in Pakistan", *International Journal of History And Research (IJHR)*, Vol. 3, 4 Aug 2013).1-12.

¹⁴¹ Qamar Abid Hussain & Dr. Muhammad Ishaque Fani, "Political Dynasties and Candidate Selection: A Case of Pakistan", *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, March 2020, Vol. 4, No.1.106-120.

3.6 Dynastic Politics: A Curse

Comparison between a national political party and dynastic political party is very tough as resemblances are far-fetched. Such terms are hard for any dynastic political party to preserve the actual qualities of stable and reliable political party which could meet the expectations of the people. Political dynasties are open threat for democracy because they over through the basic concept of merit. The two cannot be justified under the single platform. Presence of dynasties among political officials, decrease the legitimacy of the government. Dynastic politics has direct influence over policy matters as it is responsible for increasing criminal rates within the state.¹⁴² Research shows that political dynasties have lack of attention towards core issues of the state such as educational policies, parliamentary attendances and development funds.¹⁴³

Likewise rising trend of political dynasties is spreading among political system all over the world. Philippines are facing such a hard competition as 60 percent of its political offices are under the dynastic politicians. Pakistan comes at the second as it has 52 percent of dynastic politics. India 29 percent, Japan 27 percent and Canada have 3 percent of dynastic influence on political officials. America is also under the influence of Dynasties as political offices have about 6.2 percent of dynastic politics.

¹⁴²Jones, *The Bhutto Dynasty*.116.

¹⁴³Mariam Mufti, "Dynastic Politics in South Asia", *South Asian Journal*, Vol. 33, No 2. 2009).5-20.

Chapter- 4

Dynastic Politics: PPP and PML-N in Politics of Pakistan

Introduction

In this chapter, the political implications of the dynastic politics on political parties such as Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League-N have been discussed to see how far mentioned these political parties are prone to dynastic politics. Chapter four is mainly focused on the dynastic politics of major operative political parties PPP and PML-N. It also tries to answer the very basic questions of the study that how political parties become a tool in the hands of a few families and how dynastic politics influences the political parties.

The democracy in Pakistani politics exists nominally and even the largest democratic political parties of the country discourage democracy within their organization structures. Resultantly, transparent democracy is questionable in the political parties of Pakistan. This chapter explains that dynastic structure of political parties is inherited refers to a political pattern where top positions are being conferred from a parent or grandparent to their children. Here in Pakistan patronage and kinship play a very important role in politics.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, it has very deep political implications.

This research study also uncover that maximum number of seats in national and provincial assemblies are awarded from father to son, brother to brother, friend to friend and relative to other relatives. In short the 'businesses of politics remain within

¹⁴⁴ Owen Bennett Jones, *The Bhutto Dynasty: Struggle for Power in Pakistan* (London: Yale University Press, 2020).133.

family.¹⁴⁵ The violation of democratic values was also observed within the political parties. Some other interpretations are described here that the mode of promotion of party associates within the structure of political parties was underprivileged and nepotistic. Furthermore, party constitutions provide leverage to family of party leaders.¹⁴⁶

Even membership record was not maintained by some prominent political parties. In this context the present chapter merely sheds light upon Pakistan People's Party. It was analyzed that since its inception Pakistan People's Party proved to be the prominent as well as influential political party in Pakistan. It had grip and successive command in almost all provinces. All over Pakistan PPP earned very striking vote bank and proved it a national voice. It has credit of being first political party to form a government on national standards of Pakistani nation after the separation of East Pakistan (present Bangladesh).¹⁴⁷

In addition there are several dimensional reasons which brought PPP downward. Reasons include mismanagement within party, dynastic structure party, nepotistic intra party elections, misguided steps and immature decisions which made other forces to get PPP's strength from its roots. Secondly, the chapter uncovers genesis of PML-N and its services for the democratic survival of Pakistan. The party was initially supported and covenant by military rule into the governing field of the state, but, recent years situations have become totally opposite from past scenes. Consistent and modified political party creation is a far cry within Pakistani politics.¹⁴⁸ Here some political parties are rooted deeply by the mode of dynastic as well as oligarchic rule. Such political parties have become a set for family based

¹⁴⁵ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*. 102.

¹⁴⁶ Jones, *The Bhutto Dynasty*. 79.

¹⁴⁷ Maleeha Lodhi, *Pakistan: Beyond the Crisis State*. Karachi: Oxford University Press. 196.

¹⁴⁸ Brohi, *The Role of Military in the Politics of Pakistan*. 23-45.

endorsement whereas a few of the families along with their descendants are enjoying the state of ruling class.¹⁴⁹

Present study discusses that dynastic structure of political parties even has broader and extended control over governing system within political parties. In such situations the political parties seem serving as an instrument of political leaders for power gaining game to rule the state with as stable and long term means as they can. Political leaders are found guilty for dirty politics just for the sake of enlarge patronage.¹⁵⁰ Such hard flaws within the structure of political parties paved the way for military intervention and placed political activities within the cage of limits. Origin of the some political parties is linked with political movements of Pakistan and social disorder which got rise since 1937.¹⁵¹

Talking from history, formation and development of such political parties get sparks against colonial system to build ruling system based on nationalism. Parties like Indian National Congress and Muslim League were examples of such nationalist parties.¹⁵² Structural functionalism in this context is also important for the understanding of growth and development of political parties. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's demise in 1948 made it more difficult for Muslim League to carry on smooth functioning of the party structure and party even started struggling behind the walls.¹⁵³ There were also some solid grounds of post-1970 period of political clashes within politics of Pakistan which describe how political parties went through complicated moods.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*. 106.

¹⁵⁰ Lodhi, *Pakistan*. 45.

¹⁵¹ Veena Kukreja, *Military Intervention in Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan*. New Delhi: NBO Publication's Distributors, 1985. 71

¹⁵² Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*. 89.

¹⁵³ Brohi, *The Role of Military in the Politics of Pakistan*. 23-45.

¹⁵⁴ Rafique, *Politics Parties in Pakistan*. 78.

4.1 The Contribution of PPP in the Politics of Pakistan

The theory of structural functionalism elucidates that society, or any organization works like human body which is based on organ system. Different organs work jointly for a structure or system. The proponents of structural functionalism further describe that mutual consensus within a system provides healthy environment.¹⁵⁵ In the structural system of PPP there is no healthy environment because of its improper functioning of organs. Unfortunately, Pakistan's political parties are lacking behind when it comes about the qualities and ground beliefs of a political parties and its implications. Almost all political parties are on the same page in regard of their credibility on international standards.¹⁵⁶

Recent surveys tell about Electoral process within Pakistan. It is very puzzling to justify a winning political party and its policies of dealing which shows the shadows of military and bureaucracy for the establishment of the government.¹⁵⁷ Rise of political parties in Pakistan comes from two phases. First is when Muslim League demanded for Independent state and brought it as Pakistan and second form of Political parties brought up after the East Pakistan as Bangladesh. The second phase was the time when PPP came to the rise and ruled over the state for more than a half decade. The military intervention remained in the line by various means. Sometimes, it is observed in the form of the martial law and military had used to take over the state. In other means it was seen in the form of removal of political parties along with their governments. In the case of PPP, the military intervention was occurred because of founding father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's own defaulted policies too.¹⁵⁸ General

¹⁵⁵Waseem, *Politics and State in Pakistan*.106.

¹⁵⁶ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*.118.

¹⁵⁷ Saeed Shafqat, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto* (Boulder, Colo: West View Press).56.

¹⁵⁸ Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*.123.

Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq interferences within political affairs was a sign of determinant establishment which never stepped back from government issues all the time remained as leading body for core affairs, from elections polls to the political party system, from shaping notions of media and free speech to the control over all manifestoes of democratic orders.¹⁵⁹

4.1.1 The Elementary Structure of Political Parties and State of Administration

It was clearly observed that Pakistan's arrival is another sort of the Military-bureaucratic state. The two States (India and Pakistan got independence from British rule) but it was clearly denoted that the two are very different in means of arrival and governing policies. Congress was an enforcing and rule body under the leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.¹⁶⁰ It made strong reforms under the guidance of Civil Services and founded the basic principles for elected governments as chief body to run the system and formulate the Parliaments. On the other hand, in Pakistan missing of such reforms and Civil Services, Political officials and experts left Pakistan in complicated situations.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was well aware of the burden of running a state and he was quite sure that Muslim League would not be capable of that burden. Muslim League led the independence movement, but, it was very weak and unstructured and unorganized party. Priority for Jinnah was to found well organized state at the time when central institutions were absent. He took the responsibility as General Governor by following the laws of Act of 1935 of Government of India.¹⁶¹ Jinnah's departure just after one year of the inception of Pakistan made the situations even more

¹⁵⁹Shafqat, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan*.

¹⁶⁰Roedad Khan, *Pakistan-A Dream Gone Sour* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹⁶¹Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1983).217.

complicated to be dealt. Though, it was assumed that Pakistan's foundation was based on vice-regal system which was pointed by imperial framework since its creation.¹⁶²

Pakistan's tense situations made it clear that the Military has to take the responsibility as Guardian for all the affairs of the state from domestic to the foreign affairs. It had to build up strategic policies for political system along with military itself. War on Kashmir Concerns soon after the independence added salt to the wounds for Pakistan's complexities.¹⁶³ Pointing to the weakening areas and flaws within institutional structure along with lack of resources made it easy for India to show great consistent threat for newly born State.

These rapid and growing complications made the way forward for the strategic doctrine which basically formed the institutional system of Politics within Pakistan. In such complicities, Pakistan harshly needed the source for deterioration and powerful weapons as protecting power for which Pakistan started making alliances with the United Nations.¹⁶⁴ Initially, Pakistan wanted to be allied with those administrative services which could be helping hands for Pakistan by providing resources and weapons for war along with ensuring the control of large scale of National Budget and centralization of economic development. The Generals were very quick to pick up their roles in decision making and applause for skill, talent and art. They were not in favour of political parochialism, factionalism and faith based movements, distinct approaches among central and provinces by making distinction between the two by

¹⁶² Habib, Hassan..*Babu Brahmins and Bureaucrats*. (Lahore: people's Publishing House, 1973).103.

¹⁶³ Nelofer Qasim Mehdi, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1971-1981: The Search for Security* (Lahore: Feroz Sons, 1999).613.

¹⁶⁴ Rafi Raza, *Pakistan in Perspective 1947-1997* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1977).149.

developing governments of provincialism. For them, these were the actual and internal threats for the State.¹⁶⁵

The Military put its efforts and tried to tackle the situations and in this regard on 8th October, 1956, military had taken over the State under the command of General Muhammad Ayub Khan who later became the President of Pakistan. The military rule continued till 25th March 1969. In General Ayub Khan's rule, economic development was the priority based concern. Ayub Khan made artificial Administrative alliances and manipulated the governing policies. Later on, his policies and artefacts became unachieved. His intention was to make Presidential position even stronger by depoliticizing the governance for he wanted to impose a retrogressive constitution. He offered a system for Presidential elections by direct involvement of about 80,000 Basic Democrats fit for the purpose to avail the control of political parties.¹⁶⁶

Though, Ayub Khan remained unsuccessful to get command over politics and political parties, his regime made success for economic developments. The regime worked for both Modernization in agricultural sector and industrialization into private sector. In such context his rule was impressive. Talking from Economical zone, GDP raised up to 6.6 per cent which previously was at 2.7 per cent. In the years from 1959 to 1965 the GDP jumped to 7.2 per cent which was very impressive. Industrial production also rose up to 160 per cent during his regime. For economists and technocrats that period was like a living dream. These achievements were at another

¹⁶⁵ Muhammad Asghar Khan, *Pakistan: Politics and Military Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).107.

¹⁶⁶ Ziring, Lawrence, *The Ayub Khan* (NY; Syracuse University press, 1971).134.

side from political parties and politics but these were planned, designed and scientific and referred successes.¹⁶⁷

4.1.2 The Call for National Political Party Pakistan People's Party: The Emergence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a young Sindhi Politician who joined the cabinet in the regime of General Ayub Khan with great vision of transformation in Pakistani Politics. It didn't take much time for him to be renowned at various National as well as international platform, from the galleries of Islamabad to London, New York, Beijing, Moscow and so on. Belonging from a wealthy well settled tribe of Sindh, Bhutto was skilful for dimensional purposes. He was well-educated as got qualified from International Institutions as Berkeley and Oxford, zest and ambitious about political concerns and somehow counted as arrogant about feudal system.¹⁶⁸

He had gone through various posts and portfolio before being appointed as Foreign Minister of Pakistan in December 1963. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a straightforward and clear minded Person who never bowed in front of Pro American and Ayub policies.¹⁶⁹ The courage of Bhutto echoed clearly that Post-colonial states are still under struggling lines. They are still obliged to work for their sovereignty and found their own and independent identity for World rather than being commanded by interventionists and neo-colonial minded external factors such as United States who want to rob these newly born states to serve their nation freely and properly.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Ayesha Siddiqua, *Military INC. Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007).94.

¹⁶⁸ Stanely Wolpert., *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan; His Life and Times* (Karachi: Oxford University press, 1993), .3-5

¹⁶⁹ Heeger A. Gerald, "Politics in Post-military State: Some Reflections on Pakistani Experience," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 01, (January, 2011), 242-262.

¹⁷⁰ Shahid Javed Burki, *Pakistan Under Bhutto 1971-1977* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995).137.

He was a truly nationalist who always supported and respected the cause of Kashmir. He served for better relationships with neighbouring states and started from Beijing (China) and named its assess as Unconditional Friendship. China's support was later on pursued by Bhutto in the time of need. Bhutto served in almost four cabinets of General Ayub regime and broke from them because of some core issues about Tashkent Declaration which was signed in 1966 after Pak-Indo War of 1965.¹⁷¹

The actual reason of this clash was raising effects of the war over Kashmir which started from 6th September and led to the Ceasefire which was facilitated by the United Nations in January of 1966 at Tashkent. The increasing clashes of War on Kashmir had made it more complicated for President Ayub and the Army Generals to fight back and the only choice left was of Negotiations.¹⁷²

Bhutto did not accept it and argued that China's military aid could help Pakistan in more adequate way. Another way proposed by Bhutto to handle problems was unconventional warfare dealings.¹⁷³ He opposed the Tashkent Declaration and claimed that Government had made dirty politics by making unfair compromises and favour for Indian Government. Though he could not provide any of the evidence for his claim but his opposition and talks against the Government made it hard for President Ayub to run the system and he kicked him out of the cabinet in February 1966.¹⁷⁴

Bhutto's opposition to the Government on Pak-Indo War of 1965 brought him up as national hero for the young generation of Pakistani youth. His Speech on United Nations' session of Security Council inspired the nation at large scale. The nation

¹⁷¹ Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords Pakistan, Its Army and the works within* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).208.

¹⁷² Gerald, "Politics in Post-military State".44

¹⁷³ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*, 83.

¹⁷⁴ Nawaz, *Crossed Swords Pakistan*.156.

drew the image of Bhutto as true and honest political Leader of Pakistan who was willing to fight for national interests.¹⁷⁵ They thought of President Ayub as mean leader who had been come under the pressure of superpowers. People from all parts of the state, from all fields such as lawyers, journalists, student, and civil Servants started supporting him overwhelmingly and cheered his opposition for Tashkent Declaration. Bhutto was very clear in his words that the deal was simply a propaganda which was a solid attack on nationalism concerns. People of Pakistan made the demand for explanation of gains of the war which were claimed by Islamabad.¹⁷⁶

The scenario sparked Bhutto's vision for political career as an independent politician. On 1st December 1967, Bhutto established the brick of an independent Political Party "Pakistan People's Party" at Lahore. J.A Rahim was the leading body who clearly drew the organizational framework and foundational structure of the Party. He was a former Civil Service Officer of India under British rule. Founding and organizational documents of the Party were based on socialist views promoted by Rahim.¹⁷⁷

Bhutto had served as Cabinet minister for about nine years and sudden move of Building and independent political party was much of dubious but he managed his reputation as Nationalist who truly believed in the vision and ideology given by founding Father of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This influence and following tact of Bhutto made to gain the title of Quaid-e-Awam from his followers and supporters. His leading and main featured objective was to gain power and strengthen the system by his profound views about class based system within the

¹⁷⁵ Gerald, "Politics in Post-military State".67

¹⁷⁶ Johns, *The Pakistan People's Party*.15.

¹⁷⁷ Burki, *Pakistan Under Bhutto 1971-1977*.127

state. It was one of the ground reasons which made him vulnerable about Ayub regime which developed this class based system within the nation.¹⁷⁸

His actual aim was to lead a political movement based on left populist program rather than founding a political party to play politics for which his highly influenced pamphlet was "Roti, Kapra aur Makaan" (bread, cloth and House). His strategies for electoral Process along with coalition with small political and social groups for smooth system running were totally based on Jinnah's ideas. For this he wanted to construct a system which would open ways for negotiations and issues solving rather than controlled organization in the form a political party. For him necessities and reality based demands of practical world were more important than any ideology or organization to be secured. His attitude of wording as "Bhutto is People's Party and the People's Party is Bhutto" denoted as ambitious attitude of service deliverances and serving.

4.1.3 The downfall of Ayub Regime and the General Elections of 1970

On 7th November 1968, the Mass movement of anti-Ayub Regime started and lasted for about 138 days. The movement had left no choice for Ayub and he had to step down. Then, General Yahya Khan, Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan had to take over the state. That mass movement against dictators and generals was one of the longest running uprisings in the modern history of South Asia which was influenced by mostly urban crowd. The movement brought up storming changing within political arena starting from all groups, all classes of society and people from smaller areas and mega cities such as Karachi, Punjab as well as East Pakistan. The movement led to

¹⁷⁸ Johns, *The Pakistan People's Party*.21.

the high number of sacrifices. More than 250 people lost their lives and about one thousands of protestors got injured severely.¹⁷⁹

The mass movement led by People's Party Movement made a great breakthrough for Punjab Province where people from every class voiced for political change. It sparked the emerging age of participatory politics within Pakistan.¹⁸⁰ The drafts by Ayub Khan of political system had not been imposed and adopted. The bigger as well as small groups of political grounds which were earlier pushed back by Ayub Khan earlier in 1958 combined and made huge coalition and performed their role increasing the movement more powerful and forceful against Ayub Khan. The mass movement became the field of battle specifically in March of 1969.¹⁸¹

The law-and-order situations were totally gone distracted when labour force came into streets, buildings were burnt, factories were sealed and brought to the fire, and communication and travelling means were disrupted. The conditions were uncontrollable and brought social disorder all around the state. The call was made for Army's support and help which went against the exceptions.¹⁸² It was simply an ending denotation of the beginning as the Army found it very hard to control without killings of innocent citizens. There was some Corps Command at Lahore which pit their weapons down. It was a clear sign for Ayub not to waste much time and must relinquish the system.¹⁸³

The case of Ayub Khan worked as a practical case for the new Chief Martial Law administrator Muhammad Yahya Khan and he quickly accepted the demands of

¹⁷⁹ Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*. 83.

¹⁸⁰ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*. 99.

¹⁸¹ Gerald, "Politics in Post-military State". 109

¹⁸² Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*. 79.

¹⁸³ Brohi, *The Role of Military in the Politics of Pakistan*. 23-45.

Bhutto and called for the General Elections of 1970.¹⁸⁴ It was for the first time in the history of Pakistan when the General Elections were held without the military interventions. The General Elections were held on 7th December 1970 and counted as ever first fairest and finest elections of Pakistan. The Movement led by PPP against Ayub regime rose up the election campaign, addition to this; supportive groups from all sectors including staff and labour Union, engineers, teachers, lawyers strengthened the roots of PPP.¹⁸⁵

Numerous organized small groups from Karachi and Punjab called themselves as party units. Those people were very new to the politics but their will for PPP stood on the top. Organized groups and units played their roles and gained the vote bank with acceptances of Bhutto for party organization. Bhutto's will power and act of influential speech worked as key factor and conveyed his message in most effective words into the hearts' of people from every class of the society (specially lower class).¹⁸⁶ His word deliverance techniques were inspirational even for man from bottom of the society (including every profession from lower to the higher ranks). Bhutto became a face for those neglected people of the society and served a sense of dignity, respect and humanity for them. This sense of respect became a solid reason for PPP's gaining of Vote bank in the elections of 1970.¹⁸⁷

The election results were not so much surprising but full of excitement and outstanding view of success for PPP. PPP won 62 out of 82 National Assembly seats from Punjab Province and 18 out of 27 from Sindh Assembly. Religious and independent groups got Victory at Karachi. Winning colours from Punjab's small

¹⁸⁴ Jones, *The Bhutto Dynasty*. 182.

¹⁸⁵ Wolpert, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan*. 126.

¹⁸⁶ Brohi, *The Role of Military in the Politics of Pakistan*. 23-45.

¹⁸⁷ Nawaz, *Crossed Swords Pakistan*. 255.

towns and mega cities made the position of PPP strong.¹⁸⁸ The electoral picture of Punjab was likely resembling with of 1946 as it was a victory of political party over loyalists of traditional parochial which came to the field as participatory politics in the sort of mass movement against Ayub regime. Parochial identities remained at the lowest point as the electoral process made it difficult for landlords and clan based leaders to perform as per their wishes. This time vote bank of supporters asked for back deliverance services and elected leaders were biding of the demands of voters.¹⁸⁹

Though military and bureaucrats were surprised of PPP's victory but more shocking incident was of Awami League's victory in East Pakistan. Tensions remained at peak as challenges for General Yahya Khan were more complicated to make decision among the two emerged powerful political wings.¹⁹⁰ It was alerted that succession of Awami League could lead to the disastrous conditions and clear cry for civil war across the state might be sparked. At concluding point PPP got the power command of West PPP where 82 out of the 136 seats of the National Assembly were bagged by PPP and no any other opposite group was credible to takeover Bhutto's Government.¹⁹¹

4.1.4 Bhutto's Tenure of Power

There might be historians in coming ages who argue on Bhutto's strategy for saving half of Pakistan and developing it as viable and reliable state by moulding new and successive directions. Military-bureaucracy also remained at side because it had measured the power and strength of PPP's populism among the masses.¹⁹² Downfall of

¹⁸⁸ Johns, *The Pakistan People's Party*.13.

¹⁸⁹ Shafqat, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan*.71.

¹⁹⁰ Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan*.114.

¹⁹¹ Wolpert, Z.A. *Bhutto of Pakistan*.91.

¹⁹² Shahid Javaid Burki, *A Revisionist History of Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd, 1998), 43.

