

STATE POLITICS IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF PUNJAB (1988-93)

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled "STATE POLITICS IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF PUNJAB (1988-93)" submitted by Miss Vimmy Sahay, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of this University, is her original work. To the best of our knowledge, this dissertation has not been previously submitted for the award of any other degree of this University or any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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PREFACE

Due to the uncompromising nature of the political elites to share power among themselves India was partitioned in 1947. The same year Pakistan became an independent entity with the partition of India. What constitutes Pakistan after the breakaway of East Pakistan in 1971, are the four provinces, Baluchistan, Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab and Sind. The list of problems-political, economic, administrative, social and culture - accumulated and compounded over decades of misrule is long. Pakistan owes its political predicament to the military. The military has a history of taking keen interest in the country's turbulent politics. The notable milestones of the 'men in khaki' are Ayub Khan and Zia ul Haq. The confusion caused by Zia's sudden departure in 1988 from the political scene gave the military the opportunity to assume power once again. But it chose to step off from the political stage and watch the developments. Democracy was restored as a result. In a span of eight years from 1988 onwards, three general elections have been held in the country. The province of Punjab is of crucial importance to any party that wants to rule Pakistan.

Apart from the fact that it accounts for over 60 percent of all Pakistanis, the Punjab has other claims to importance. Punjabs comprise almost 70 to 80 percent of the Pakistan army, 80 to 85 percent of the central bureaucracy, and also small percentage of the bureaucracy in the other provinces. The large scale and small scales industries by and large are concentrated in the hands of the Punjabis. They dominate the trade and commerce, finance and transportation sector. About 75 percent of the country's successful professionals hail from the Punjab. Therefore Punjab is the heartland, the kingmaker and nerve centre of Pakistan. Punjab has been the stranglehold of landed oligarchies who also monopolize the politics within Punjab. Biradari relations also have a decisive role to play in the politics of the province. The emerging political scenario of Punjab and Pakistan are; its become more and more personalised and conflictual and money power is pre-eminent. While voting for provincial assembly candidates, the people fall back on biradari relation and other considerations-not political, but for the National Assembly they tend to adhere to their traditional political loyalties.

The topic "State Politics in Pakistan: A Case Study of Punjab (1988-93) attempts to study and analyse the three

general elections of 1988, 1990 and 1993. The study tries to focus attention on the importance of Punjab in the Pakistani politics. Without having a sway over Punjab no political party can succeed at the centre. The focal point of Punjabi Politics of feudal and biradari lineages have been examined by this study also.

The study has been divided into four chapters. The first chapter is introductory in nature. The political socio economic and cultural history of Punjab has been explored. The second chapter deals with the variety of political parties of Pakistan in Punjab. The rise and fall of parties, their influence over different stratas, the organisation of parties, the socio economic background of the leaders are dealt with in this chapter. The third chapter tries to analyse the three elections of Pakistan with special reference to the province Punjab. How Punjab influences the centre's politics and vice versa is discussed in this chapter. The last chapter is the concluding chapter which focuses on the emerging trends of Punjab politics in recent years.

The study is optimistic in its approach besides being analytical. The study indicates that despite formidable

obstacles, Pakistan will politically mature in the near future.

In the end, I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to my supervisor Prof. Kalim Bahadur who guided me to complete my dissertation. I also express my sincere thanks to the library staff of Sapru House library, Teen Murti library, Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis's library and the J.N.U. library. For my parents and sisters no words can be adequate to express my gratitude. I am grateful to all my friends whose support and cooperation has helped me to make my dissertation a success. Finally a special thanks to my typist for his assistance.

Delhi-67

Vimmy Sahay

CHAPTER - I
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER- I

INTRODUCTION

The termination of British rule in India in 1947, led to the birth of a new nation in South Asia-Pakistan. The uncompromising nature of the political elites to share power resulted in the partition of India into two nations.

The British were unable to administer balanced justice between the two communities. The conflict between the two religious communities-Hindus and Muslims which was there much before the advent of the British, aggravated itself during the British rule. The Muslims were a minority, conservative and backward community. While the Hindus a majority in India were comparatively more positive to British education, social and political reforms. They strode ahead socially, politically and economically leaving the Muslims behind. Thus arose the feeling of deprivation and the Muslims drifted away from the mainstream political struggle against the alien rule. The British gave considerable assistance to Muslim leaders in pursuing their objectives. Whether it was Viceroy Willingdon in the 1930s or Viceroy Linlithgow in the 1940s, the evidence is now palpable,¹ that they constantly acted to bolster India's principal Muslim politicians as a counter-weight to Indian National Congress. However over the years consciousness of being a separate nation, became the potent force behind the Pakistan movement. The charismatic leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the organisation of the Muslim League had

given the Muslims a sense of power and they were no longer interested in constitutional safeguards and assurances. Therefore Pakistan came to be established on the premise that Indian Muslim needed a separate state, where they could rule according to their own code of life and according to their own cultural growth, tradition and Islamic laws.

Geo Political Setting of Pakistan

Pakistan occupies a land area of 8,05,943 sq. km. with an estimated population of 106.03 million.² Initially it had an additional mass of land, 1,43,998 sq. km which was then East Pakistan and was 1000 miles away from West Pakistan, but today it is an independent nation Bangladesh.

Pakistan is bounded in the Northwest by Afghanistan, in the North lie the state of China and erstwhile Soviet Union, to the East is India and in the South the Arabian sea. Strategically Pakistan is important as it is the gateway to Central and South Asia.

Pakistan has four provinces. Punjab is the most populous, with an estimated population of 47,292,441 millions, North West Frontier Province has 11,061,328 millions, Sind has 19,028,666 and Baluchistan with 4,332,336 million population.³ All the four provinces have distinct ethnolinguistic identities.

Pakistan is a typical new state with long history of colonial domination, a plural society and traditional socio political and economic structure. Pakistan's state building and nation building had to be consciously and deliberately built almost from scratch after independence.

Pakistan Society

In 1947 when Pakistan was created there were four categories of socio-ethnic groups - tribal, peasant agricultural, urban and refugee. They were not watertight and static compartments but overlap. Each was distinguished by its characteristics, social structures behaviour patterns, norms, mores and values. Their social structures, and values are influenced by education, economic prosperity, politics and other factors. Sometimes synthesis between these categories provides the dynamics of Pakistan society and helps to explain it.

Tribal society consists of almost all of Baluchi and Pakhtun society living mainly in Baluchistan and the NWFP but parts of Punjabi and Sindhi society also reflect a tribal past. Society existed in a state of anarchy. Islam to the tribesman was a set of rituals concerning the rites of passage, some prayers and feast. But they are passionately attached to it without deeper understanding of Islam due to illiteracy. In this category the relationship between

ethnicity, religion and nationality continued to be awkward and unresolved which has led to many social and political problems.

Peasant agricultural society came to be symbolised by Punjabis. In 1947, this category also included large groups among Bengalis and Sindhis who were a majority in Pakistan. Agriculture was their main source of livelihood. A distinct work ethic evolved in this category. Islam was relegated as a form of worship, a set of rituals, largely to the mosque.⁴ His busy agricultural schedule left little time for much else.

Urban society in Pakistan was restricted to the central cities of the provinces. Two important features of the city are the active participation of its inhabitants in the economic, political and social spheres and focus on social and cultural creativity. Both these features were missing in urban societies of Pakistan in 1947. Reason being Pakistan did not inherit any of the great metropolitan city of India like Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi. Karachi was only a provincial town in 1947, Lahore was swollen because of the refugees. Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta were only provincial head quarters.

Nearly seven million refugees migrated from India and came to be called muhajirs. 70 percent of the 7 million were

Punjabis and settled mostly in Punjab. They had made immense sacrifices to be a part of the promised land. Their influence became apparent when Urdu was made the national language.

The Importance of Punjab

It is significant that the emergence of regionalism in the Indian subcontinent has been contemporaneous with the rise of middle class groups who are interested in creating administrative and political units which they can dominate. That Punjabis, with their established predominance in Pakistan's civil and military force would be interested in playing their role in an all Pakistan setting rather than limiting it within regional confines became evident soon after 1947. Though coercion (through military), administrative skill and ideology are important in acquiring power, economic wealth is also significant.

The province of Punjab which is located in the North-east of Pakistan has 29 districts. Most populous of all provinces of Pakistan, it has 40.31 million people on its land.⁵ The language spoken are Urdu and Punjabi, with various dialects which correspond with the geographical location, such as Multani, Shahpuri, Pothahari, Chachi, Dhanni, Saraiki and Majhli is spoken in and around Lahore.⁶

Punjab is one of the places situated in the Indus basin in the East of Pakistan. It is bound into one physiographic whole by Indus and its tributaries. It consists of a plain which drains South West. Rain is insufficient but the perennial rivers have fed the magnificent system of canals. Fertility of soil and easy availability of artificial water supply had made this the granary of India. Wheat in the Rabi and cotton in the Kharif are the two principal cash crops and they form the backbone of the prosperity of the region.

Punjab has diversities of topography natural resources to enable it to support its population. The region embraces a hot and dry type of extreme climate and is the land of irrigation. It is also fairly rich in mineral wealth. All coal seams of any economic importance in the Punjab occur mainly in Salt Range and in the hills North of Rawalpindi Plateau. Coal pockets are in Jhelum, Mianwali and Shahpur. Petroleum has been found in the Attock, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Shahpur districts of Punjab. Though a late comer in the field of hydro electricity Punjab is the most promising and the most prominent in this field. Besides, industry and agriculture are also flourishing. Tea, carpet making, manufacture of cutlery from scrap iron, match factories, oil

mills etc. are some of the flourishing industries.⁷

Punjab also has a rich provincial culture which dominates the national identity. A wealth of Punjabi literature exists in the works of Shah Hussain (Madholal Hussain) Sultan Bahu, Bulleh Shah and Khawaja Farid, who were all eminent mystics. Their work is enjoyed throughout the province and is of great significance to people in the present time.

The Punjabi folk literature consists of popular romances which reflect the life and times of the authors such as Warris Shah, Hashim Shah, Fazal Shah, Hafiz Barkhurdar who wrote Heer Ranjha, Sassi Punoo, Sohni Mahawal and Mirza Shahibaan respectively.

Most of the Punjabi literature is in lyric form and consist of Var, Dholay, Mahia, Dohay, Tappay, Bolian and Sihnia. The Punjabi prose before the 20th century consists of religious treatises, while modern Punjabi writers are adept in writing dramas, historical narratives, research, criticism novels which reflect the conditions of the country and feelings and social problems of the people.

The British also encouraged the growth of ethnic identities in pre-independent India. Those ethnic groups which identified themselves with their political strategy benefitted most. Those who collaborated with them were exposed to modernization while the others were left on the

peripheral level of development. This explains why the Pathans and Baluchis remained in the periphery. They have strong ethnic identities and are volatile tribesmen. Sind's political and strategic importance led to its urbanization. The Punjabis were patronised by the British from the very beginning as they have supported them in all times. A new elite of landed aristocrats were created by the British through gifts of large tracts of land.

The Punjabi ethnic feeling is not as deep or well pervading.¹⁴ Although West Pakistan was a peripheral part of India, West Punjab was an integral part of North Indian heartland. Fate and fortune have always been a part of educated Punjabis as against the rest of the provinces. Consequently there was a greatly reduced heartland (Punjab) with its own peripheral challenges, ringed about by farless advanced regions demanding to be treated with Islamic equality.

Pakistan has a dependent or peripheral capitalist mode of production which is grafted onto as modified feudalism. The state power has been wielded by a military - bureaucracy oligarchy for most of the country's post independent history. While mediating the mutually competing and at times conflicting interests, this oligarchy has also served to protect their specific privileges from potential and actual threat from the rest.

History of Pre-Partitioned Punjab

Pre-partition Punjab as a single entity, had unique geopolitical features and distinct political and cultural history extending over many centuries. The land of five rivers and its many tributaries cradled the earliest known civilization like the Indus Valley Civilization. It had a district geostrategic location which made it the focal point of feuds involving ethnic and political forces from beyond its borders. Invaders to the subcontinent came from NWFP but had to face the formidable challenge in Punjab before making a dent in the region. It had thus retained "a geopolitical unity distinct from the neighbouring countries and rest of India."⁸ The destiny of the Punjab had always been the destiny of the subcontinent.⁹ These incursions by different invaders added to the socio economic complexity and ethnic multiplicity. Basically Punjabis maintained agrarian pacifism. They were also great warriors with good physique and inhabitants of the most fertile region. The richness of this province attracted conquerors. After every political onslaught, they would return to their peaceful way of life. "No other Indian province has suffered so many political convulsions and racial upheavals as Punjab, and today none is more sober peaceful and fertile."¹⁰

Punjab experienced a virtual social revolution during the decades of the Mughul rule, later on, power in Punjab

shifted to the Abdalis from the Mughals. The evolution of Sikhism and decline of Moghul rule, led to a conflictual situation between the two. Although Sikhism is more close to Islam, Sikhs however resented Islam and their antipathy for the Mughals was apparent. It was the legend Maharaja Ranjit Singh who united the whole of Punjab, the Northern areas and Kashmir. But it remained the land of gruesome conflicts.

It was during the Sikh rule in the Punjab, when the powerful aristocracy of the landed class evolved. They continued to wield enormous influence in the socio political affairs in the years to come. Here, in pursuance of creating a loyalist group of henchmen, the rulers had, as usual, helped the growth of a feudal class to support them in cases of need.¹¹ The great rulers of the subcontinent from the Delhi sultans to Mughal rulers, depended heavily on a feudal class. This class arose when vast tracts of land were given to reliable courtiers and warriors. This is a common feature in the history of the region.

Fair and foul means were adopted by Ranjit Singh to bring the headstrong chieftains like the Mamdots, the Khans of Kasur, the Noons, the Tiwanas in line. They remained loyal supporters to the rulers.

Two decades after the British took over the Punjab from the Sikhs in 1849, the seeds of Punjabi tradition were sown and this became the source for the evolution of leadership

in the province. Pursuing a similar policy of keeping the landlords and lambardars under its fold, the British made them more powerful than ever before. Some of the more powerful chiefs were given jagirs and later on were invested with magisterial powers in their respective estates. So, by a diplomatic stroke of policy, they were turned from foes to friends.¹² Britishers took keen interest in the province. So that era witnessed many achievements like improving the network of communication, building irrigational canals, new revenue assessments to help the poor peasants, the development of the Grand Trunk Road through Punjab, creation of Punjab Public works Department in 1849 and so on.¹³

The British developed a curious fascination for the Punjabi landlords. When John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab in 1853, reformatory measures proved unfavourable for the landowning class; they were given back their lands. Such developments during the British rule, constrained the ability of the Punjabi Muslims to express their interest in the nationalist framework. The Punjabi aristocracy felt more secure with their benefactors and thus stood beside them during the stormy period of the 1857 revolt.

But the masses did not retain any say in the political and administrative affairs. With crippling education facilities, no political institutions and the subordination

of the peasants by big landlords, led to a highly localised situation. Therefore political consciousness was nearly nil and so they did not make a mark on the political affairs for a long time.

The latter half of 1850s saw basic changes being introduced in Punjab. Punjab Chief Court was established in Lahore in 1865. In 1868, the first Tenancy Act was introduced. The Punjab alienation of land Act of 1900 came after this, with strong backing from rural pressure groups and despite active protests from Punjabi commercial classes, who were Hindu money lenders and traders. Government College of Lahore was founded in 1864. The Lahore veterinary school and Punjab Public Library were also a product of this period.¹⁴ In spite of these educational establishments, Punjab lagged behind in political institutions when compared to other provinces.

Punjab never had a settled government like that of Oudh, Hyderabad, Bengal or Maharashtra to develop a distinct culture. It was the fertile ground for all religions and even new ones. The British very judiciously upheld the village traditions in matters of civil and criminal administration.¹⁵ The demarcation between rural and urban Punjabis further hindered the emergence of common political consciousness.

The first political organisation of importance in the

Punjab was set up in Lahore in 1877 as the Lahore Indian Association by Surender Nath Banerjee. Later Indian National Congress also opened a branch in Lahore - but such sporadic political incidents remained largely insignificant.

Meanwhile the British picked out certain more prominent families to function as intermediaries in order to operate local influence networks and perform semi official duties. This was centered in the rural structure since urban sector was weak and inconsequential in West Punjab.

The commercial sections of the Punjabi bourgeoisie also made substantial gains from the canal colonies. The latter emerged as a major region of surplus agricultural production and commodities such as a major region of surplus. Agricultural production and commodities such as wheat, cotton, oil seeds were exported to other parts of the subcontinent and overseas. While the rural hinterland in other provinces of British India failed to provide opportunities for entrepreneurs on the scale of the Punjab. By and large the British created this elite and they stamped upon it a serve imperial interests that continued till the final moments of British rule.

Punjab also became a principal arena for the recruitment of soldiers. The British Indian army was Punjabised as almost 50% of its recruits in it were Punjabis. Following the loyal service rendered by the

Punjabis including the Punjabi Muslims, to the British Raj during the Sikh wars and Great Uprising of 1857 the colonial administration came to further prefer the Punjabis for recruitment in the army and civil bureaucracy.¹⁶ Besides Punjabi Muslims made good soldiers and officers and were disciplined. The nomadic Baluchi and Pashtuns had the disconcerting habit of decamping without notice.

Besides the area was strategically situated for providing logistical support for the Britain's' military involvement in the subcontinent. Cavalry contingents, camels and mules for military transport provisions and infantry cadres, all formed a part of the military services that the rural elite of North western Punjab furnished to rule. To such a role many leading families owed the eminence and recognition bestowed on them by the British.

The military gained greatly in stature with the development of canal irrigation in the Punjab. Large areas of irrigated land were reserved for horse breeding schemes and to a lesser degree for camel and mule breeding. Agriculturists' were allotted the lands on the condition that they produce such animals for the military. Military pensioners and world war veterans were the recipients of these resources, for which no comparable reward system existed in other provinces. While Punjabi villagers joined the British Army mainly for economic reasons, many members

of the pro British landed aristocracy also tried to oblige the British by recruiting contingents of men from their areas. After World War I, the Attock district received 63 distinctions and many persons of note were given land.¹⁷ The Punjab social structure moved closer to imperialist rule and thus acquired a distinctly authoritarian character. Such process helped to retard nationalism in the province.¹⁸

From the beginning these Punjabi officers claimed a special position in the new state of Pakistan. They stressed that the virtues of Pakistan were their virtues and that the Islamic character of Pakistan was reflected in the Islamic character of the military. The approximate ethnic group strength of the Punjab military officer corps in 1979 was 70%. Punjabis, 15% of Pathans, 10% of Muhajirs and 5% were Sindhis and Baluchies. The equation has hardly changed.

Pakistan has thus suffered from worst ethnic disturbances as one ethnic group (Punjabis) dominate the rest because they provided the backbone of both the British and Pakistan army. The political leadership's concern with Pakistan's territorial security catapulted the military to political prominence, which created a permanent role of the military high command in national politics. This led to Punjabi domination of the affairs of the state.

There could hardly be two opinions about the fact that if anything decides the government at the centre it is the

overall situation in Punjab.

Self reliance, hardwork, pragmatic realism and a quest for betterment materially, physically, educationally with a distinct work ethic were the main values of Punjabis which gave them a progressive outlook.

With the advent of the 20th century, the political history of the Punjab took a new turn. The partition of Bengal led to new dimension in the communal relations in British India. It alienated the Hindus from the British and at the same time kindled a political consciousness among the Muslim to safeguard their interests. Thus emerged the All Indian Muslim League much due to the efforts of Sir Syed's thoughts in 1906 in Dacca. In Punjab too political activities was gaining momentum with the establishment of the extremist Gadr politics. Lala Lajpat Rai (1856-1928) was a product of the time when nationalist movement against the British rule had begun to take shape. Many in Punjab, the province he belonged to flocked around him and he was called the lion of Punjab". In the province the allegiance came notably from the urban areas but it got support from the rural masses too.

Newspapers and periodicals were widely read in Punjab. They were published in the urban centres of India. The British government however banned many such newspapers as it wanted to maintain a firm hold on the sword arm of India.¹⁹

Inspite of all this, the Punjabi Muslims did have a strong Pan Islamic spirit and they traced their descendency from central Asia. So when the Khilafat Movement and the Non cooperation movement was launched in 1919, it got widespread support from the Punjabi Muslims, even from among the illiterate masses.