Ayub regime along with Surrender in Dhaka was worthy lesson incidents for military which left the field of rule and politics all alone for PPP to form the government and run the System. After elections, from 1972 to 1977, was the period of sovereign governing system in Pakistan led by Bhutto's authority based on electoral success along with disastrous event of East Pakistan (Bangladesh).¹⁹³

Bhutto negotiated with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at Shimla and sought a better deal for the return of military and civilian POWs. On the other hand, the reports were made for detailing the failure of military and army which led to the separation of East Pakistan (example Hamood-ur-Rehman Commission Report) but he left all those issues because he wanted the sovereignty of the institutions.¹⁹⁴ He denoted that generals and politics must be on other pages and must deal the affairs without any of the two's interventions. The major challenge for Bhutto was constituency to establish parliamentary system again. For which he assigned a commission. He also ordered for well-structured and formulated constitution for the Islami Jahanriyah Pakistan.¹⁹⁵ He made the efforts by meeting leaders of Islamic states and invited them to bring Islamic Summit at Lahore for which he even made the orders for releasing of Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rehman, who was the Leader of Awami League Party and had got arrested. Bhutto made him get back to Dhaka after been released. Initiative programs for making Pakistan a Nuclear Power was also led by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. For which he exited the US-backed Central Treaty Organization and made the stronger dealings with neighbouring China.¹⁹⁶

He was quite sure of constituencies of his Party. He made the distribution of lands among farmers though the bureaucratic dragging and arguments remained all

¹⁹³ Ashok Kapur, *Pakistan in Crisis* (London: Routledge: Publications, 1991).176.

¹⁹⁴ Wolpert, Z.A. *Bhutto of Pakistan*.96.

¹⁹⁵ Kapur, *Pakistan in Crisis*, 59.

¹⁹⁶ G.W. Choudhary, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: C. Hurst, 1974).161.

the time. He promoted the scientific and research programs and invested for learning programs such as schools and colleges. He facilitated for health institutions and provided the lands for hospitals and operating buildings. He developed core interest for infrastructural schemes along with educational. Though his schemes did not work as it was expected for nationalization and had made the industrialists, businessmen and people from commercial classes bitter enemies of Bhutto. Economic situations in PPP's government had become opposite as compare to Ayub regime. Before the general elections of 1977, the GDP (Gross domestic product) growth went to its least points as it was recorded as 0.83 per cent.¹⁹⁷

The situations and scenarios after the success of the elections of 1970 went opposite of Bhutto's power assumptions. Flaws within organizational structure and framework of Party made it hard for Bhutto to overcome the problems. At that time he had found no any other solution and he reopened the doors for bureaucracy and administrative institutions. PPP's failure to become an organization and stable party occurred because of lack of interest of party chairman to build up party's structure based on functionalism. The disorder within party as well as government had showed the exit way to so many senior members of the PPP including Rahim.¹⁹⁸ This was the rapid momentum which paved way for landlords and businessmen and they started becoming a part of PPP. Khosas and Lagharis of Dera Ghazi Khan, Qureshis, Bandials, Tiwanas and Pirchas of Sargodha along with several descendants from Bukhari Sayyad's linages (including Pir, Mughals, Kurangas and Shah Jiwana), the Daultans, Gilanis, Khakwanis and Qureshis from Multan, the Kharrals from Faisalabad, Jodhra Rajputs of Attock and some other tribal and feudal mind-set politicians joined the PPP which tilted the Party Structure to dynastic system. Some

¹⁹⁷ Burki, *Pakistan under Bhutto*. 180.

¹⁹⁸ Khan, *We've Learnt Nothing from History Pakistan*. 158.

other members which became a part of PPP were retired civil service moguls including Malik Khuda Bakhsh Bucha, and Aziz Ahmed. This made landlords ensured for getting back their access of lands, prestige, power, pelf and patronage.¹⁹⁹

He developed agencies to get better and quick information access regarding domestic as well as other sensitive affairs. He strengthened the information resources specifically Intelligence Bureau and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI).²⁰⁰ Brig. Retired Sayyad A.I.Tirmazi, who was the head of Information Counterintelligence, described Bhutto's reliability over ISI. He said that ISI was the key source for the information gaining during the general elections of 1977 and Government was fully guided by the reports made by the references of ISI based on domestic roles.²⁰¹ Prime Minister was getting in hand information about all his friends and foes. As originated from deep state system in Pakistan, Bhutto was counted as first domestically elected leader of Pakistan.²⁰²

Z. A. Bhutto's negative image rose up very soon after his second tenure. Bhutto's increasing tensions over state matters led to the violence. He was also accused of murder. Out of limit use of force made the situations more critical. Call was made to Federal Security Force (FSF) to seek for the domestic affairs and it was the army to aid the civil power.²⁰³ This step went totally against the laws as recruitment of Thugs and ineligible men within law enforcing fields as policemen for controlling with rising disorders within the state made the situations out control. Vows of Prime Minister for using FSF as personal assistant in all matters since 1973 sounded loud but it effected bitterly on 11th November1974 after Nawab Muhammad

¹⁹⁹ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*.121.

²⁰⁰ Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*.267.

²⁰¹ Brian Cloughley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: War and Insurrections*, Second ed. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000).87.

²⁰² Tirmazi, Syed A.I. 1995 *Profiles of Intelligence*.Lahore: Combined Printers.191.

²⁰³ Wolpert, Z.A. *Bhutto of Pakistan*.100.

Ahmed Khan Kasuri's murder while he was travelling in Lahore along with his son Nawabzada Ahmed Khan Kasuri, a member of the National Assembly who was one of the elementary supporters from student federation for Bhutto and PPP. Raza Khan Kasuri became agonist of Bhutto and PPP after his father's brutal murder. He joined the opposition and alleged Prime Minister Bhutto of his Father's murder. This case dragged Bhutto into Capital Murder case and was sentenced to death in 1979.²⁰⁴

Disorders within party, increasing number of landlords along with Prime Minister's rely upon his secretariat alerted the bells for the get back to administrative state by putting PPP at its former position. It was not expected before the general election of 1977 as Bhutto made a special cell to get access over power. The cell was joined by various active members including senior civil servants and officers with specific tasks to do. Arrangements for the elections were not as broader as any record showed PPP's interests in bigger campaign for the elections.²⁰⁵ It was limited for Tahsil levels as some of the individuals made run the campaigns below the Tahsil level. No documentation showed Bhutto's efforts for the electoral victory for which he manipulated the resources of Government by using vehicles and intelligence agencies to assure the success in the general elections of 1977.²⁰⁶

The alliance of about nine opposition political parties under the shelter of the Pakistan National Alliance made the elections campaigns free-for-all and it nominated a single candidate from PNA to contest the election against PPP in the National Assembly's 169 constituencies. Pakistan's constituency structure system made a great challenge for Bhutto who was in favour of two-third success for electoral success.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ Azhar Suhail, *Sindhri Sey Ojhari Camp Tak (From Sindhri to Ojhari Camp)* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1991).64.

²⁰⁵ Burki, *Pakistan under Bhutto*.144.

²⁰⁶ Wolpert, Z.A. *Bhutto of Pakistan*.100

²⁰⁷ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*.122.

The slogan of 'Nizam e Mustafa' (Islamic Governance) led by PNA which was mostly allied by religious political parties specifically Jamiat-ul-Ulama-e-Islam's Maulana Mufti Mehmood had become a threat for Bhutto.²⁰⁸

The key element of Islamic portrait was used against Bhutto as he mostly followed western lifestyle. Fear of failure made Bhutto insecure and his bureaucratic electoral system became unfavourable. Bhutto made the huge use of force to make separate constituency for elections and from Larkana he was the only candidate for the constituency. Social disorders disrupted the system, several attacks of violence occurred within the campaigns of oppositions, hundreds of candidates were sentenced to death and brutally murdered, candidates were forced to withdraw from electoral contest. Bhutto had the hand to hand information from ISI about on-going tussles and situations.²⁰⁹

The 7th March 1977 was selected day for the general elections of 1977 along with provincial assembly elections within three days. As per submitted reports the elections were rigged as ballot boxes were stolen as well as closing of polling stations for the supporters of opposition. As per announced results PPP won the elections with the margin of fourth-fifth in the National Assembly seats. Oppositions rejected the results and boycotted the elections. PNA made the demand for re-elections for which Bhutto rejected the demand.²¹⁰ Again increasing disorder led to the street protest by opposition political groups specifically student groups of JI and Islami Jamait-ul-Tulba (IJT) made violent protest at the streets. Situations went for more drastic condition and breakdown of law and order in mega cities as Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta and urban Punjab. ISI reportedly guided Bhutto about thirty three specified

²⁰⁸ Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*.86.

²⁰⁹ Burki, *Pakistan under Bhutto*.159.

²¹⁰ Wolpert, *Z.A. Bhutto of Pakistan*.103.

constituencies where the oppositions candidates were robbed of their victory. ISI suggested Bhutto for the re-elections but he denied because his fear of being failure had been accumulated by him. Bhutto's neglecting attitude for any sort of negotiations sparked the protest of PNA and converted it into mass movement.²¹¹

The military intervened as situations had been out of control of civil governments and official. About three brigades were called out in Lahore for controlling the situations. Chief of Army Staff General Zia-ul-Haq promulgated the martial law and Bhutto got chained into his own game. Bhutto was not just removed from the office but was also charged for Nawab Muhammad Khan Kasuri's murder and was sent to Jail.²¹²

Weaken and shaken structure of PPP was one of the counted factors of Bhutto's failure. It was not as strong party which decreased its dependency over bureaucracy in the general elections of 1977. Bhutto thought of rearranging and restructuring of PPP but the timing was not in his favour of him. The most risky act for Bhutto was dependency over bureaucracy. The dark side of Bhutto was so tricky to be accepted. For so many national as well as international students, boundaries journalists and scholars Bhutto would be the impressing personality.²¹³ But Bhutto's dealings with Ayub and his quest for power made it bitter for him to keep an eye of loyalty over institutional matters. Once he himself accepted that he always desired for power, for which he even forgot the standards and required qualities of Leadership for balanced and maintained coordination between opposing forces. Bhutto's determination of power led him to overreach. Bhutto's major mistake was the

²¹¹ Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*.90.

²¹² Burki, *Pakistan under Bhutto*.163.

²¹³ Wolpert, Z.A. *Bhutto of Pakistan*.131

formation of FSF along with appointment of General Zia-ul-Haq as Chief of Army Staff after General Tikka Khan.²¹⁴

Zia was also focused on his strategies to get command over generals achieving ranks of corps and commanders specifically with conservative mind set for religious beliefs and who were narrowly qualified brought up in middle class families of lower origins. Bhutto even openly threatened General Zia-ul-Haq when they met at the Lahore High Court after the hearing of the same case. Zia calculated the scenarios and position of Z. A. Bhutto at weakened point due to his flaws and as his charisma of power became lower. He judged the situations and dragged Bhutto into caged with planned coup.²¹⁵

4.1.5 PPP under the Leadership of Benazir Bhutto

After the execution of its founder Z. A. Bhutto, the Pakistan People's Party remained under the game of power gaining and over lived under the leadership of Z. A. Bhutto's eldest daughter Benazir Bhutto who had been trained and guided for the platform by her father. General Zia-ul-Haq made it even more difficult for the Bhutto Family to fight back for political powers and that rudeness resulted into the exile of Benazir Bhutto which was one of the most effective incidents for Pakistan's external as well as domestic systemic structure. One of the profound changes within Pakistan's political environment was Islamization program carried by General Zia after being President of Pakistan. He tried to mould and reconstructs the overall system of social and Pakistan's political field including democratic and Parliamentary structure and domestic affairs.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ K.M. Arif, *Khaki Shadows, Pakistan 1947-1997* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).147.

²¹⁵ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*.132.

²¹⁶ Mumtaz Ahmad, "The Crescent and the Sword: Islam, the Military and Political Legitimacy 1977-

He wanted to eliminate the party politics system which was clearly reflected by his policies and programs for which he made sympathetic terms with JI. Zia was influenced by JI's policy making system which was based on power seeking system. Zia made the replacements within army ranks and appointed the officers of his own choice and mind set. He appointed many orthodox conservatives and Islamist minded members from the JI within judiciary, army, ISI, bureaucracy and even appointed as professors of Universities, to drive the young generation in his selective pattern.²¹⁷

Another factor was quick and random change within regional security environment of Pakistan which placed Pakistan within insecurity. Irani Revolution after the fall of Shah of Iran in February 1979, the invasion of Soviet Union in Afghanistan in December of the same year, and the search for regional Policy by Washington for countering the Moscow's Southward moves and its opposition for looming nuclear program of subcontinent in sense of decline of sovereignty of the states of South Asia, were some influencing incidents from Political History for regional power shuffling. Soviet intervention within Pakistan's internal affairs and Zia's handling policy echoed that coming decade would be witnessed by oligarchy and military bureaucratic rule within political society of Pakistan.²¹⁸

In September 1981 Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan and made the coalition of PPP with about eight political groups and led the mass movement against Zia's regime. The movement was entitled as Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD).²¹⁹ This movement could not give much success to PPP this is why in 1988, before the general elections of 1988 Benazir Bhutto cut the ties with it. Benazir

1985." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 03, (Summer, 1996): 372-386.

²¹⁷ Brohi, *The Role of Military in the Politics of Pakistan (1977-1988)*.23-45.

²¹⁸ Arif, *Khaki Shadows*.113.

²¹⁹ Farkhanda Bukhari, *Ye Bazi Ishq Ki Bazi hai (It is the Matter of Intense Love)* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2012).65-66.

Bhutto's long term distance from Pakistani Politics made it a bit hard for her to reconnect all the dots of Party elements because in her absence, her Younger Brothers Murtaza Bhutto and Shahnawaz Bhutto organized a half-backed terrorist group named Al-Zulfikar. The purpose of this terrorist group was to target Military leaders for which they got help and guide from the well settled Terrorist organization from Kabul KHAD (Khadamat-e-Aetela'at-e-Dawlati). The organization had also hijacked an Aircraft of Pakistan International Airline which was travelling from Peshawar to Dubai when made its way for Kabul. This incident resulted in the execution of a Pakistani Foreign Service Officer by Bhutto Brothers and Benazir Bhutto was once again got caged in solitary confinement.²²⁰

She made her second return in April of 1986 after making strong links for PPP with Central Committee at London. She trolled the campaigns for Democratic system once again. In December of 1988, after the puzzling and sudden death of Zia-ul-Haq in a plane crash made it easy for Supreme Court to call upon for the general Elections. Though the senior members of PPP including Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi were strongly against Benazir Bhutto she stayed with precedence and went for the Victory of the general elections of 1988.²²¹

PPP secured the vote bank for 122 out of 206 seats of the National Assembly. It could be even big success for PPP but the intervention of ISI for the support of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and other religious groups of conservatives units bounded the success of PPP in the elections. By making alliance with Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) PPP gained additional 13 seats. Following this PPP won the elections with majority and Benazir Bhutto became the first Muslim Women

²²⁰ Raja Anwar, *The Terrorist Prince: The Life and Death of Murtaza Bhutto*, (London: Verso, 1997), 95.

²²¹ Farkhanda Bukhari, *Ye Bazi Ishq Ki Bazi Hai (It is the Matter of Intense Love)* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2012), 71-78.

Leader of a Muslim state to form the government. During this period she was married to Asif Ali Zardari, a businessman of landed antecedent. Her first child son is Bilwal Bhutto-Zardari.

After developing coalition with independent member she tried to bring Pakistan out of critical issues. But in August 1990 her government was dismissed by the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Benazir Bhutto again contested elections of October 1990 but could not succeed in majority and lead the parliamentary opposition. In elections of 1993 she successfully formed the coalition and became prime minister of Pakistan for the second time. Her successful tenure came to an end by President Farooque Leghari after the political assassination of her brother late Mir Murtaza Bhutto. In elections of 1997 Benazir Bhutto lost her voter turnout and PML-L succeeded to gain power in the parliament.

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In the running tensions of terrorist groups Benazir Bhutto decided to make her return for political battle within Pakistan. On 8th October 2007 she stepped at Karachi

Airport where thousands of PPP workers welcomed her.²²² This return marked the disastrous situations as a huge terrorists' bomb attack caused for the killing of about 179 innocent citizens and hundreds got injured. This troll of opposition further proceeded until her assassination at Liaqat Bagh Rawalpindi, on 27th December 2007, where she delivered her last speech during her election campaign.²²³ Before her assassination Benazir Bhutto was told by both the Musharraf Government officials and Muslim leaders of foreign states that suicide squads had prepared solid plans for her murder. It was rumoured that master mind of that deadly planned plot was the head of Tehreek-e-Taliban-e-Pakistan (TTP) Baitullah Mehsud. After her assassination, both President Parvez Musharraf and US CIA director blamed Baitullah Mehsud for her murder.²²⁴

4.1.6 Transfer of Bhutto Dynasty to Asif Ali Zardari

After Benazir Bhutto's death, her husband holds the command of party affairs as he claimed that Benazir Bhutto designated him and his son as political successor. PPP won the general elections of 2008 and form the government. Asif Ali Zardari was elected as President of Pakistan.²²⁵ Zardari's choice for Yousif Gilani as Prime Minister became beneficial in south Punjab. PPP pacified the situations as Judiciary was facing hard times under the time of President Parvez Musharraf. Zardari's businessman mind set opened the ways for elite class to whom he made great favouring deals.²²⁶ Floods of July 2010 made him under pressure for not being with Nation in hard times as one fifth of the Pakistan got destroyed. In 2010 Zardari signed the 18th Amendment bill which curtailed the power of President and turned it into a

²²² *The Dawn*, (Karachi) 09 October 2007. Also see *The Kawish*(Hyderabad), 09 October, 2007.

²²³ *Kawish*, (Hyderabad) 28-30 December, 2007.

²²⁴ Report on BBC News, 18 January, 2008.

²²⁵ Saagar Samejo, *Pakistan Khayy, Asif: Another Hope* (Lahore: Al-Hamd Publications, 2009).92.

²²⁶ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*.88.

ceremonial office. PPP had become the first democratic party of Pakistan from political history which completed its tenure of five years in the office.²²⁷

The general elections of 2018 witnessed the changing moves of PPP after Benazir Bhutto's twenty-nine years old son Bilwal Bhutto Zardari stepped into the career of politics of Pakistan after being graduated from Oxford University. Bilwal Bhutto first time showed the sign of Political career in January 2014 while he organized the Moen Jo Daro Cultural Festival which represented the theme of rich culture and traditions of Sindh. Bilwal Bhutto's strategies for progressive and structural party system are inspired by both his grandfather and mother's vision.²²⁸

On the one hand he is stressing for adoption of rhetorical mannerisms offered by Z.A.Bhutto by asking about martyrdom of his mother Benazir Bhutto. On the other hand, he is strongly making appeals to youth. Under his views PPP's historical manifesto for elections expanded its promise as "Roti, Kapra aur Makaan, Ilm, Sehat aur Sab ko Kaam" (Bread, clothing, and shelter; education, health and jobs for all).²²⁹ Bilawal Bhutto has a great challenge for making Party's mind set as per needs of the Nation. Bilawal Bhutto wants to make PPP a National party which must be above the provincial boundaries. This is why he is making trips to the Punjab Province to gain support from central Punjab. He might be aware of PPP's decline from Punjab province during the general elections of 2013. In future it would be PTI which is going to be to a strong challenge for PPP, not PML-N.²³⁰

²²⁷ *Kawish*, (Hyderabad) 15 December, 2013.

²²⁸ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*. 97.

²²⁹ Samejo, *Pakistan Khayr, Asif: Another Hope*, 99-102.

²³⁰ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*. 101.

4.2 The Rise of Pakistan Muslim League -N (1985-1988)

As per amendment in Article 41 section 7 of the constitution of Pakistan it was declared that a person would be able to hold the charge of both, President of the State and Chief of Army Staff at the same time. President's Power to dissolve the National Assembly was formulated by amendment in section 2(b) of Article 58 of the constitution. It stated that when situations would seem out of the control of Government of federation the President would be authorized to dissolve National Assembly and call for electoral process.²³¹

The constitutional amendment was fully accepted and passed by the parliament and counted as 18th Amendment. The Muslim League got the chance to hold the office of governing bodies with extraordinary support of military regime. Late Muhammad Khan Junejo who was the devotee of Pir Pagaro, became the first Military rule appointed leader of the Parliament and elected as Prime Minister of Pakistan.²³² Muhammad Khan Junejo was very supportive and cooperative politician which quickly got the impression of friendly and balanced connection of power sharing with the Military. That kind of change in political structure of the state provided great opportunity for Muslim League to draw the image as Political Party which restored the democracy along with revival of the party.²³³ But the image was soon converted into dirty picture when the nation observed that under the rule of Zia, The Military allowed just power sharing process rather than power transfer to the elected leaders.²³⁴

²³¹ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University, 2011), 241.

²³² Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 281.

²³³ Arif, *Khaki Shadows*, 128.

²³⁴ Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, 212.

Junejo policies and intervention into foreign affairs as well as in domestic matters made the military restless. Military's expectations did not meet as Junejo didn't follow it. When Junejo made shuffling within the cabinet members and appointed chief of Intelligence Bureau without the approval of the Military, it was alarming note for the Military. Some other disconcerted incidents for the Military were such as civilian governments allowed Benazir Bhutto's return to Pakistan in 1986.²³⁵

All parties' conference on Afghanistan issue in March 1988 and Foreign Ministers approval for Geneva Peace Pact in April of the same year which hinted that Pakistan's civilian government had desired for balanced and friendly relationship with neighbouring Afghanistan. Such actions made the Military uncomfortable. That ill-will between the two powerful paradigms brought civilian leadership and Military at the brink of hostility. In May 1988, Zia-ul-Haq made another shocking decision by removing self-installed government of Muslim League while exercising presidential powers enshrined by 18th Amendment of the constitution.²³⁶

However, in the power game Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was retained by the Military as chief minister of Punjab after dissolution of the assemblies. Due to his close affiliation with the military leaders he succeeded to continue his power that ultimately gave him idea to establish PML-N in the political arena of Pakistan and to appear as the front line representation of Muslim League in Punjab province.²³⁷ During this period, politics and political leadership passed different phases of evolution. It was very hard to survive under military owned regime.

²³⁵Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 198.

²³⁶Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 204.

²³⁷Shafqat1, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan*, 166.