Gandhi's entry into the Indian politics and his programme of satyagraha became highly popular among the masses. Punjab has been in limelight due to the massacre of the Jallianwala Bagh of April 19, 1919 which gave impetus to Gandhi's noncooperation. The Rowlatt Act was also unpopular in Punjab.

But the landlords stayed aloof and worked in the interest of the British. Separate electorates were given a constitutional recognition in the Indian Councils Act of 1909. This Act gave a limited right of franchise to the Indians. The landlords prevailed in the elections of Punjab as the property holding qualification laid down by the Act prevented the masses in standing for the elections. So nationalist in Punjab had to build a political base to resist the British and also these landlords. As a result the British succeeded in keeping Punjab behind other provinces in the matter of constitutional development.²⁰

Despite such setbacks, the great foresighted leaders were produced in Punjab. Among the Hindus were Lala Lajpat

Rai, Dr. Satyapal, Lala Harikishan Lal, Chottu Ram. Among the Muslims emerged leaders like Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Mohammad Shafi, Shah Din, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Raja Ghazanafar Ali and Malik Lal Khan and Mohammad Iqbal who aroused a new consciousness and spirit among the Muslims.

Fazl-i-Hussain was the most prominent politicians of the time. He started participating in Politics around 1903. In the first Punjab Provincial Conference, held in October 1917, he criticised the British Government openly and deplored the sad plight of the Punjab, where at every step one feels that it is the worst treated province in India. Not only did it have no Executive Council, it had no High Court. Its representation on the Imperial Council was inadequate and ineffective because it was not properly recruited.²¹

The government of India Act 1919, known as the Montagu Chelmsford Act introduced major changes in the administration of the provinces of British India. The provincial council to be elected according to the Act would have control over the executive. But franchise was limited to the property owners only. Elections were held to the Council in 1920, 1923, 1926 and 1930, with the term of the last council being extended till the election of members of new Assembly was done under the 1935 Act. Fazl-i-Hussain had been a member of the legislative council as it existed prior

to the Montague Chelmsford reforms. He was elected in 1920 to the Mohammedan landholders Association. Under dyarchy he was one of the two ministers chosen by the Governor, the other being an urban Hindu, Lala Harkishan Lal (Gauga). In 1926, Fazli-i Hussain was appointed executive councillor. Then he was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Executive council in Delhi where he remained till 1935. He became a minister in Punjab in 1936 prior to his death.

For the first few years, Fazli-Hussain inspite of informal support from the Muslim members, did not form a party within the council. Most support was from large landlord families. One group was led by Choudhary Shahabuddin and Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, who were rivals of the other group which belonged to the Noons and Tiwanas.

Fazli Hussain's experience had strengthened view that both then and in the future, the proper course for the Punjab Muslims to achieve their goals and preserve their political supremacy was not to form a communal party in the council, but to bring others, such as the Haryana Jats into a new party. There was a need to give a non communal name to the new group. Thus was formed the Unionist Party. However on the question of communal quotas he entertained the view that quota for Muslims be 50%, Hindus 30%, and Sikhs 20% but added 60% of each communal quota must come from rural population. This Unionist formula of representation became

standard although this formula was not of the government.²²

The party adopted a 16 point program which included the constitutional attainment of dominion status and the statesmanlike working of 1919 reforms to that end. Underlying the operative points were the urban-rural conflict. The achievement of a balance between urban and rural taxation, the checking of exploitation of economic backward classes and the continuation of the Punjab Land Alienation Act to protect agriculturist against money lenders. Although there were some contradictions, it was a program on which the rural elite of the Punjab could agree and carryout cooperatively and intercommunally.

Importance of Unionist party became apparent after 1923 elections. The PNUP continued to dominate the Punjab's provincial legislative assembly. There were other major parties in Punjab like the Ahrar, the Itihad, Millat, and Muslim League. All these parties used appeals of Islam. Political contradictions created by the use of religious rhetoric in elections led to paving the movement for Pakistan.

Fazl-i-Hussain proved a very dynamic personality, wielding significant influence even on the Viceroy. He can be considered an able Punjabi leader, who skillfully made his way through all sort of communal dissension. His Unionist Party ruled Punjab triumphantly before the

partition.

In the early years of the 20th century, Punjab politics revolved around few personalities who were either urban elites or from the landed aristocracy. Charisma and contacts of political leaders like Fazli Hussan and Sikandar Hayat helped to maintain a balance between the two.

The long awaited promulgation of the India Act of 1935 gave politicians and political parties the opportunity to fight for elections to the provincial legislature. The Muslim League, the Unionist Party and Congress were in fray. Jinnah's attempts to bring the Unionists in line with the Muslim League but in vain.

Provincial elections were held in the early part of 1937. The League put up a poor show, winning only two Muslim seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, of Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. The Unionist Party secured 88 of the 175 seats, while the Congress also managed only 18 seats as against 36 bagged by non Congress Hindus and Sikhs.²³

The Unionist party thus formed the government and Sikandar Hayat became the Chief Minister in April 1937. Sikandar Hayat had succeeded Fazli-Hussain after his death, as leader of the Unionist Party. He too followed the non communal policy.

In the annual session of the Muslim League held at

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Lucknow in October 1937, the first indication of the growing sense of solidarity among the Muslims in India came to light. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Premier of Punjab, Fazl ul Haq, Premier of Bengal and Sir Muhammad Saadullah, Premier of Assam declared in the league session that they were advising the Muslim members of their respective political parties to join the Muslim League. No better tonic could have invigorated the Muslim League than the declaration.²⁴ So Sikandar maintained conciliatory rather than conflictual stand towards the Muslim League.

Later Sikandar Hayat's full acceptance of the League's authority actually amounted to the Unionist Party's submission to a more dynamic and significant movement.

The Punjab Unionist Party's (PNUP's) members in the assembly were reelected not so much for party or organisation work but because they were men of influence in their constituencies. They were usually the leaders or the nominees of the chief landholding lineages or biradari of their areas.

The economic nationalism was also a factor in the attractiveness of Pakistan. The depression years of 1930s substantially increased the incidence of indebtedness and increased the conflict between Hindus and Muslims. Numerous propertied Muslim families, both rural and urban, became heavily indebted to Hindu money lenders. It was widely

Pakistan would clear them of the debts and they could appropriate property left by non Muslims. This is what happened. Those who migrated from Indian territory and the richer indigenous Muslims of Pakistan shared the spoils between them.

Two factors determined the conversion of the Punjabi elite into accepting the option of a separate state. These are the appeal of Islam the increasing support for an independent Pakistan. Elite politicians of rural origin were so closely threaded to British dictates that they were distinctly hostile to both secular and communal nationalism. Factionalism imperatives within the Unionist leadership, induced a tactical shift into communal politics. With imminent decolonisation, the Muslim landed elite chose to use the League as its vehicle for carrying over its authority into the post colonial period. By 1946, class interests coalesced with the nationalist struggle to provide a continuance of landlord dominated state of Pakistan.

Pakistan was not achieved as a result of war liberation led by a Punjabi general and the genocide of Punjabi Sikhs and Muslims. They had little bearing on the decision to partition India. Most of the casualties in the internecine carnage took place after August 1947 when Pakistan had been achieved.

Politics of Punjab (1947-1988)

In the history of Pakistan, there has been only three Prime Ministers from Punjab - Mohammad Ali (August 1955 - 1956) Firoz Khan Noon (November 1957 to October 1958) and Mian Nawaz Sharif (1990 to 1993).

Yet the central point of Pakistan's history is that it has its roots in the distinctive features of Punjab.

Pakistan was founded not by Punjabis (despite Muhammad Iqbal) but by North Indian Urdu speaking Muslims led by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a Cutchi speaking Khoja Ismaili from Bombay, Liaquat Ali Khan, and Calcutta based Bengali Muslims like Fazl Ul Haq. It is perhaps typical that nationalist movements are strongest initially among peripheral members of a particular nationality who live where the group is in a minority and feel the sting of subordination the most. Pakistan was created after considerable opposition from the ruling Unionist party of the Punjab ²⁵ which had Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.

With the shakiest of commitments to the Muslim League, the landlord politicians of Punjab were the least an effective channel for communication between the national party and the rural populace. But distracted by the unexpected opportunities afforded by the socio-economic dislocations of 1947, these hard headed sons of the soil

absentee landlords, came to play a decisive role in shaping relations between state and society in Pakistan.

Within the first few months of partition over 5.5 million Muslims migrated to Western Punjab and about 3.8 million non Muslims from both urban and rural areas fled to India.²⁶ The influx of refugees from Eastern Punjab led to the collapse of provincial administrative structure.

Politics of Punjab has undergone significant change. Traditionally the politics was dominated by leading feudal families, Hayats, Noons, Daultanas, Mamdots, Qureshis, Chaudhris, Wadheras at district level. New generation has seen new entrepreneurs and old traditional families are almost out. Business families of Sharif, Watto, Wyne, Shujat Hussain, Pervaiz Ilahi etc. are the dominant families.²⁷

The reason for this phenomena is the domination by Punjabis and Muhajirs of civil, military, economic and political life of Pakistan. According to available data - a comparison between the four provinces shows how Punjabis are ahead. In the Federal Government Secretariat and related departments, Punjab has around 56 percent of the posts approximately equal to its share of the nation. Rural Sindh has only around 3% as against 13% share of the total population. In stark contrast urban Sindh (comparison of mainly of Muhajirs and Punjabis) as against its 10% share of the posts, has almost 25% of the posts, thus raising the

Punjabi Muhajir representation in Federal government and related department up to around 81% of the posts. The representation of the NWFP in the similar posts is around 11% and Baluchistan 2.5%. A survey of government sector corp, also reveals a similar picture. Punjabi representation in the middle and senior level posts in those institutions is 41% and that of urban Sindh 47% which make a combined Punjabi Muhajir representation an incredible 88% of the total posts. Rural Sindh has around 3.5%. The representation of NWFP is around 6% and Baluchistan 1%.²⁸

In the armed forces Punjabi domination was similarly overwhelming, Pashtuns have replaced the Muhajir as the junior partners of the Punjabis. Sindhis are almost nonexistent, while Baluchistan has 1% share.²⁹

Even in industrial development along with the cities of Punjab Karachi, Hyderabad, Peshawar and Quetta, the cities of Sindh have substantial base. More prosperous cities of Sindh are again controlled primarily by the Punjabis and Muhajirs.

Post independent Punjab was ruled by the Muslim League. After a successful campaign against Khizr Hayat Khan of Tiwana, Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot became the Chief Minister of Punjab (1947-48). He fell out with his colleagues and left the League in 1950 and formed the Jinnah Awami League. After 1951 election Mumtaz Muhammad of Daultana became the

Chief Minister of Punjab but lost his office after the anti Ahmadiya riots in 1953. From 1953 to 1955, the Chief Minister of Punjab was Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon. He was dismissed by Governor Gurmani. Internally Muslim League was dominated by Daulatana-Gurmani front. Chaudhuri Muhammad Ali who was from Jullundur, (East) Punjab was made the leader of the Muslim League. He went on to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1955. Daultana had campaigned for him.

After assuming office as Prime Minister, Chaudhary Muhammad Ali concentrated on the one unit bill. Punjab agreed to limit its representation to 40 percent from 56 percent according to population to maintain a balance with the smaller units. The bill was passed in 1955. On October 14, one unit came into existence. The provincial governments of Sind, Punjab, Baluchistan and NWFP stopped functioning. However the one unit scheme was accused of being a cover for Punjabi domination, at the centre and the province. By 1957, Malik Firoz Noon became the Prime Minister. The parliamentary government was weakest at this point. Political situation deteriorated and finally with a military coup, General Ayub, Commander in Chief declared himself as Chief Martial Law Administrator.

General Ayub promised a better Pakistan which appealed to the people. He argued that Parliamentary democracy was

not suitable for Pakistan. Martial law was lifted but adult franchise disappeared and the electors were the Basic Democrats. The military coup had merely formalised the existing political structure of strong centre.

The impact of Ayub Khan's martial law government was soon felt to be working in favour of the Punjab's business elite rather than for its counterparts in Karachi and Hyderabad. This was due to the Punjabi dominated military occupying top positions in the public corporations, administrative hierarchy and even in the private sector. So permits, licenses, facilities of various kinds and patronage in general started flowing to the kith and kin of martial law administrators at high level. A critical role in this shift of resources to the Punjabi businessmen was played by the fact that the federal capital shifted to Islamabad. The shifting of the capital facilitated access to top officers in various economic ministries at the federal level. This benefited those in Punjab who wanted to instal industrial units of various sizes in different forms in the province.

The Ayub Governments's Bonus Voucher Scheme which was instrumental in linking industrialisation with the potential for export, mainly of agricultural produce.³⁰ This led to a second spurt of industrialisation in Punjab. Faisalabad emerged as the largest industrial city after Karachi. Bias of the Punjabi bureaucracy towards Punjab led to the

industrial development of the Punjab in the 1960s Multan, Gujranwala, Sargodha and Sheikhpura, Lahore districts became centre of sprawling line of industrial activity.

The leading industrial communities in the Punjab were from East Pakistan Chimotis, Saigols and migrant Sheikh community, led the way to big and small scale industrialisation. They shunned politics and instability and so emerged as a natural base for Ayub.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s two parallel processes of change in the political and economic front took off which redefined power structure of Punjab. The "Green Revolution" around which the economic change centered led to a dramatic increase of agricultural production. Inputs in the form of water supply, farm mechanisation, pesticides, high yielding seed and access to credit developed. This created capitalist farmers who were feudal landlords but transformed themselves.

This altered the economic, demographic and political scenario in Pakistan. As capitalism made deep inroads into the Punjabi economy, it led to reorganising social and economic relations of production, the future leaders of this country began to emerge forcefully both as economic and political entity. Besides the new dynamic entrepreneur's birth, education of those rural who migrated to cities, they controlled and successfully competed for jobs.

In Ayub's era land grants were given to retired army officers and civil servants, both disproportionately Punjabi, even to absentee landholders. However with the failure to set up a democratic government unrest in various quarters, Ayub had to step down.

Yahya Khan took over and imposed martial law. Nevertheless, Y. Khan kept his promise regarding the holding of elections. Pakistan's first General Election on adult franchise basis was held in 1970 under martial law regime. He was compelled to dismantle the one unit scheme mainly due to dominance of Punjab over other provinces. Also a clear divide between East and West Pakistan came to light. PPP won 88/138 seats, and had an impressive support from Punjab in West Pakistan. In East Pakistan, Awami League won all but two of the seats. A civil war broke out in East Pakistan and Bangladesh emerged as a new nation in 1971.

One of the factors which led to the formation of Bangladesh was language chauvinism by Punjabis over Urdu. Politicization of language in South Asia is common and a constitutional declaration of any language of a state is one way of politicizing language issue. Those who feel left out in the process reacted vehemently, as was the case with Bengalis who felt the brunt of language chauvinism.

Pakistan entered into a new era of democracy under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The Pakistan's People Party leader was

able to win more than two third of the National Assembly seats from the Punjab and similar majority in the Punjab Provincial Assembly in the 1970 elections. Punjab became the bastion of strength for PPP. He therefore did not dare to antagonise either the army or Punjabis voters on whom he relied for continuance of power.³¹

The PPP's willingness to tap biradari politics for support became for many a touchstone of its failure. Thus in later years as Prime Minister, he came also to depend on the landed elite to replace his original urban radicals cohorts.³² People disillusionment with him was expressed through the PNA led urban revolt. In 1977, Bhutto imposed martial law in Lahore, Karachi and Hyderabad to curb the rising opposition against big government. This imposition of martial law also politicised the depoliticised army.

General Zia ul Haq's military coup ousted Buhtto. He tried to steer the country towards a truly Islamic state. In 1979, the Hudood Ordinance and in 1984 Qanoone Shahadat were introduced. The rising middle class supported this ideology as a means of protecting their material interests.

The 1980s represented an era of consolidation of various elites in the Punjab - the military, bureaucracy, commercial interests and the religious elite.³³

The popularity of the PPP was not centered on the areas of maximum agricultural and industrial development in the

Punjab. The class polarisation, both perceived and actual, was turned into a political resource of big party cadres and workers who capitalised on the multiple rural - urban linkages. The Punjab's big business and small trading communities as well as market oriented rich farmers, felt alienated from the emerging pattern of class mobilisation. His nationalisation of thousand small enterprises in 1976 alarmed them.

The situation led to a decade of ideological politics based on socialism versus Islam. The new and old power elites fell back on Islamic ideology to combat the new tide. The businessman sponsored and patronised ideological politics in the province against PPP. The lower middle class had emerged as the action wing of the Punjab's elite.

The promise by PPP on various issues failed to materialise. It had reverted to an increasing reliance on power from local patrons. This complex was centered on the Punjab. It effectively and decisively pushed further the process of the shift of power from rural to the urban sector. In Zia era, Punjab prospered further due to expertise in the Gulf and American aid.

In 1985, non party polls took place. The ascendancy of an urban Chief Minister Nawaz Sharif, after 1985 elections, proved favourable to Zia. He became the flag bearer of urban development, private enterprise, opposition to the populist

politics of the PPP style and a confidant of the establishment. The partyless election allowed representation based on local interests that could not threaten the state. So he relied on biradari politics. That the importance of biradari grew hand in hand with the increasing weight of state control under Zia. His policies of encouraging biradari politics and Islamisation led to stable hierarchic of inequalities in Punjab. Zia set up the conservative against the liberal which appealed to the people of Punjab. He deregulated the economy and funded development projects and therefore won the upper and middle class of Punjab.

Despite attempts to denationalise, the state sector's importance grew. The bureaucracy and the military, the only institutions which threatened. Zia and his coterie, were appeased. Military personal both retired and active in duty were given lucrative assignments. So the Punjabi domination syndrome continued which after led to riots. Zia's autocratic ways led to opposition in he form of Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD).

His death in a plane crash in 1988 finally ended the era of military rules in Pakistan.

Feudalism and Role of Biradari

Despite the various measures and different attempts to introduce land reforms and despite the politicisation of the

country in the late 1960s and the subsequent electoral result in which many established political families could not retain their seats, yet the political power of the landlords and feudalism was hardly weakened. There are areas in Pakistan where archaic feudal and tribal relations virtually unchanged since independence.

Politics and social life in the majority of the villages are dominated by the big landed households and pirkhanas.³⁴ The orders of the landlords is still law for many. The people themselves are not aware of their legal, political or civic rights. The local level power holders make sure that the poor and the landless remain deprived of all facilities so that a sense of fatalism and subservience to the feudal lords remain strong.

Pakistan politics and specially that of Punjab is characterised as feudalistic. The rural areas can be classified as demonstrating "feudalist" or "capitalist" forms of production.³⁵ Feudalism prevails due to the predominance of the Zamindars Disproportionate to their numbers, these big landlords control the economic, political and social life of rural communities. This structure is maintained by a system of coercive mechanisms ranging from tax collectors to heired thugs, designed to prod the recalcitrant peasant back into the fold.³⁶

Two issues dominate, personal and family reputation could cut across the biradari barrier and relying solely on the biradari bond.

The distinctive role played by kinship (biradari) both in the yesteryears and in modern Punjabi society and politics cannot be neglected. Infact the history of the states and the history of kinship and the family are closely related. Biraderies are sometimes portrayed as "primordial" or "tribal" in character, but they in fact obtained political importance as a counterpoint to the politics of bureaucratic centralisation under British colonial rule. Loyalty amongst themselves led to distinctive political role being played in Punjab politics.

Punjabis use the term biradari without exactness and rigidity. Boundaries of biradari depend on the level and nature of communication among households 'on memory' contact over geographical distances, degree strictness of endogamy and of all on an intricate gift exchange system.

The creation of Pakistan changed the dynamics of biradari politics among Muslim Punjabis. On one level biradari identities remained central to the formation of local political network and alliances, accommodating and shifting patterns of patronage and political transactions that shaped political configurations. On the other hand increasing bureaucratisation of power in Pakistan

strengthened the salience of biradari.

A stress on the ideological structure of the state after partition changed the meaning of biradari. Unlike the British colonial state that mobilised and protected tribal identities, the new state saw itself as the expression of a Muslim community that supplanted all localised identities. For ideological reasons the new government in the late 1940s thus repealed the provisions of the Land Alienation Act mandating the protection of land in the hands of the agricultural tribes. It also officially replaced Punjab Customary law in matters of personal and family law with the Shariat. Indeed biraderi politics were bitterly condemned in Pakistan's carry years, simply as remnants of colonial rule. Though formal biraderi anjumans continued to attract support inspite of rapid urbanisation and influx of refugees in Punjab after 1947, it operatd only on provincial level as little arenas for individual status defination and as associations of social reform.

New political parties failed to establish bonds linking the organisation of society and the principles of the state. The Muslim League, inspite of having ideological appeal to Islam, failed to develop after 1947 as a party to aggravate the interests the Muslim Community as a whole by linking local parties to the principle of defining arenas of state authority. Even during Z.A. Bhutto's people's party in ;the

late 1960s the old politics of biraderi and patronage in the 1970s was not entirely ignored, anymore than had the Muslim League in 1946. The People's party's ideological disarray and lack of strong "democratic party organisation" pushed it logically into organising the people in the name of respective biraderi.

In Zia-ul-Haq's time there was a resurgence of biraderi and local patronage politics on a wide scale.³⁷ This was consistent with Zia's intent. Partyless elections allowed in many respects for a system of controlled representation based on local interests that could not threaten the state. The re-emergence of party politics after Zia's death changed the political picture dramatically. Yet the biraderi's importance in Punjab election, the relationship between the local kinship sodidarity, bureaucracy and party politics have grown increasingly complex.³⁸ But as a flexible idiom for the development of local alliances based on political transactions, biraderi still and yet symbiotic relationship between biraderi and bureaucracy, a relationship dating to the colonial period are still stringly evident.

Biradaris And Electoral Representation

Elections in 20th century Punjab whether fought under joint electorates or under seperate leectorate revolved for more around the conflicting networks of influence of

powerful rais and biraderi leaders than they did around issues of communal solidarity. Though of symbolic value, such electorates would cause the Muslims to compete for public power but not under the banner of Islam, but in the names of their own actions and biradaris.

Even political parties whose avowed objective is to bring in a democratic order prefer candidates from the landed families to ensure electoral success. The feudal vote banks find it prudent to join a political party as insurance and to prevent any major structural reforms.

Local biraderi politics created only kin based village unity, leading to readymade, clearly identifiable, unified blocks of village support for political leaders seeking a popular base was missing. Thus administratively defined village community did not assure internal political unity because the village was honeycombed with internal conflicts and petty jealousies that would prevent Panchayats (introduced in 1920s) from reflecting an effective sense of community. "A biraderi of thieves will elect a thief, who may upset the whole work and usefulness of panchayats."³⁹ Biradari politics indeed threatened to undercut the symbolic unity of the Islamic community. Yet Biradari politics remained central in many areas to pattern local electoral alliance, both before and after 1947.

Conclusion

Punjab is the centre stage of Pakistan politics. Every government which came to power from civil to military sought to keep Punjab under its grip. For obvious reasons like, Punjabi domination over politics, economy, military, civil and bureaucracy, has led to this state of affairs. Although Punjab played almost no role in the nationalist movement against the British rule, yet they finally shaped the movement for Pakistan at the later stage. This was due to the nature of state formation in Pakistan. Punjab has acquired primacy in Pakistan politics. The nature of politics in Punjab is conflictual, as it is at the centre. Besides stability is lacking. Personality more than party has mattered due to the feudal nature of politics. The Islamic ideology which had eluded Punjab in the prepartition days have taken deep inroads now.

Democracy, equality, justice are all related to interethnic rather than class or religious differences in Pakistan. The interethnic balance is sought at the level of parliament representation or position in the bureaucracy and the military. The major reason for the existing polarisation was the lack of representative institutions and persistence of military rule for determine economic and political development. If Punjabis who dominate, adhere to the demand of the subordinate provinces for collective affirmations, it

would result in diminution in the individual rights of Punjabis. It would limit the impact of Punjabi mass politics to the one province. There is much truth in the accusation that the Punjabi elite lacks political accommodating equality. While at its provincial level of politics Punjab is still feudal but is sensitive to national happenings which are transplanted in the province.

Within the span of one generation, the Punjab has moved from the relatively stable position of a predominantly agricultural society to one of a society in transition with a dispersion of small scale industrial activity in many districts. This remarkable transition was due to the political, social and economic changes that took place in the province since partition.

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CHAPTER - II
POLITICAL PARTIES IN PUNJAB

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Political parties originate in a democratic society where popular suffrage and parliamentary prerogatives prevail. To bring the masses into the political system means to encourage parties which gives the man on the street a voice in political decision making. Whatever their origin, parties which have come into being outside parliament are more centralised than the those which arise within the electoral and parliamentary cycle.

The basic element of a party and its organisation is that it is not a community, but a collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country (branches, caucuses, local associations etc.) and linked by coordinating institutions. In modern parties this organisation assumes great importance, it constitutes the general setting for the activity of members; the machinery for the selection of leaders and decides their power. It determines the strength and efficiency of some parties, the weakness and inefficiency of others. However, the most marked feature of any party structure is its heterogeneity.

Party systems are the product of many complex factors-

socio economic, ideological and technical. The nature of a government is determined by the number of parties. It may be a single party, bi-party or a multiparty system.

Parties organise political participation. Modern societies are usually heterogenous with a variety of religions, races, languages and ethnic groupings. The task of integrating them into a single mainstream is entrusted to the parties. If political participation is high and party institutionalization is weak it leads to instability in the form of violence. Conversely if there is a low level of participation, it also tends to weaken political parties vis-a-vis other political institutions and social forces. A party is more stable and stronger if it has mass support unlike parties with restricted support.¹

In a representative form of government, political parties are instruments of mobilisation. The stronger the political parties involved in the election, the larger the voting turnout.

Regarding leadership, parties take greatest care to provide themselves with leadership that is democratic in appearance.²

Modernising politics need parties but do not want them. The opposition to political parties in such society comes

from three different sources. Conservatives oppose parties as they are seen as a challenge to the social structure. Administrators may oppose political parties equally. The third source of opposition to parties comes from those who accept participation but not the need to organise it.

The main principled charges against political parties are that they promote corruption and administrative inefficiency. They further tend to split society and promote conflict. As Ayub Khan said, "parties divide and confuse people".³ Besides this, they also encourage political instability. Lastly, parties lay the state open to influences from external powers.

In countries where parties are suppressed, the social base usually exists for parties which are somewhat more than cliques or factions. These groups have their roots in self-conscious social forces. The more hostile a government is towards political parties in a modern society, the greater is the probability of instability of that society. Military coups also become possible in no-party or weak party states. A partyless regime is a conservative regime while an antiparty regime is a reactionary regime.⁴

The record of party politics in the third world is not

impressive. Civilian rule has proved frail and where civilians have exercised power it has been for most part in the shadow of the military or through non democratic agencies such as personalist movements or single parties closely tied to the state. Most of the political parties which came into being in the post war period emerged out of a parent Congress. Other Parties were breakaways from the existing parties, or a result of a merger between minor parties and groups.

Under colonial rule, parties have been elitist groupings closely associated with the colonial regime and hence lacking a popular base. Some of the weaknesses inherent in the political parties of the developing countries are that they lack the substantial core of middle level activists and workers which enables it to establish itself soundly among the masses who are eager for results. Most of the political activists shift to administrative and governmental positions. Instead of becoming a channel of mobilisation for forwarding well defined political programmes with strong ideological plannings, political parties often they become agents of the state. Since the ruling party has close links with the rulers of the state, it does not allow opposition parties to shape up. The

opposition parties, if any, are branded as traitors. So political parties are either swept away or swallowed up in the machinery of the state.

The prevalence of military regimes and parties seeking political alliance with officer corps have acted as another constraint in the development and performance of the parties. Besides this, historical structure of society and power, which may be vested in the feudal landlords, discourage parties in making a breakthrough.

Political Parties in Pakistan

In the history of Pakistan, political parties by and large have been weak and ineffective. Although many parties have sprung up, they are short lived and fail to perform the functions of interest articulation, interest aggregation and policy formulation.

A political system is best judged by the nature of its political parties. In Pakistan, political parties were the main cause of frustration. The Muslim League rule was not found to be satisfying and hence new parties were formed out of the discontented League. Thus in Pakistan parties were born as a result of disillusionment.⁵

The birth of political parties in Pakistan goes back to the pre-1947 era. They participated in the democratic process, but the system in which they operated was not a familiar one. Party discipline was almost non-existent, thus every majority shift in party loyalty produced a veritable crisis. The country was in need of parties beyond sectional interests.

Superficially, the party system of Pakistan after 1947 could be called a multiparty system. However, political parties comprised of a large number of leading personalities with their political dependants than distinct parties with visible rival programmes. The political groups of Pakistan were strictly speaking, not parties. They might have been on their way to becoming political parties, but were mainly centres of opinion of feudal clans, phantom groups, or religious associations.

The growth of multiparty system in Pakistan can be explained on the basis of factors like fundamental cleavages in social structure, differences in religion, culture and classes and also due to the political revolution not coinciding with social transformation. Pakistan took official notice of nine parties in July 1958.⁶

The immediate impact of this system was on the making

and working of Governments. Such bewildering diffusion of power precluded any promise of effective policy formulation. Governments in Pakistan were shortlived because they were weak. They were weak because with a short life expectation, they normally avoided unpopular choices and postponed decisions. Rarely did any cabinet formulate a long range programme or take a prompt decision in fear of secession among the groups constituting the shaky coalition. This was lethal in Pakistan which was a new and relatively undeveloped country. Besides the people too began to distrust the parliamentary form of government as they considered the executive to be weak. That was how persons and groups with ready made authoritarian solutions found it easy to persuade public opinion.

Parties lost all sense of loyalty to the electorate and regarded themselves as free to make and unmake coalitions without electoral sanction. The Muslim League, the Awami League and the Republican Party played the game of coming together and then parting, not only without any reference to the people whom they claimed to represent but also without consultation with the party membership whom they pretended to lead. Opposition groups were not in a position to form an

alternative government. Hence they could make a number of promises. Yet they had their own importance. They checked the authority from abusing power. These parties may have valuable suggestions and criticisms to give.

Pakistan has however been dominated by one party - the Muslim League resulting in a one party rule. The Muslim League passed through three stages during its rule over Pakistan. It was first a pressure group (1906-1940), then a nationalist movement (1940-1947) and lastly a political party (1947-58). The last phase can be sub-divided into two periods, the early years (1947-54) when it was practically the only party in the country, and the last four years (1954-58) when it was one of the many parties operating and competing.⁷

The 1947-54 period in Pakistan was provisional and therefore potentially more democratic than a permanent single party rule would have been. If the domination of one party lasts too long, the opposition is either reduced to impotence through sheer despair, or losing all hopes of entering office, it turns violent. The people lost all interest in political propoganda or in elections.

In the first seven years, when the Muslim League held unchallenged sway, the opposition was neither numerous nor

strong enough to influence decision making. Criticism of the Government was equated with treason. The opposition too was not treated with respect. One manifestation of this attitude was the grossly insufficient time allowed by the government for discussion on the budget during this period.

When Pakistan came into existence in August 1947 the Muslim League took charge in all the provinces except The North West Frontier Province (NWFP) where Congress was in power.

Drastic measures were considered necessary in Punjab soon after independence. This led to the dissolution of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Thereafter, the administration was handed over to the Governor on 25 January 1949. The Government of the Khan of Mamdot (Iftikhar Husain Khan) was characterised as having been carried on for the benefit of the few with little or no heed to the need or welfare of the people at large.⁸ Besides within the Punjab Muslim League there was a tussle for power between Mamdot and Daultana.

The Punjab affair had three interesting features. It was the first occasion on which the Central Government dismissed a provincial ministry which still enjoyed the

confidence of the legislative and commanded a majority in the house. It was a Muslim League ministry dismissed by a Muslim League Central Cabinet. Above all, it highlighted the importance of personalities in party politics. The tussle took the form of personality clash between Mamdot and Liaquat. The central government had promoted the interest of party leadership at the cost of party principles and party discipline. The personality cult born then, continues to play a major role.

During this period, anti Ahmadi riots took place. The storm burst in its full fury on 27 February 1953. The incentive came from Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam which had been a bitter enemy of the Ahmadi sect. The Jamaat-i-Islami also joined the group against the Ahmadi sect. The then Chief Minister of Punjab Mumtaz Daultana's actions belied a firmness of purpose.

The Government of Nazimuddin was dismissed by Governor General Ghulam Muhammad on 17 April 1953. The people generally welcomed this drastic step as they were critical of the delay in constitution making, dissatisfied with the official handling of the Punjab riots, and alarmed at the growing economic misery.⁹ The Governor General appointed Mohammad Ali Bogra to form the next government.

The change in the prime ministership however did not mean a change in party position. The new administration remained a Muslim League government and six members of the old government were reappointed.

The fall of Nazimuddin brought the first period to a close. So far the scramble for power had been among persons not among parties. The unchallenged supremacy of the Muslim League was shaken and new parties, emerged from it. These groups went on to challenge the Muslim League and finally succeeded in overthrowing it.

The country underwent an almost overnight change from a one party state to a multiparty state in 1954. Alliances were altered, unmade and overthrown. Opposition groups were as far away from each other as they were from the government. In 1955-57, West Pakistan was an example of a two party system the Muslim League and the Republican party.

Regional rivalries in Pakistan constituted an added complication. The Red Shirts in NWFP wanted Pakhoonistan, Sindhi politicians had their grievances and the Muslim League in the Punjab too was provincial minded. In the election manifesto of Punjab Muslim League in 1950 the party spoke about the indispensable position of Punjab. It also

said that the people of the Punjab are more advanced, critical, politically alive and intensely conscious of standards and values than the people anywhere else in the country.¹⁰

The regional aspirations of East Pakistan was also evident by then. The regional rivalry was accentuated and aggravated by the absence of a national countrywide political organization. All the parties were regional, sectional or sectarian.

To overcome these handicaps, mergers and alliances were attempted by parties with similar outlooks which merged to form a larger national organization. In 1953-54 the opposition parties of East Pakistan formed the United Front to oppose the Muslim League. In 1957, minor groups merged to form the Pakistan National Party. However these fronts and mergers, did not have a long life.

The problem of reciprocal relations between party leaders and parliamentary representatives is one of the essential problems of democratic politics. Democracy requires that the parliamentary representative take precedence over party leaders but practice has rarely conformed to this.

The most conspicuous feature of Pakistan's party politics was a lack of discipline, loyalty and sense of responsibility.

Another feature of the political parties of Pakistan which led to confusion was the absence of any marked differences in the parties' programmes. Party conflict can be on three levels-on no principle, on general and social principles and on fundamental principles.¹¹ The only noticeable and distinguishing features were to be found in the Islamic parties.

The political parties' organization represented some sort of oligarchial power. In Pakistan the Central Working Committee of the Muslim League consisted of 22 members all nominated by the president of the party. In the provinces, the working committees were partly elected and partly nominated by the provincial party chiefs. This led to the centralization of power. The Pakistani party refused to recognise the right of referendum to modify or suppress a decision taken by the Council or the annual session. Thus, the parties belied the basic democratic principles.

The Militia played an important role in Pakistani political parties. The Muslim League had its Muslim National

Guards, Ghaffar Khan had his Red Shirts and the Ahrars had their own uniformed members.

Parties in Pakistan did not disclose their sources of finance. More money was collected at the centre than in the districts, so the party tended to be more centralised. It was evident that more money was donated by prosperous industrialists and landlords than by the common member through normal subscription, which made the party subservient to its wealthy patrons, divorced from its own rank and file.

The basic unit of administration in Pakistan is the district. The parties were therefore organised on the district level of articulation, but this articulation was weak. A reason for the weak articulation of Pakistani parties was the strict control exercised by the higher leadership coupled with a lack of sound leadership at the local level.

Another characteristic feature of parties in Pakistan was sectarianism. There were riots in East Pakistan on the language issue. The Jamaat-i-Islami, the Ahrar and the Muslim League traded upon the religious sentiments of the people. The Red Shirts of Ghaffar Khan was arousing the

Pathans against the Punjabis and in Sind there was a demand for the Sindhi homeland.

Minor parties too have played a significant part in Pakistan's politics. By minor parties is meant all the groups except the Muslim League, the Awami League, the Republican Party and the short lived United Front. These minor parties may be classified into five types. Permanent minority parties based on religious minorities, geography and ethnology, political views, personality parties or retinue parties which consisted of a number of followers of an influential leader and satellite parties which gravitate round some star of greater lustre.¹² It was clear that these parties would never occupy the seat of Government, nor would they muster enough strength to influence the pattern of local politics in any significant way. Yet they continue being around for various reasons, often seeking to play a political role of some sort in pursuit of their expressed goals. These reasons are deeply rooted in the nature of Pakistan's political system which provides a rationale for the existence of these parties and delineates their role within various ends and means.¹³ The political parties' attitude towards the fundamental issues and their

performance in and outside the legislature, created serious apprehensions about the political maturity of both parties and people. The outlining of political parties and other related measures promulgated in October 1958 were taken to put a check on the disintegrative forces let loose by the conflict between these parties.¹⁴

Socio Economic Background of the Political Leaders

Some of the most prominent cadres of both past and present are Liaquat Ali Khan, Daultana, Chaudhary Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Hayat, Nawabzada Nasrullah, Mufti Mohammad, Z.A. Bhutto, Qayum Khan, Wali Khan, Asghar Khan, G.M. Syed, Maulana Maudoodi, Pir of Pagara, Noorani Mian, Sardar Mengal, Sardar Khair Bux Marri, Bizenjo, Mian Iftikharuddin, Nawaz Sharif etc. All these politicians can be divided into three categories: the landed elite, the urban elite comprising professionals, ex-bureaucrats, ex-military officers and those from the ulema. These politicians have pursued their respective backgrounds. As they have been operating within the existing framework of politics in post-independence Pakistan, they variously reflect the interaction of, on the one hand, the state system. On the other hand, the particular interest groups which they

represent in their capacity as elected members of parliament or as member of political parties contesting election.

A landlord is most typically a political animal. He joins parties, fights elections and claims to represent his constituency in the assembly. All these activities are rooted in his local power base, through which he operates as a broker between the general masses and the state bureaucracy. Hence, they have been very conservative in their approach to land reforms.

The only channel available to these politicians for gaining political power is through elections. Landlord politicians like Main Iftikharuddin, Daultana and Bhutto introduced various agrarian reforms and agricultural property reforms so that they could maintain their functional legitimacy in the eyes of the public.¹⁵ Ideally the electoral politics strikes a balance between the political ambitions of landlords and public censure.

The second category of politicians are from an urban middle class background. They are either directly from the professions (like Qayum Khan, Khawaja Safdar and Khurshid Hasan Mir) or from the civil and military bureaucracies. Air Marshal Ashghar Khan, General Azam Khan, General Sarfraz,

Air Marslal Nur Khan, General Niazi and General Tikka Khan have tried to create a political career.

The professionals, most of them lawyers, have played a very important role in keeping the politics of Pakistan on an even keel. Along with their intellectual compatriots, they have constantly mobilised the masses along relatively pragmatic lines and have thus served the purpose of reducing the influence of the landlords during elections. They did so in the 1970 elections. Through their issue orientation, a relatively legalistic approach and a general concern with expanding the popular base of the state system, they have played a crucial role in maintaining the public demand for democracy. Within this political spectrum, there are variations in ideology - from conservatives to radicals. Among the middle class professionals were Mubashar Hasan, Hanif Ramay, Ajmal Khattak, Hamida Khuhro and Mairaj Mohammad Khan. They have been responsible for providing a direction to party politics by rationalising the disposition of their respective party leaderships and sometimes accepting ideological orientations with which they disagree.

The Ulema are the third political category. A variety of small religious groups exist in the country, three main types of ulema of three different schools are each

represented through a political party. The Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat ul Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) and Jamiat ul Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP). Like the landlords, the ulema of these parties have a relatively stable clientele, with a high degree of internal flexibility in their political attitude towards electoral politics. They speak an ideological language which has little relevance for the world of the common man. Thus, the ulema has failed to win any large mass popularity because they have avoided mundane matters.

Politicians of all these categories have failed to secure a permanently viable parliamentary rule. This is due to the fact that the final authority lies with the extra-parliamentary institutions. Politicians derive their ideological or political role from this pattern which reflect their strength through their various approaches.