So, for the control of domestic politics Zia's Military regime (1977-1988) adopted three prong strategies. First were the facilitating policies of patronage for political leaders who stood for Military rule with acceptances of every command given by Generals.²³⁸ Initially, this strategy was introduced by Ayub Khan during his rule. Later on, it was practised on by the military regimes. Second strategy was institutionalization of Islam as state religion and legitimization of Islamic laws and Sharia for policymaking formulation. The PNA movement and its enforcing ideology served as key momentum factor which helped to strengthen the credibility of Islamization even more.²³⁹

Third was about to take out Punjab province from the control of PPP by the patronage system in politics and supportive notion for alternative leadership. Strategies of privatization and decentralization of Military brought the middle-class to the front fore and made open space for business and elite class to make easy access into political arena. This was the time when Nawaz Sharif had become popular face of leadership in Punjab Province. Quick policy of Zia's regime was to make open way of political career for those politicians who were enough able to help to sustain hegemonic status of military rule.²⁴⁰ The genesis of Nawaz Sharif's political career was deeply linked with military. The actual cause of this link was Nawaz Sharif's father who had strong connections with General Ghulam Jilani, former ISI chief. Jilani was appointed as governor of Punjab by General Zia as reward of Jilani's role in the coup of 1977. Such connections made it easy for Nawaz to replace Benazir Bhutto's position.²⁴¹

²³⁸ Brohi, *The Role of Military in the Politics of Pakistan*, 23-45.

²³⁹ Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*, 107.

²⁴⁰ Shafqat1, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan*, 176.

²⁴¹ Hussain, Zahid, *Frontline Pakistan: The struggle with Militant Islam* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 25.

A new incumbent in politics, Nawaz Sharif was appointed as finance minister in the cabinet of Punjab in 1984. The landlords and business groups served Nawaz Sharif's position for power transition. It was the time for socioeconomic changes in Punjab. After the death of General Zia in 1988, Nawaz Sharif started opposing the policies provided by Junejo. He stood against Junejo for calling Benazir Bhutto back to the political field. Discontent within the party occurred when Fida Muhammad Khan²⁴² took control of half of the party and Nawaz Sharif had appointed as General Secretary. At the same time Nawaz was Chief Minister of Punjab Province. He was fully willing to acquire the power of Punjab bureaucracy. Nawaz went for personal connections and affiliations with business elite class for development of stable and consistent position of PML-N. His leadership led PML-N on the footsteps of military rule and detracted the image of the party which was earlier overwhelmed on the theme of democracy restoration. Political policies and stunts of PML-N were seemed as Military rule's representation rather than the agendas of civilian government.²⁴³

General Zia's death made unexpected swifts in military. Military called for elections and participation of political parties for democratic rule. Ghulam Ishaq Khan was elected as President of Pakistan; Mirza Aslam Bag became Chief of Army Staff while Nawaz Sharif's grip over Punjab province remained unchanged. Military's unfavourable policy for PPP remained unchanged. It was clearly acknowledged that the creation of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) was brought up by some hidden forces for the sake to take over the powers from PPP. IJI was broader coalition of religious groups, political parties including PML-N along with other wellbeing political parties. PPP's position in Punjab remained enough strong till August 1990 but after that IJI's coalition got charge by making divisions in powers. Punjab was the Central target for

²⁴² Waseem, *Pakistan Under Martial Law 1977-1985*, 142

²⁴³ Sartaj Aziz, *Between Dreams and Reality: Some Milestones in Pakistan's History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 92.

PPP since 1970s but this time coalitions led by PML-N robbed the populism of PPP. Disorder and battles for power game made call for General Elections of 1990 and the results went in support of PML-N which formed the Government in Punjab.²⁴⁴

4.2.1 The Leadership of Nawaz Sharif

It was clearly denoted that rise of PML-N was started from 1980's political as well as power shuffling. Nawaz Sharif brothers developed their strong position via political fields to make it family business by setting an empire in Punjab. Some merits of such strategies were observed after the political phase of 1988 when Nawaz Sharif started dealing the political affairs by possessing the qualities of self-confident and a mature-minded politician. He started making anti PPP connections who allowed PML-N into Punjab. Nawaz Sharif showed great sympathetic tact towards elites, businessmen and landlords who were loyalists and true supporters of PML-N. Along with it, Sharif brothers grip over seasoned international as well as national bureaucratic margins was key factor which strengthened the position of PML-N in Punjab.²⁴⁵

First tenure of Nawaz Sharif's rule (1990-1993) was focused on economic sector for which he increased avenues of investments for private markets. Sartaj Aziz a well-known influential bureaucrat and a competent economist had played a very important role in that connection. Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Aziz himself came into clashes due to some misconceptions. Special assistance from Nawaz Sharif's side made such efforts to pacify the situations but the efforts did not go in favour of Nawaz Sharif as conflicts rose with even more officials including bureaucrats.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience* (Gurgaon: Random House India, 2015), 241-242.

²⁴⁵ Mohammad Farooq Qureshi, *Nawaz Sharif- Quaid-Hazib-Ikhtilaf ki Siyasat/ Nawaz Sharif-Politics of the Leader of Opposition* (Lahore: Gora, 1995), 29-35.

²⁴⁶ Sartaj Aziz, *Between Dreams and Reality: Some Milestones in Pakistan's History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 233.

Nawaz Sharif's father was an old hand in business dealing matters. He was well aware of it that building Business Empire and getting strong position by financial means would be impossible without bureaucratic cooperation. Nawaz Sharif followed his father's footsteps and made various decisions in favour of bureaucrats by making desired transfers and postings to get loyalists supporters. In the year of 1990, changing moods for infrastructural developments and rapid foreign exchange dealings were policy based notes which led Nawaz Sharif to the path of office command. This was the era of industrialization within Pakistan as various business elites made deals for main sectors such as telecommunication, shipping, electricity and so on. In the period of 1990 to 1993 Gross Domestic savings reached at about 1.7 per cent. Rates of import and export were also increased by 14 percent.²⁴⁷

Though the outlook of those changes was positive but challenges were also on the same page. Increasing rate of inflation and fiscal deficits were some serious hurdles of the period. Pakistan was put under sanctions because of its nuclear program and foreign assistances from US were also declined because it was clearly pointed by US that Pakistan must stop its nuclear program.²⁴⁸ Nawaz Sharif's priorities were about personal interests and stable position in politics for which he chose the way of core links with bureaucracy. Though he came into power with the support of IJI and its coalition but he left them back and started working on megaprojects and infrastructure development. Nawaz Sharif's power and position gaining attitude left the sign of arrogant and deviant politician. Opposition parties, military along with coalition parties and president became on other side and went against Nawaz Sharif policies.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan Paradox*, 249.

²⁴⁸ Waseem, *Pakistan Under Martial Law 1977-1985*, 153.

²⁴⁹ Qureshi, *Nawaz Sharif- Quaid-Hazib-Ikhtalaf ki Siyasat/ Nawaz Sharif-Politics of the Leader of*

Economic management and divergence way of politics increased gaps between the President and the Prime Minister. Situations became worst when Ghulam Ishaq Khan called upon President's charge for heeding the Ministerial matters. Nawaz Sharif rejected this approach which made Khan even more offended and he asked for certain steps in all national as well as international affairs. This made Nawaz Sharif impatient and he ordered for the removal section 2(b) of Article 58 of the Constitution.²⁵⁰

He attempted so with the intention of seizing the power of dissolution of the National Assembly from the hands of the President. Clashes between Nawaz Sharif and Ishaq Khan got at peak when on 17th April, 1993 Nawaz Sharif made a confrontational speech to the National Assembly. He declared that he would not be puppet and dictated anymore. This speech marked Nawaz Sharif's determination and defiant attitude as a political leader who was well aware of his popularity. This incident made Khan even more agitating and the dissolved the National Assembly and dismissed Nawaz Sharif regime. The call was made for caretaker Government on 19th April 1993.²⁵¹

In reaction to that brutal presidential stance Nawaz Sharif knocked the doors of Supreme Court and challenged the act of president. The court decision went in favour of PML-N and the court clearly called the President's act as unconstitutional. Supreme Court ordered for quick restoration of Prime Minister but this victory was very short lived as Provincial Governments stopped cooperating with Nawaz Sharif which put him at the position to resign. Nawaz Sharif's overambitious attitude and poor political support made him dissolve provincial assemblies. He had thought of

Opposition.

²⁵⁰ Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 217.

²⁵¹ Aziz, *Between Dreams and Reality*, 245.

replacing the provincial governments by making appointments of his own choices of governors. Again the situation led to the political trauma within the state which invited military intervention. This time Military dissolved Nawaz Sharif's government and asked Ishaq Khan to step back instead of creating further political turmoil.²⁵²

Nawaz Sharif's position was this time even more strong as he became national leader by replacing the position of Bhutto's populism. This confidence and support led PML-N to leave IJI and spread the network of political wings of PML-N all over Pakistan.²⁵³ In 1996, Benazir Bhutto's Government faced strong allegations of corruption and incompetency. Once again, the President dissolved the National Assembly and dismissed Benazir Bhutto by using the Article 58 section 2(b). When call was made for the general elections in 1997, Nawaz Sharif had great confidence for taking up PML-N as national level political party and forming the Government. He was so sure of successive electoral contest.²⁵⁴

The General Elections were held in 1997 and PML-N won the elections with a huge support of voters. PML-N won 137 seats of the National Assembly and Nawaz Sharif was elected as Prime Minister with the support of about 177 out of 207 parliamentarians. Indeed it was the resounding victory of PML-N. Nawaz Sharif successfully formed the Government not only in the centre but also in all four provinces of Pakistan. There was no margin of consultation with opposition according to Nawaz Sharif because two opposite political parties of that time were PPP which won only 18 seats and Muttahida Qaumi Movement which won only 12 seats of the National Assembly.

²⁵²Christophe Jaffrelot, , *A history of Pakistan and Its origins* (New York: Anthem, 2004),241-42.

²⁵³Aziz, *Between Dreams and Reality*, 158.

²⁵⁴Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 221.

Nawaz Sharif's victory was reckoned as heavy mandate from its self-confidence to its manifest popularity. Once again he followed the same policies of self-dependence and proceeding alone. His policymaking and decision making attitude was clearly denoting that he had not learnt the lesson from his previous tenure. Again he avoided the coalitional steps with small and emerging political groups. Self-based rule of Nawaz Sharif made him ignore the partners from small provinces. His policy for serving in infrastructure and megaprojects remained unchanged.²⁵⁵

Nawaz Sharif's uncooperative attitude with political groups made the situations worse as calamities went on peak because of over weighted use of mandate. Clashes with military and exhilaration support of people led to the culminating reactions. Increasing instability was unscheduled invitation to military. On 12th October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf ousted Nawaz Sharif by imposing coup d'état and military takeover in Pakistan. Military intervention in civil rule was initiated by the military staff at the Joint Staff Head Quarters. The effects of this coup d'état process proved to be very deep and terrible for Pakistan and will have its effect a long time.²⁵⁶

Basically there were few major reasons behind such conditions that made Prime Minister to be ousted by Military coup. One reason was Nawaz Sharif's emboldened step towards mandate and over load confidence for which he tried to make amendment within section 2(b) of the 58 Article of the constitution. Intention of this action was to take away the powers of the president of dissolving the National Assembly. He was very confident after having support from both Senate and the

²⁵⁵ Aziz, *Between Dreams and Reality*, 161.

²⁵⁶ Jaffrelot, *A history of Pakistan and Its origins*, 166.

National Assembly for approval of 13thAmendment within Constitution for depriving the President of the power of dissolving the Parliament.

Another reason, Nawaz Sharif's over confidence onto loyalist groups of Punjab bureaucrats.²⁵⁷ Nawaz Sharif believed that he could even tame Judiciary. This course converted into crisis when both opposition and the government rejected Nawaz Sharif's approved appointment for the Chief Justice of Pakistan. When Nawaz Sharif saw the disapproval from both sides he resorted to the second strategy and called for dismissal of Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah in the sense to appoint his selected person Justice Saeed-uz-Zaman Siddique as Chief Justice of Pakistan.²⁵⁸

In December 1997, Nawaz Sharif along with his supporter's tried to make his way with the Supreme Court. This judicial crisis provoked the conditions the when dismissed Chief justice wrote several letters to the officials and Army Chief and requested them for intervention. It resulted into the suspension of 13thAmendment and powers of dismissal went back to the President. Nawaz Sharif's efforts for having his loyalist person in power and to make his position even stronger and stable remained continued. Eventually, Rafiq Tarar's appointment as newly elected President of Pakistan surprised all cabinet members that happened because of Nawaz Sharif's emphasize.²⁵⁹

Moreover, Nawaz Sharif's unnecessary attempts of taming superior Judiciary and bureaucracy by making appointment of supporter as President of Pakistan. In 1998, India's successful tasks of nuclear power program put Pakistan into tense conditions and Military pressurized PML-N led government along with opposition parties for concentration and response over nuclear power program. Pakistan also

²⁵⁷Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 224.

²⁵⁸Aziz, *Between Dreams and Reality*, 161.

²⁵⁹Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 225.

followed the way and conducted successful tests of nuclear power program in May 1998.²⁶⁰ This success made Nawaz Sharif even more boldface. At that time General Jehangir Karamat who was renowned professional soldier and far away from political influences was appointed as both Chairman Joint Chief of Staff and Chief of Army Staff (COAS). General Jehangir Karamat made a speech in October 1998; in Lahore at Naval War College in which he pointed that for improved law and order strategies in the region Defence Cabinet Committee (DCC) should be replaced by the National Security Council (NSC).²⁶¹

He also suggested that members of the joint committee must be selected from both civilian and military experts. Nawaz Sharif echoed against General Jehangir Karamat's suggestion and stated that it was attempt of undermining the civilian governments. Nawaz Sharif made General Jehangir Karamat to resign from his post.²⁶² After his resignation in October 1998, General Parvez Musharraf was appointed as new Army Chief. This change in Army staff was counted unfavourable for Nawaz Sharif by both Army forces and supporters as it sounded like Nawaz Sharif had made Military overpowered.²⁶³

A further, defaulted attempt was Nawaz Sharif's attempts for better relations with neighbouring countries like India without consultation of political parties and the Military. In 1999, when he invited Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Indian Prime Minister to visit Pakistan it provoked the religious political parties who came into street protest against Nawaz Sharif. Other rival political parties played a side-line game and gave implied message to the Military that India was the instigative factor which led to Kargil Crisis. Overall, Nawaz Sharif's approaches of divergent notions for improving

²⁶⁰ Aziz, *Between Dreams and Reality*, 168.

²⁶¹ Jaffrelot, *A history of Pakistan and Its origins*, 172.

²⁶² Nawaz, *Crossed Sword*, 143.

²⁶³ Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan Paradox*, 157.

relations with India, Taliban and United States put him in hard situations and Civil-Military relationships became more wrathful which led to strong tussles between Nawaz Sharif and the Military.²⁶⁴

An additional worst action was Nawaz Sharif's attempt of dismissal of COAS General Musharraf. He had planned to appoint the ISI chief as new COAS. It was Nawaz Sharif's big mistake that he underestimated the norms and traits of military culture. In October 1999, Nawaz Sharif had tried to remove General Musharraf when he was on official visit to Sri Lanka. This time Commanders and other military officials became one and asked for dislodging the Parliament and Nawaz Sharif's Government.²⁶⁵

Though PML-N had power of mandate but it lost its capabilities of gaining trust from other political parties. It could not establish strong political system. PML-N's accommodations for politics and party system also remained unaddressed that became a root cause for distrust between PML-N and the Military. It got Pakistan back to the way of military hegemony by disrupting the norms and values of democratic system. Once again transition of democratic rule remained unachieved just because of Nawaz Sharif's mismanaged and unmeasured approaches of dealing with matter. He had not got the actual means of living with institutional pace as per modern style of governing in patrimonial sense of governance.²⁶⁶

4.2.2 Celebrating Come Back of PML-N: A Trumping Phase

General Musharraf held the presidency office till 2008. He made the announcement for 2008 General Elections to avoid any type of impeachment at all. Though he had

²⁶⁴ Shafqat, Saeed.2009. " The Kargil Conflict's Impact on Pakistani Politics and Society." In Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: the causes and Consequences of the Kargil conflicts, edited by Peter Lavoy, 280-308. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-35

²⁶⁵ Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 228.

²⁶⁶ Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan*,143.

some core issues in hand but Nawaz Sharif's arrival along with his brother Shahbaz Nawaz Sharif in November 2007 was another fresh challenge to President General Pervez Musharraf, who ousted him in 1999 by taking military action.²⁶⁷ Although PPP won the General Elections of 2008 and put an end to General Musharraf's rule (1999 - 2008) but return of PML-N leadership denoted the new era of political history in Pakistan in the coming years. After the General Elections of 2008 PML-N under the leadership of Shahbaz Nawaz Sharif formed the Government in Punjab. PML-N worked for power gaining game and achieved the desired target by winning the General Elections of 2013.²⁶⁸

The General Elections of 2013 marked the political history of Pakistan since its inception in 1947 as it was the ever first transition of democratic power. PPP became the first political party of Pakistan which completed its democratic tenure. PML-N secured 165 out of 342 seats of the National Assembly and formed the Government in the centre along with Punjab province. However, the situation was unmanageable because of the presence of Taliban during the elections; about 55 to 60 percent of voter turnout was recorded. It pointed the trust of nation in electoral process and democratic rule. Many of the analysts made conclusion of his victory by entitling Nawaz Sharif as the most successful and determined politician of Pakistan who was having qualities of resistance and perseverance in politics.²⁶⁹

Nawaz Sharif's ousting by Military coup in 1999 made great harms for PML-N. His reputation had nothing more than a corrupt and power hungry politician. But his return to Pakistan brought great positivity for him. His brother's governance policy and functional structure of PML-N formed the way for Nawaz Sharif's come back in

²⁶⁷ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*. 114.

²⁶⁸ Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan Paradox*. 159.

²⁶⁹ Owen Bennet Jones' Pakistan Election: Why Voters Backed Nawaz Sharif' BBC News_ 13th May, 2013.202.

Parliament. PML-N representation as native of Punjab and deep concern for infrastructural development by installation of megaprojects became supportive factors for PML-N success from Punjab. Another leading element was Nawaz Sharif's ability of dealing with business class and elites who had used to make investments.²⁷⁰

It was for the third time that Nawaz Sharif was holding the office. This time he tried to pay attention towards political parties of opposition but with minor margins. His tact of decision making remained same as personalized and for self-power and stablign position. He once again worked for his stable and powerful position instead of making powerful institutions which are the actual pillars of democratic process. In August 2014, again state of emergency was about to occur when Imran Khan, founder of emerging political Party Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri, a cleric-politician called for protest followed by thousands of supporters in Islamabad. PML-N was alleged by PTI for rigging in the General Elections of 2013.²⁷¹ On the other hand, Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri demanded for constitutional reforms. Both leaders of oppositions asked for Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's resignation.²⁷²

For security concerns both leaders asked military to provide support but this time eventually military remained one step back in the course of respect for civilian rule and democracy. Luckily Nawaz Sharif survived such massive political turmoil. Protestors could not succeed due to number of reasons. The experts called it a quick and premature attempt of asking Prime Minister for resignation. The protest was not enough sufficient to bring any transformational change. Other political parties such as

²⁷⁰ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 131.

²⁷¹ Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan Paradox*, 160.

²⁷² (Tim Craig and Shaiq Hussain's "Protestors March toward Pakistan's Parliament in Sign of Depending Crisis" by Washington Post_ 19th August, 2014).

PPP and Awami National Party also warned PTI and Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri for unacceptable attempts which could have worsen the situation.²⁷³

Some other officials called the resignation a fundamental and righteous demand for the preservation of democratic values and norms. At last, protestors were made to have talks with Nawaz Sharif's administration as no choice was left behind. For maintaining law and order situation the government called army which echoed the failure of PML-N led government. PTI and Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri actually wanted it for the sake to prove PML-N led government a failed government. It was counted as most challenging period for Nawaz Sharif's political journey. The earlier earned title for him went gloomy and leadership of Nawaz Sharif stood at even more dark point. His experiences with party system also came under hard questions of political precariousness.²⁷⁴

4.2.3 The Transfer Sharif Dynasty

In the struggle for political power PML-N went through several challenges. Again a new confrontation in the shape of panama papers appeared to undermine political legacy of PML-N. The Panama Papers Leak is one of the great political disaster ever happened. It was revealed on 14th April, 2014. This leak escalated the troubles and traumas for Nawaz Sharif family. In the list of Panama Papers, there were hundreds of high profiled families of the world leaders and business tycoons who had links with offshore companies.

Nawaz Sharif's family was also enlisted as there was mentioned record of eight offshore companies which were authorized by Nawaz Sharif's three

²⁷³ Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan Paradox*, 160.

²⁷⁴ Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan*, 146.

children.²⁷⁵ This was the ever great controversy for Nawaz Sharif and his family which dragged him into the quagmire of allegations as corrupt leader who had done money laundering and tax evasion at such a large scale. Leaders from the opposition political parties exploited the issue and called for accountability process. Imran Khan from PTI was leading body who run the fervent campaign against Nawaz Sharif and appealed the superior judiciary for Nawaz Sharif's resignation. Supreme Court assigned a judiciary based commission including five Judges from the courts to investigate the charges. Two of the judges from apex court triggered the decision of Nawaz Sharif's disqualification.

Due to opposing views and dissatisfaction within the judges of apex court, the Supreme Court formed the six members based joint investigation team (JIT) in April of 2017. JIT included the members from both civil and military experts to find out the facts and further precede inquiry of the matter.²⁷⁶

For required timeline, experts continued interrogation process of Nawaz Sharif family. Nawaz Sharif became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan to be interrogated by judiciary while holding the office. Nawaz Sharif's children also faced interrogation process. PML-N called the process political victimization. It claimed that members of JIT had made the sensations about the case and has defamed Nawaz Sharif's reputation. Nawaz Sharif himself clearly stated that the investigation is totally unfair and members of JIT had made unrealistic grounds in the name of accountability. He had claimed that the interrogation was demanding for facts from timeline of my ancestors and to future generations.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan Paradox*, 161.

²⁷⁶ Opinion: "A Judicial Coup against Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif" by Raza Rumi _ Deutsche Welle, 28th July, 2017),1-18

²⁷⁷ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 139.