Participation of Political Parties in the Electoral Process

The Political parties Act of 1962 originally prohibited the formation of a political party with the object to propagating any opinion or acting in any manner prejudicial to the integrity of Pakistan, or any political party which was foreign funded. In 1985, the act was amended and prohibited parties propagating ideas prejudicial to the

Islamic ideology, morality, the maintenance of law and order and the security of Pakistan. Zia delineated the implication of this provision by promulgating an ordinance (No. XIII of 1988) further amending the 1962 act which explicitly prohibited the existence of parties not giving of allegiance to the ideology of Pakistan, or which are funded from foreign sources or subscribe to regional and secessionist sentiments. The Supreme Court was authorised to dissolve such afore described parties.

However the pronouncement of the Supreme Court in October 1988 in the Benazir Bhutto's case struck down several sections of the amended Political Parties Act of 1962 as unconstitutional. The Court grounded its decision on Article 17(2) of the constitution which guarantees the fundamental right to freedom of association, including the right to form or be a member of a political party.

Zia had tried to hold the 1988 elections on a non party basis. In the Benazir Bhutto case the Supreme Court also stated that the general election should be conducted on a non-party basis. The right of parties to be allotted representational symbols was also recognised by the Supreme Courts. This condition is particularly significant given a

high level of illiteracy among eligible voters. Before the 1988 elections, a requirement was imposed on the political parties calling for an extensive disclosure of information, both concerning membership and finances, to the election commission. Within a month of being formed, a party had to apply for registration befalling these and other documents. The significance of this registration requirement was that, a party which had not been registered, or whose registration had been cancelled was not eligible to participate in elections. Despite these serious consequences, many parties were reluctant to register because of the disclosure requirements. In the past, government crackdowns had focussed on the office bearers of opposition parties. As a result of this, parties were unwilling to increase the risk of detention for their members. Thus, the full restoration of party politics was inhibited. The registration requirement, though not the one relating to the disclosure of accounts, was also struck down by the Supreme Court.

Although the right to participate in free and democratic elections devolves from the fundamental right of the individual, the role of political parties in giving substantive content to that right has been recognised. The Supreme Court has struck down as unconstitutional parts of

the electoral law which served to unduly circumscribe the freedom of parties to participate in the election process. However, there seem to be a limitation on the freedom of the parties to participation in the electoral process implied within the constitution itself. Article 63(1) disqualifies elected members who do not subscribe to the ideology of Pakistan.¹⁶

Major Political Parties of Pakistan in Punjab

Muslim League

The history of the formation of Muslim League can be traced back to 1906. Three months after the Simla Deputation on December 30, 1906, the All India Muslim League was founded at Dacca. Its objectives were to promote among the Muslims a sense of loyalty to the British Government; to look after their political rights and interests and to cultivate a better understanding between the Muslims and other communities. The League was established as an all India party after the 1909 Government of India Act.¹⁷ Initially the Muslim League did not do well in muslim majority areas, but slowly it picked up. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the charismatic leader of the Muslim League played

an important role in giving a definite shape to the party. Many radical muslims started to join the Muslim League by 1940s following the decision of the Communist Party of India to support the right of self determination for the people concerned.¹⁸ Besides, the Ulemas formed an organisation called the Jamiat al-Ulama-i-Islam and supported the Muslim League's call for Pakistan. The majority muslim dominated provinces also fully supported the Muslim League.

Nevertheless, the Muslim League was successful in uniting the Muslims on one platform in an incredibly short time. The Muslim League thus became a national movement to which anyone was welcomed as long as he showed adherence to the community's cause. Shias, Sunnis, Ahmadis all came together. Great care was taken to keep controversial issues out of public discussion which became particularly conspicuous in the period following the passage of the Pakistan Resolution.

Landlords represented the largest single group in the Muslim League Council. Punjab contributed the largest share of 51/163 landlords out of 503 members. The feudal leadership of the Muslim League represented the Pakistan state's vested interest in political backwardness. Landlords

emerge as the most backward looking elite, committed to the preservation of the existing privilege structure. For thirty years, i.e. from 1906 to 1936, it remained a party of nobles and professional elites.¹⁹ The next largest group in the League was that of lawyers who were about 145 in number. Commercial classes like merchants, bankers and industrialst were increasing but they were far from influential in terms of number. Good number of army and government contractors and general merchants were to be found in the Punjab, Delhi and the U.P. group. However, financial contributions of Muslim majority provinces were not substantial.

The party was better organised in Bengal in the early years than in any of the other provinces that latter constituted Pakistan. In Sind, the landlords, Pirs had an exclusive hold over the masses. In Punjab too the landlords were a very strong group.

Yet the Muslim League was the only major political party in existence in Pakistan at independence and it possessed all the advantages a party could wish for. The Muslim League had few institutional rivals and nearly every Muslim in Pakistan supported it. However, within the next ten year the party disintegrated into numerous warring factions. In 1970, and 1977 the Muslim Leagues of all

shades vanished when free elections were held. The 1985 elections provided exactly that type of exercise which could be easily handled by the landlords. Absence of parties or ideological issues from the election ensured a Muslim League victory. The League had got a new lease of life following the induction of Mohammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister by the late General Zia-ul-Haq in 1985. Though the polls were partyless, Junejo succeeded in creating a Muslim League within the assembly.

By the time of the 1988 elections, there were nearly eight factions of the Pakistan Muslim League - PML (Fida Group, PML (Junejo Group), PML (Shaikh Liaqat Group), PML (Malik Qasim Group) PML (Khawaja Khairuddin Group), PML (Qayyum Group), PML (Zahri Group) and National Muslim League (Mohasibah Group). The Khairuddin and Qayyum Group merged with Fida bringing the number of PML factions down to 6.²⁰

However, Muslim League and eight other political parties fought the 1988 elections under the banner of IJI (Islamic Jumhoori Ittehad). The need to have an election alliance with like minded parties was felt by the PML (Fida Group) because the Junejo faction of the PML had fallen apart on the instructions of the Pir of Pagara. Most of the

parties that had entered into an alliance under IJI were minor parties which would not possibly enhance the level or prestige of the IJI.

The IJI proved to be better attuned to the cultural and political sensibilities of Pakistan than the PPP. The IJI aim to win the average Pakistani by using parochial idioms and manipulating cultural sensibilities proved successful.²¹

In the Punjab Assembly in 1988, out of the 240 seats, IJI won 108 seats while PPP was close behind with 93. Nawaz Sharif became Chief Minister of the Punjab.

The main reason for the IJI's poor show nationally was because its main component the Muslim League had been torn by internal dissension and chaos during the past few months of 1988. When it did finally reunite, it was too late. Much time was lost in the selection of candidates. Thus it was natural that strong candidates could not be found for certain seats. The Jamaat Islami a component of the IJI got only 6 seats throughout Pakistan.

The IJI concentrated all its energies on the election campaign in Punjab with the result that its presence was not felt in large areas of NWFP. Baluchistan and in the interior of Sind. The ruthlessness of the results was quite obvious.²²

In Punjab, the PML was traditionally strong, but found it difficult to adjust with the Jamaat. The Punjab Muslim League strongly criticised PML for having been pushed to the secondary position in the IJI. In Punjab, Jamaat Islami had little support and depended on the PML for official backing.

In the October 1990 elections, the IJI decided to contest as an grand alliance of combined opposition parties (COP) against PPP. The parties which became a part of the COP were ANP, Jamiat ulema-i-Islam (Fazlur Rehman group) Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP), MQM and PDP.²³

The IJI one of the two major contenders for power in the coming elections, continued to remain in the limelight of the country's political scene ever since its formation on the eve of the 1988 elections. It survived strong opposition from the federal government of the Pakistan's Peoples Party. Instead of disintegrating it managed to secure a certain amount of cooperation from the other parties of the former combined opposition in the defunct National Assembly. Nawaz Sharif, who had been the Chief Minister of the most populous province, dominated the alliance, and kept his party chief, Mohammad Khan Junejo at a safe distance from party affairs. Junejo's efforts to make the Muslim League the dominant

party of IJI had met stout resistance from Nawaz Sharif.

By the time of the 1990 election, Nawaz Sharif became the rallying force. The election campaign by the alliance mostly focussed on his person.

One of the major reasons why the alliance was kept intact was its opposition to, and from Benazir Bhutto. It had been plagued with internal disputes. Infact it was not able to organise itself as a proper political body even on the provincial level. The allocation of party tickets was manipulated by the powerful groups led by Nawaz Sharif (who at the same time, held two influential portfolios, chief of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad and provincial chief of the Muslim League.²⁴

The IJI leadership remained confined to the province of Punjab, and for a while, gave itself the image of the champion of provincial autonomy under Nawaz Sharif.²⁵

The Pakistan Muslim League undoubtedly was the main component of the right wing conglomerate of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad, the major force in the 1990 political arena besides the Pakistan People's Party of Benazir Bhutto.

Inspite of its inherent weaknesses, the PML succeeded reasonably well in the 1988 and 1990 elections specially because of the kind of influentials to whom it awarded

tickets and a great extent, to the personal interest and influence of Nawaz Sharif, who was when ruling the biggest province of the country-Punjab.

The IJI won a heavy landslide victory bagging 104 seats out of 207 seats in the National Assembly. In Punjab, the IJI won 92 seats. Nawaz Sharif came to the centre stage of Pakistan politics by becoming the Prime Minister and Gulam Haider Wyne a veteran Leaguer was made Chief Minister.

The PML (N) grew from strength to strength in Punjab as long as Mr. Nawaz Sharif was in power. But the helpless Wyne found himself at the helm of a party that was in the habit of being run and patronised by the administration. The unceremonious ouster of Wyne in early 1993 and the speed in which the party men switched loyalties in the Punjab Assembly exposed the real base of both Nawaz Sharif and the PML(N).

Never a political party in the true sense, had fallen like a house of cards like the Punjab Muslim League. G.H. Wyne had to go, but at the same time the PML (Punjab) had also shown signs of falling apart. Those in the provincial assembly shifted their loyalty to the new rulers at the Centre.

Nawaz Sharif, the former premier realised that inspite of a lot of public sympathy in his home province (Punjab), he did not have a real political party to organise campaigns for him. He did not pay much attention to the organisation.

Today half a dozen factions of the PML claim to be true political heirs of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the AIML.

The PML Nawaz group is the party's latest faction. Born on the day after Gulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Nawaz Sharif's government in April 1993, the faction was carved out of the united PML founded by former Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo. Nawaz Sharif has long aspired to the leadership of the party and when he did become the President of the IJI he could go no further but to preside over the Punjab wing. The pro Junejo faction amongst its top leaders had doggedly blocked his path to the top.

The political turmoil in Islamabad in 1993 compelled Nawaz Sharif to become the head of a political party which could serve as a movement against the establishment. Junejo's death accelerated his efforts. Some of the top leaders remained loyal to the late Junejo, but a sizeable group of PML councillors and middle ranking leaders joined hands with Nawaz to project his faction as the real PML.

However, in 1993, other than the PPP, there was the

PML(N) to reckon with. The party fielded the highest number of candidates for the National Assembly and ran a well organised election campaign. The PML(N) has come a long way since it was a component of IJI. It has disengaged itself from religious parties and is projecting itself as a centrist. The party's upper echelons comprise of leading industrialists or former bureaucrats.

PML(N) in its present form is primarily a Punjab based party. Almost all its senior leaders and decision makers are from that province, it is because of this that it enjoys, the support of the establishment.²⁶ The PML(N) had aligned itself with regional parties like ANP of NWFP and Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party of Baluchistan and had also found support in rural Sindh. The former two parties of NWFP and Baluchistan are considered Punjab based parties and as inherently anti Pakistan. This has however helped it to dilute its Punjabi colouring.

In reality, the party revolved around the house of Sharif and the so called Lahori group which had worked hard to create a Punjabi leadership to rule the country.

Yet the PML(N) marginally lost the game to the PPP by failing to form the government at the centre and in Punjab

after the 1993 elections.

The PML(J) can be termed as the rump of the united PML after Nawaz Sharif and his followers defected to form their own faction. In the political showdown of 1992-93 which eventually led to the elections in the country, the PML(J) played a vital role. Once fresh elections were called, the PML(J) lost its position. The party has few followers but many leaders. Although the PML(J) was able to retain the bicycle symbol of IJI from PML(N), which got a new tiger symbol. Yet PML(J) failed to cash upon it. The party had fielded around 25 candidates in Punjab and most of them had the backing of PPP.²⁷ The PML(J) as a splinter group, stood as an important party to decide the post election scene. The PML(J) had the support of the establishment and the powerful feudals and the industrialist to an extent. In the National Assembly it won six seats and in Punjab it won 18 seats in the 1993 elections.²⁸

The League had a strange life cycle. It died down following defeats in elections, completely disappearing from the political scene only to be reincarnated in the corridors of power. The party as it emerged and changed shapes and hands after securing the independence of Pakistan, has lacked the very basis of a disciplined party.

Its function was marred by intrigues and manipulations, at all levels. The PML still has to transform itself from its grassroot base. It was always given a new lease of life, whenever some dictator, like Ayub Khan or Zia-ul-Haq, thought it feasible to rejuvenate the party for their own ends. The League then re-emerged in yet another avatar, ready to function as the political face of a regime seeking legitimacy.²⁹

Pakistan People's Party

The PPP was largely the creation of one man, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. As such, the party was as enigmatic, complex and full of contradictions as the man himself. On the one hand the party represented a left leaning populist movement in that Bhutto espoused the cause of Islamic socialism which attempted to blend the spirit of Islam with socialism. Bhutto tried to bring about land reforms, nationalised industries and brought about administrative reforms. Within a matter of months, the PPP's anti Ayub campaign, supplemented by its catchy and populist slogans like roti, kapra aur makan, turned the political tide in its favour, and Bhutto's new party emerged as the biggest political

force in what was then known as West Pakistan.³⁰ The PPP did bank upon many leftist intellectuals. Yet on the other hand PPP built its base on the old ruling class (landed gentry) of Pakistan. So biradari politics and politics of factionalism were apparent within PPP.

In the 1970 elections, Bhutto's PPP swept across Sindh and Punjab, demolishing some of the most well established political idols. Bhutto's quest for power made him adopt a controversial strategy with East Pakistan. Eventually, 1971 saw the formation of Bangladesh and Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. His major political achievement was the making of the constitution in 1973. The PPP, today remains the biggest and strongest advocate of the 1973 constitution in its original form.

Since its inception in 1967, the party has been in power in 1970, 1988 and 1993. The nine party Pakistan National Alliance on the eve of 1977 elections claimed that the elections were rigged. Civil unrest led to General Zia's coup and the hanging of Bhutto in April 1979 on fabricated charges. In Punjab, the PPP heavily banked on the bureaucracy and the traditional feudal families. According to the image of the PPP, the feudals should have been dropped to be replaced by middle and lower class

representatives. The opposite was done. Almost all the Punjabi feudals and capitalists buried deep in 1970, were recruited to the PPP before the 1977 elections. So, a balance was struck with the feudal of the province. This was done at the expense of the popularity of the party among the Punjabi working classes, liberal democrats and the student community.

After the imposition of Zia rule the same feudal class failed to extend a helping hand to Z.A. Bhutto and again it was the poor people of the Punjab who, though leaderless tried to face the atrocities of army rule. Flogging, hanging, exile and imprisonment by the Zia regime on the PPP workers failed to deter them in Punjab. They revived the old image of the party. Although the major contribution was made by Bhutto and his family but the workers in their own limited way carried on the struggle.

In the 1979 local bodies election in the Punjab that was contested by the PPP and other parties, the PPP'S position was revived. They were able to defeat the fundamentalists and collaborators of martial law. The possible results of the general elections to be held in November 1979 was visualised as being swept by PPP, though

the renowned feudal families had gone to the other side of the fence in Punjab. The elections were indefinitely postponed. Besides, Zia banned the PPP along with other parties in 1979. The majority of the PPP nominees in Punjab for the postponed elections belonged to the middle and lower middle classes who had stood with the party.

The martial law regime won over most of the PPP feudal candidates of 1977 and many of them were roped into the so called Majlis-i-Shura and provincial councils. This again tarnished PPP image in Punjab.

The 1985 partyless election saw more defection from the PPP and its remaining feudals refused to boycott polls as decided by the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) 1986. It was hoped that the party would be reorganised and the workers who had suffered would get the party positions. But this hope was frustrated as the remaining feudals took over and virtually controlled the party. This led to the failure of the August 1986 agitation which was started without any proper organisation or programme further damaging the PPP's appeal.

However, on the positive side, when Benazir took over the mantle of the PPP leadership, she was able to consolidate her position as the party's most prominent

leader by staging well attended and well publicised political rallies throughout Pakistan. No other party leader had Benazir's mass appeal.

All these years of trial and tribulation have changed the face of the party drastically, both in terms of its ideology and its tactics. Many of the radical programmes and policies of Z.A. Bhutto were set aside by Benazir. The PPP now supports privatisation and promises to end the tax on agriculture against original policy of land reforms. Although the party continues to be dominated by landlords, it also had the support of the landless peasants, workers and other affluent groups who look upon the PPP as the party of the oppressed. There were several occasions, however, when it was thought that the PPP's popularity graph was going down. The big turnout in the partyless polls of 1985, which were boycotted by the PPP, and the party's inability to successfully launch its agitational campaign in 1986, appeared to confirm these views. But these setbacks proved inconsequential at the time of the general elections in November 1988.

As the 1988 party based elections neared, the PPP leadership again tried to rope in those feudals and people

with biradari and money connections who had joined Zia and Junejo. They were taken back to the party. The IJI policy on banking on biradari and money power was adopted by the PPP too. Almost all its top leaders, including Ms Bhutto's three uncles, Mumtaz Bhutto, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Ghulam Mustafa Khar, had left the party, and so had Hafeez Pirzada.³¹ The party programme was drastically changed, and the new manifesto announced for the 1988 elections was a much watered-down version of the original document. But nothing seemed to effect the PPP's popularity, as was evident in the November 1988 elections.

This failed to give success to the PPP in the Punjab in the November 1988 polls. Though it secured a majority of the National Assembly seats from the Punjab, it was not enough for an absolute majority. Thus Punjab was lost to the IJI which formed a government there with Nawaz Sharif as the Chief Minister. The IJI alliance like the PNA of 1977 was able to form an alliance between political parties with diametrically opposite ideologies. At the national level, Benazir Bhutto and her party PPP succeeded in forming the government. Benazir became the first women Prime Minister of the Muslim World. However, after only 20 months in office, she was dismissed by the President.

The victory was short lived as the party came into office lacking experience. Saddled with a whole baggage of compromises. PPP was organizationally weak, so it could not ward off challenges to its authority by the armed forces and the President. Z.A. Bhutto had not permitted internal party election for PPP offices throughout the 1970s and that policy has continued, turning the PPP into an extension of Bhutto's family.³² Benazir too preferred strong a leadership.

Before her return to Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto had no experience working in the party. She did not have a good rapport with the PPP's leaders and had showed little enthusiasm for organizational work. Personal ambition of Benazir led to the ousting of most of the PPP's old guards who had important bases of power within the party and without. In place of them, she promoted loyal "yesmen" who had no knowledge or base in Pakistani politics. The PPP was also charged of financial corruption. Earlier Z.A. Bhutto had antagonised certain elements in Punjab's middle and upper classes. They did not favour the nationalisation of small scale enterprises which belonged to the middle class. Besides, Bhutto defied the democratic norms to get his

opponents on the right track. In Punjab, many were still conservative in interpreting Islam and perceived the PPP as a party of the riffraff and as a threat to private property, Islamic morality and common decency.³³

In Punjab the Zia regime won more support as he adopted himself according to the thinking in Punjab. Punjab too prospered during Zia's rule. He spent billions in Punjab's agricultural sector. The traders and small entrepreneurs increased. The rural and urban classes became larger than it was during Bhutto's days. They thought Zia was good and pious and had done well for them. N. Sharif who was the Chief Minister of Punjab since 1985 had inherited Zia's mantle. Punjab supported the IJI whole heartedly while suspecting Benazir Bhutto's abandonment of socialism in favour of liberalism.

The PPP structure was not much different from what it was at the time of the 1988 elections. The leadership was shared by Begum Nusrat Bhutto and her daughter Benazir Bhutto. So the Bhutto name continued to be synonymous with the PPP. Farooq Leghari, Shaikh Rashid Ahmed, Saeed Awan, Khawaja Tariq Rahim, Aitaz Ahsan, Jehangir Badar and Mairaj Khalid were the prominent leaders in Punjab.

The PPP entered into an electoral alliance with three political parties to form the Peoples Democratic Alliance (PDA). The three parties were the Muslim League faction of Malik Qasim, the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh Jafaria whose Chief was Allama Sajid Naqvi and Asghar Khan's Tehreek-e-Istiqlal. All the three political parties electoral records were bad.