Maryam Nawaz, daughter of Nawaz Sharif, was called for questioning just five days before JIT's report submission. The way she responded to the press, it clearly pointed that she would be the next person for the chair after her father to lead the PML-N. She highlighted her father's struggle for the preservation of democracy by pointing the unsupportive role of Military. Her statement made the headlines for Military intervention and converted the message that as change of the pace now the military went for indirect way of intervention by forming the judicial coup against Nawaz Sharif.²⁷⁸

Though Nawaz Sharif and all other officials from PML-N continued fighting back against the case and tried all possible means to prove Nawaz Sharif a Loyal and democratic leader but reality did not favoured him. Media and other officials from national institution denied his return to the office.²⁷⁹ They claimed that Nawaz Sharif's political accountability was actually needed of the hour for political crisis within Pakistan. It was the step leading way for rising corruption in Pakistan. All the moves proved against Nawaz Sharif's efforts and this saga in the political game tilted the dynastic theme of politics within PML-N. Nawaz Sharif was being alleged for corruption charges since his 1980s but in his third tenure of office it was proved as his last tenure in democracy. Finally, on 28th July 2017, he was disqualified from politics for life by the supreme court of Pakistan. Later on, on February 21 2018, the Supreme Court gave another verdict which made him unable to be the head of any political party which pointed his clear removal from all sorts of governance for which he criticized the Supreme Court by calling it an unconstitutional action. These efforts and troll of campaign went on fully waste as on 10th July 2018, the Supreme Court

²⁷⁸ Dawn(Karachi) 30 August, 2017.

²⁷⁹ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*.143.

sentenced ten years of prison for Nawaz Sharif along with his daughter Maryam Nawaz on the allegations of corruption.²⁸⁰

The General Elections of Pakistan were set to take place on 25th July 2018, and after the verdict by the Supreme Court, new challenges raised up for PML-N. Solid allegations of corruption, bad governance, defections within party members, dynastic structure and power transfer for specific family members that made it difficult for Nawaz Sharif's brother to work with same strength for election campaign. PML-N clearly underestimated the popularity based power and emerging name of Imran Khan as National Political leader for Young generation. PML-N had tried same and old ways of targeting Government and military for all losses paid by PML-N. The disgraced and flawed reputation of Nawaz Sharif and increasing popularity of Imran Khan was enough to claim the results of the general elections.

Nawaz Sharif's daughter Maryam Nawaz had tried to fill the gap left by his father and gained some unity with party members. PTI's failure in winning the officials from PML-N and military's no response for disrupting the PML-N has a uniformed attitude and party leaders tells that there is still some hope for PML-N within Pakistan's political system.²⁸¹

Now at this critical point, the possible way for PML-N is that it must reconcile its name and fame by leaving Nawaz Sharif behind the walls. PML-N and Nawaz Sharif are no longer the same faces for political field. After Nawaz Sharif's illness and strategies for making deals with military officials clearly points that he would be no longer counted as political leader for PML-N. Another possible scenario is based on PTI's performance and governing policies. The more PTI would fail to deliver its

²⁸⁰ *Kawish*(Hyderabad) 31 July, 2018.

²⁸¹ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 162-171.

promises for economic crisis and social discontents, the more it would raise the hopes for PML-N's come back as ruling party. The 18th Amendment is main factor for possibility of returns of PML-N as the amendment has limited the powers of the President for dismissal of provincial parliament. Moreover, Nawaz Sharif must learn from his previous mistakes like lack of interest for consultation with opposition parties and proceeding the “go it alone” tilt must be left back. It could regain party strength as well as democracy within the state. It would be possible only when Nawaz Sharif gain some courage and become determined for facing the allegations by making return move to Pakistan and take over the party system.²⁸²

It is possible when the street protest from central to urban areas by targeting PTI's flaws and policies. Pointing PTI led government's flaws could further proceed for reshaping process of democracy. It could demand for military intervention in the sense of asking for law-and-order situations in the sensitive moods of political crisis. Undoubtedly, Pakistan has a great record of mass movements and pro-democracy protests. Though the movements and protest could not get success in all times but such movements brought the transformed changes in regime.

In the pages of history the student movement of 1967-69 led by Zulifqar Ali Bhutto resulted in structural reforms. The movement led by Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) in 1977 another example of transformation. It called for military intervention by overthrowing civilian government. Third example of successive movement is the Movement of Restoration of Democracy (MRD) which is known as pro-democracy movement. This movement made it hard for general Zia-ul-Haq to run the system when he restricted some parts of Sindh and Baluchistan. The actual power show of the movement was at the time when movement left no choice for Zia and he

²⁸² Ibid.,

made the announcement for non-party based general elections in 1985. The Lawyer's Movement of 2007 is recent example of mass movement of success. It made President Musharraf to resign and reappoint the chief justice. Urban centres are called the hub of such mass movements. As per perceived history Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi are main and ideal cities for such movements.

Allegations of corruption at such a large scale and defaulted moves of party leaders exclusively damaged the reputation of PML-N. PML-N has lost its capability of leading such type of mass movement. PPP is also on the same page as Asif Ali Zardari is also facing same cases and allegations of corruption. Though they both have limited will for mass movement but they can bring discontent situations within the state by using the factor of economic crisis. Another factor is dynastic structure of party which is absolutely undemocratic and against norms of healthy democratic environment. These attempts can restore the position of PML-N and it could lead to the mass movement of pro-democracy within Pakistan. In spite of reconciliation of democratic phase and continuation of democratic process since 2008, PML-N's restoration seems too difficult specifically in context of developing party system and taking it back to the theme of parliamentary process and democracy based structure as leading political party of Pakistan.

Chapter- 5

Dynastic Politics within Ethnic, Religious and Minor Political Parties of Pakistan

Introduction

Chapter five is focused on the influence of dynastic politics in Pakistani polity. It mainly discusses the dynastic politics within ethnic, religious and other minor political parties of Pakistan. Less scholarly attention has been given to this subject by scholars of this domain. In this chapter, an attempt is made to see how far dynastic politics is influential within the structure of ethnic, religious and other minor political parties of the country.

This chapter tries to give scholarly attention towards the dynastic structure of selected political parties of Pakistan since 1971. It highlights how ethnic, religious and minor political parties adopt a culture of dynastic politics and break through family members to get power. Another aim of this chapter is to discuss prevalent dynastic political structures within political parties of Pakistan such as Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP), Pakistan People's Party Shaheed Bhutto (PPP-SB), Sindh National Front (SNP), Sindh Awami Tehreek and Tehreek-e -Labbaik Pakistan (TLP).

Chapter four is divided into four main sections. Section one is focused on ethno-nationalist political parties like Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) from Baluchistan and KP. The second section deals with regional political parties such as Pakistan People's Party Shaheed Bhutto (PPP-SB), Sindh National Front (SNP), Sindh Awami Tehreek (SAT) from Sindh province. In the third section, the dynastic political structure of the religious political parties such as Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (JUI-

F), Jamiat-e- Ulama-e-Islam (JUI-S), Tehreek-e-Labbaik PakistanPakistan (TLP) are discussed. It also presents an overview of dynastic political structure to see how far dynastic politics is effective in Pakistani politics. Main concern is to analyze that how dynastic politics was exercised by the founding fathers of ethnic, religious and minor political parties of Pakistan. Moreover, the section four has discussed the overall overview of the dynastic structure and its implications in case of political parties of Pakistan.

5.1 Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP)

Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) was formed in 1989.²⁸³ It was an ethno-nationalist political party aimed at advocating rights of Pukhtun residing in KP, and Baluchistan.²⁸⁴ The party mainly focuses on the disparity and distribution of resources and services amongst the Baluchs and Pukhtuns of Balochistan.²⁸⁵ But the party has also branches in other parts of KP where they are in coalition with descendants of ANP. The party was headed by Abdul Samad Achakzai, the father of its acting leader Mahmud Khan Achakzai. Its front line leaders are Mahmud Khan Achakzai, and Hameed Achakzai.²⁸⁶

The founding fathers of PMAP were advocating Pukhtun rights in Baluchistan and KP. According to them, they were trying to perform their role within the party to empower Pukhtun people. Power gayer of the party was remained under the control of Achakzai community and it was transferred from one relative to other relative, from

²⁸³ The Dawn (Karachi) 17 July 2018 <https://www.dawn.com> › newsassessed on 17 September 2019.

²⁸⁴ Adeel Khan, *Political of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan*, (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2005),155.

²⁸⁵ Farhan Hanif Siddiqi, *The State and politics of Pakistan: The Baloch, Sindhi and Mohajir Ethnic Movements*(New York & London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2012), 159.

²⁸⁶ The Dawn (Karachi), 22 June 2021.

father to son and from brother to brother.²⁸⁷ In this context the selected theoretical discourse of structural functionalism illustrates that if a political party does not have balance in its structure and functions, it will, eventually, be down to earth. Therefore, top leadership of party should play role to maintain balance of power after providing opportunities to all party members within the power structure of the party.²⁸⁸

5.1.1 Historical Background of the PMAP

The party was ethno-nationalist political party which supported maximum provincial autonomy within the federation. It has also been persistently demanding the application of 18th amendment. It suggests an unprejudiced stance must be sanctioned in a country's foreign policies to foster friendly relations with other countries. Moreover, the PMAP suggest the government to avoid alleged interference in internal affairs of the country. The party has taken serious steps in Baluchistan to reduce differences between Pukhtun and Baluch people of Baluchistan.

The party has been contesting elections for years and it has pleaded to keep on contesting for years to come, till it successfully makes it. PMAP was a coalition partner of the PML-N in the Baluchistan government following the 2013 elections and stood by the PML-N during some of the latter's most challenging times in government. PMAP approved the merger of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and has been widely criticised for its position²⁸⁹.

In the general elections 2018 the party gagged 3 general seats in national assembly and 10 in Baluchistan assembly. Muhammad Khan Achakzai, elder brother

²⁸⁷ Siddiqi, *The State and politics of Pakistan*, 172.

²⁸⁸ Mufti, "Dynamic Politics in South Asia".1-12.

²⁸⁹ Dawn,(Karachi) May 24, 2018.

of PMAP chief Mahmud Achakzai also served as the governor of Baluchistan. PMAP was supporting PML-N until Sanaullah Zehri stepped down in the wake of political crisis in Baluchistan when 14 MPAs passed a non-confidence motion against his government.²⁹⁰ In 2008 the party boycotted the general elections to deny former president General Pervez Musharraf's legitimacy. In 2002 the party secured one NA seat and three provincial seats.²⁹¹ In the 1990 elections, PMAP won three provincial assembly seats whereas Mahmud Achakzai was elected from Pishin.²⁹²

They stood tall against the protests and riots staged by PTI and Pakistan Awami Tehreek in 2014. It has been an alliance of PML-N in its pitfalls, and helped PML-N to overcome its adversities.²⁹³ PMAP was criticized for opposing the merging of FATA and KP and the party's chief previously suggested that FATA be governed either by a governor or a council that should be elected by adult franchise. PMAP had called for the creation of the province of Pukhtun as implying that the Pukhtun community does not avail the same rights that were enjoyed by the people of other provinces.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ Dawn (Karachi) 15 August, 2018.

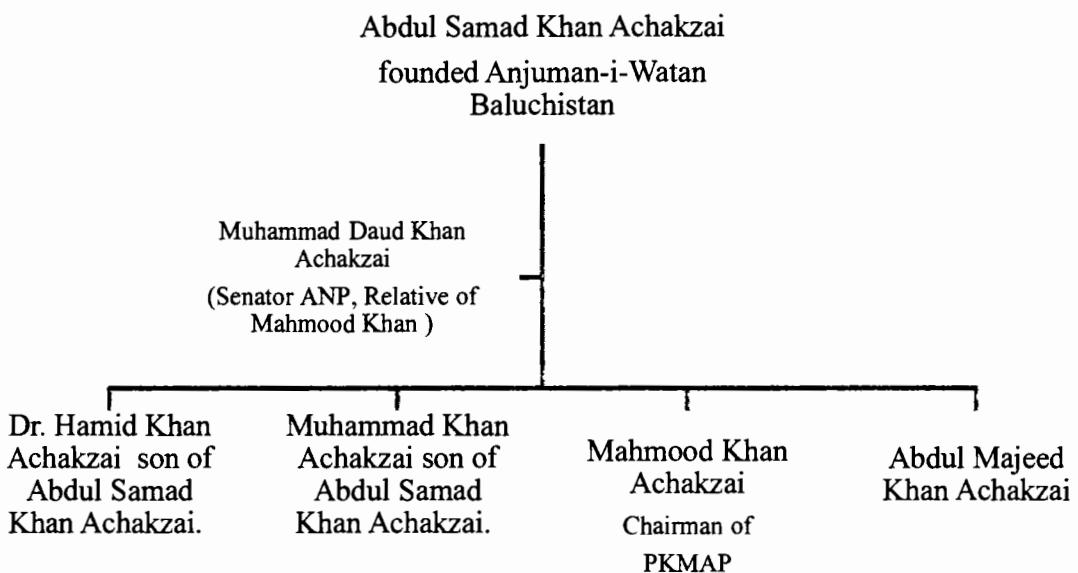
²⁹¹ Kawish (Hyderabad) 15 November, 2010.

²⁹² Amin, *Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan*. 96.

²⁹³ Kawish (Hyderabad) 10 December, 2014.

²⁹⁴ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*. 128.

5.1.2 Dynastic tendencies in PMAP



Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai began his political career from the platform of Anjuman-i-Watan Baluchistan which was a regional struggling political party of Baluchistan. Later, it was transformed into PMAP.²⁹⁵ Apart from this, the founding leader of the party provided opportunities to his relatives in the form of portfolios. His son Mahmud Khan Achakzai became Chairman of PMAP after him. Later on, the sons of Abdul Samad Achakzai such as Dr. Hamid Khan Achakzai and Muhammad Khan Achakzai were also cherished with different portfolios.²⁹⁶ Moreover, his close relative Muhammad Daud Khan Achakzai became senator from the seat of Awami National party. It shows clear influence of dynastic politics within the PKMAP. Like other dynastic political parties the PMAP is also dynastic in nature. Achakzai family has almost grabbed all the top positions within the party. The party since its foundation has remained under the control of Achakzai family.

²⁹⁵ Tahir Bizenjo, *Baba-e-Balochistan: Statements, Speeches and Interviews of Mir Ghous Bux Bizenjo* (Quetta: Sales and Services, 1999).

²⁹⁶ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 130.

5.2.1 Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (JUI-F)

Since the inception of Pakistan, the religion-political parties have played significant role in the democratic as well as political survival of Pakistan. The most of the present religion-political parties which are struggling for political power in Pakistan have their genesis decades earlier in the pre partition era. Among those, the Jamiat Ulama-e-Hind (JUH) a political party of 'Deobandi school of thought' of undivided India founded in 1919. It was converted into Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (JUI) by Shabir Ahmad Usmani in 1945 and later on became specific platform for the Sunnis of Pakistan and was called Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Pakistan. It became very influential part of the political as well as constitutional development of Pakistan. It participated in the general elections of 1970.²⁹⁷ JUI made coalition with socialists and Nationalists of Baluchistan and Northwest Frontier of Pakistan (currently called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in general elections of 1970. JUI won 7 seats of National Assembly and formed the governments within Baluchistan and NWFP. The party secured 36 seats as being a part of Pakistan National Alliance.²⁹⁸

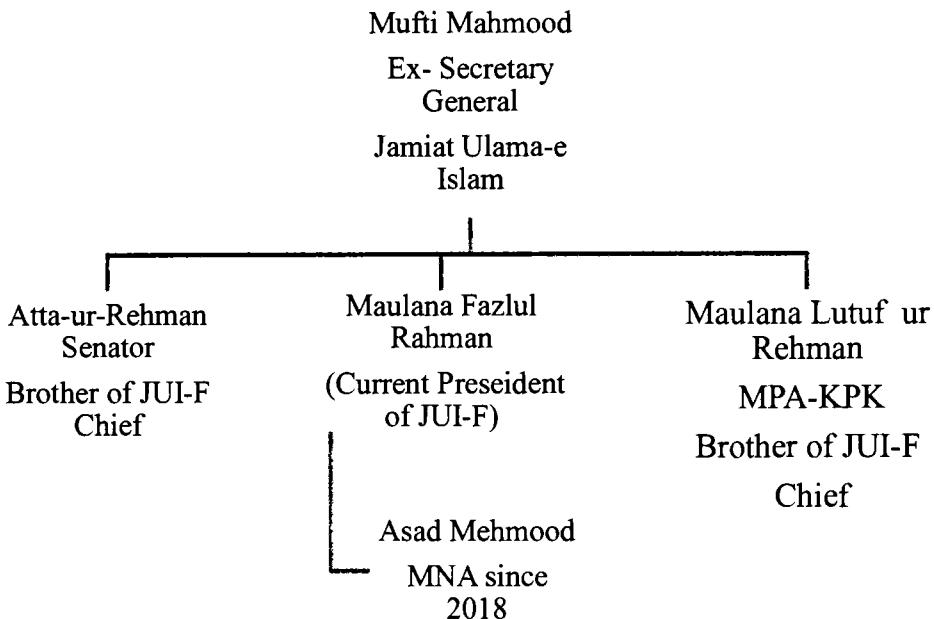
After the execution of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the party made coalition with General Zia-ul-Haq's Government in 1977. But soon after JUI became a part of anti-Zia Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). After the death of party leader Mufti Mehmood Ahmed the party was divided into the JUI-F, headed by Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman the son of Mufti Mehmood Ahmed and the JUI-S headed by Samiul Haq.²⁹⁹ By that action a major religio-political party started its journey of the dynastic politics.

²⁹⁷Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*, 235.

²⁹⁸ Sayyed A S. Pirzada, *The Politics of the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam Pakistan: 1971-1977*(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 129.

²⁹⁹Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*, 240-242.

5.2.1.1 The dynastic Trends in JUI-F



The mould of dynastic politics in JUI-F became more apparent when Asad Mehmood was nominated as candidate in by-election 2018. Following the dynastic trends among political parties of Pakistan like PPP and PML-N Maulana Fazlul Rehman prepared his offspring. Though, it was not a new action at the part of JUI-F. Before Asad Mehmood's entry in politics his two uncles namely Atta-ur-Rehman (senator) and Maulana Lutuf-ur-Rehman (MPA-KP) are active in politics. The political legacy of Mufti Mahmood continued by induction of family members in politics after using the platform of JUI-F. The senior party leader had not given priority to take party ticket because of having no blood relationship. Such kind of tactics in any dynastic political

party keeps away the ideological workers. The trends of dynastic structure in JUF-F prevail not only at top management level but also at provincial level.

Rashid Mahmood Soomro the elder son of Dr. Khalid Mahmood Soomro (Ex-Senator 2006-2012 and Ex-Secretary general of JUI-F for Sindh province) was placed at provincial top position of party in Sindh following the murder of his father in November 29, 2014.³⁰⁰ JUI-F violated the basic component of democracy within the party. The selection of son at the place of father after bypassing rights of senior party workers is the symbol of undemocratic culture of the party.

5.2.2.1 Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam JUI-S

Maulana Sami-ul-Haq was appointed Amir of the JUI faction by Maulana Mohammad Abdullah Darkhawsti. In addition, Sami-ul-Haq also continued leadership of the “Darul Uloom Haqqania Madarasa in Akora Khattak”. The Madarasa (religious seminary) produced a good number of Ulama and Scholars who not only started their own religious seminaries around Pakistan but also participated in the politics of the country. These religious seminaries and the heads were located as the party units in somehow major cities of Pakistan.³⁰¹

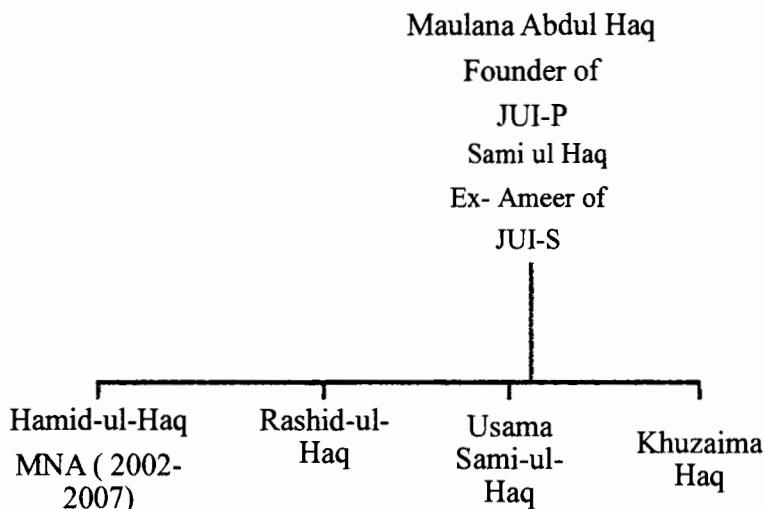
Maulana Sami-ul-Haq organized the party structure in accordance to original JUI constitution and tried to run the party according to the party constitution. Moreover, according to the constitution of the party “Majlis-e-Amoomi (general council)” is considered as apex body to carry out top decisions. Apart from this, general council is constitutional authorized body which plays effective role in

³⁰⁰ *The Express Tribune Newspaper*, (Karachi) 30 November 2014

³⁰¹ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997* Revised edition (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000), 220.

decision making process and policy implementations. In the constitution of JUI, the weightage is given to the last verdict of its Amir.³⁰²

5.2.2.2 The Influence of Dynastic Tendencies in JUI-S



This fact cannot be denied that JUI Sami-ul-Haq faction, unfortunately, came under the influence of dynastic tendencies when power transformation took place from Maulana Abdul Haq to his son Maulana Sami-ul-Haq who was not only the founder of JUI-S faction³⁰³ but also the custodian of Darul Uloom Haqqania, a sprawling seminary in Akora Khattak, which was established by his father Maulana Abdul Haq in 1947, a noted Islamic scholar of the Deobandi school of thought and founding leader of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam, Pakistan.³⁰⁴ Maulana Sami-ul-Haq has been participating in the politics of Pakistan since 1960s. However, he confronted politically with JUI-F faction's Chief Maulana Fazlul Rahman and he, eventually, laid the foundation of JUI-S faction.

³⁰² Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Company, 1988), 117.

³⁰³ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan at Cross Currents of History* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2004), 188.

³⁰⁴ Shah, *Religion and politics in Pakistan*, 151.