Why Benazir chose to fight the election under the PDA rather than PPP banner, had several implications. It indicated that Benazir Bhutto did not want to make the PPP the sole target of a frontal attack by its opponents and that she had understood the importance of allies.³⁴

The 1990 elections the PPP alleged been rigged by IJI . In 1970 the PPP had won most of the contests in the economically advanced districts of the Punjab and in 1988, it did well in the medium and high prosperous districts. But in 1990, the PPP's strength in Punjab was diminished to the lowest.

Table 2.1

PPP and Others in Three National Assembly Elections:
Seats Won³⁵

	West Pakistan/Pakistan			Punjab		
	1970 (Total:138)	1988 (Total:207)	1990	1970 (Total:82)	1980 (Total:115)	1990
Parties	81	94	46	62	52	14
PPP/PDA				(75.6%)	(45.2%)	(12.1%)
IJI	22	58	106	11	49	92
				(13.4%)	(42.6%)	(80%)
Other Parties	20	31	35	4	5	3
				(4.8%)	(4.3%)	(2.6%)
Independents	15	24	20	5	9	6
				(6.0%)	(7.8%)	(5.2%)

The party did loose a great deal of credibility when it sided with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan during the President-Prime Minister tussle over the 8th Amendment. But the party once again demonstrated its ability to bounce back and began agitating for fresh elections. The army had to interfere after which Nawaz Sharif and Ghulam Ishaq resigned, paving way for fresh elections.

In the 1993 elections, the PPP was catapulted back to power. During the 1993 elections the PPP had faced a greater challenge as it was dogged by infighting. The point

of conflict was over Murtaza Bhutto on which Benazir Bhutto and Nusrat Bhutto split. However by bouncing back to power the PPP justified its popularity.

In Punjab the PPP won 94 seats and with the help of a coalition with PML(J), it was able to form a government in Punjab. Manzoor Wattoo was installed as the Chief Minister of the province.

The profile of the PPP voters in Punjab shows that the party's fundamental appeal lies in its irrepressible drives and motivations. The radicals within the party are unhappy with Benazir and PPP but continue to stay on due to the lack of an alternative. The party also has blind loyalists who are found in large numbers in Sind and Punjab. However, the PPP supporter, in Punjab would be loath to give up a nexus with polices.³⁶ The third category are the opportunists who are mostly feudals successful professionals and the fast emerging class of the lumpen rich who are only interested in their own benefits.

During a period stretching back to almost a quarter of a century, politics in Pakistan has continued to revolve round the PPP. Barring the 1985 party less polls, which were boycotted by the PPP and many other parties, all the election in the country have been battles between the two

basic rival camps, one supporting PPP and the other standing against it.³⁷

Religious Parties

Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) are three most significant religious, of the many religious parties which have sought a political role in Pakistan with a vigour and tenacity unmatched by others. All three have participated in Pakistan's politics through elections, constitutional debates and mass movements. All are committed to the establishment of an Islamic polity.³⁸ They are not united due to sectarian conflicts. In Pakistan, there always has been a small class of the intelligentsia which wanted a complete divorce between religion and politics. The generality of Pakistan, Muslims wanted an Islamic State and an Islamic "way of life".³⁹

The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) was formed by the late Maulana Abul A'ala Maudoodi in 1941. Its sole purpose, in Maudoodi's words was of "cleansing society and raising a group of people who could work for the glory of Islam."⁴⁰

Initially, the Jammatt kept itself aloof from active

politics, although Maulana Maudoodi continued to express his views on important national issues, such as demand for Pakistan. In 1956, in Pathankot the Jamaat finally declared its decision to participate in active politics. As a result many stalwarts of the Jamaat left the party like Maulana Amin Ahsan Islahi and Dr. Israr Ahmed. The exodus from the party left the Jamaat bereft of any scholarly personalities with the exception of Maulana Maudoodi, who continued to be its Amir until 1976, after which he abdicated.⁴¹

The JI's lack of emphasis on democracy, its advocacy of harsh punishments for petty offences and its rigid-almost unimaginative approach to regional aspirations in favour of a strong centre attracted the military rulers of the country.⁴¹ It has thus been able to establish itself among orthodox sections through written literature which it uses to communicate.

The catchment area of JI mainly comprises the lower middle class elements from the big cities and more enterprising individuals from smaller towns.

In the Jamaat's current organizational set up, the role of the secretary-general of the party seems to have been devalued. He is now mainly responsible for the party's organizational work. Today, it is Qazi Hussain who runs the

party with some trusted lieutenants.

The Jamaat has a strong base among students, in the shape of the Islami Jamiat-e-Tulaba and the Islami Jamiat-e-Talibat. Lawyers, doctors and teachers also support it. It also has a labour wing.

Although it has a variety of support, it still cannot be called a mass party. In the 1970, this party got only 4 seats. During Zia's rule the JI was the most patronaged of all parties by the martial rule. The Jamaat under Maudoodi's successor, Mian Tufail Mohammad, seemed to diverge even further from its original falsify. He openly supported Zia and even participated in the 1984 referendum.

In the 1988 election, the JI was wiped out from its strong hold on Karachi and Hyderabad by the MQM. The influence remained in Punjab largely because of its alliance with the Muslim League in the IJI. It did win 3 seats and in Punjab it won no seat individually.

The IJI heavily banked on the JI in the 1990 elections due to its oranizational strength and discipline of the Jamaat. The party's position did not improve in the 1990 elections. Infact, the very people Amir Qazi Husain was condemning, he put his party's services for their help.

In 1991 the Jamaat found itself caught in an extraordinary four way quandary. On one side it was forced to align with the ANP, with which it had remained more pugnaciously at war than with any other. Same is the case with its relation with MQM, with which it was forced to comply. Thirdly, the PML had tried to edge out Jamaat of whatever position it held. The PML prevented the MSF from making inroads into Punjab at the direct cost of the IJT. Lastly, there were strains in the party itself. Mian Tufail Muhammad was unhappy on various policies.

Hence, the fact that this marriage of convenience was not going to last long became apparent. By the 1993 elections, the Islamic parties moved to reassess the Islamic vote led to the formation of three distinct alliances. In spite of their sharp sectarian and ideological differences, they worked out electoral adjustments amongst themselves on a number of seats in the Punjab, NWFP and in Karachi. The three alliances were Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF), Islami Jamhoori Mahaz (IJM) and the Muttehedha Deeni Mahaz (MDM).⁴³

The PIF was essentially made up of the Jamaat-e-Islami, known Jamaat sympathisers and some retired army generals. But the Jamaat continued to suffer not only from a lack of

direction, but also from a duality of purpose. The Jamaat Islami had joined forces with Nawaz Sharif in 1988 in Punjab and also in the 1990 elections. But it broke away from N. Sharif as he failed to enforce the Islamic programme.

Qazi Hussain decided to go for a distinct issue-oriented election campaign and with the aid of extensive media publicity. He accused both Sharif and Benazir as being corrupt and projected PIF as the third force in the 1993 elections.

But the party met with little success. The PIF was down to 3.1 per cent of the popular vote and could win only three seats in the National Assembly.⁴⁴ The JI, in the garb of the PIF, put the religious calling almost at the bottom of the populist slogan.

The JUI (Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam), is a typical ulema party, with its middle and top ranks filled by madrasah oriented theologians and with its workers and hundreds of students coming from various religious institutions.⁴⁵ It is a religio-political party which is different from other fundamentalist parties in the country. It is perhaps, the only party which not only has grassroot following, but also a base among the peasantry. It has maintained a

revolutionary flavour of its own and has both rural and urban base. It is one political party that cannot be ignored. In the 1970 general election in West Pakistan, it bagged the second highest number of votes. The party's former chief, the late Mufti Mehmood had the rare distinction of defeating Z.A. Bhutto from a Dera I. Khan seat in 1970 was then elected as the Chief Minister of the NWFP.

The JUI is the offshoot of once known Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind, which was an anti imperialist party of the religious scholar Darul Uloom, Deoband. Although anti shias and Barelvis Sunnis, the Deobandis had made the class struggle rather than sectarianism, their focus.

Maulana Mufti Mehmood died in October 1980 forthwith the JUI split into anti Zia and pro Zia factions. Maulana Fazlur Rehman, late Mufti Mehmood's son was anti Zia and supported MRB while Maulana Darkhwasti was pro Zia. The latter participated in the partyless polls of 1985.

The JUI (Fazlur Rehman) did not do too badly in the November 1988 election, winning seven National Assembly seats and 11 provincial assembly seats from Baluchistan, two from the NWFP and one in the Punjab.⁴⁶

In 1990, Fazlur Rahman's JUI refused to form an

electoral alliance with any other party and fielded 54 candidates in the contest for the national Assembly. Only the JUI excluding the Sipah-i-Sahaba was able to increase its role nominally from 2.07 percent to 2.94 per cent.⁴⁷

In the 1993 elections, the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) of Maulana Fazlur Rehman and Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani formed an alliance under Islami Jamahoori Mahaz. JUI rallied around secular politics. The results of 1993 indicated that JUI's votes fell by 2.3 percent and four National Assembly seats.⁴⁸ The reason behind its downfall was that the JUI landed itself with a qasi-secular party for electoral expediency, recalling its objection to a woman being head of government only after the battle was over.

The JUP (Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan) has its base in urban Sind. It mainly represents large section of the Urdu speaking population, which formally adhere adhere to the teachings of Sufi Ulema especially those from Breli. It was formed on the eve of the 1970 elections. The leader is Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani.

The JUP's share number of seats in the National Assembly has gradually declined It had bagged seven seats

in the National Assembly of 1970, which declined to three in the 1988 elections, although it had formed an alliance with Tehreek-e-Istaqlal.⁴⁹ Maulana Sattar Niazi, was the only leader of the top hierarchy to be returned to the National Assembly in 1988.

During the time when the late General Zia-ul Haq was reactivating the Pakistan Muslim League, the JUP faced mass exodus of members.

Since then the party had been unable to recover its lost position, and was reduced to certain pockets in Southern Punjab after 1990 election. The party faced another blow when Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi parted company with Noorani to form his own faction. The Niazi groups Sphere of influence was in the Maulana's home district of Mianwali.

The 1993 elections by JUP was contested by JUP under Islami Jamhoori Mahaz as an ally of JUI. JUP won no seats in the National Assembly.

Another religious party was Mutahida Deeni Mahaz. It comprised of several large and small sunni religious parties. The most significant being the JUI (samiul Haq group) and Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan. The JUI was popular among the religious oriented Muslim League candidates in central and Southern Punjab. The Sipah-e-Sahaba-e-Pakistan

had its headquarters in Jhang a district where the violently anti Shia group built a base.⁵⁰ The MDM retained two seats in the National Assembly⁵¹

A nationwide shift in politics towards the right of the centre has diminished the religious parties appeal for a large mass of uncommitted voters who used to opt for them in preference to left-radical options. The gains the religious lobby has extracted from successive regimes since 1970 blunted its rhetoric somewhat. Many people argue that after the Islamisation carried out by General Zia and his protege Nawaz Sharif, the religious parties have no agenda left before them.⁵²

Conclusion

In Pakistan political parties took long to develop and are still not mature. Since most of the people were unprepared for exercising vote, parties cajoled them by slogans, shibboleths catch words and all the armoury of demogogy .lack of tradition added to the confusion by splitting of the Muslim League .Only Muslim League trace its origin to pre independence days. There is also a clear dichotomy between rural and urban sections. Politics is

mainly an urban past time, but mostly controlled by landlords. People are very class conscious and mixing is not easy within the party fold. The national election after Zia's death failed to bring out a national outlook among some political parties. Attention was still focussed on parochial and provincial issues.

In Pakistan political parties took long to develop and are still not mature. Leaders who had no love for democracy did not practice suffrage even within their parties. Although they

There are four explanations for such ineffectiveness. The first is personalism Pakistan's political parties revolve around a few individuals. Secondly in Pakistan political parties are more regionalised. Some parties do well in some provinces and have no base in other provinces. In ineffectiveness of political parties in Pakistan is also due to factionalism. Biradari politics in Pakistan is the primary cause for causing factionalism. Since politics becomes a struggle between competing kinship groups for prestige and honour it leads to political parties becoming loose confederation of kinship groups. The leaders are usually from prominent families. Loyalties to such parties is generated by neither doctrinal nor ideological allegiance

to a program but only due to the individuals within the party. So when rivalries intervene within the party, the leaders breakaway with their groups of followers. Finally, party politics has been subject to a history of repression. Half of Pakistan's political history of governance is that martial law or military rule. So parties remained banned till March 1986.

Footnotes

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CHAPTER - III
TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER - 3

TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

Managing democratic change in developing countries has not been easy. If power hungry politicians and party workers have been trying to unseat elected governments, leaders of elected governments have sought more authority and power. Lack of effective democratic institutions, experience, training and political skills and resources are some of the problems which must be faced in building a strong democracy with a strong cultural and civic infrastructure. A number of new democracies are struggling to establish a framework for viable, legal and economic systems in the midst of growing economic hardship of rising expectation. Even after forty eight years of its independent sovereign statehood, Pakistan continues to be beset by numerous contradictions and dichotomies. Pakistan from its very inception has suffered from the endemic fragility of its political institutions.

From the time of independence the political issues that dominated were a number of inter-related factors : the failure of political parties to establish popular national bases; the continued dominance of the Central government bureaucracy military establishment by Punjabi-Mohajir and the consequent centre province tensions. The roots of these

problems were laid during the first five years of governance by the Muslim League.

Rather than attempting to establish its representativeness through elections, the government at the centre adopted a policy aimed at centralizing power through increasingly relying on the bureaucracy. The reasons for this policy originated from the ethnic divisions of the state. At partition the ethnically more homogeneous province of Bengal constituted 54% of the total population. West Pakistan was divided into four provinces with no ethnic homogeneity whatsoever. General elections would have meant a shift in power to East Pakistan, which was unacceptable to the Central government. Thus the Muslim League did little to involve a strong parliamentary system and itself relied on the bureaucracy - military nexus to maintain its authority. The military's deep entrenchment in the state's system of governance persists till today. The Muslim League government had thus allowed the development of a political structure where parliament deferred to the presidency and the civil service. The military coup by Ayub Khan in 1958 ushered the first military rule in Pakistan which merely formalised the existing political structures. He was forced to abdicate power by March 1969. Power was passed over to another martial law regime under the leadership of Yahya Khan. He nonetheless kept his promise regarding the holding

of elections and Pakistan's first general election based on adult franchise was held in 1970 under a martial law regime.

The pre election atmosphere of 1970 was marked by strong anti-authoritarian apprehension. An aggressive subnationalist current in both East and West Pakistan was conspicuous.

The electorate voted to fill 300 seats in the National Assembly as well as seats in the five provincial assemblies. The 1970 elections was considered a fair election. In West Pakistan, the traditional party, Muslim League was almost eliminated. The Pakistan's People's Party (PPP) of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, born in 1928, in revolt against the authoritarian regime gained a majority of 81/148 West Pakistan seats. It acquired maximum seats in Punjab and Sindh. The other two provinces of the West Pakistan voted in favour of their regional parties. In East Pakistan, the Awami League swept the election and gained 151/153 seats.

The election results mirrored the fact that the two major political parties had mutually exclusive regional bases. The inability of the political leaders to reach agreement on the composition of the national government and the demands of Bengal led to the brutal crackdown by the military in East Pakistan. After a bloody conflict Bangladesh was created by December 16, 1971 and Z.A. Bhutto became the new Prime Minister of Pakistan.

The second general election was called for in March 1977, almost a year ahead of time. Z.A. Bhutto hoped that his party could still muster sufficient votes inspite of its ebbing popularity, Nine opposition parties formed the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) to meet the PPP challenge. The PNA waged a nationwide election campaign which was marred by many incidents of violence.

The election results showed the PPP to have won 155/200 seats while the PNA only captured 36 seats. It was alleged that the PPP had done selective vote rigging. The PNA launched a campaign against the PPP which led to deterioration of law and order situation. The civilian leaders failed to reach a compromise. The army intervened on July 5, 1977. General Zia ul Haq suspended the constitution and declared Martial Law. Z.A. Bhutto was arrested and by April 1979 executed on charges of murder of a political opponent.¹

Zia assumed the Presidency in September 1978 and postponed the elections. Political parties were banned in 1979, an act which led to the formation of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) by the PPP. The origins of the democratization process in Pakistan can be traced to 1981 when the multiparty coalition of MRD against Zia came into existence. Agitations led by it were instrumental in compelling Zia to hold national elections in 1985, albeit on a nonparty basis and more importantly, led Zia to loosen his

grip and to promise national elections in 1988.

The National Assembly met in March 1985 and Zia selected Mohammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister. In October 1985 and prior to suspension of martial law, the National Assembly passed the controversial Eighth Amendment to the constitution, which indemnified all actions taken by the military government.

Zia's sudden dissolution of the national assembly and dismissal of the Junejo government by May 17, 1988, testified Zia's autocratic ways. Democracy rather, emerged by default once the ruling regime voluntarily stepped aside after the sudden death of Zia and his top brass in a plane crash on August 17, 1988. Having lost its cynocure, the military made a grand exit before the time when the democratic movement could have matured and overwhelmed it.² The military indirectly continued to exercise political power which emboldened political forces loyal to Zia's legacy.

Role of Military

Military officers have been at the helm of affairs in Pakistan for 29 years of the 48 years of its independence. This only reflects the fragility of political institutions in Pakistan- a problem most commonly witnessed in developing countries. The creation of Pakistan itself as a nation state

on the basis of only religion contained additional vulnerabilities aggravated by Muslim sectarian riots as early as 1953 reaching a climax of erosion with the secession of East Pakistan in 1971. Thus, in 1953; brought the first substantive exercise of the military rule, which was seen as highly successful. The fragility of the political institutions, especially when compared to the internal cohesion and stability of the military is, perhaps, symbolised by the fact that during the crucial period of 1951-58 when the political system was rapidly eroding, following the assassination of the first Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan, Pakistan in those seven years had six prime ministers.

Years before the army formally took over, it had started influencing national decision making be it external or internal affairs. The military had tried to stay away in the initial years, but the political leadership sought a role for the military brass for their own ends. The real nature of the military's approach to political power in Pakistan is best expressed in what General Ayub declared once: "I always told my people that our (army) major task is to give cover to the country behind which it could build a sound democratic system and lay the foundation of a stable future".³ The experiments on the political institutions by the Generals led to further difficulty of nurturing and

establishing democratic norms, instead it was chaos in which the country plunged into. General Zia perceived himself as the guardian of the ideology of Islam after 1977. This argument was used to expand the role of the army in national decision making.

When the political system was in crisis, the military intervened and assumed political power. They were not in search of political power. They did provide stability politically, though for a short time. People accepted them mainly due to sheer frustration against the incompetent civilian rulers. The army was looked upon as an agent of modernization, change and progress.

Although in 1988 the Army Chief, Air Force and Navy Chiefs had shown readiness to leave the civilian government in exchange of what may be called the concession by the new President- amounting to putting them in the Emergency council. The senior officers do regard themselves as an institution with extra-military privileges and functions to ensure good government in the country. Though now in the present situation the army prefers to disengage itself from politics by giving way to democratic governments. The option of army intervention is still open in the future if an apparently chaotic and inefficient administration by elected civilian government's to come.

Transition to Democracy - The 1988 General Elections and Punjab

The August 17, 1988, Bhawalpur aircrash which killed General Zia ul Haq became the turning point for the nation's fortunes. The decision of the previous government to hold the free and fair general elections by November 16 was affirmed. The President, Ishaq Khan agreed on two substantive political decisions, of holding the party based elections and setting up truly neutral administrations at the centre as well as in the provinces.⁴

The problems accumulated over the past decade are legion, but there were some serious ones. The affairs of the state had been managed without due regard to national interest. Planning and management of the national economy had been made subservient to the dictates of aid givers. The concept of welfare state almost had been abandoned. Concentration of state power in the hands of civil and military bureaucracy had paved the way to gross abuse of authority leading to a sharp rise in political, administrative and social corruption and replacement of rule by popular consent with rule of force and bribe. The conduct of state business in secrecy from the people, regimentation of thought, control over media and suppression of channels of debate led to hazardous policies. Denial to institutions, other than the executive of their due role in polity had undermined political stability. Lastly

exploitation of religion to serve the narrow interest of the ruling oligarchy had divided the nation into a privileged majority community and underprivileged minorities. It strengthened obscurantism, fuelled sectarianism, created a priestly class who undermined rational and scientific pursuits. All this had led to intellectual and social regression giving rise to forces hostile to women's basic rights and the people's cultural advancement.⁵

It was in this background that the country was to elect a representative government. It did usher in an elected government, after the longest spell of military rule. Still the elections served largely, the function of legitimising the personalised rule of a few.⁶

Pakistan has a population of 106.3 million.⁷ Of them, the number of Muslim registered voters in Pakistan were 46,695,459 in 1988.⁸ Of which only 30.6 percent of the registered Muslim voters turned out to the ballot box.⁹ The credit of holding a comparatively free, fair and impartial elections goes to the Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan, Mr. Justice A. Nusrat. Equal credit goes to Pakistan army and Chief of Staff, General Mirza Aslam Beg and to the President Ishaq Khan.