Samiul Haq's father Maulana Abdul Haq, who was one of the founders of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Pakistan (JUI-P), remained Member of National Assembly for three terms, defeating Defence Minister Pervez Khattak's father Nasrullah Khattak twice. Similarly, Haq entered into practical politics in 1980. After his father died in 1988, he parted ways with Fazl, the then chief of JUI-P and formed his own faction known as Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Sami (JUI-S). He was elected as Senator twice, from 1985 to 1991 and from 1991 to 1997.³⁰⁵

Maulana Sami-ul-Haq wanted to bring Pakistan on the road of Islamic democracy. In this connection, he has been raising voice against non-democratic and anti-Islamic practices in the country such as blasphemy laws and participated in movements against Ahmedis.³⁰⁶ The protests against Aasia Bibi's case, in this regard, are inspirational instances of Maulana Sami-ul-Haq's struggle against such anti-Islamic practices in Pakistan. On Friday, he was invited to Rawalpindi to address a protest against the acquittal of Aasia Bibi by the Supreme Court in a blasphemy case. However, he couldn't reach Islamabad and went to his residence for rest, where he was stabbed to death by unknown persons, said his son Maulana Hamid-ul-Haq Haqqani. Earlier he had delivered his last speech to a gathering in Akora Khattak.³⁰⁷ The party headship, eventually, transferred to Maulana Sami-ul-Haq's elder son Hamid-ul-Haq who had also remained member of National Assembly during General Pervaiz Musharraf era.

³⁰⁵ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan at Cross Currents of History* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2004), 202.

³⁰⁶ Shah, *Religion and politics in Pakistan*, 153.

³⁰⁷ *Daily Kawish*, (Hyderabad) November, 2018.

5.2.3 Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan

Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP) is a religio-political party founded by Khadim Hussain Rizvi in 2015. It was formed for the purpose to protect Khatm-e-Nuboowat and against blasphemy acts taking place in Pakistan. With the passage of time it gained the shape of religio political party. A political party who's agenda is not to tolerate blasphemy. TLP is more influential than other parties because of religious face.

After the natural death of TLP's head Khadim Hussain Rizvi, the office of headship of TLP was transferred to his son Saad Hussain Rizvi which shows that TLP came under the efficacy of dynastic politics. Moreover, Khadim Rizvi's other son Hafiz Muhammad Anas Rizvi was also given an eminent position in the party. While maintaining the dynastic politics the party went into the hands of son after the father. The services of the senior office bearers or senior workers were neglected. TLP got its fame on the political arena of Pakistan by massive protest and street power. TLP is currently banned in Pakistan since 15 April 2021 "under anti-terrorism law".³⁰⁸

5.2.3.1 Dynastic Politics of Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan

The TLP emerged on the political firmament of Pakistan as a religio political party. In a very short span of time, it became voice of millions of people who were very sensitive to religious thought and vision. But, after the sad demise of its founding father Khadim Hussain Rizvi it went into the hands of his son Saad Hussain Rizvi like other dynastic parties such as JUI-F.³⁰⁹ During his father's rule as Amir of TLP Saad Hussain Rizvi was serving as the deputy secretary-general. There were a good number of senior Ulama and office bearers in the party but high council of TLP preferred

³⁰⁸ *Jang*, (Karachi) 16 April 2021.

³⁰⁹ *Daily Dawn*, (Karachi) 20 November, 2020.

Saad Hussain Rizvi while keeping political legacy a family enterprise. Ultimately that leads to the seditious thought within the party structure and functioning.³¹⁰

5.3.1 Qaumi Watan Party (QWP)

The foundation stone of Qaumi Watan Party was led by Aftab Ahmad khan Sherpao. The party was Pukhtun neo-nationalist party was formerly known as Pakistan People's Party-Sharpao (PPP-S). It was a prominent political party of Pakistan which was disassociated from Pakistan People's Party (PPP), in pre-2002 general election era due to political differences with PPP chairperson Benazir Bhutto. The first sign of political conflict between Benazir Bhutto and senior party member as well as ideological leader Aftab Ahmad Sherpao appeared in 1999 due to Sherpao's clandestine connections with the establishment.³¹¹

Though the party was on Pukhtun neo nationalist lines yet, the party transformed its manifesto officially on 17 October, 2012. Moreover, PPP-S faction was also renamed as Qaumi Watan Party as it showed elements of Pukhtun nationalism as well as ethnicity. Moreover, the three colour flag was designed that replaced the green colour with white. The main objective of QWP party was to safeguard prerogatives of the Pukhtuns in Pakistan particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, mega cities of Sindh province such as Karachi and Baluchistan.³¹²

5.3.1.1 Electoral Politics of QWP and Achievements

Aftab Ahmad Sherpao and the party members contested general elections of 2002 from the platform of PPP-S. The party succeeded to gain 0.3 percent of legislative elections which were held on October 20, 2002 in Pakistan. Moreover, the party

³¹⁰ *Jang*, (Karachi) 22 November, 2021. And also see *Kawish* (Hyderabad) 22 November, 2020.

³¹¹ Ziring, *Pakistan at Cross Currents of History*, 218-225.

³¹² *Ibid.*

bagged only one seat of National Assembly in the general elections of 2008 that was bagged by the founding leader of PPP-S faction Aftab Ahmad Sherpao whereas: six provincial seats from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa were also swept by PPP-S.

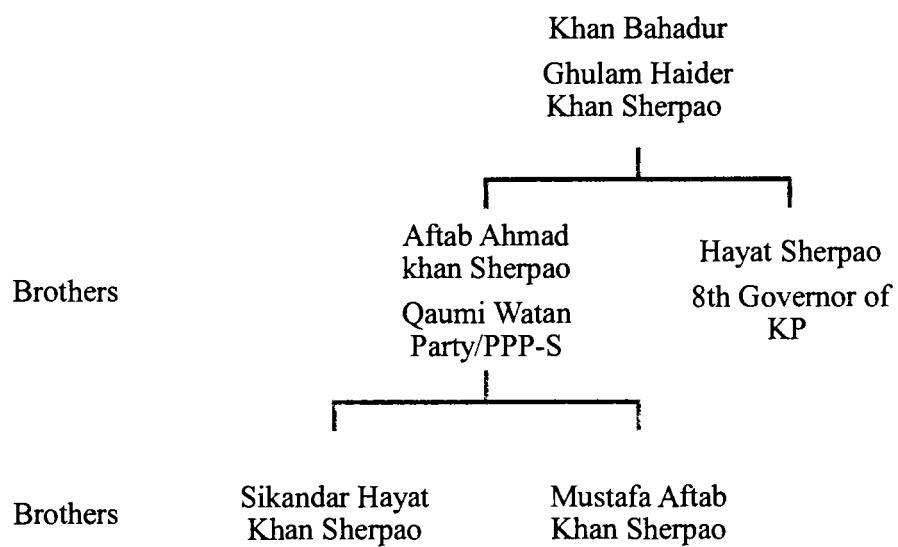
After reconstruction, reorganization and transformation of party name as well as identity in the year 2012, the chairman of the Party won a seat from National Assembly whereas, Qaumi Watan Party gained ten seats of the provincial assembly out of which eight were directly elected which led the party as the fourth largest party in KP province. Presently, the party has coalition with Pakistan Tehrik Insaaf.³¹³ In this section, it is to investigate that either QWP is under dynastic politics or it is far from dynastic politics.

5.3.1.2 Dynastic Tendencies in QWP

Khan Bahadur Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao was the father of Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao and Hayat Khan Sherpao who played effective role in the freedom movement of Pakistan. He remained active in the politics of United India and stood for the Muslim rights, in this connection, he was known as freedom fighter. Being a freedom fighter and supporter of Muslim cause, Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao did not transfer his political legacy to his supporters. However, he responded as the tribal chief of Sherpao tribe in order to transfer his political legacy and support to his son Hayat Khan Sherpao. Later on, Hayat muhammd Khan Sherpao used his father's political influence and became eighth Governor of KP.³¹⁴

³¹³ Shah, *Religion and politics in Pakistan*, 154.

³¹⁴ Ziring, *Pakistan at Cross Currents of History*, 230.



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao began politics from the platform of PPP, the political party that laid the foundation of dynastic politics in Pakistan in 1975 on the advice of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto after his retirement from Pakistan Army. Later on, he contested elections on general seat of PPP from NA-3. In the elections of 1985, he boycotted and he was re-elected to the National Assembly in the general elections of 1988. Aftab Ahmad Sherpao cashed the political influence of his brother Hayat Khan Sherpao and he continued his father's political legacy.³¹⁵ Aftab Ahmad Sherpao has been enjoying power from several portfolios, for instance he worked Federal Interior Minister, Federal Minister for Water and Power, Minister for Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas and States & Frontier Regions and Minister for Interprovincial Coordination. Apart from this, Sherpao also worked as fourteenth and eighteenth Chief Minister of KP.³¹⁶

Aftab Ahmad Sherpao has assigned the portfolio of provincial headship of the party to his son Sikandar Hayat Khan Sherpao in order to continue the Sharpa political dynasty in the politics of Pakistan. This shows that QWP is highly influenced by dynastic political structure. In fact, if there is influence of dynastic politics in a political party, the party, resultantly, does not work under the organizational structural functionalism as was in the case of PPP-S. The party was not working in accordance of its constitutional as well as organizational structure. This research study, therefore, suggests that the influence of dynastic approach in the political party stops party to work in its organizational structure which usually results in the failure of party in achieving its political as well as ideological aims and objectives.

³¹⁵ *Jang*, (Karachi) 22 November, 2021.

³¹⁶ Ziring, *Pakistan at Cross Currents of History*, 232.

5.3.3 Pakistan People's Party (Shaheed Bhutto)

Previously written as, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's legacy seems to be most dominated over the political field of Pakistan. Bhutto's PPP attracted a huge mass from all over Pakistan. After the execution of the party leader Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, his daughter Benazir Bhutto took over the entire responsibilities of the party.³¹⁷ She, as a young energetic politician, tried to run the party as her father did. Under the supervision of Begum Nusrat Bhutto the Iranian (Kurdish) spouse of the late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, she managed all activities of the party. By the dint of her devotion she successfully became Prime Minister of Pakistan two times. But unfortunately in both of the terms she could not maintain the political rule for a long period. Corruption scandals damaged her image of being a populist political leader. Such allegations brought her into disrepute. Afterwards, the family clashes brought Benazir Bhutto in front of her mother Begum Nusrat Bhutto and Mir Murtaza.

Consequently, Mir Murtaza Bhutto formed his own group of PPP adding Shaheed Bhutto as postfix. By the entry of Mir Murtaza Bhutto in the political arena of Pakistan the dynasty continued for rule.³¹⁸ The dynastic structure of PPP allowed him to come back and to solve the problems of his party which used to be done by his father. Due to Benazir Bhutto's mishandling of PPP, the circumstances changed totally because some people from the party got power and the party lost its uniqueness. Mir Murtaza Bhutto tried to drag it back to its original state from the platform of PPP-SB. He became a strong critic of the PPP Government because of continuous massive corruption and bad governance. Mir Murtaza Bhutto opposed the government of his sister by raising the voice for people. Ghinwa Bhutto in her

³¹⁷Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 136.

³¹⁸Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 138.

interview before press said that the popularity of Mir Murtaza Bhutto among people of Pakistan became his death certificate.

During his sister's term of office as a prime minister, on Thursday, 20th September 1996 at the time 6:35 pm Mir Murtaza, along with six other members of his group, was killed in an encounter with police in Karachi. After this heart wrenching incident Benazir Bhutto lost his grace in totality. When she tried to attend the funeral of his brother, workers did not allow her. In the wake of dismissal of Benazir Bhutto Govt. in 1996, Asif Ali Zardari was detained for having a part in Mir Murtaza's assassination. The political legacy of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto by passing through Mir Murtaza became the destiny of Ghinwa Bhutto the wife of Mir Murtaza.

In 1997 Ghinwa Bhutto widow of Murtaza Bhutto risked claim to the Bhutto political legacy and continued Pakistan People's Party- Shaheed Bhutto (PPP-SB) under her chairmanship. She accused Asif Ali Zardari for her husband's murder. For justice in Murtaza assassination case Ghinwa Bhutto challenged Benazir Bhutto and her party. Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto the father of Murtaza Bhutto, promised *Roti, Kapra aur Makan* to every member of Pakistan and Murtaza Bhutto tried to accomplish his father's promise. He wanted to bring a positive change, clean this dirt of corruption from society, end up the feudal system, and provide free education which is a basic right of every member of the society. But, he could not survive to serve people of his homeland.³¹⁹

³¹⁹Fani, "Political Dynasties and Candidate Selection", 1-46.

5.3.3.1 Efficacy of Dynastic Politics

As has been discussed previously that efficacy of dynastic politics within Pakistan People's Party distanced the elder son of Bhutto Mir Murtaza from his father's party and Bhutto dynasty came under the control of Bhutto's daughter Benazir Bhutto. As a result, Mir Murtaza Bhutto laid the foundation of his own political party named as Pakistan People's Party (Shaheed Bhutto Faction).³²⁰

Mir Murtaza Bhutto's entry into politics was the outcome of the efficacy of dynastic politics in PPP. Mir Murtaza Bhutto's founding party PPP-SB faction was a struggling regional political party of Sindh province which wanted power within the federal setup in Pakistan.³²¹ The conflicts between the sister and the brother created a dynastic political structure within the PPP. The structural functionalism of the party was underestimated due to power which resulted in the creation of rifts within the Bhutto family. If party leadership would have taken the decision under the structures and functions of party, the rift within Bhutto family would never have been created.³²²

After the untimely demise of Mir Murtaza Bhutto the party chairmanship went into the hands of his wife Ghinwa Bhutto. Again the power holds remained within the family and no any senior member of the party or office bearer was given chance to run the party.³²³ Though Ghinwa Bhutto was a foreigner and had no any knowledge about political culture of Pakistan and her husband's party affairs work even than the power was transferred to family member due to the culture of dynastic politics. These

³²⁰Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 139.

³²¹Raja Anwar, *The Terrorist Prince: The Life and Death of Murtaza Bhutto*, (London: Verso, 1997), 95.

³²²Mufti, "Dynastic Politics in South Asia", 1-15.

³²³Kawish (Hyderabad) 21 September, 1996.

days the elder daughter of Mir Murtaza Bhutto, Fatima Bhutto is active in political affairs of PPP-SB faction.³²⁴

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto
(Father: Founder of
PPP)

Mir Murtaza Bhutto
(founder of PPP-SB)

Ghinwa Bhutto
Wife of Mir Murtaza
Bhutto

Fatima Bhutto
Grand Daughetr of
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto)

Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

³²⁴*Kawish* (Hyderabad) 5 December, 2017

5.3.4 Sindh National Front (SNF)

Sindh National front was a political party founded by Mumtaz Ali Bhutto in 1989. Presently, it has been merged with PTI. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto was a political figure and was the first cousin of Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the founder of Pakistan People's Party.³²⁵ SNF was basically active in Sindh province. The main agenda of SNF was to syndicate all four provinces with semi-independence and to share the idea of autonomy of federating units. After 28 years of political struggle the party merged with Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in 2017.³²⁶

5.3.4.1 Historical Background of SNF

Mumtaz Ali Bhutto was a Pakistani political figure who has served as Governor of Sindh, as a federal minister and as a Chief Minister of Sindh. He was born on November 28 1933, at Pir Bux Bhutto village; district Larkana, Sindh, and British era. His political mind was a heritage of blood from his forefathers who had a strong political background. He was the first cousin of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. He received education from St. George's College and Lawrence College Murree, got barrister degree from Lincoln's Inn and graduation and post-graduation degrees from Oxford University, UK, in 1959.³²⁷

He joined politics at the age of 32 and became a member of National Assembly and helped Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in founding PPP and became its principal executive committee member. He became the governor of Sindh on 21 December 1971, then chief minister of Sindh in 1972, where he introduced language bill of 1972 making Sindhi as an official language of Sindh, but, after some clashes between

³²⁵Ali, *Political Forces in Sindh*, 82.

³²⁶Kawish (Hyderabad) 10-11 November, 2017.

³²⁷Mumtaz Bhutto, *Confederation*, Published by Front, 1986.

Sindhi and Urdu speaking people Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto made both Urdu and Sindhi as an official languages.

5.3.4.2 Dynastic Inclination in SNF

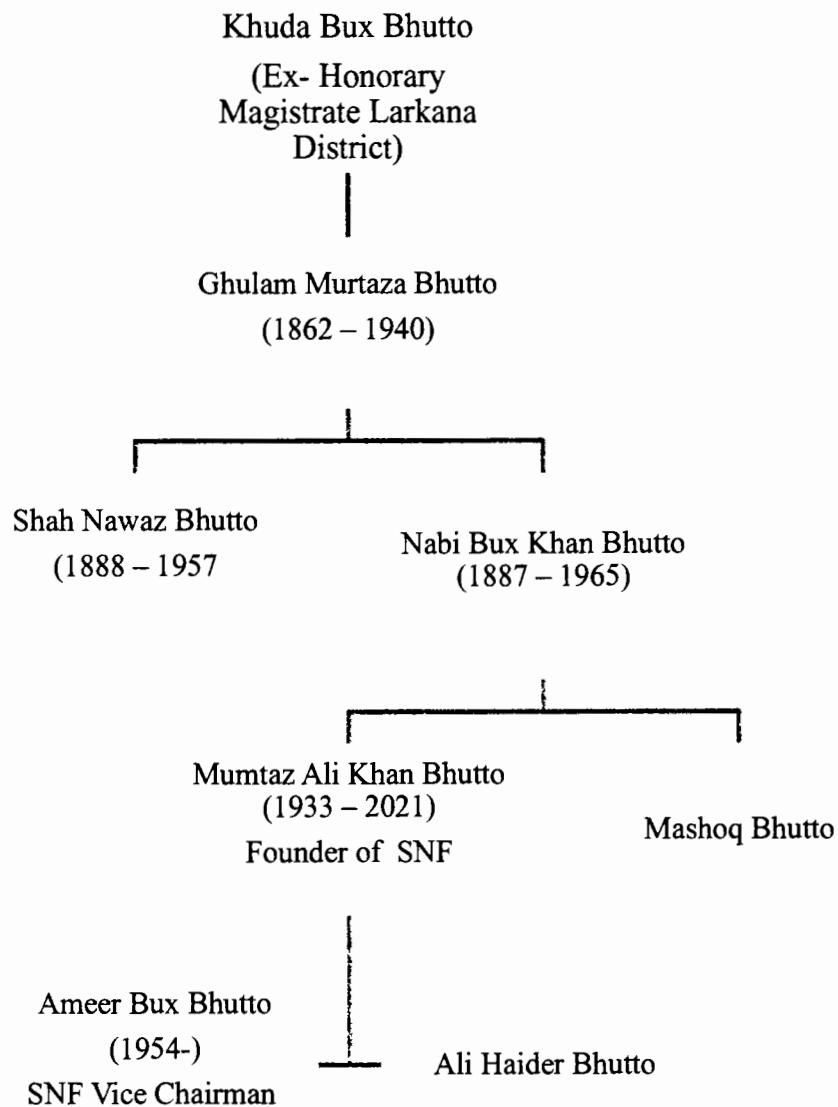
It has been elaborated in the previous paragraph that Mumtaz Ali Bhutto was the cousin of Z.A. Bhutto. In this connection, he was politically patronized by Bhutto. Despite democratic mind-set of Bhutto, there was no democracy and functional structuralism in Bhutto's political party.³²⁸ He also continued dynastic politics while assuming several portfolios to his cousins during his power, because he wanted to see his political dynasty in the hands of his sincere and dedicated party workers.³²⁹

This irony of fact cannot be denied that Bhutto was the political leader who brought Pakistani politics on the road of dynastic politics. Later, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto repeated similar exercise of dynastic politics while transferring power of his party to his elder son Amir Bux Khan Bhutto.³³⁰ Currently, Amir Bux Khan Bhutto is working as the president of PTI Sindh chapter. It can be concluded that Bhutto's established dynastic politics is effective and functional in even small political parties.

³²⁸Mufti, "Dynastic Politics in South Asia", 1-15.

³²⁹Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 141.

³³⁰*Kawish* (Hyderabad) 15 January, 2018.



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

5.3.5 Sindh Awami Tehreek

Awami Tehreek formerly had known as Sindhi Awami Tehreek (Sindhi People's Movement) also fell prey to dynastic politics after the death of its pioneer Rasool Bukhsh Palejo a Sindhi ethno-nationalist political leader.³³¹ For brief introduction, Awami Tehreek is a political party which is also known as Sindhi Awami Tehreek that was formed on 5th march 1970. It was in Hyderabad Sindh. Rasool Bukhsh Palejo was elected as its first president and office of general secretary was given to Fazil Rahoo.³³² SAT was an ethno-nationalist political party that was supporting socialism and opposing feudalism. In simple words, it was Marxist Leninists and Maoist political party which were different from other political parties in the country.³³³

During authoritarian rule of General Zia in 1970s, unconstitutional government arrested Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, Fazil Rahoo and other numerous political activists in opposition to martial law.³³⁴ However, SAT leadership did not quit struggle for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan.³³⁵ SAT leadership also supported "*Bhutto Bachayio Tehreek*" (Save Bhutto movement) which was started by PPP to save the life of Bhutto.³³⁶ Despite strict measures used by military government against opponents of military dictatorship in Pakistan, SAT also provided support to the MRD (Movement for the Restoration of Democracy) in 1980s.³³⁷ Under the leadership of Palijo, the party gained popularity in entire Sindh province.

SAT leadership worked to abolish dictatorship, feudalism and capitalism in Pakistan. It also opposed the role of military in political affairs of the country. SAT

³³¹ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 151.

³³² Ali, *Political Forces in Sindh*, 91.

³³³ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 153.

³³⁴ *Jang*, (Karachi) 7 July 1977. And also see *Daily Nawai-Waqt*, and *The Dawn* (Karachi).

³³⁵ Bhatti, *MRD Tehreek*, March 07 2016.

³³⁶ Khoso, "Kare-Kakkar-Heih-Mu'n-Jharrendea-Chaddiya, 39.

³³⁷ Bhatti, *MRD Tehreek*, 1-6.

leadership raised slogans to bring pure democracy in Pakistan.³³⁸ The irony of fate was that when an influential leader of SAT Fazil Rahoo was murdered, his murder case was not followed by his party leadership.³³⁹ Apart from this, when Rasool Bakhsh became sick, the party headship was transferred to his son Ayaz Latif Palejo which shows that the party is under the influence of dynastic politics. Resultantly, dynastic political tendencies affect the political stature and credibility of the party among public.

5.3.5.1 Influence of Dynastic Politics on SAT

Unfortunately, the politics of SAT, its structure, and constructed principles as well as objectives revolved around the cult of Palejo's personality.³⁴⁰ Like PPP and PML-N it also comes under the shade of dynastic politics when Palijo became sick, and he was not in position to work. Ayaz Latif Paleji, the son of Rasool BuxPalijo, succeeded his legacy and developed Palijo political dynasty within the party.³⁴¹ Another very prominent lady Sassui Palijo is cousin of Ayaz Latif Palijo. She belongs to PPP and currently she is a Senator on women's reserved seat from the Sindh province.