The Election Commission published the final list of 3,873 candidates for provincial assemblies for the 460 Muslim seats for the four provinces. A list of 256

candidates for 23 non Muslim seats in the province was released too.¹⁰

The shortest electoral campaign which initially lacked enthusiasm and visible broad participation became bitter and full of venom, at the end. There was uncertainty about the holding of elections upto the last day. Low turnout was attributal to non availability of identity cards and the failure of the political parties to mobilise the masses. Nonetheless party positions cut across the dividing lines of ethnic and regional differentiation and advanced the cause of democracy and integrity to an extent.

The prominent parties that contested elections of 1988 at both National and Provincial Assembly were Pakistan People Party (PPP), Islami Jamhoori Ittehad(IJI), Awami National Party, Pakistan Democratic Party, Tehrik-i-Isteqlal, Jamaat-i-Islami, the Left and Democratic Front and many more minority parties and parties with regional base.

Parties and Manifestos

Even though party manifestos and specific issues have played little or no part in the prevailing elections scene, yet parties did prepare comprehensive manifestos. This trend was a most welcome development and was appreciated by the politically conscious voters for whom the question of manifestos is of vital importance.

The IJI's fundamental objectives in the election manifesto were the supremacy of Koran, economics of equality, inexpensive justice, non-aligned foreign policy and protection of atomic programme. Private sector was to be freed. Trade unions were to be revived and press was to be given free autonomy within constitution. The IJI's special interest according to the manifestos was to balance between power of president and Prime Minister. To provide ombudsman in each province and district. Pursuit of nuclear technology.

The PPP's election manifesto's fundamental objectives were stress on Islam is democracy, socialism, shahadat and all power to the people. To abolish brutal behaviour of police and prison authorities. Justice for political exiles. Repeal all discriminatory laws including Hudood Ordinance. No new nationalisation; abolish feudalism by destroying its political and economic stranglehold; freedom of speech and expression; to restore parliamentary rule which safeguards provincial autonomy; establishment of three new steel mills.¹¹ Special interest of the PPP was to eradicate cultivation and development of narcotics.

Pakistan National Party's manifesto's fundamental objectives were upholding of democratic principles; to end exploitation; to provide provincial autonomy and to follow a non aligned foreign policy besides many other issues.¹²

Tehrik-i-Istiqlal's election manifestos foremost aspiration was to strive for the unity and integrity of Pakistan; to provide full provincial autonomy. Special interest was to bring about confederation with Bangladesh.

The election manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami, pledged to make Pakistan a truly Islamic democratic state. The manifesto reiterated the party's belief that the problems of the people were because they had forgotten God. Full enforcement of Ushr and Zakat, decentralisation of administration etc.,¹³ were also a part of the manifesto.

The Left-Democratic front manifesto pledged to mobilise workers and peasants for real democracy in the country above all issues.¹⁴

Most of the parties had no economic platform. Political parties, had launched their election campaigns after making and breaking alliances with the sole purpose of grabbing seats in the assemblies with rare exceptions. The basic objective of the election, namely educating the people in social, economic and legislative issues facing the nation had not been recognised at all by most of the parties. PPP was the party for change-not in the revolutionary sense but in slow democratic sense.¹⁵

1988 Election Results

The 1988, National Assembly elections yielded a split verdict with neither of the main contenders gaining an

absolute majority of the 204 contested parliamentary seats. The PPP won a substantial plurality with 93 seats against 54 seats of the IJI, 17 seats went to an assortment of minor parties. Benazir Bhutto was asked to form the government at the Centre. PPP was able to cable together a majority in the house by obtaining the support of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) (14 seats), 8 tribal seats and some of the women elected to the 20 reserved seats.

Table 3.1

The National Assembly Elections : Seats Won¹⁶

West Pakistan/Pakistan		
Parties	1970 (Total 138)	1988 (Total 207)
PPP/PDA	81	94
IJI	22	58
Other parties	20	31
Independents	15	24

The election results revealed a pattern of significant trends in political opinion in the year 1988: a change of government rather than a return of the caretakers to power; preference for a younger generation of leaders rather than the senior politicians, convergence towards two party system rather than a multiparty system; continued commitment to the federation as against the simmering regionalism, bordering

on separatism, that was born under the martial law regime; preference for a national party as against an alliance with provincial overtones; a marked desire to delink the country from the period of martial law; its legacies, and the personalities connected with it.¹⁷

The results of the Provincial Assembly elections three days later tilted the balance of power against the PPP, except for Sindh where it managed to sweep the polls, outside of Karachi and Hyderabad. In Punjab, the IJI captured; a total of 108 seats, while the PPP bagged 94 of the total 240 seats.¹⁸ This was enlarged substantially by an alliance between the IJI and most of the Punjab independent candidates. The PPP succeeded in forming a government in NWFP by forging a coalition with the ANP and luring the support of some of the IJI members. It managed to retain a majority even after the ANP withdrew support in some months later. Baluchistan, had a chaotic start. The new assembly dissolved on the advice of a PPP-backed Chief Minister and then restored by a court judgment. A coalition government was formed that was led by a regional party in alliance with the JUI and IJI.

Politics in Punjab

In vast swathes of the country's largest province, concepts such as feudal families and ruling dynasties are still to become obsolete. But the non stop development of

the region, stretching over a hundred years or more has almost wiped out many of the vestiges of hereditary power that continue to plague other parts of the country. But Punjab has not developed evenly, and by and large, the backward Southern and Western and districts are still dominated by powerful landlords and influential pirs. In the northern barani districts, the majority of the land comprises small holdings although there are exceptions scattered around the areas. The army has long been the greatest vehicle for social mobility in the North.

In the heavily populated Central Punjab, the concept of hereditary families - those that rule through the power of their landholdings - has long since ceased to exist to an extent.

The biradari politics was revived during the martial law period and institutionalised in the 1985 party less elections. The Punjab still suffers from this hangover, but the revival of party politics is hoped to change things. In 1970, the PPP wave in the Punjab had swept away biradari considerations by the wave of class consciousness, but these returned with vengeance in the martial law years and remain strong to this day. In the absence of politics, biradaris provided a useful unit to fall back on for the favours, patronage and security required to survive in a fast changing world.

The strength of biradaris is greater in more developed Eastern districts of Punjab, becoming progressively weaker as one moves West, where, under the influence of neighboring Baluchistan and the Frontier, the tribe becomes a more potent unit of cohesion.

Today, merit and money, rather than rigid hereditary criteria, play an increasing part in the emergence of biradari leadership. So strong is the force of change that even some bigwig of hiers to family names and titles found it difficult to win elections without muddying their hands in the world of grassroots politics. Syeda Abida Hussein, Yusuf Raza Gilani, Khuda Baksh Tiwana and dozens of other scions of notable families have all had to toil hard at the local level. Less astute aristocrats simply sink without a trace, in Punjab's politics.¹⁹

The Punjab's new breed of politicians are sneered at as nouveau riche by the traditional rulers who have, nonetheless, been forced to follow their lead. Nawaz Sharif, Chaudhary Shujaat, Chaudhary Nazeer and numerous other are all selfmade, or men of relatively humble origin. The state of politics has increased participation of traders, transporters, property tycoons, industrialists and even outright drug smugglers and criminals. The expanding middle class is yet to play a significant role as it is crushed in

between the demands of the landowning classes on both ends of the political spectrum.

The old structure is still thriving beneath the surface of modernity. The two party system suits this ancient substructure of caste, clan and intra family feuds. Now the traditional feuds are fought under party labels to settle scores. The history of IJI and PPP party ticket holders if traced will reveal local politics and age old conflicts between candidates. Today, a local tussle camouflaged as an ideological battle is what Punjab politics is all about. Increasingly, it is these grassroot tussles that determine the outcome of grand national struggle over abstract ideologies.

On the vexed question of centre-province relations, is an issue unsolved since the first year of the state's history. In November 1989 the government had narrowly survived, a no confidence motion called by Combined Opposition Parties (COP). The allegations of bribery and horse trading only tarnished the governments reputation by the press and IJI. Besides the PPP government was locked up in a long running battle with the Chief Minister of Punjab. This finally brought its downfall in August 1990.

Political Scenario of Punjab - 1988-1990

In Punjab the IJI emerged as the winner by bagging 108 of the 240 seats of Punjab assembly. The PPP won 94 seats.

The PAI and PDP won two seats each. One seat went to JUI (F). The independents grabbed 32 seats in the province. (See table 3.2)

According to the 1981 census distribution of Christians in Punjab accounted for 81.0 per cent of the total population of Christians. Ahmadis were 62.4%, Hindus - 2.0% and Parsis and other minorities also were present in Punjab, in a small percentage.²⁰

Mr. Nawaz Sharif was sworn in as the 17th Chief Minister of the Punjab at a special ceremony at the Governor's House. The Governor who administered the oath of office was General (Retired.) Tikka Khan. He was chosen Leader of the House the same day at a special session of the Punjab Assembly, which started immediately after an informal meeting. The same day IJI candidates Mian Manzoor Ahmed Wattoo and Sardar Hasan Akhtar Moakal were elected Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

A total of 151 MPAs reposed confidence in Mr. Nawaz Sharif by show of hands at a time when 103 legislators affiliated with or supporters of the PPP walked out of the House on the plea that the election was unconstitutional. The PPP's candidate for the office of Chief Minister, Mr. Farooq Leghari endorsed this view. While Mr. Nawaz Sharif criticised the walkout and described it as a move "contrary to democratic values".

Table 3.2²¹

Punjab Assembly 1988

	District	Seats	IJI	PPP	IND	PAI	IJI(F)	PDP	NPP(K)
1.	Rawalpindi	11	4	5	2	0	0	0	0
2.	Attock	4	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Chakwal	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Jhelum	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
5.	Sargodha	10	5	5	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Khushab	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
7.	Mianwali	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
8.	Bhakkar	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
9.	Faisalabad	18	6	11	1	0	0	0	0
10.	Jhang	10	4	2	4	0	0	0	0
11.	Toba Tek Singh	6	1	3	1	1	0	0	0
12.	Gujranwala	14	6	7	1	0	0	0	0
13.	Gujrat	11	6	5	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Sialkot	14	10	3	0	0	1	0	0
15.	Lahore	18	5	13	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Sheikhupura	11	2	5	4	0	0	0	0
17.	Kasur	8	7	0	1	0	0	0	0
18.	Okara	7	3	4	0	0	0	0	0
19.	Multan	14	6	7	0	0	0	1	0
20.	Khancwal	7	3	4	0	0	0	0	0
21.	Sahiwal	11	8	2	1	0	0	0	0
22.	Vehari	7	4	1	2	0	0	0	0
23.	D.G. Khan	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
24.	Rajanpur	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
25.	Muzaffargarh	8	5	1	0	0	0	1	1
26.	Lahore	3	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
27.	Bahawalpur	7	1	4	2	0	0	0	0
28.	Bahawalnagar	7	2	4	1	0	0	0	0
29.	Rahimyar Khan	9	3	1	5	0	0	0	0
TOTALS:		240	108	93	32	2	1	2	1

Minorities	Christ	4	Women	— 12
	Hindu	1	PPP	— 5
	Others	1	IJI	— 7
	Qadiani	1		

The House through secret ballot lot re-elected incumbent Manzoor Wattoo as speaker and Sardar Hasan Akhtar Moakal as Deputy speaker. They got 155 and 151 votes. The PPP candidates for the speakership and deputy speakership were Nawabzada Ghazanfar Ali and Chaudhry Umar Daraz who bagged 99 and 103 vote respectively.²²

The New Punjab Cabinet of 1988

A 14 member Punjab Cabinet including eight old faces were sworn in at the Governor's House.

The new Cabinet included son of the former Governor Makhdoon Sajjad Husain Qureshi, Opposition leader Makhdoomzada Syed Hasan Mehmud and even Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi of Gujrat who was sacked from the previous cabinet on the charge of working against the interests of the party. Another member of the former rebel group Sardar Nasrullah Khan Dareshak had been given cabinet job.

The Cabinet also included also cabinet two members of the Jamaat-Islami and JUI (Darkhwasti Group). They are Dr. Mahmud Afzal Aizaz of Rawalpindi and Qari Saeedur Rehman of Attock.

The following were the Ministers and the portfolios:
Malik Saleem Iqbal (Chakwal)s - Cooperatives; Dr. Muhammad Afzaz Aizoz (Rawalpindi) - Transport; Qari Saeedur Rehman (Attock) - Zakr and Ushr; Chaudhary Pervaiz Elahi (Gujrat) -

Local Government; Chaudary Akhtar Ali (Sialkot) - Communication and Work; Syed Afzal Ali Shah (Okara) - Housing and Physical Planning; Saeed Akbar Khan (Bhakkar) - Livestock and Dairy Development; Syed Ahmed Mahmood (Rahimyar Khan) - Excise and Taxation; Syed Ahmed Khan Manhais (Vehari) - Agriculture; Md. Arshad Khan Lodlu (Sahiwal) - Revenue; Sardar Zulfikar Ali Khosa (D.G.Khan) - Education (Finance); Sardar Nasrullah Khan Dareshodk (Rajanpur) - Irrigation and power with law; Makhdoomzada Shah Mahmood Hussain Qurestu (Multan) - Planning and Development; Sardar Maqsood Ahmed Leghari (D.G.Khan) - Food. The special Assistants to the Chief Minister were Mr. Nisar Ahmed Dhillon and Tikka Muhammad Khan.

The advisers were: Md. Azam Cheema, Rai Hasan Nawaz Khan, Haji Ghulam Haider Khan Kichhi, Raja Asfaq Sarwar, saeed Ahmad Zafar, Riaz Fatiana, Ghulam Farid Chesti and Chaudhry Muhammad Hayat.²³

1989 - A Year of Turmoil

The year began on a high note with a democratically elected government in office after 11 years of army rule. But the remanants of dictatorship harassed the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto which limited her actions in both domestic and foriegn policy. Besides the weakness of the PPP and the bumbling ineptness of many of its ministers and advisers only added to her difficulties.

All Pakistani elections are won and lost in the Punjab. No party machine can afford to ignore the country's most populous province. It is rightly called the Kingmaker province.

The IJI government in the Punjab under the leadership of Mr. Nawaz Sharif established a state of confrontation with the centre on issue after issue.

After two requisitioned Assembly sessions, numerous walkouts and unlimited bombasts and ugly scenes, the Provincial Assembly expressed confidence in the leadership of Punjab Chief Minister Mr. Nawaz Sharif and speaker Mian Manzoor Ahmed Wattoo on March 14, 1989. The protracted campaign launched by PPP MPAs to topple Punjab Chief Minister came to an end temporarily. While the PPP at the provincial level was back from where it had started.

The IJI was criticised more than PPP for its policy of confrontation and starting the row with the centre, since PPP was seen as a political party with some principles and clear programme. But PPP much to the disappointment of many was doing exactly what IJI had done of political opportunism and antagonism. The PPP's juvenile tactics strengthened Nawaz Sharif who was able to smother the revolt of IJI ranks provoked by the strange methods of governance. The PPP was however in a hurry to get rid of Nawaz Sharif. Both sides were outdoing each other in malice. The PPP had made a

number of futile offensives. For narrow gains matters were irresponsibly being made a subject of public debate. Taking confrontation to pitch from where retreat becomes ignominious can be unwise. Punjab needed to recognise that, demand for provincial autonomy should not be stretched to disintegration of the federation.²⁴

The various issues on which confrontation between the centre and state took place were many. Starting from the 8th Amendment left by General Zia's budernsome legacy, caused differences between the Federal government and the President and indirectly the IJI in Punjab.

The PPP did act hastily in taking some of the decisions related to the province. The people's programme for Development being one instance.

There was a tussle over the transfer of four officers of federal services to the centre from Punjab. With much reluctance they were relieved by mid October.²⁵

Another issue of tension between the Centre and Punjab was on the distribution of fertilizers. There had been a war of advertisement in the press between Federal and the Punjab government accusing one another of falsifying facts about the supply of fertilizers for the rabi crop. The Punjab government charged the Federal Government's failure to fulfill the fertiliser requirements of the province by delaying supplies till half of the sowing season was over.

But the federal government denied the charges blaming the Punjab government for delayed judicious distribution.

The Wallur Barrage was another point of conflict which arose in later months of 1989. The Punjab government was opposed to the construction of the Dam as well as talks with India at any level. The barrage they said would devastate Pakistan's economy in general and Punjab's in particular. This was because the project would give India control to regulate water flows into the Jhelum. Punjab preferred international arbitration the Federal government opposed it as it would give time to India to complete the dam, 40% of which was already complete.

Till the end of the year 1989 the PPP and the opposition continued to speak on different frequencies and the latter appeared determined not to lay aside its differences with the government despite invitations made by Prime Minister for talks.

Instead the bolstered IJI floated an alliance called the Combined Opposition Party (COP), an alliance of political parties who were anti PPP in the N. A. and even before Benazir Bhutto had completed a year in office, moved a no confidence motion against her. The PPP defeated the motion after indulging into horse trading as the IJI was doing. The PPP also suffered reverses in some parliamentary and provincial byelections held during 1989. Nawaz Sharif

threw full weight of the administration behind the IJI candidate. However, later in 1990 the PPP retained its N.A. seat NA-99 when its candidate Arshad Gurki defeated IJI candidate Mehr Zulfiqar Ali. The poll had become a matter of prestige. The PPP victory served as a morale booster for the party's leadership at various tiers.

Mr Nawaz Sharif was dubbed as the "G.M. Syed of Punjab" implying that he was a separatist like the old Sindhi leader. In return Nawaz Sharif accused Bhutto and Tikka Khan for the creation of Bangladesh.

The dissolution of the Baluchistan Assmebly provided the IJI with yet another chance castigate the PPP.

The release of political prisoners by the PPP Government fuelled Centre Punjab friction further. The PPP regards them as heroes of democratic sturggle while the Punjab government dubs them as "murders and dacoits".²⁶

Even on foreign policy they did not see eye to eye. Punjab government accused the P.M. for missing the opportunity of bringing up the Kashmir issue at the Saarc summit in 1989.

The Governor Tikka Khan and Punjab Chief Minister were on the confrontationist situation too.

Quarrels arose on other issues like establishment of the Punjab Bank, setting up of separate provincial government controlled radio and telelvision stations,

distribution of electricity, appropriation of finances and collection of Zakat and Ushr.²⁷

The year 1990 saw no change in the attitude of either side. The manner in which Punjabi chauvinism was being unleashed, exposed the IJI coterie of parochialism.

The government had become hostage to elected representatives, money became the only measure of political loyalty and statecraft was reduced to petty squabbles that had no relation to problems facing the country. Gulam Ishaq Khan cited "horsetrading" in his address to the nation on August 6, 1990, to justify his decision to dissolve the assemblies and call for fresh election in October. The provisional government was headed by COP, with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as Prime Minister.

Reason for the Fall of PPP Government

The PPP was fortunate in having inherited a rare phenomenon of consensus after many years. The party did have mass support and dedicated workers. But it suffered much due to its own organizational weakness and pressures brought on it during its first months in office.

Although other factors like its relation with the army and President were equally significant besides the Centre-Punjab tussle. PPP could never stomach its failure to form the provincial government in Lahore, the nerve centre of

Pakistani politics. The IJI which emerged as the largest party formed the government under Nawaz Sharif. It enjoyed the patronage of the establishment. The President had been obliquely advising and warning the government on the worsening relationship between the federal and provincial governments specially those under opposition-Punjab and Baluchistan. The PPP's crude attempts to overthrow Nawaz Sharif government not only met with embarrassing failure but created a backlash which led to formation of COP. Failure to evolve a viable strategy on Punjab, bogged down the whole system. PPP proved no match to the brand of politicians in Punjab catapulted during 1985 partyless election. Nawaz Sharif took full advantage of the faith he enjoyed of the establishment to consolidate his position. Attempts by the PPP to break Sharif by threatening his business interest widened the gulf further.