Like other political parties such as PPP, PPP-SB faction and PML-N, SAT leadership also follow dynastic political culture to retain the hold of Palijo family on SAT. The light of existing dynastic political culture in the politics of Pakistan, it can be assumed that most of the political parties at regional, provincial and national level would come under the influence of dynastic politics.

³³⁸Khoso, "KareKakkarHethMu'nJharrendeaChaddiya, 41

³³⁹Bhatti, *MRD Tehreek*, 6-15.

³⁴⁰Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 157.

³⁴¹Khoso, "KareKakkarHethMu'nJharrendeaChaddiy, 42.

5.4.1 An Overview on Dynastic Political Structure in Pakistan Politics

Dynastic politics generally refers to the legacy of family politics. The organized structure of any political party by which founding fathers of that party enjoy supremacy and dominance over all other members of the party is called dynastic form of politics. In political dynasty most of the family members become involved into politics by taking it as business.³⁴² This business became stronger through the electoral process. Political dynasties include the involvement of generations. Dynastic families establish their dominance through political and economic tools. That dominance starts from small sectors and leads to national level when members of that dynastic political party become a part of governmental institution finally paves the way to game of politics.³⁴³ There are two contexts of dynastic politics. First contention is about certain characteristics of family backgrounds which lead to the political power of self-perpetuation. The Other one is about institutional contention that there are some solid reasons and causes which are responsible for the creating of dynasties.³⁴⁴

Politics is the way of decision making by the collective options of the public. Those decisions are called agreements by which people can live in the form of groups, clans or tribes and countries. Agreements can be developed by taking a lot of time due to the involvement of large level of groups.³⁴⁵ Democratic states may have many threats but among all those threats dynastic politics is on the top. Dynastic politics is simply an antidemocratic form of rule. It is one of the root causes of the problems

³⁴²Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power*, 139.

³⁴³Lodhi, *Pakistan*, 166.

³⁴⁴Dal Bo. E. and Snyder J., "Political Dynasties", *Review of Economic Studies*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (2009), 115-142.

³⁴⁵Abdul QadirMushtaq, Muhammad Ibrahim and Muhammad Kaleem, "Dynastic Politics in Pakistan", *International Journal of History And Research (IJHR)*, Vol. 3, No. ISSN 2249-6963, (4, Aug 2013).

faced by Pakistani political culture. It has harsh influences on all matters of Pakistan as a democratic state; from economic development to social improvements.³⁴⁶

Dynastic politics is an open threat for democracy because it violates the very basic concept of merit. It has direct influence over policy matters³⁴⁷ Research shows that due to blood relationship within party high officials, the accountability and audit does not prevail. Even office bearers show gross negligence towards the core issues of the state such as educational policies, parliamentary attendances and development funds.³⁴⁸

The rising trend of political dynasties is spreading among political systems all over the world. Philippines is facing such a hard competition as 60 percent of its political offices are under the interruption of dynastic politicians. Pakistan comes at the second as it has 52 percent of dynastic politics. India 29 percent, Japan 27 percent and Canada has 3 percent of dynastic influence on political officials. America is also under the influence of dynasties as political offices have about 6.2 per cent of dynastic politics.³⁴⁹

5.3.2 Implications of Dynastic Politics in Pakistan

The trend of dynastic politics also prevails in ethno national as well as religious political parties of Pakistan. The transfer of powers, allocation of top positions within the party and election tickets is based on blood relations instead of competence. Such norms made the political structure of the Pakistani politics a family enterprise. Dynastic structured parties never allow any other member of the party to contest for

³⁴⁶Qamar Abid Hussain &Dr. Muhammad IshaqueFani, "Political Dynasties and Candidate Selection: A Case of Pakistan", PSSR- P-ISSN 2664-0422/O-ISSN 2664-0430), 10-25.

³⁴⁷Jones, *The Bhutto Dynasty*, 219.

³⁴⁸Mariam Mufti, "Dynastic Politics in South Asia", *South Asian Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 2,(2009), 1-15.

³⁴⁹*The Express Tribune Newspaper* (Karachi), 13 December 2019.

election except the family members of the political party.³⁵⁰ The strong areas where the party has strong bases are specified for the family members to contest elections. Rest of the seats are distributed to other members on the basis of different categories.

According to an estimate provided by different scholars of this field such as Jones and Mufti Marriam, the total number of Pakistan's political families who belong to different dynasties is about 597. Those families somehow ruled the country since its independence. It includes Chohan and Daultana of Vehari, Chishti of Pakpattan, Khuhro of Larkana, family of Kazi Fazulullah from Sindh, Gradezi from Multan, Nawab of Qasur, Cheema of Wazirabad and Sargodha, Mamdot of Lahore, Rajput from central Punjab and so on.³⁵¹

The actual reason behind the emerging dynasties into the political system of Pakistan is to keep family business within the family. The political system of Pakistan is very poor and a quick hand for local dynasties to enhance political line through participation into general elections. The general elections help them to strengthen their positions at national level.³⁵² Family networks are a key tool for getting an easy and sharp grip for manipulating the electoral process for self-interest. Election has become nothing more than a power gaining and control holding tool for dynastic politicians from small clans and tribes. It is because the selection methods for electoral candidates are not based on democratic policies. In this regard, the element of transparency is completely side-lined.³⁵³

In Pakistan there are a large number of feudalistic families who participate in the electoral process and become part of cabinet. The political parties mixed up their

³⁵⁰ *The Dawn*, (Karachi) 24 June 2012.

³⁵¹ Mufti, "Dynastic Politics in South Asia", 1-15.

³⁵² Jones, *The Bhutto Dynasty*, 223.

³⁵³ Fani, "Political Dynasties and Candidate Selection", 10-25.

hands with military regimes for long and protective terms in the office. Even some dynastic political parties are directly brought up for power margins by military regimes. Some dynastic political parties have feudalistic support and a base line.³⁵⁴ But, those political dynasties marked their political culture through their historical achievements and preserving incidents.

The Provinces of Sindh and Punjab had recorded the highest number of dynastic politicians who contested in the electoral process. More than one hundred and forty seats (51.50 percent) of the National assembly are filled by the dynastic politicians. After the general elections of 2002, those dynastic candidates succeed and secured their seats in National Assembly.³⁵⁵ Although in Baluchistan and KP the ratio of dynastic candidates is low. This is why the average number of candidates contesting elections is high as compared to Punjab and Sindh.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁴ Mufti, "Dynastic Politics in South Asia", 1-15.

³⁵⁵ Tariq Ali, *Military Rule or People's Power?* (New York: William Morrow and Co, 1970), 138.

³⁵⁶ *The Express Tribune Newspaper* (Karachi) 13 December 2019.

CHAPTER 6

ROLE OF NON-DYNASTIC POLITICAL PARTIES OF PAKISTAN

Chapter six explains non-dynastic political parties of Pakistan. As far as non-dynastic political parties are concerned there are a few selective political parties in the country such as Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JI) which are so far from dynastic politics. The main objective of this chapter is to draw scholarly attention towards non-dynastic nature of selective political parties of Pakistan.

Present chapter consists of four main sections. In the first section, non-dynastic nature of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf is specifically focused to explain the non-dynastic efficacy of PTI. Apart from this, the distribution of tickets among the party members on non-dynastic political grounds is thoroughly discussed. Section two explains non-dynastic politics of MQM to see how far the party is non-dynastic in its nature. In the third section, an attempt is made to investigate the elements of non-dynastic politics in PAT. Section four tries to describe non-dynastic nature as well as efficacy of JI in Pakistani politics.

6.1 Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) is the third largest political party in terms of electoral politics. It is the currently serving political party of Pakistan which has been formed by Pakistan's former cricketer Imran Khan. Some other founding leaders of PTI include Abdul Hafeez Khan, Qamar Bobby and Naeem-ul-Haq who worked for

Shaukat Khanum Memorial Hospital (SKMH) and later on set their foot for the caravan of political party of Imran Khan.³⁵⁷ The grassroots of the newly emerging PTI are deeply linked with social media spread. Imran Khan used social media for quick spread of his political agendas and soon newly emerging political party of Pakistan challenged the *status quo* of Pakistani politics.³⁵⁸

6.1.1 The Elements of Non-dynastic Politics in the Ideology of PTI

PTI more likely seems like representation of Imran Khan's ideological framework which is so far from dynastic politics. Imran Khan formed the party with solid beliefs of social justice and accountability. He has condemned the politics of selection because he believes that such politics lead to the patronage and corruption. This is why Imran Khan did not support dynastic politics in the selection of candidates for electoral politics.³⁵⁹ The silent features of PTI's ideology are mainly focused on the transformation of Pakistan into an Islamic welfare state (Riyasat-e-Madina). According to its given accounts, the PTI claims to be the only non-dynastic political party of Pakistan.³⁶⁰

It is simply a movement against the elite politicians. Imran Khan's political vision is awareness for enlightened generation. His mission for new Pakistan was an ideal approach for Pakistani young nation.³⁶¹ Any political party is likely an extension of its leader's personality. In the same way Imran Khan's views and ideology as secular personality can be observed in the tones of the PTI. Upbringing the lower class by providing best and modern ways of education is one of the core missions of

³⁵⁷ Mufti Mariam, *Pakistan's Political Parties: Surviving between Dictatorship and Democracy*. 187.

³⁵⁸ Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf, *Constitution of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf*(Lahore: Private Printer, 2012), 10-32.

³⁵⁹ Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf, *Constitution of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf*(Lahore: Private Printer, 2012), 13-35.

³⁶⁰ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 163.

³⁶¹ Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf, *Constitution of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf*(Lahore: Private Printer, 2012), 20-39.

the PTI. Transparency and accountability in all the fields of the state is also up righted mission of the PTI.³⁶² A party's mission will be successful when the political party would not resort to nepotisms, corrupt practices and dynastic pattern in the distribution of party tickets during elections.

6.1.2 The Road to Naya Pakistan (New Pakistan)

The Road to *Naya Pakistan* (New Pakistan) is top listed in the manifesto of the PTI. The Manifesto document of the PTI consists of seven chapters with 61 pages and less than 650 words. The manifesto of the party directly hits five major problems of Pakistan that include poor governance, increasing national debt, energy crisis, corruption and very poor government procurement process.³⁶³ The PTI briefly stood with its manifesto for digging solutions for problems. The PTI claimed for the creation of the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) as autonomous so that the organization can freely perform its work and eliminate the corruption from the roots.³⁶⁴

Creating job opportunities for about ten million people is another ambitious agenda along with the promise of providing five million shelters led by the PTI during the electoral campaigns. Concerning the Economic issues of Pakistan, the PTI stood in favour of installation of more and more “China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)” projects like previous government. It also sees CPEC a game changer for Pakistan's economy. Other focused areas of PTI include upgrading of labour market, curbing the illegal activities, acknowledgement of the youth with facilitation of

³⁶² Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 167.

³⁶³ Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf, *Constitution of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf*(Lahore: Private Printer, 2012), 25-50

³⁶⁴ Dawn (Karachi) 23 August, 2018.

modern information technology services to all reaches. Although PTI has made some U-turns, but it can deal with its large list of points of its manifesto.³⁶⁵

6.1.3 The Non-dynastic Electoral Role of PTI

Imran Khan distributed the party tickets for the general elections of 2018 among the party members who did not belong to Imran Khan's family. After the victory in the elections, major portfolios were given to party members who were not relatives of Imran Khan. Many of the foremost portfolios of the state are being carried by the members of PTI. PTI's Arif Alvi is the current President of Pakistan. Usman Buzdar of PTI is the Chief Minister of Punjab while Mehmood Khan is serving Chief Minister of KP. None of them are having any family or blood relationship with Imran Khan.

In the list of Pakistani politicians some senior politicians are the part of PTI such as Barrister Sultan Memhood Choudhry, Imran Ismail, Saifullah Sarwar Khan Nayzee, Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Asad Umar, Parvez Khattak, Shafqat Mehmood, Muhammad Sarwar, Fawad Chaudhry, Shah Farman, Atif Khan, Firdous Ashique Awan, Ali Amin Gandapur, Sardar Khadim Hussain Wardak, Zar Taj Gull, Taimur Khan, Firdous Shamim Naqvi, Usman Dar (President for Central Punjab), Raja Jalal (President from GB), Abdul Aleem, Asad Qaisar, Dr. Arslan Khalid, and Shaikh Rasheed.³⁶⁶

The formation of PTI government was non-dynastic in nature, it happened first time in the political history of Pakistan. This fact cannot be denied that the chairman

³⁶⁵ (<https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/768186-pti-manifesto>) assessed on 13 September 2020

³⁶⁶ *Kawish*(Hyderabad) 12 November, 2019.

of a party has given all major and significant portfolios to his non-family members who justifies non-dynastic political role of PTI.³⁶⁷

In Pakistani politics Imran Khan got success after 22 years of struggle and became the 22nd Prime Minister of Pakistan. He founded a building which has grassroots in energetic youth from middle class to boost the educational field. PTI contested in 2002 and 2013 elections but got bitter defeat. From the defeat PTI realized that it has to make its alliances stronger and steadfast by organizing party structure and framework. PTI succeeded to develop alliance with some senior and old politicians from PPP, PML-N, MQM and even PML-Q to join the PTI. This is how PTI made its position more stable and unassailable. PTI's influence on Pakistani politics came to rise with adaptation of youth as a catalyst of social change followed by the tool of social media.³⁶⁸

6.1.4 Non-dynastic Efficacy of PTI

The political ideology of PTI is mainly focused on Imran Khan's non-dynastic vision where, there is no space for dynastic politics. Imran Khan's political vision is discouraging in nature for those politicians who are in struggle to form their personal political dynasties in the political system of Pakistan.³⁶⁹ Under his leadership PTI became the revolutionary party specifically after the rally led by Imran Khan on 30th October 2011. Imran Khan turned back to the game of traditional politics and bounced back with hard hitting power of that rally. After the rally, Imran Khan's PTI became the hot topic for media and politicians nationally as well as internationally. Many of

³⁶⁷*Dawn* (Karachi) 27 August, 2018.

³⁶⁸Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf, *Constitution of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf*(Lahore: Private Printer, 2012), 30-55.

³⁶⁹Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 170.

the politicians blamed him for being an agent of Pakistan's powerful military establishment.

It was the time when PTI's political strategies were observed when it put on corruption scandals of PPP and PML-N made the highlights. Claiming for the accountability and transparency, under the leadership of Imran Khan, PTI rose as the serious and strong contender. Such leading qualities lured many of the well-known politicians of Pakistan which became the part of PTI and made it the Party of Leaders. Politicians like Shah Mehmood Qureshi of PPP became the part of PTI along with Justice (Retd) Wajeehudin. PTI made it base, a stabilized and organized platform for political battles.³⁷⁰

Despite formidable success in electoral politics, Imran Khan has still not come under the influence and efficacy of dynastic politics due to his dislikes towards dynastic politics. It has already been discussed that Imran Khan's visions and moods are far from dynastic politics. Therefore, PTI has no space for the decorum of dynastic politics. However, it possesses the qualities of competition and it has challenged the *status quo* of Pakistani politics and proved that with the power of media and youth supporters. Apart from this, PTI also challenged the traditional and dynastic structure of Pakistani politics while performing non-dynastic practices. The party made its power show after the general elections of 2018.

Due to its identical leadership and democratic values within the party, the PTI is enough capable to celebrate itself as a genuine alternative of established dynamically structured political parties in Pakistan.³⁷¹

³⁷⁰*Dawn*(Karachi) 30 August, 2018.

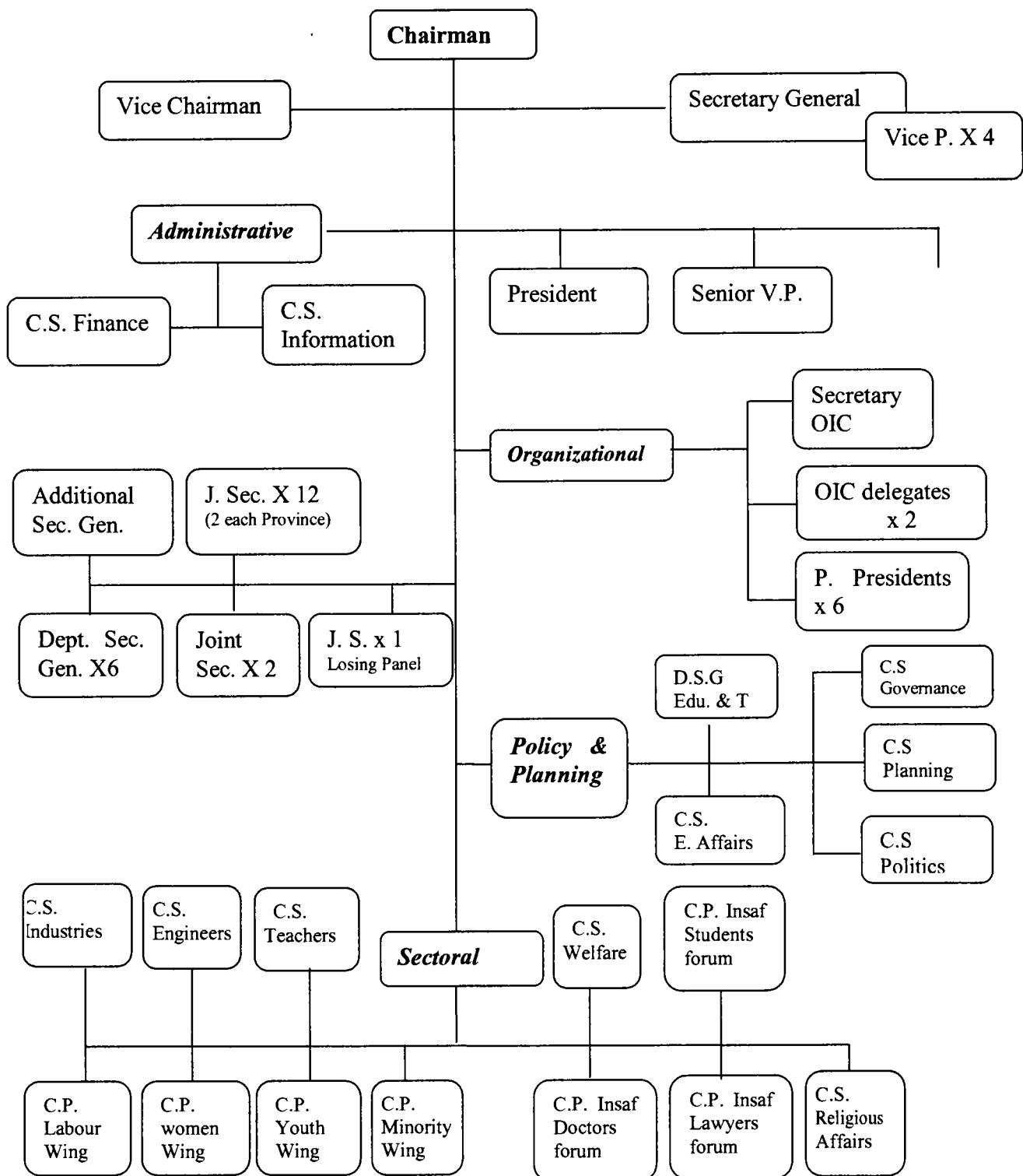
³⁷¹*Kawish*(Hyderabad) 15 November, 2019.

6.1.5 The Organizational Structure of PTI and the Selection of Its Office Bearers

In terms of membership of the PTI, every person having minimum age of 18 years can be the part of it. The party member would assure subscription to the constitution of the party. They are bound to pay membership fees as directed by CEC. Moreover, it starts from, “Block Code organization” (300 households), “Union Council/Ward, Tehsil (Taulka), District, Divisional, Province, National and International” chapters.

Party has different forums, committees, wings and departments to maintain organizational structure of the party. In the light of the constitution of PTI 2019 party enunciates that party elections will be held in two different segments for selection of party chairman and other office bearers. For the party chairmanship election will be held after every two years or before scheduled general elections (i.e 5 years). PTI in its constitution declares out rightly that the Chairman of the party will be elected through vote of registered members. It is explained in the constitution of PTI that the other positions of the office bearers will be filled through election every three years. It is the discretion of PTI chairman to select vice chairman at his own choice. The vice chairman will perform as deputy leader of the party as well. For the understanding and detailed description the party structure of PTI is shown below.

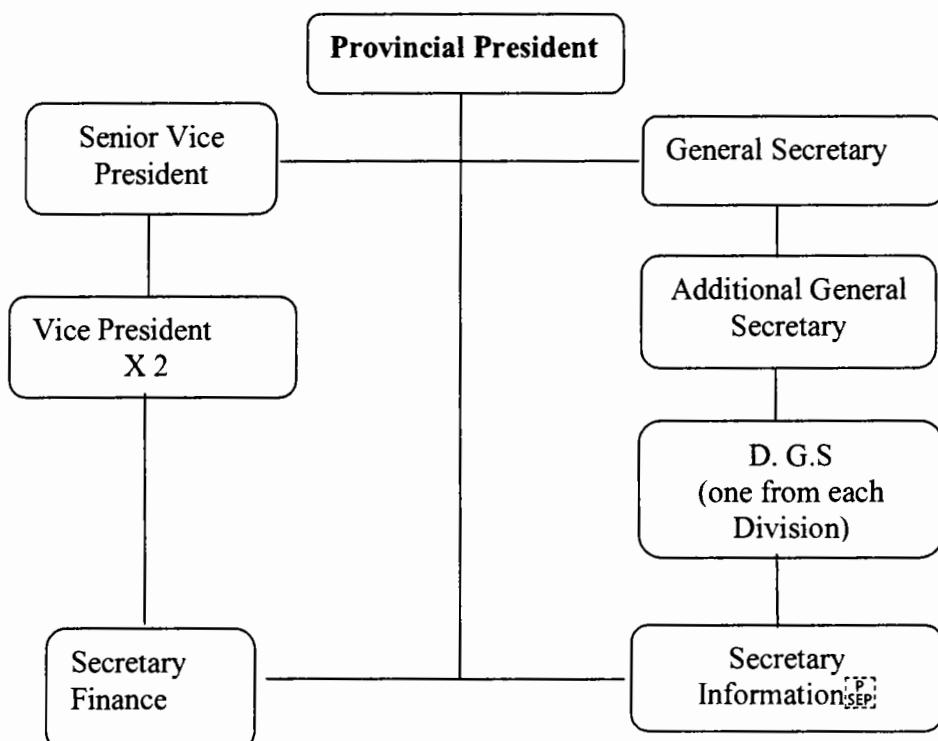
Organizational Structure of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

The organizational structure of the PTI as per its constitution illustrates that its 'Central Executive Committee (CEC)' is responsible to run all the functions throughout the country. It is responsible to guide, protect and implement political vision of the party. Furthermore, it is also at the part of CEC. The decisions carried out by CEC such as policy making and changes can only be reviewed by its vigilance body that is National Council (NC). The party NC is comprised of all top office bearers of the party under the direct supervision of the chairman. NC is also responsible to conduct 'Annual National Conference' for at least four day sittings. Where, they present 'Annual Report' containing achievements, deficiencies, party development and future strategy.

PTI has also an organization at lower tiers for the provinces. The Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) for every province has been designed to carry out structure of party. The PEC is bound to follow orders enshrined by CEC



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

There is also one component of Divisional Organization which devalues the power to the bottom level. The Divisional Council, District / City District council and District Executive Committee are constitutionally bound to perform the Primary functions with the help of Tehsil/ Taulka/ Cantonment Board/Municipal Committee level. PTI has organization of the international chapters (OIC) as well for representing of the Overseas Pakistanis.

In the light of the party constitution 2019 the above position of the office bearers mentioned in two different diagrams will be filled through party elections. All the registered party members work to exercise their powers. Election for the position of chairman will be held two years. In case of vacant position of chairman the party federal election commission is authorised to held election in 30 days. Other positions will be filled through election every three year. The direct vote will be casted to the panel of candidates.

6.2 Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)

The Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) was established on 18 March 1984 by Altaf Hussain as Muhajir Qaumi Movement. MQM was an ethnic political party in Pakistan. It was the party of the migrant Community (Muhajir). The party was formed as a structured platform for the Muhajir's political and economic representation. It was more likely a converted form of students' federation "The All Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization (APMSO)" which was mainly founded by Altaf Hussain and Azeem Tariq when they were students at Karachi University in 1978.³⁷²

It was a clash of economic concerns in start which provoked the mainframe of MQM. In 1989s political tensions resulted in emergency conditions for Pakistan, shuffling of power from military to civil occurred and geopolitics war was on its peak. That spread the air for conversion of mass movement into a base line political party for many of the ethnic groups. Not only Muhajir from Karachi, but migrated ethnic groups from all over the Pakistan started being a part of MQM.³⁷³

6.2.1 Non-dynastic Political Nature of Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)

From ideological perspective, MQM is non-dynastic in nature, and it is far from dynastic politics. From ticket distribution to electoral power sharing, MQM is purely non-dynastic political party. The power structure of MQM is not restricted to a limited family.³⁷⁴ However, it shares its power transparently among Muhajir members of the party.³⁷⁵

³⁷²Farhan Hanif Siddiq, *The State and Politics of Ethnicity in Post 1971 Pakistan: The Baloch, Sindhi and Muhajir Ethnic Movements* (London: Routledge, 2012), 71.

³⁷³Adeel Khan, *Political of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan*, (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2005),155.

³⁷⁴Amin, *Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan*, 104.

³⁷⁵Ali, *Political Forces in Sindh*, 1-15

The party focused since its inception for the survival of ethnic groups in Pakistan who were struggling to get political and economic rights. The vision of the party is mainly based to get rights of Muhajir people from all over the Pakistan. The MQM is the only ethnic movement from Sindh province which believes in practicality and non-dynastic politics. The mission and the vision of MQM carry the open heart acceptances for ethnic groups of Pakistan who have migrated and struggled for their rights.³⁷⁶

MQM's leading manifesto in the last general elections of 2018 was based on 18 points' Charter of Demand which was so far from dynastic political roots. MQM's solid demand is based on equal rights for all citizens of Pakistan along with Muhajir communities. The Manifesto is entitled as "Empowered Pakistan" which focuses on devolution of power from central to the local dealing bodies. It also presented the proposal of the creation of new provinces along with the creation of new administrative units. MQM believes in participatory democracy rather than traditional one and it has been declared during the electoral campaigns.

Likewise other political parties' manifestos, it called for transparency in system and institutions. National integration, equal educational deliverances, improvisation within health sector and core concerns over defence, foreign issues, media, religion, judiciary, agricultural, labour policy, human rights, population planning, unemployment, monetary discipline, taxation system, providing drinking water, energy issues, provincial autonomy, transport and communication are including in the charter presented by MQM.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ Siddiqi, *The State and Politics of Ethnicity in Post 1971 Pakistan*, 179.

³⁷⁷ Dawn(Karachi) 30 August, 2018.

MQM has been facing so many challenges since its creation. The tough times either regarding leadership or factions of MQM. Currently it is split into two main factions. The first faction is MQM-Pakistan which is led by Khalid Maqbool Hussain. The second faction is called MQM-London which is under the command of Altaf Hussain, the founding father of MQM. The MQM-Pakistan works through its structured *Rabita Committee* which is the central coordinating committee within all the workers and leaders.³⁷⁸

The committee formulates all the activities and programs of the Party. It is based on 34 members of the party as higher body. Twenty four members of the committee are from Pakistan while the remaining members are London based. Karachi is the hub of MQM for all type of activities as it is the founding and power show place of MQM. Karachi based Tanzeem committee of MQM deals with the matters concerned with supporters from Karachi. In 2011, the party presented its other dealing committee as 'Central Executive Committee'. This committee was mainly based on members from all four provinces of Pakistan including Azad Jammu Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan.

Farooq Sattar who is one of the most senior and foremost officials of MQM, declared the purpose of the newly created committee, that it is to assist the previously serving committees for better and quick organizational communication to have better decision making policies and other important matters of the Party. MQM has its wide spread network, as many of the leading bodies of the party hold the command from all

³⁷⁸ Altaf Hussain, Khalid Athar, Matthew A Cook, Robert Nichols and Abdur-rehman Siddiqi, *My life's Journey. The Early Years (1966-1988)*(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 116.

over the world, such as Canada, South Africa, United States, Japan and some other European Countries.³⁷⁹

6.2.2 Non-dynastic Electoral Role of MQM

It is an interesting aspect of MQM's leadership that it distributes party tickets among the common party workers on performance basis. Ashfaque Mangi won the seat of provincial assembly in the elections of 2002 from the ticket of MQM who was a barber from interior Sindh.³⁸⁰ The selection portfolios, distribution of party tickets, electoral power sharing and other such party decisions are not made under the influence of dynastic trends which shows the non-dynastic political nature of MQM.³⁸¹ However, the role of MQM in Pakistani politics is very important due to its electoral influence in Karachi the capital city of Sindh province.

Historically, it got the rise in political field so quickly after its creation without dynastic tendencies. It took only two years to become one of the most powerful ethno national political parties of Pakistan from an ethno-nationalist movement.³⁸² In the year 1987, party won the local elections and proved its position in strong stand. MQM continuously showed its great influence over federal level. It remained a key factor of coalition since its birth to 2013. As a coalition and assisting hand for other political groups, MQM made its own strong base within Karachi as well as in some important cities of Pakistan. Resignation tactics and raising questions over electoral process are some of the very common and traditional tactics of the Party.³⁸³

³⁷⁹ Tahir Amin, *Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan: Domestic and International factors* (Rawalpindi: Pap-Board Printers (Pvt) Ltd. 1988), 177.

³⁸⁰ *Kawish* (Hyderabad) 15 December, 2002.

³⁸¹ Fani, "Political Dynasties and Candidate Selection", 15-30.

³⁸² Siddiqi, *My life's Journey*, 125.

³⁸³ Dawn (Karachi) 30 August, 2018.

Many of the MQM Parliamentarians have resigned time and again from National Assembly and Senate as a sign of boycott. Similarly, it remained all the time influential body for Pakistani Politics. It has supported dictatorship of General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008) and utilized that phase for more strong and stable status within Pakistani Politics.³⁸⁴ MQM has been working for participatory democratic system within Pakistan. It has proposed the equal space for all the citizens of Pakistan for better and stabilized institutional structure within Pakistani Politics. For the course of structured and well organized framework MQM has been changing and moulding its own units and committees too. It has made various changes in its internal organizational structure starting from district to city units.

For smooth and stabilized institutional work it has made coalitions with major political parties of Pakistan. In 2008, it has been ally of PPP; likewise, it has supported the regime of General Musharraf from 2002. After the general elections of 2013, it assembled itself with governing bodies of Sindh province and continued its struggle for equality.³⁸⁵

MQM has been alleged for various suspicious activities since its creation and blamed for conspicuous grounds. The party's extra use of illegal activities put it in such hard positions so the leaders of the party had been charged and captivated. It has great records of conflicts and clashes with its political opponents and those stunts have drowned the image of MQM as fascist.³⁸⁶ MQM has experienced hard ups and downs but the unity and the strength of the party has not been shaken at all. Still MQM possesses its status as a major and a stable political party of Pakistan. It is only ethnic political party which has totally underestimated the elements of dynastic

³⁸⁴Siddiq, *The State and Politics of Ethnicity in Post 1971 Pakistan*, 182.

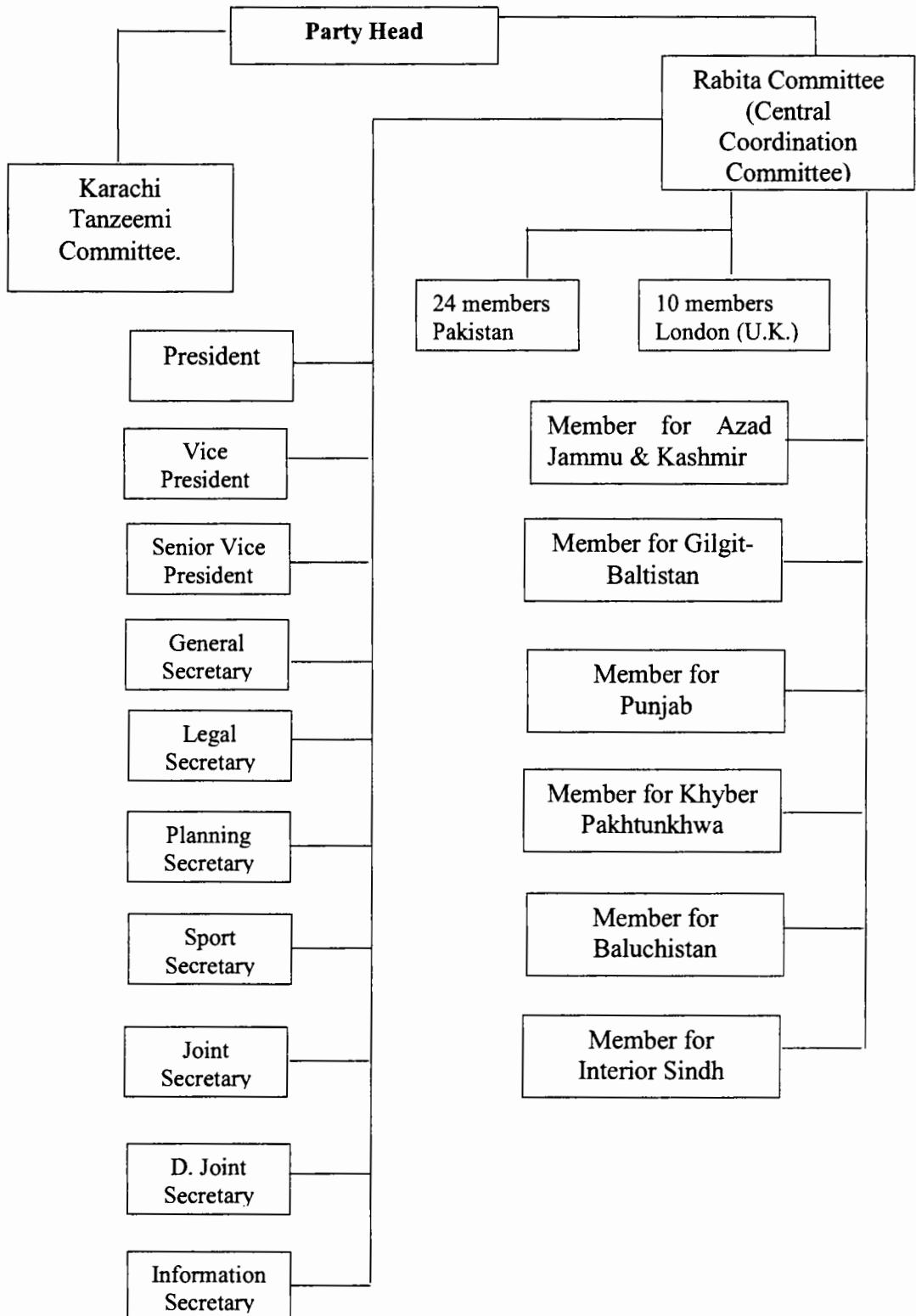
³⁸⁵Tahir Naqvi, What Remains of the MuttahidaQaumi Movement.

³⁸⁶Amin, *Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan*, 182.

politics which, eventually, created thousands of followers for the party. The party followers are ready to sacrifices as they find the party as their only hope of better future for themselves and for their coming generations. The basic belief of the party is to bring political cadre which must be based on strengthening politics on democratic grounds.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁷ ("MQM-P ditches sectors and units for new organizational structure" by Zia Rehman International The News, 5th June, 2017).6-19.

Organizational Structure of Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

The above mentioned organizational structure of MQM elaborates that the party is working in Pakistan especially in Sindh in an organized way. All members and committees and the central body is directly connected with the party head (Pakistan chapter). All the office bearers have no any linkage or blood relationship with the party top slots or heads. That proves the non-dynastic structure of the present political party.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁸The information provided in above organizational structure has been collected through personal local sources by the scholar. Due to unavailability of party constitution even at the election commission office Islamabad the intra party election procedure has not been defined.

6.3 Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT)

Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) is founded by Pakistani Canadian-settled Islamic scholar, and the founder of Minhaj-ul-Quran International Organization, Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri on 25 May 1989. After the death of General Zia-ul-Haq, Pakistan experienced great political clashes. A number of groups appeared to set their footsteps in Pakistani politics.³⁸⁹ PAT is one of those rising political agents which had been established in the name of awareness and improvisation of political, economic and educational structure of Pakistan. Dealing with general activities in local margins PAT came to the line of electoral fields in the general elections of 1990.³⁹⁰

6.3.1 Non-dynastic Efficacy of PAT

PAT is basically a revolutionary religion-political party which want to bring political changes in the polity of Pakistan on the basis of non-dynastic political efficacy.³⁹¹ Since its creation it is calling for structured and improvised political system. Its ideology and visions are all about moderate Islamism. The political ideology of PAT is not the supporter of dynastic politics. Thus, PAT is beyond the dynastic politics and rejects this notion. Moreover, it demands for Islamic democratic system along with Islamic socialism within Pakistan.³⁹²

The PAT leadership supports justice, impartiality, fairness and transparency in the political system of Pakistan. It also demanded equal prerogatives for all the citizens of the country without discrimination.³⁹³ The PAT leadership highly criticized

³⁸⁹ S.S. Bindra, *Politics of Islamization. With Special Reference to Pakistan* (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1990), 190.

³⁹⁰ Bindanda M Chengappa, *Pakistan Islamization Army and Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: A.P. H Publishing Corporation, 2004), 172.

³⁹¹ Siddiqui, *Pakistan's Political Parties*, 175.

³⁹² Siddiqui, *The State and politics of Pakistan*, 93.

³⁹³ Kawish (Hyderabad) September 2014.

the hold of power within a few families such as Shareef, Bhutto and some other influential families. According to the vision of party, the concept of dynastic politics would destroy the check and balance of political system of Pakistan due to restriction of power in the hands of a few families.³⁹⁴

The manifesto of PAT is based on 13 key points. It is introduced by PAT's Central Executive Committee. The Manifesto is carrying about 186 pages with titled details. Highlighting the slogan *Nizam ko Badlo* (Change the System). PAT's manifesto is entitled as "Putting People First". It is pointed for seven major priorities including education, economy, health, poverty, justice, peace and technology. Along with the wish of revitalization of 32 departments of Pakistan it has made unemployment as a core concern. Since its inception PAT is seeking for the Justice deliverances for people of Pakistan. It is continuously asking the state officials and the supreme court of Pakistan and other courts to expedite justice regarding the pending cases.³⁹⁵

6.3.2 Non-dynastic Tendencies

It is explained that PAT is a non-dynastic political party which does not believe in power sharing within family as well as close associates. Moreover, the founding leader of the party Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri distributed party tickets among dedicated and devoted common political workers with justice during general elections of 1992.³⁹⁶ In fact, PAT is positioned at centrism counted as centre-left-wing from fiscal and centre-right wing from social backgrounds. Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri who

³⁹⁴Siddiqi, *The State and politics of Pakistan*, 95.

³⁹⁵Chengappa, *Pakistan Islamization Army and Foreign Policy*, 175.

³⁹⁶Fani, "Political Dynasties and Candidate Selection", 20-30.

had been serving as chairman of PAT since its creation announced his retirement from chairmanship in September 2019.³⁹⁷

Currently Qazi Zahid Mahmood is the serving central President of the party while Arif Mahmood Chaudhary is First Secretary.³⁹⁸ Zahid Mahmood is Vice-President and Raja Khurram Nawaz is Secretary General from Gandapur. For Central Punjab Region President Basharat Aziz Jaspal is selected President while Rehan Asad Maqbool Shahid is General Secretary. For North Punjab Region Mushtaq Ahmad Lillah is serving President while Syed Mahmood Ahmad Hasnain is General Secretary. For South Punjab Region serving President is Fayyaz Ahmad Warraich and Saifullah Khan is General Secretary. The Central Executive Committee is main branch for all concerned matters about the party.³⁹⁹

PAT has stood as strong opponent for governments of PPP and PML-N for their poor governances. It has spread its units in major political regions of Pakistan, specifically in Punjab for better mode of communication between activists and political leaders. PAT contested in the General elections of 1990 but could not secure any seat. Later the party won a single seat of National Assembly in the general elections of 2002. After the general elections of 2013, PAT boycotted the PML-N's government. It promoted the "Go Nawaz Go" slogan and claimed that PAT wants corruption-free government while Qadiri was carrying his historic long March.⁴⁰⁰

The main theme of the PAT is based on stabilized and structured political system within Pakistan. It played its role for better institutional framework. For the sake of good governance the party has stood as strong opponent for ruling parties. It

³⁹⁷ Dawn (Karachi) 30 December 2019.

³⁹⁸ Kawish (Hyderabad) 19 September 2019.

³⁹⁹ (<https://pat.com.pk/english/tid/15980/Central-Leadership.html>) assessed on 19 March 2020

⁴⁰⁰ (<http://pat.com.pk/english/tid/20734/Islamabad-Long-March-Declaration-Green-Revolution-Pakistan-Dr-Tahir-ul-Qadri-Democracy-Long-March-Minhaj-ul-Quran-International.html>) assessed on 19 March 2020.

also performed vital role for suggesting and providing the suitable solutions and ways for governing bodies.⁴⁰¹ In early 1991, PAT had signed a “*Communiqué of Unity*” with Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafria (Moosavi Faction) for the sake of promotion of social and religious harmony within the state. For first time in the political history of Pakistan, PAT presented the idea of “working relationship” between PAT, Tehreek-e-Istaqlal and Tehreek-e-Jafaria (TNFJ- A Shia militant group). PAT has served for the economic affairs in the most appropriate way by introducing the complete working plan for interest free banking system in 1992.⁴⁰²

It was a plan for all international and national transactions moods which were acceptable for industrial and banking professionals with appreciated sanctions of the societies. It has led the historic long march from Lahore to Islamabad in January 2013. The motto of the march was based on the important need of electoral reforms regarding the general elections of 2013. PAT got success after signing an agreement with serving government. Reforms were asked for constitutional proceedings for elections. In its long run history PAT promoted the equal and justice deliverances policies for the people of Pakistan.⁴⁰³

In short it can be described that PAT is the political party which describes itself as a perfect party for representation of all sections of Pakistani societies. It declares itself as a party for youth, women, farmers, employees, traders and minorities under the slogan of promoting equality within societies for all groups. It condemns the discriminatory dealing on the bases of religions, sects, race and colour. The described agendas of PAT are based on 'common approach' which can be counted as helping hand for all the citizens of Pakistan. PAT believes that equal and righteous societies

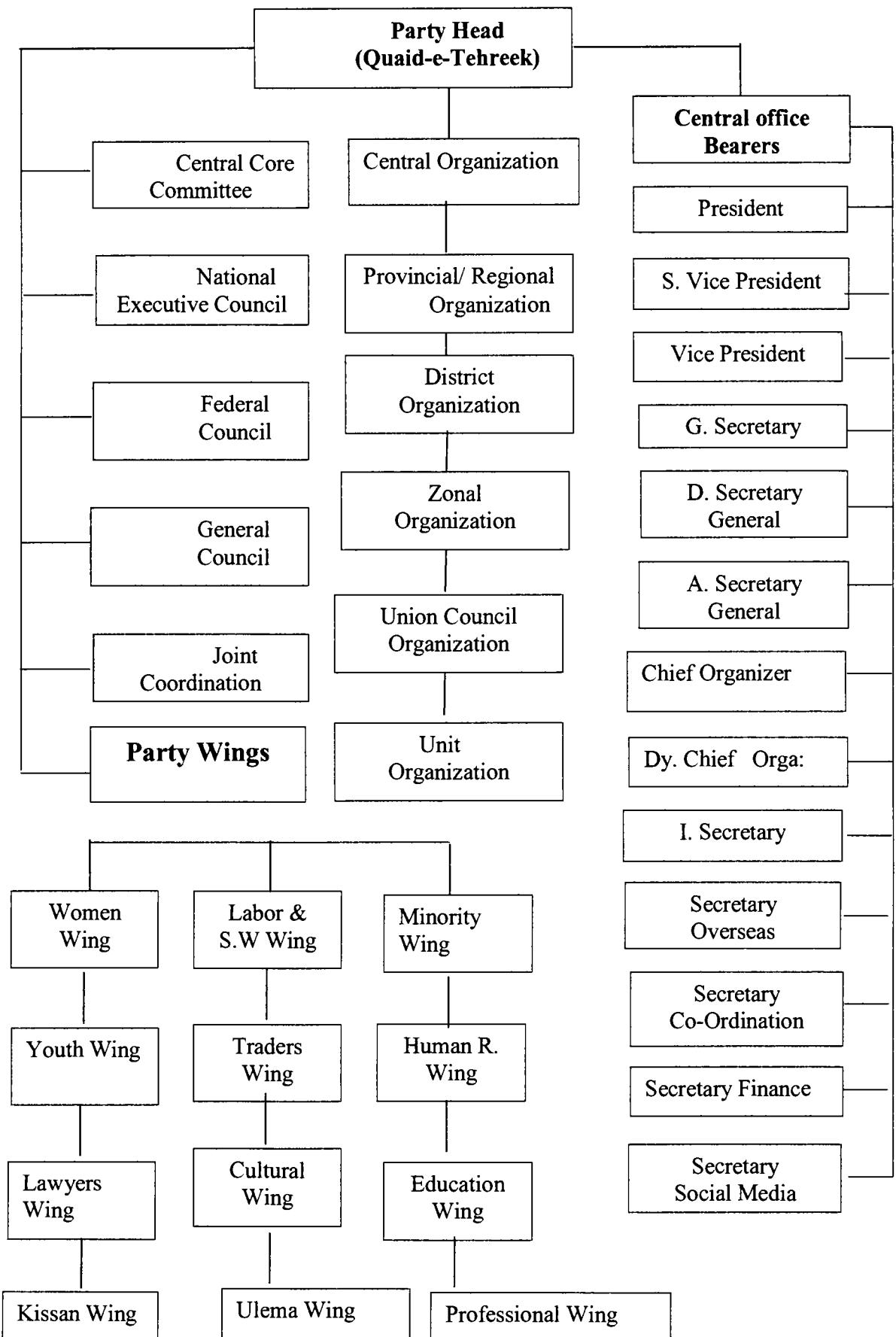
⁴⁰¹Bindra, *Politics of Islamization*, 178.