Charges of corruption, nepotism and abuse of power were cited by the President for dismissing PPP government.

The 1990 Elections of Punjab

In a span of five years, Pakistan went through another General Election on October 24 in 1990. Despite assurances by all the bigwigs in government, there continued to be an element of uncertainty about the elections.

With the completion of withdrawals of nomination papers

of national and provincial assembly seats, a stage for hectic electioneering, campaigning by contestants was expected. But campaigning was at low key as late as October. The voter turnout was slightly higher from 43% in 1988 to 45% in 1990.²⁸

The two main opposing alliances were, one led by the PPP and the other by the IJI. Unlike in the 1988 elections, the PPP this time was pragmatic enough not to go alone to the fray. It roped in established parties such as Tehrik Istiqlal (TI) of (retired) Air Marshal Ashghar Khan and the Tehrik Nifaz Fiqh Jafaria (TNFJ). Along with these splinter parties, it formed the People's Democratic Alliance (PDA). The TI had some influence over ex military men and the TNFJ represented the influential Shia community. The widely feared erosion of its ranks did not take place except for the Khars, the Zmans and the Sadiq Alis. Benazir seemed to be going to the polls as a martyr.

The IJI on the other hand had the control of the government machinery. Further the IJI had entered into an electoral understanding with the MQM in Sindh and the ANP in the NWFP. ANP under Wali Khan was fiercely independent, but joined IJI.

Manifestos of the Parties in the 1990 Election

The IJI manifesto pledged to ensure economic opportunities on the basis of equality for all sections of

society. People in responsible position were to be honest; enforcement of Islmaic social justice; creation of a just society; an evolution of a system of taxcation which is fair, simple and easily understood, fundamental changes in the police etc. were to be pondered upon.

There were other promises which were tangible and quantifiable. These were

- a) Every citizen would be granted food, clothing, shelter and education, health and employment.
- b) Inexpensive, effective and speedy justice.
- c) Ombudsman would be appointed in the provinces and in each district.
- d) An easy procedure would be framed for immediate connection of water, electricity, gas and telephone.
- e) Dependence on foreign aid would be reduced and a self reliant economy.
- f) Minimum gross emoluments would be progressively raised to Rs. 3000 per month.
- h) Universal literacy would be achieved in ten years.
- i) Basic health facilities to all.²⁹

The PDA manifesto was 28 point programme. It attacked the status quo, but in a realistic manner, taking into account the well entrenched and rabidly anti-democratic vested interests.

PDA promised extending and expanding infrastructure with the involvement of people at large scale.

It stressed on welfare state. The PDA manifesto proposed concrete steps toward devolution of power. Promised land reforms in the agricultural sector. In the social sector, the PDA had made a welcome commitment to abide by U.N. yardstick for minimum 24.5% percent of GNP going to education. Inclusion of women lawyers. The PDA's position vis a vis supremacy of Holy Quran and Sunnah were justifiably tagged to the exclusive law making power of the elected representatives of the people. Annulment of the Eight Amendment was its promise too.

However the October 24 polls were essentially not going to be fought or decided on the manifestos of contending political parties, because after August 6, 1990, it made the struggle open between anti democratic and democratic forces the main issue.³⁰

Election Results of 1990

In spite of the prevailing controversy about rigging on a scientific pattern, the IJI formed the government at the centre. The net percentage of popular votes polled by the IJI in 1988 was 30.16%. It had managed 26.21% percent of National Assembly seats.³¹ In 1990 it bagged 104 seats in the National assembly. While PPP got only 45 out of 206 NA

seats (21.85 percent) as compared to 94 in 1988 (44.65 percent).³²

The net percentage of popular votes polled by the IJI went up in Punjab from 37.22 percent in 1988 to 49.40 percent. For the PDA the net popular votes went down from 38.52% to 36.84%.

The IJI got 80 percent of the Punjab seats and so more than half the seats in the NA. But in other provinces it got less than 50%. So it was again the pre-eminent province which gave a massive victory to the IJI. (see table 3.3 & 3.4)

Table 3.3

1990 Election National Assembly Results³³

Parties	Sindh	Punjab	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
IJI	3	91	8	2	104
PDA/PPP	24	14	5	2	45
MQM	15	-	-	-	15
JUI (F)	-	-	4	2	6
ANP	-	-	6	-	6
JUP (N)	-	3	-	-	3
JWP	-	-	-	2	2
PNP	-	-	-	2	2
PMAP	-	-	-	1	1
Independents	4	6	3	-	13
Total	46	114	20	11	197

Plus FATA 8 (Ind), Federal Capital (IJI) 206

Table 3.4

1990 Elections Provincial Assembly Results

Parties	Sindh	Punjab	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
IJI	6	208	33	7	254
PDA/PPP	47	10	6	3	66
MQM	28	-	-	-	28
ANP	-	-	22	-	22
JWP	-	-	-	11	11
JUI (F)	-	-	2	5	7
PAN	-	-	-	5	5
PMAP	-	-	-	3	3
BNM	-	-	-	2	2
PDP	-	2	-	-	2
SNA	1	-	-	-	1
Independents	18	14	14	4	50
Total Seats	100	240	80	40	460

Nawaz Sharif was sworn in as the Prime Minister of Pakistan in November, 1990. Earlier on the same day he was elected leader of House, defeating the PDA candidate Mr. Afzal Khan of the ANP (Haqiqi Group) by 153 votes to 39.³⁴ Speaking on the occasion Mr. Nawaz Sharif said he would endeavour to bring politics of confrontation and hate to an end.

Nawaz Sharif was heir to a troubled past. Yet his premiership offered the most favourable opportunity to achieve a balance between military and civilian interests.

Sharif's accession represented a change of style. Whereas most leading Pakistani politicians have emerged from the English speaking aristocratic elite, Sharif is a Lahore

businessman who spent the first part of his life working for his father's Ittefaq group of companies. His five immediate predecessors as Prime Minister were all Sindhis, but he is Punjabi of Kashmiri extraction. It is undoubtedly a reassertion of Punjabi domination in Pakistani politics, which was long due. Sharif's highest academic attainment is a Bachelor of law (LLB) degree from Punjab University.³⁵

Sharif owes his first political appointment to the army. In 1981, the Punjab Governor General, Ghulam Jilani invited him to become the Finance and Sports Minister in the provincial government during Zia's martial regime. Later Zia appointed him the Chief Minister of Punjab after the 1985 partyless election.

Sharif does take credit for bringing to the Chief Ministership the aptitudes and interests of a skilled businessman. Although he is no political theorist, he is far more realistic than Benazir. He can claim to get things done. In his election publicity, Sharif pointed to his practical achievement in the form of newly built school, health centres and roads throughout Punjab. The dispensing of patronage is the essence of Pakistani politics. Sharif is a master of this art.³⁶

The family business, Ittefaq Foundaries prospered with its interest expanding. Its turnover rose from 10 million U.S. dollars in 1980 to more than 400 million dollars a

decade latter.³⁷ Ittefaq had been nationalised by Bhutto in 1972 and was returned to Sharifs in 1977. Ittefaq's expansion was due to political connection, but it had economic and social service trends. The Punjabi middle classes which prospered during Zia's time and Nawaz Sharif organised it into coherent electoral base.

The Provincial Politics of Punjab - 1990-93

Accountability and elections have gone hand in hand in Punjab in 1990 elections. As expected, the Punjab administration actively participated in the elections. The caretaker government had gone lengths to ensure the full cooperation of the state machinery and pumped vast sums of money into strategic seats to benefit the IJI candidates. People's Programme Funds were put at the disposal of IJI candidate.³⁸ The caretaker Chief Minister of Punjab dropped all notions of impartiality.

In Punjab, the IJI ticket allotments had been a messy affair with various contenders dissatisfied with the overall policy. The JUP (Niazi group) was unhappy with IJI and there were rumblings with the Juneio factions of M.L. Nevertheless the IJI's list of candidates included those who had rebelled or fought independently but had won in 1988 also. However defectors to the PPP party were not adjusted.

As for the PPP party tickets have gone by and large to

sitting MNAs and ministers, IJI defectors, the usual mix of local notables and the old loyal workers. PPP had worked hard to rectify its former mistakes. In districts as Sialkot, Rawalpindi and Jhelum, the list of PPP candidates were stronger than 1988. PPP was expected to do better in the Northern Punjab and hold on to its position in the South.

While the IJI was all set to improve its performance in the Central Punjab, heartland of Lahore, Sheikhupura, Gujrauwala, Faisalabad and other adjoining districts, where the concentration of population is the highest.

An interesting feature of the 1990 contest in the Punjab was the presence of several IJI Prime Ministerial contenders. Jatoi from Sialkot, Junejo from Faisalabad, Ejaz ul Haq from Toba Tek Singh and Rawalpindi and Ghulam M. Khar from Muzaffargarh. Nawaz Sharif contested from Lahore base of Gawalmandi. He was challenged by Air Marshal Asghar Khan. Benazir Bhutto did not contest any seat from Punjab.

Wattoo's strategy to strengthen his position was by relying on his loyalists and independents and political dissidents from PML(N).

Campaigning was at a low scale however.

Voters turnout was high where the IJI won, but in constituencies where PDA won, the turnout of voters was as many as in 1988 or less.

Difference in voter turnout like in NA 40, 23,000 extra

votes were cast, NA 60, 33,00, NA 135 and NA 143 it was 40.000 each. This trend was visible in a large number of constituencies.³⁹

Election Results

One could not agree with those who felt that Punjabis had voted nationalistically, for it was not true. Both Nawaz Sharif and IJI were specifically Punjabi. Of IJI's 105 seats 92 were from the Punjab. IJI received less than 50% of the votes while the PDA got 38% of the popular vote of Punjab, but won only 14 seats.

In 1988, PPP had won in urban, industrial centres of Punjab, like Lahore, Faisalabad and Sheikpura. It was felt that industrial workers and the urban poor voted for PPP which was branded as progressive. But in 1990, the most awami leader lost.

In 1990, the IJI retained, 38 of the seats and lost in 6. While the PPP lost as many as 41 out of 53 seats of 1988 to IJI.

In 1990, the percentage of seats won partywise are, IJI-80%, PDA-12.2%, JUP/N-2.6% and independents 5.2%.

Percentage of votes in Punjab partywise were - IJI-49.33, PDA-38.21, JUP/N-1.78, PAT-1.54, Independents 8.49 and others - 0.65.⁴¹

Table 3.5

The table below shows the Big switch in Punjab partywise in seats - 1988 to 1994⁴⁰

Party	1988 total	Stable seats retained	+seat gained	- seats lost	1990 total
No elec- tion on seat	1	-	-	-	1
IJI	45	38	54	7	92
Ind.	12	2	4	10	6
JUP/N	-	-	3	-	6
PPP/PDA	53	9	5	44	14
NPP/K	1	-	-	1	-
PAI	3	-	-	3	-
PDP	1	-	-	1	-

The Punjab Cabinet - 1990

Ghulam Haider Wyne was sworn in as the chief Minister of Punjab in November 1990. After the first meeting of his new cabinet, he constituted three committees, each headed by a minister. Their work was to suggest measures to implement the objectives outlined. The Chief Minister Wyne had declared that the new provincial ministers would be all powerful and would have the authority to issue any directive with respect to their departments without seeking clearance from him. This declaration was in sharp contrast to his predecessor, Mr. Nawaz Sharif.

The new Cabinet initially had 20 ministers. It had eleven advisers who took oath of office in the Governor's House.

Choudhary Pervaiz Elahi - Local Government and Tourism; Nasrullah Khan Dreshak : Planning and Development law and Parliamentary Affair; Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa - Irrigation and Power; Malik Khuda Bux Tiwana - Excise and Tascation; Shah Mehmud Qureshi - Finance; Arshad Khan Lodhi - Revenue; Saleem Iqbal - Information, Culture and transport; Rana Phool Khan - Cooperation; Raja Ashfaq Sarwar (Forest and Wild life); Mehr Akhtar Abbas Bharwana - Industries; Dr. Anwarul Haq - Social welfare; Jafar Iqbal - Health; Ch. Nazeer Ahmed - Housing and Physical Planning; Raja Khalid Khan - Labour; Usman Ibrahim - Education; Muhammad Akram Chaudhary - Auqaf, Zakat, Ushr; Col. (retd) Muhamad Yameen - Communication and Woks; Dewan Ashiq Husain Bukhari - Livestock; Chaudhary Mohammad Iqbal - Agriculture.

The new advisers were Pir Syed Mohammad Yakub Shah, Sardar Murad Khan Godhi, Makhdoomzada Syed Ali Akbar Mehmud, Ghulam Rasool Shadiwal, Naeemullah Shakir, Sardar Nazar Jatoi, Mehr Aslam Bharawana, Malik Sazfroz Ahmed and Azam Cheema who resigned later.

The Jamat-i-Islami had opted to stay out of the cabinet and retain its value as a pressure group which supporting IJI government However Jamiat Wemer-i-Pakistan was given token representation.⁴³

Political Families in the districts of Punjab

Lahore : The provincial capital is the centre of cultural and political activities. It is the launching pad into national politics, Capturing Lahore has long been the key to capturing the country.

Lahore has remained a PPP stronghold since 1970, when the party won every seat in the district. It has also played an important role in the anti-PPP movements, both in 1977 in the recent years it has become the bastion of the PPP's arch opponent Nawaz Sharif. Party loyalties may cut across party lines. The Kashmiris versus Arian remains the main divide. Other biradaris also exist in the city. Nawaz Sharif is a Kashmiri.

Gujarat: Liveliest of district in the Punjab. Gujarat had long been dominated by the family of Chadhary Zahoor Elahi. The multi millionaire Choudhary . Sujaat after a patch up with N. Sharif emerged as the staunchest supporter of IJI. Together the Sharifs of Lahore and Chaudharys of Gujarat have carved out fiefdoms for themselves in Punjab.

The area is divided between the Jats-led by the Shujaats and the Gujjars led by Nawabzadgans, who were backing PPP with the Pagganwalas who are Kahsmiris.

Jhelum: PPP's stronghold since 1970, is the centre of the Punjab's army belt. But in 1988 the IJI won both the seats from here only due to PPP's own tactical mistakes.

Jhelum has only two tehsils-Jhelum and Pind Dadan Khan. Jhelum does not have large landlords or political families. Most of the locals join the army.

Chakwal : Carved out of Jhelum and Attock, Chakwal is a new district and is coming up to acquire its own distinctive politics. It is a the heart of military belt of the province. Hold of biradari is not as strong as in Eastern districts some big landlords but most small landowners are there in the area. Sardars of Chakwal have had a long history of political domination of the area.

Rawalpindi : Being an urban centre, the hold of biradaris is weaker in two of the five NA seats in the district.

Attock : The northern most district of the Punjab emerged as citadel of PPP amidst general rout of the party in the Punjab's Northern districts in 1988.

Sargodha : There are dozens of political families and a host of new comers. Sargodha politics is a teening couldron of rivalries, betrayals and compromises. The Noons, Qureshis, Ranjhas, Badranas and Gondals are some of leading families and biradaris.

Khushab : Ambitious political families, seeking IJI tickets, landed the alliance in difficulty. Tiwanas dominate the area. The PPP has not done well here.

Mianwali : Politics been dominated here by low key families. The Nawabs of Kalabagh and their traditional rivals, the

Pokharis have been battling each other for power here.

Bhakkar : A remote backwater of Punjab. The PPP fared badly in 1988. Bhakkar's recent politics have been dominated by Niwanis. Shahanis are the main rivals of the Niwanis. Bhakkar is a conservative district with the highest number of Shias of the province.

Jhang : The politics of this district is different from the rest of the Punjab's. Here rival groups of one spiritual family of Syeds battle it with another. By 1990s there was an upsurge of sectarianism. Two powerful gaddi are that of Shah Jewana and Sultan Bahu. Local politics have been dominated by Syeda Abida Hussain who is the daughter of renowned Punjab politician late Colonel Abid Hussain.

Sahiwal Pakpattan : In 1988 IJI did well here by winning four of five NA seats. The IJI's master strategist in the district was former provincial master, Arshad Lodhi. Lodhi has successfully demolished the old power politics of the district which was dominated by the Langrials, Rais and Chaudarys.

Okara : The Raos, Manekas and Wattoos dominate this district. It is PPP strong hold.

Kasur : A border district, is dominated by biradari politics disguised as ideological ones. The areas big name are Sardar Asif, a former MNA in Junejo parliament, defected to the PPP in 1988 polls, but was rejected.

Multan : The Qureshis and Gilanis are two main traditional rival families of Multan. Qureshi house is headed by Makhdoom Saffad Hussain Qureshi a former governor of Punjab and keeper of the Shrine to hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria. His cousin Sadiq Hussain was also a governor of Punjab during Bhutto era.

Gujranwala : A combination of biradaris, political parties and money made the election scene lively in the district. The Jats, Rajputs, Arians and Gujars are main biradaris. Two parties try to get biradari equations right.

Toba Tek Singh : Dominated by the frugal and hardworking Arian settlers, whose best known son was Zia ul Haq, is in middle Punjab.

Sheikhupura : The PPP had won all the five seats. The area is not plagued by the kind of feudal tendencies as in Southern Punjab, Merit, biradari connections and money make all differences in the electoral politics of this district.

Sialkot : Although solidly behind PPP, it changed sides to IJI in 1988.

Influential families of Multan are Bosans, Gardezis, Khakwanis, Noons, Kanjoos, Bachas and Syeds who all remained in the orbit of either Gilanis or Qureshis.

Khanewal : The political families of district Khanewal are the Syed, Dahas, Khaggars, Mirajs, Wynes and Arians.

Vehari : Former parliamentarian and chief minister of Punjab, the veteran politician Mian Mohammad Mumtaz Khan Daultana belongs to this district.

Muzaffargarh : The former Chief Minister of Punjab, Sardar Abdul Hammed Dasti, former governor Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani and another former governor and Chief minister Ghulam Mustafa Khar belong to this district of southern Thal. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, the PDA president is also from this place. The Dastis, Khars, Gurmanis, Gopangs, Jatois, Pathans, Ghallos, Qureshis, Khairas and Manjras are the main tribes of the district. Shaikh beradari are influential in the city with Gopangs and Jatois. The waderas of Gopang and Jatoi tribes capture provincial assembly seats purely on the voting strength of their respective tribes. The Ghallos in tehsil Alipur have a major chunk of votes, but they never participated in elections. In the North, the Khairas are a large tribe. In Kot Addu city, Urdu-speaking mohajirs are in the majority and support the IJI (PML).

Layyah : The Jakhars, Somaras, Miranis, Sehars, Thinds, Aulakhs, Gujjars and Arians who are abadkars, are the main tribes of the district. The Jakhars, Sehars, Somros and Pirs have contested elections off and on. The Gujjars and Arain, the abadcars of Thal have entered politics too. Trade and commerce in Layyah city is controlled by the mohajirs, but the locals have the majority vote.

Rajanpur : This district is an abode of Baluch tribes which include the Mazaris, Dreshaks and Gorchanis. Vote is divided between these three tribes.

Dera Ghazi Khan : The Leagharis, Khosas, Buzdors, Lunds and Qaisvanis are the main tribes of the district who influence politics of the area. It is usually the Sardars who win the election, like Sardar Farooq Khan Leghari, or Sardar of Khosas, Qaisranis and Burgdars who make it to the assemblies.

Bahawalpur : The tribes and biradaris who influence the electoral results in district Bahawalpur are the Gardezis, Abbasis, Owasisis, Syed, Channan, Langahs, Cheemas and Jajjas. The Sahibzadas of the Abbasi family, which ruled over the district and the Gardezis are elected as members of the assemblies. The late Nawab of Bhawalpur, Brigadier Mohammad Abbas Abbasi was the governor of Punjab during the Z.A. Bhutto period.