⁴⁰²Muhammad Asgar Khan, *We've Learnt Nothing from History Pakistan: Politics and Military Power* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 202.

⁴⁰³Kawish(Hyderabad) December 2013.

can be developed with the inclusion within all the sectors of the Pakistani societies. The inclusion of designed goals can be achieved by modernization of agriculture, educational sector and Judiciary. In the light of existing literature on the subject, it can, eventually, be explained that PAT's political ideology did not remain under the influence of dynastic politics. The politics of PAT is non-dynastic in nature and the elements of dynastic politics are invisible.

Organizational Structure of Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT)



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

6.3.3 Organizational Structure of PAT

Any adult male or female can be the member of PAT. The constitution of the party elaborates that in the light of the holy Quran, Sunnah and the guidance of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, PAT will continue its struggles for welfare state within Pakistan. From the organizational structure perspective, the party is well organised institution. Under the guidance and supervision of the party leader all the office bearers perform their services to make Pakistan a complete Islamic state.

The party head (Quaid-e-Tehreek) is responsible to supervise the five main organizational components of the party such as central core committee, national executive Council, federal Council, general counsel and joint coordination council. Furthermore, these bodies will deal with other components of the party to regulate different kind of tasks given by the party head. All the office bearers including party head will be elected through intraparty elections. PAT has organised its party administration in all the provinces including GB, AJ & K. Moreover, it has organised party network in districts, sub-districts/tahseil/taluka/ Union Council and Unit level in Pakistan.

The role of different wings as mentioned in the diagram above is to control and organise the different departments concerning to human development and welfare. Under article 10 of PAT constitution the party head will be called Quaid-e-Tehreek. He will be the front line of the party and to carry out any kind of final decision. Through parliamentary board party will take final decision to select office bearers. The Qaid-e-Tehreek will nominate central president of board to carry out decisions in centre. It has been analyzed that in the complete organisational structure of the PAT no one is the blood relation of the party head neither he has maintained

any dynasty. PAT leadership does not believe in dynastic politics. The distribution of the party tickets for the general elections is made on the basis of services of the members. PAT has organised electoral colleges under section 33 and its sub-sections of the constitution where it has elaborated the power and position of the electoral colleges to conduct intra party elections. The elections within party will be held for all administrative units where president and general secretary will be elected through vote of members.

6.4 Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan

Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) is one of the most influential and celebrated religious political parties of South Asia as well as Muslim World. On 26 August 1941 one of the Islamic Scholar Abul A`la Maududi, along with 74 well known scholars laid the foundation of the Party at Lahore.⁴⁰⁴ This was forwarded step for Islamic revolution in the Subcontinent. Abul A`la Maududi worked for the agenda of Islamization for the newly founded state of Pakistan in the Subcontinent. In the starting days of its struggle JI had bitterly opposed the concept of Nationalism presented by Jinnah.⁴⁰⁵

The party scholars claimed that nationalism was inspired concept of European world and it had no space in Islamic laws. Abul A`la Maududi even denied the creation of separate land for Muslims of the Subcontinent because according to his perception that new state would be of *Jahiliyat* (ignorance). Though after the creation of Pakistan, JI soon became a part of Pakistani politics and made its stance very strong. The main objective of the JI is about the transformation of Pakistan into an Islamic State which must be governed by Islamic Laws and Sharia.⁴⁰⁶ However, the formation of the party was non-dynastic in its structure and nature. Seventy four

⁴⁰⁴ Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*, 183.

⁴⁰⁵ Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia* (Lahore: Vanguard Books publications), 105.

⁴⁰⁶ Afzal Iqbal, *Islamization of Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1986), 181.

religious scholars were not from the family of Abul A'la Maududi. Therefore, the party's formative structure was firmly non-dynastic.

6.4.1 Non-dynastic Tendencies in the Ideology of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan

JI's ideology is non-dynastic political ideology based on Islam. Leading Scholars and founders of JI believed in Islamic revolution and welfare along with eradication of corruption. Though JI has been criticized for being an establishment and military promoting and supportive political party of Pakistan, but, it has huge rising hopes for democratic rule within Pakistan. Its vision and mission is about bringing Islamic Laws and Sharia in actions for governing sector of Pakistan.⁴⁰⁷ JI is more likely youth activists based and it wishes for the youth to adopt Islamic life style.

JI's philosophy also discourages limitations of power within a few families and the dynastic structures of political parties. Therefore, JI has been in opposition to PPP as well as PML-N on dynastic political groundings. PPP was supporter of socialism however; JI was the opponent of it. In a similar vein, PPP was supporter of the concept of political dynasty; whereas JI opposed the concept from several perspectives. Beside this, all those practices, forbidden in Islam are also opposed by JI from time to time and the concept of dynasty is unacceptable in Islamic system. This is why, JI strongly opposed dynastic politics in Pakistan⁴⁰⁸

Following the slogan of "Umeed Awam Ki Tabdeli Nizam Ki" (Nation's Hope for System's Change), JI promotes the betterment of Pakistani nation under the practices of Islamic laws and Sharia. It believes in establishment of Islamic welfare state with the restoration of national sovereignty and independence.⁴⁰⁹ It strongly

⁴⁰⁷ Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*, 211-215.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Iqbal, *Islamization of Pakistan*, 187.

believes in self-reliance stance of Pakistan at National and International platforms. For Public concerns, JI wants to see a prosperous Pakistan. According to given manifestos document, JI aims to facilitate the nation with basic needs of life such as food, clothes, education and health. With Islamic laws' practices, JI wishes for balanced and maintained societies where Justice would be accessible. JI strongly promotes legislation with Islamic elements as governing system. Its manifesto calls for urgent implementations of Islamic laws for all in hand problems of Pakistan. This is why it believes in Nation's hope as system's change.⁴¹⁰

Currently the party is headed by Siraj-Ul-Haq while Liaqat Baloch is the General Secretary. Professor Ibrahim, Mushtaq Ahmed Khan, Mian Maqsood, Fareed Ahmed Paracha, Professor Khursheed Ahmed, Muhammad Hassan Mehnati, Mian Muhammad Aslam, Amir-ul-Azeem and Hafiz Muhammad Idrees are some prominent personalities of JI who have been serving for the Party cause.⁴¹¹ These are persons have neither blood relationship with the party head nor with the founder Abul A'la Maududi. This structure and position of office bears out rightly describe that JI is a non-dynastic political party of Pakistan.

Its political position is from Right-wing to Far-right. JI is highly organized party having different organs in which the student wing is named as Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba, Labour wing which is called National Labour Federation and Youth wing known as Shabab-e-Milli are very prominent and effective. JI has a complete organizational framework for party's stable and reliable activities. The council of Representative leads the party concerns and other party matters. Second body is of the central advisory council which comprises 25 members elected by the council of representatives. The Central Advisory council possesses the authorities for the

⁴¹⁰Chengappa, *Pakistan Islamization Army and Foreign Policy*, 194.

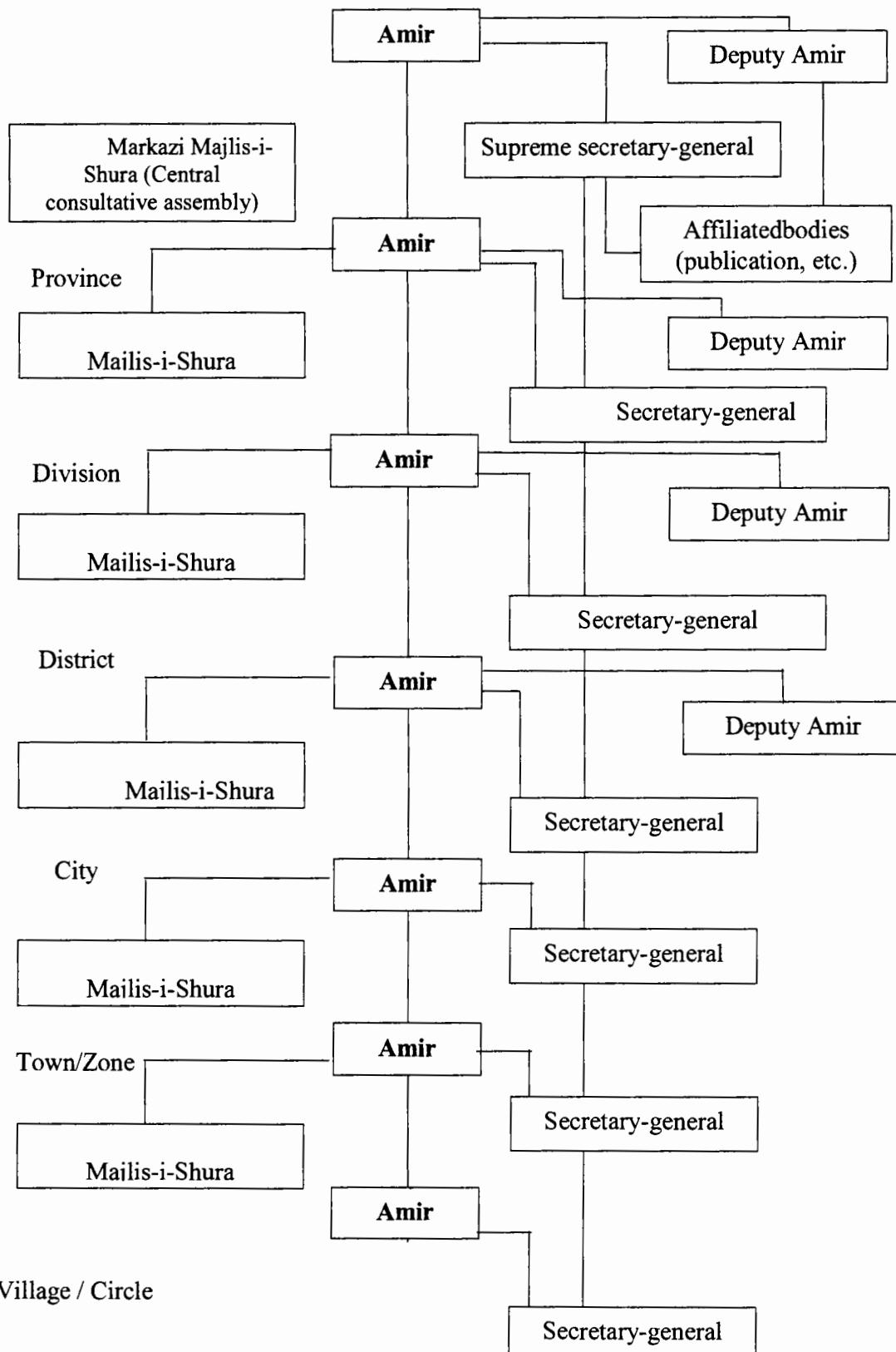
⁴¹¹Iqbal, *Islamization of Pakistan*, 188.

selection of all major officials of the party including vice president General Secretary and Secretaries. Official of the Party is entitled as 'Amir'. The Central Advisory Council looks after the matters of designed and profound constitution of the Jamaat.

⁴¹²The detailed structure of the party is shown below in the diagram.

⁴¹² (<https://jamaateislamihind.org/eng/about-jamaat/organizational-structure/>).

Organizational Structure of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan



Source: Inferred by the researcher from the constitution of the party

The constitution of JI shed lights that it believes in Islam and follows orders of Sharia. Therefore, it follows the concept of Muslim Ummah (Muslim community). Therefore, every Muslim adult person (male or female) without the discrimination of caste and creed can be the member of JI. Moreover, it is mandatory for being member of JI that the member has to understand the aims, objectives, vision and mission of JI. A person who do not follow Sharia and earns livelihood by un-Islamic means cannot be the member of the party. A member found involved in corrupt practices or un-Islamic acts will be discharged from membership.

The party constitution reveals that on the recommendation of the party's election commission, the Amir (chief) is being elected for the term of five years. In accordance with traditions of JI the Majlis-e-Shora (Central Executive Council) will provide three names to its active members (both male and female) for guidance to elect the Amir of the party. For the selection of the party chief the constitution of JI further guides that only registered members can participate in election to select the party head. Since its inception in 1941, JI progressed and passed stages of development under the command of five Amir, such as Abul A`la Maududi , Mian Tufail Ahmed, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, Syed Munwar Hassan and now Siraj-ul-Haq.

It has been observed after thorough analysis that JI chiefs have remained always down to the earth persons. Following the procedure of the election of the Amir, the JI elects all the office bearers for all Pakistan, provinces, divisions, districts, cities, towns and villages on the same pattern. The fair and transparent intraparty elections of JI prove it a well organised and non-dynastic political party of Pakistan.

6.4.3 Non-dynastic Electoral Politics of JI

JI has been contesting the general elections since its inception and made its position credible for its supporters. In the general elections of 1977, JI distributed party tickets among party workers on non-dynastic political ground. JI leadership also believed in merit, therefore, the meritorious party workers were given opportunities to contest the elections. In the best interest of the party, it made alliance with other political parties time and again. The general elections of 1990 didn't do well for JI at all neither it awarded party tickets to the kith and kin of the Amir. In 2002, JI became a part of Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal and the alliance secured about 45 seats of National Assembly. In 2008, JI made its alliance with the All Parties Democratic Movement (APDM) which boycotted the polls. After the general elections of 2013, JI won three seats while the general elections of 2018 did not favour JI as it lost its most strong and native constituency.⁴¹³ In the light of the electoral political history of JI, it can be assumed that JI has been contesting general elections all the time. From ticket distribution to power sharing, JI's political vision, in this regard has remained non-dynastic in nature. The present Amir of JI, Siraj-ul-Haq is an inspirational example in this context, which has not any blood relation with the founding leaders of JI.

The leadership of this political party plays role in the stabilization of political institutions of the country. JI has a fundamentalist structure of politics for which the Party leaders claim that the party has complete organizational structure of Islamic ideology. JI performed its role and made the coalition with various political parties and other activists' Organizations. At the time of need it trolled the campaigns for change.⁴¹⁴ In 1953 it went for anti-Ahmedi Movement and in 1977 it led the anti-PPP movement. It also worked as major element of MMA. It had been alleged for being at

⁴¹³ Dawn(Karachi) 30 March, 2019.

⁴¹⁴ Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan (1972-1988)*, 241.

the back of Zia's regime. For anti-corruption campaign JI blamed many prominent political parties of Pakistan as corrupt.⁴¹⁵

In short, it can be claimed that JI is the most influential non-dynastic religious political party of Pakistan. JI truly supports and promotes Islamic laws and Sharia for the success of Muslims of Pakistan. It believes that the sole remedy for Pakistan's problems would be the adaptation of Islamic laws. Indeed, JI has become a strong and powerful political and cultural force of Pakistani Politics. With its strong organizational structure and fundamental beliefs of followers, it sees a great position for itself within Pakistani politics.⁴¹⁶

Brief Conclusion

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan are non-dynastic political parties of Pakistan that oppose the grip of power in the hands of a few families. Moreover, this chapter concludes that the leadership of these parties are far from dynastic politics, they consider it as curse which has subverted party politics in Pakistan. Apart from this, dynastic tendencies in Pakistani politics are used for the empowerment of political positions and safeguard of self-vested interests. All possible measures were used by the leadership of these political parties to get rid of the concept of dynastic politics.

⁴¹⁵ Iqbal, *Islamization of Pakistan*, 186.

⁴¹⁶ Rafique, *Pakistan History & Politics 1947-1971*, 210.

Conclusion

In the conclusion of the research study, coherent influence of dynastic politics in several political parties of Pakistan such as PML-N, PPP, and JUI-F and in ANP is observed. Apart from such major political parties the dynastic politics within ethnic, religious and minor political parties like PMAP, PPP-SB, SNP, SAT and TLP of Pakistan have also been dealt with in the study. However, few political parties such as PTT, MQM, PAT and JI are far from the politics of dynasty.

It has been observed that the political ideologies of dynastic political parties have reflected politics of dynasty. The leadership of such political parties have kept the power of party within the family. Therefore, the firm political sense remained under the influence of the politics of dynasty that has subverted the political system of Pakistan.

The present research has analyzed the influence of dynastic politics in the light of organisational structure, political ideologies and the party constitutions which led to the conclusions that a great majority of political parties have used the card of dynastic politics to achieve their vested political interest. The political leadership of a few political parties has kept their party away from dynastic politics. Despite distance from dynastic politics, the PTI has successfully assumed political power. As it shows that, the politics of dynasty is not necessary element for the political leadership.

It has also been concluded that the implication of dynastic politics has made political system of Pakistan as a moth-eaten system where power has been transferred from one family member to another family member or within the family. In this connection, Bhutto family and Sharif family are vibrant examples of dynastic politics

at national level in Pakistan. At regional level some families in Punjab such as Alpial family of Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan, Babar Pathan family of senior politician Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Tiwana family of Rahila Tiwana and her siblings, Chattha family belonging to Chaudhry Hamid Nasir Chattha, Abbasi family of Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, Qureshi family belonging to Shah Mahmood Qureshi, Khar family, Kharal, Khosa, Gillani family of Yousaf Raza Gillani and many others have been enjoying power under the influence politics of dynasty for a long period.

In Sindh Province families like Arbab belonging to Arbab Ghulam Rahim, Unar family, Bijarani family of late Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani, Durani family of Agha Siraj Durrani, Pir Pagaro family, Talpur family, Jatoi, Junejo family, Chandia, Shah family of Khairpur, Zardari of Asif Ali Zardari, Syed family of late G.M. Syed, Soomro family, Sherazi, Abbasi, Kalhoro, Khuhro family, Paleji, Makhdoom family, Mahar Sardar family, and Wasaan family of Khairpur are dominant families in politics.

In the Baluchistan province of Pakistan some families like Achakzai family, Bizenjo family, Bugti, Jamali, Khan of Kalat family, Raisani, Rind, Khosa, Zehri family, Mengal and Magsi families have been ruling in the province. In KP province the family politics is also at its rise. Among the prominent families Arbab Yousafzai family, Hoti, Tareen, Jadoon, Khatak, Hoti, Muhammad Zai and Bilour family have grabbed the power into their hands.

The above mentioned families are associated with different political parties of Pakistan. After the intense investigation it can be concluded that on the dint of vote power, top position in party structure and feudal power such families have hijacked the entire political system of Pakistan. In elections, party seats remain in the hands of

such influential dynasties. In order to analyse the political implications of the dynastic structure of such political parties the structural functionalism as well as role theory helped to develop further understandings. On this basis of selected theoretical framework of the present study conclusively points out the adverse effects of dynastic politics on the political system of Pakistan.

The phenomenon of dynastic politics has destroyed almost entire structure of Pakistani politics. The dynastic politics is inherited, nepotistic and undemocratic from egalitarian point of view. Unfortunately the homeland Pakistan has inherited stratified, feudal dominated social orders where dynasty and kinship are being considered as the catalysts of social change.

It has been explored, assessed and evaluated by the study that the political implications of dynastic politics have deep impact upon the socio-economic as well religio-political conditions of Pakistan. There is no order and regulation within the party structure of dynastic political parties to select office bearers on the basis of democratic norms and values. In the selection of party committees constitution patronage is provided to the family of the party leaders. On the basis of minute analysis of the study it has been found that influential persons within parties like PML-N, PPP, JUI-F and ANP as dynastic political parties have ruined the structure of parties and democracy. A number of families and individuals belonging to the mentioned parties are occupant over top positions in the party structure. Consequently, it affects the performance of parties and has a profound impact over party members.

It has been brought into the lime light through this study that democratic values, decision making process, distribution of the party tickets and selection of

office bearers should be fair and based on democratic norms and values. The present study is highly focused on the selected research questions as well as objectives of the study. In the present study the effort has been made to answer the questions like, how do political parties become a tool in the hands of a few families. Why do certain families dominate the body structure and decision making of apparently democratic parties? And what are the political implications of dynastic politics within political parties in Pakistan?

In the light of selected literature review it can further be concluded that major political parties in Pakistan which are analysed undemocratic having unstable organizational structure must be restructured. The present study has raised scholarly attention towards the aspect of dynastic politics which provides an insight to understand the problem in a broader sense. Through qualitative research paradigm and following the pattern of the normative analytical discussion this study has operationally elaborated terms like dynastic, non-dynastic, will of the people and decentralization of the party decisions.

In order to understand the gap between the constitution of parties and existing political traditions of some politician like late Mumtaz Ali Bhutto (died July 18, 2021), Rashid Mahmood Soomro (JUI-F), Nisar Ahmed Khuhro (President of the PPP Sindh Chapter) Mir Nadar Khan Magsi (PPP), Syed Qaim Ali Shah Jillani (Ex-CM Sindh) and Khursheed Ahmed Junejo (PPP) were interviewed on the basis of convenient sampling method. From the interview the results were drawn, that such dynastic political parties have institutionalised the practice of nepotism, undemocratic selection of party top slots and way of the distribution of party tickets on the basis of blood relationship during general elections. The dynastic structured political parties call it culture of political parties in Pakistan. The data was also collected from the

constitutions of major political parties where the huge gap in their written documents and their practice was found to a great extent. The conceptual study of structural-functionalism helped to conclude that dominance of feudal, tribal and caste systems play role in the development and structure of political parties in Pakistan.

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