Rahim Yar Khan : The Qureshis, Syeds, Rais, Legharis, Dahars, Gujjars and Arians are the main tribes of the district. The Makhdooms of Mianwal. Qureshian, Jamaldinwali and Mohsinabad have remained members of the assemblies. Korejas, the descendants of the mystic Seraiki poet, Khawaja Ghulam Fareed and Gorejas are also the tribes which can affect electoral battles. Bhong and the Legharis are influential families too. The Arain biradari, comprising

abadkars of the area, holds a major part of the vote bank in the city and its sububurs.

Bahawalnagar : Lalikas, Wattos, Arains matianas, Sindhus and Syeds dominate politics here. Members of the Lalika, Wattoo biradari and Syed family win elections from time to time. Malik Mohammad Qasim, the president of PML belongs to this district.⁴³

Affairs Within the Province After 1990

On, January 10, by elections were held for National Assembly and 15 Provincial Assembly seats. IJI and independents bagged all seats except one N.A. and two P.A which went to PDA.

In March PPP co-chairperson visited Lahore and met the party workers and urged them to visit nook and corner of Punjab and tell the people that PPP stood for democracracy, progress and justice for all. For the May local polls, the PPP in Punjab made efforts to pick itself up from democratising defeat in the general elections in 1990. A need to strenghten its links with the masses and mobilise dispirited party workers was felt. Most of the PPP offices were shut in Lahore while the Muslim League office were working in every street of Lahore. The party's local leadership exploited its connection with the establishment. The Muslim league proliferation was a result of patronage

from the police and district administration. While the PPP activist were being implicated in false and frivolous cases. Mr. Fakkar Zaman, President of the Punjab PPP said "The PPP still has a lot of potential and is the biggest political party of the province let there be fair election in any constituency of Punjab - and the PPP will be winner".⁴⁴

By June 1991, PPP co chairperson began to pay some attention to her long pending political tasks. Her agenda was beefing up of party apparatus in Punjab.

The PDA released a white paper on alleged irregularities in the 1990 general elections. It claimed that elections to the 70 NA seats were rigged and demanded fresh elections. The white paper also said that IJI won 105/207 seats with majority from Punjab due to "one to one fights", through 'fraudulent means'.⁴⁵

A privilege motion against Mrs. Benazir Bhutto was moved in National Assambly. 151 members described the PDA paper as a pack of lies.

In Punjab the same month Wyne finally cracked down on the Muslim Students Federation hooligans. Student politics in Punjab are very important as they are politically backed. Arshad Amin, secretary General of the MSF was arrested. It was a pressure tactic to keep them in line.⁴⁶

Although Ghulam Haider Wyne was the Chief Minister of

Punjab, he was almost a puppet in the hands of Sharif rather than the chief executive. The Chief Minister did face trouble to prove the point.

THE Punjab Assembly that concluded a session in November 1991, had a number of adjournment motions tabled to discuss the shortage of water. An IJI minister criticised its own government in the province for water shortage in the province and the federal government for the new agriculture policy in a novel scenario. Punjab government had to ask the opposition for help. It strained Centre-province relations and federal agriculture Minister General Abdul Merjeed Malik resigned perceiving the resolution passed in the PA to be in effect, no confidence motion against him.⁴⁷

A new trend also emerged in the Punjab Assembly, when the feudal class united to safeguard its interests under the impression that they were thrown out of power.

Meanwhile, the National Finance Commission award was not trouble free. Wyne accused the centre for not fulfilling its commitment of 4.75 billion rupees of financial assistance to Punjab.

In the political scenario after 1988 elections, agents of the country's top intelligence, bureaucrats, mediamen and politicians all lent a hand in official affairs of the province. The Chief Minister's secretariat was placed under his brother Shahbaz Sharif in 1988. Most of the officials of

1988 were still there in 1990. These officers of the Chief Minister secretariat were the nerve centre of power in the province, Shabaz Sharif was in control of Wynne government thus.

Shahbaz Sharif's hold over the administration came under attack over the law and order situation of the province. But he still has his hold over the high police officials.

Wynne on his part was able to however maintain the intricate administrative structure. He was loyal and obedient. Nawaz was convinced that Wynne was the best man for Chief Minister post although Ishaq had proposed Watto. The Punjab government supposedly showed signs of collapse just two months after Ghulam Haider Wynne took over. Wynne lacks administrative capabilities to govern the province.⁴⁸

Yet Wynne's utility to Sharif was immense, as he met the political needs of the Prime Minister.

There could hardly be two opinions that if anything shakes the government at the centre it is the overall situation in Punjab. The effect of an even worse law and order situation in the Sindh or elsewhere is not half as serious as disorder of a much lesser magnitude in the Punjab.⁴⁹

But Nawaz Sharif had the ability to survive as he was

on top in the Punjab. Despite the adverse effects of co-ops scam, the IJI remained powerful in Punjab. People may have been disaffected with its leadership but they did not convert their dissatisfaction in supporting PPP. In the thanas and tehsils of Punjab, the IJI had a stronger presence than the PPP. The support of the ANP in the Frontier and that of the MQM in Sindh were also sources of strength for the government.⁵⁰

Nawaz Sharif was a true child of the establishment. It was felt that he had made to the top too soon. Running a province was much different than running a nation. He exposed himself as a district level politician lacking vision and ability to steer the ship out of troubled water.

Political Crisis in Pakistan-1993

The IDA(IJI) was a broad based coalition which had brought together the different and vocal elements of Pakistan's ruling groups under one umbrella. The urban business and professional groups and some influential intellectuals, and the coalition had the backing of both the President and Chief of Army Staff (CAOS). The troika which included the President, COAS and P.M. seemed to many to be the winning combination for running Pakistan. Once in office Nawaz Sharif was less pliant. He began to build up his party, mobilise his popular constituency and in general

tried to strike out his own independent policies. Differences soon developed between Sharif and Khan over a whole host of issues. Khan suspected Sharif of using the programme of privatization to reward supporters and accused him of "cronyism". There were differences over the appointment of judges and service chiefs Sharif stuck to the view that the President should accept the Prime Minister's advice even in areas considered to be the preserve of the President under the 8th Amendment. Khan, however guarded his powers and also used his powers to run a parallel administration. He accused the Prime Minister of not taking him into confidence about his policies. Sharif sought to use the impending re-election of Khan to a second term as President as a lever to repeal the 8th Amendment. Khan manoeuvred to oust Sharif from power in order to preempt Sharif's effort to prevent his re-election.

Nawaz Sharif not only controlled the centre but his party was also in power in Punjab. He had created his own popular base, was well liked by the bureaucracy and as a Punjabi had more support of the army than the President who was a Pushtoon. Ishaq Khan was cautious and encouraged defection from within Sharif's coalition. Faced with dismissal, Sharif fought back and sought to assert parliamentary sovereignty. He needed a two thirds majority

to repeal the 8th Amendment and Benazir's assistance. But she paid him back in his own coin by refusing and pressed for Sharif's dismissal and for fresh elections. The political impasse owed its roots to cut throat competition for power.⁵¹ In the political and personal acrimony the leaders lost sight of certain democratic principles and conventions.

Nawaz Sharif decided to take the challenge head on . His speech on 17 April made him a hero in the eyes of his supporters. He vowed not to take any dictation and categorically stated that he would not dissolve the assembly. The expected happened, he and his cabinet were sacked and a caretaker was installed composed of those who were the former Prime Ministers opponents. The President had to eat the humble pie by wooing PPP.

Nawaz Sharif unlike Bhutto did not accept his removal. He stormed through the country, mobilising people and challenged the President's decision in the Supreme Court. In the prevailing situation in which the temper of the public was high, the court declared the President action as unconstitutional and reinstated both N.A. and Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister.

The reinstatement of Sharif and National Assembly did not resolve the crisis. The President did not resign but continued his efforts to oust the Sharif government and was

backed by Bhutto.

Sharif's chief ally Chief Minister Wyne was ousted on April 25, 1993 after losing a vote of no confidence. He was assassinated in Khanewal on September 29 later that year.

Within Punjab, never in the history of its assembly was a more rowdy scene witnessed. On May 29th, 1993, the Punjab Governor, Altaf Hussain dissolved the provincial assembly on the advice of Chief Minister Manzoor Wattoo. who was asked to continue as caretaker Chief Minister by Governor under Article 133 of the constitution. However PML(N) group in the provincial assembly led by Wyne and Parvez Elahi claimed that 91 members had requisitioned the assembly session and moved no confidence motion against Wattoo Altaf said he was sorry to note that the Federal government was resorting to horse trading and third degree methods to remove Mr. Wattoo from office.⁵² Mr. Wattoo also stressed on this and that the only option was to seek the mandate of the people.

Chaudhary Pervaiz Elahi challenged the dissolution of provincial Assembly by the Governor. The Lahore High Court overturned the Governor's order in Punjab and restored the assembly on 28th June only to have the Governor dissolve it again. Crisis deepened and on 29 June when Sharif imposed emergency rule in Punjab which was ignored by the provincial administration, which was loyal to the President. Both

Governor and Chief Minister questioned the federal ministry's legality of imposing emergency.

Chief Minister, Watto deprived Sharif of his home province which was by far the real source of his power. Now the same power base that he had used to demolish Benazir Bhutto's government was bent upon destroying him.⁵³

After all the confusion, President and the Prime Minister tendered their resignations on 18 July and the National Assembly and provincial Assemblies were dissolved. Wasim Sajjad, the Senate Chairman was made President and an IMF official Moeen W. Qureshi was made Prime Minister of Pakistan. On 19 July the Governors and Chief Ministers of the provinces were changed. Elections were to be held on 6 and 9 of October 1993 for National and Provincial assemblies respectively.

The 1993 Elections

The 1993 election for millions across the country, the October polls were merely a battle between a decadent old order and a corrupt new one. The outcome of the elections would have little bearing on the reality of the common man's lives, given the marginalised role they play in the body politic.

Many political parties including 12 minority parties contested the polls out of which 62 parties were allocated

symbols.⁵⁴ But the most prominent among them were PML(N), PPP and PIF (Pakistan Islamic Front).

Poll campaigns of 1993 elections was no better than 1988 or 1990. As commented that the experience of the last two elections campaigns shows, that the air of bitterness and acrimony created during the election campaign spilled over into post election government opposition relations and added "competition for political power must not degenerate to putrid depths. That, infact, destroys the spirit of democracy".⁵⁵

Violence marred the pre election days. The violent clash between the PPP, PML (N) and PIF on August 28 reflected badly on the state of political culture. It was one to one fight.

The main contesting parties in the elections, PPP, PML(N) and PIF came out with elaborate manifestos. The 8th Amendment figured in all their programme but the main issue was the President's power to dismiss the government and the other powers.

The sailent features of PML(N)'s manifesto were to continue the economic reforms and development package of the Sharif government.

- To modify provisions of constitution that undermine parliamentary supremacy
- To set up shelters for women who were victims of

violence and also formulate national employment policy of women

- Expand the yellow cab scheme, to include yellow tractors and yellow bicycles
- Develop a nuclear programme for peaceful purposes with no roll back on its development.

The sailent features of PPP's manifesto indicated free enterprise as the party's economic doctrine. The PPP of 1993 was seeking compromise rather than confrontation with the privileged classes.⁵⁶

- Public and private cooperation in building infrastructure such as hostipal and school
- Introduce the list system of proportional representation.
- Reintroduce women seats, introduce joint electorats for minorities and reduce voting age to 18 years.
- Work towards a mutual arms reduction treaty with India.
- Complete devolution of authority and power by setting up elected governments at the district level.
- Reduce the terms of office of President, Prime Minister, national and provincial assembly, governors and local bodies to 4 years.

The sailent features of PIF were

- Quran and Sunnah should be the supreme law of the

country. Set up new cities and provide better services, including housing, to existing urban centres.

- Give top priority to the development of nuclear technology and to boost defence industry.
- Continue privatisation, but with public interest in mind.
- Replace the current progressive tax system with a fixed tax system.

The PPP's hold on the presidency, the army's posture of disinterest in politics, Manzoor Watto's presence in Punjab and the irretrievable loss of the Frontier government had combined to produce a situation for the 1993 elections. Although the 1993 elections was dubbed by N. Sharif as being 'massaged' to engineer victory for PPP, but there were few truths which cannot be looked over. It was held under a neutral set up by a person suggested by PML(N) Sartaj Aziz. Another truth was that the election was mostly peaceful, free and fair under the supervision of the army. Both the PPP and PML(N) has agreed on the army's role. Lastly, the legitimacy was not challenged by the opposition when it had lost important contests of speaker, deputy speaker and the President. It was only after losing them PML(N) began to protest.

Heartland of Power

The PML(N) and the PPP made all out effort in Punjab to come to power both believing that anybody who rules Punjab, infact, rules the country.

For all practical purposes the Punjab has been ruled by Mian Nawaz Sharif for 8 years from 1985 to 1993 till his Chief Ministership was toppled by one of his own lietunants, Manzoor Wattoo. Although many of the MPA who sided Wattoo had returned to Nawaz's camp soon after his government was restored.

As the current election campaign in the Punjab reached its concluding days there was an all pervasive feeling that PPP would return to power. The PPP too was on an all out rampage in Punjab to make sure of its victory. The PPP and PML(J) allied together and an agreement on seat adjustments in Punjab was decided. The PML(J) had been alloted 16 NA and 14 P.A. seats although they demanded more.

Southern Punjab, the portion of Punjab where PPP had garnered its greatest gains as the much publicised benefits of Nawaz Sharif's economic policies had not made a dent in the abject of poverty of the region. The PPP had coopted number of powerful feudals previously allied with Nawaz Sharif.

The densely populated Central Punjab - is Nawaz Sharif's stronghold. This is where elections are decided. 60

National Assembly constituencies fall in this area so as to decide who could get majority in the N.A. Although most were resourceful incumbents, the PML(N)'s candidates in Central Punjab faced an uphill task for not only did they have to confront a rejuvenated PPP, but their former allies, the Jamaat-i-Islami. The Chattha group had made some adjustment on certain crucial constituencies with the PPP. Besides there was demoralisation in Nawaz's camp which eroded his chances of landslide victory.

PML(N) influentials in Central Punjab like transport tycoons-Choudhary Nazir and press baron Akban Ali Bhatti and many switched sides to the PPP.

For the first time, N.A. and P.A. candidates from the same parties were running separate campaigns in the Punjab. While voting for the N.A., people tend to adhere to their traditional political loyalties, but when voting for provincial assembly candidates, they fall back on biradari relations and other considerations-not political.

By July 1993, province Punjab's capital Lahore had become the hum of political activities. While Lahore was the home town of Nawaz Sharif and headquarters of the Jamaat-i-Islami, Mrs. Benazir Bhutto also shifted her headquarters there for obvious reasons.

In Punjab, the government functionaries like the police

have hardly been neutral in the past elections. They interfere in the polls without any check. The decisive role they play in orienting the behaviour of an administration is evidenced by the fact that whenever there is a change in government, it is unfailingly followed by the transfer and posting of a host of officials. Many were changed after Nawaz Sharif government's dismissal. Watto made a clean sweep of the favourites of the previous government in the Punjab and a new chief secretary and inspector general of police promptly installed. The moment Mr. N. Sharif government was restored, the powers were reversed and the ousted ones, at Central level were back.

It is this choice of these minions who were to be posted on the spot, that worried the ranks and file of both PML and PPP. It is the mandarins or the lower ranges of the bureaucracy which constituted the real problem. Control of the people was desirable in every corner of Pakistan but most in Punjab.

Caretaker Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi's brother Salman Qureshi did his utmost to replace top administration of the Punjab. The province witnessed 14,000 changes during the reshuffle before the election commenced.⁵⁷

Caretaker President Wasim Sajjad enforced an ordinance to block floor crossing by the legislators.

The Results of 1993 Elections

The total percentage of votes cast during these elections was 44.7. The voter turn out had decreased and was a little lower than 45 percent. (see table 3.4 & 3.5)⁵⁸

Table 3.4
6 October, 1993, National
Assembly elections results

Parties	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Total
PPP	47	33	5	1	86
PML (N)	52	10	9	0	72
PML (C)	6	-	-	-	6
IJM	-	-	2	2	4
PIF	-	1	2	-	3
ANP	-	-	3	-	3
PKMAP	-	-	-	3	3
JWP	-	-	-	2	2
MDM	1	-	1	-	2
BNM (H)	-	-	-	1	1
BNM (M)	-	-	-	1	1
NDP	1	-	-	-	1
PKQP	-	-	1	-	1
INDEP	5	1	1	1	15

Plus FATA 7 (IND), Islamabad 1 (PML) (N)

Table 3.5

9 October, 1993, Provincial
Assembly election results

Parties	Punjab (240)
PPP	94
PML(N)	106
MQM (HPG)	-
PML(C)	18
ANP	-
PIF	2
MDM	1
NDA	2
INDEP	17

Of the 115 seats from Punjab in the National Assembly, the PML(N) got 45.3% of votes. the PPP got 38.9%, PML(J), 4.8%, PIF 2.3%; MDM 1.1%; IJM, 0.4% and smaller parties got 0.5%.⁵⁹

The results of elections to 8 minority seats of Punjab Assembly were announced on October 12. The five seats reserved for Christians were won by Mr. Adil Sharif Gill, Mr. Johnson Micheal, Begum Raj Hamid Gill, Mr. Peter Gill and Choudhary Fatehjang who got 25, 362; 18,639; 13,753; 13,504 and 9, 899 votes respectively.

The members elected to three seats allocated to Sikh-Buddhist, Qadiani and Hindu Communities were Darius L. Pestonjee, Malik Naimuddin Khalid and Lala Mehr Lal Bheel respectively.

When a party gets a majority, the minorities members are of no importance. In the 1993 scenario, they have played a decisive role in the formation of the government in the province.

The truth is that in Pakistani politics, especially Punjabi politics, minority members are never considered to be independent thinking beings. It is assumed that they will back which ever party looks to be strongest.

In Punjab the elections were held on October 9th, 1993, saw a fight between PML(L) and PPP mainly. PIF was wiped out on all seats it contested. Qazi Hussai Ahmad, Secretary General also was defeated.

In Punjab the number of registered voters were 2,95,39,003. The total votes valid and invalid cast were 1,21,97,173 with 48.06% turnout.⁶⁰

Post Election Scene - 1993

After a lapse of 16 years, the Pakistan's People's Party finally succeeded on October 20 in forming a government in the Punjab with the help of PML(J) and seven independents. Benazir Bhutto took oath as Prime Minister a day before the fate of Punjab government was to be decided. The PPP-PML(J) alliance got a boost in its bid to prove its majority in the house. Benazir reportedly met all 17 independent in the Punjab legislative candidate at Lahore.

PPP swept the Southern Punjab-Multan, Lahore,

Sheikhpura, Faisalabad and Rawalpindi. PML(N) maintained complete hold over Lahore and won 8 of the 9 N.A. seats it had captured in 1990 as part of the IJI alliance.⁶¹ The PPP's only survivor was Mr. Khalid Gurki who defeated the PML(N)'s Mohammad Ashiq Diyal and PIF Chief Qazi Hussain Ahmad by a slender margin of 1050 vote.

Nawaz Sharif won both the seats while his brother Shahbaz Sharif was returned from the walled city constituency. Nawaz infact created a new record of securing his home constituency for the fourth consecutive time since 1985. However 13 former Ministers were defeated, like Abdus Sattar Niazi, defence minister-Ghous Ali Shah, information minister, Abdus Sattaa Laleka and so on.

The verdict in Punjab was anything but clear. The 112 seats for the PPP and PML(J) alliance was still short of 9 seats of a bare majority of 9 Muslim seats. The PML(N) had won 106 seats from others to cross the bare majority mark. Thats where PML(N) fell out.

Later the PPP PML(J) allied nominated Mr. Manzoor Watloo as the leader of its parliamentary party in the Punjab Assembly and Mr. Hanif Ramay, former Punjab Chief Minister as speaker.

In the election for the Chief Ministership of the province Punjab on 21st October, all 17 independents and the

majority of the minority members decided to side PPP-PML(J). It was not because they had already formed a government at the province, but they were determined to see that the centre and the province have the same party in power to put an end to the traditional centre-Punjab rift which had reached its peak in the last few years.

Leader of the Opposition Shahbaz Sharif accepted the decision of the House and pledged not to indulge in any form of horse trading nor to conspire to destabilise government.

The last PPP government in the province had been formed in 1977 with Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi as Chief Minister.

Punjab Chief Minister Mian Manzoor Ahmed Wattoo is a machiavellian political strategist.⁶² Wattoo entered politics in 1964. In the 1988 general elections Wattoo was elected both MNA and MPA of Punjab Assembly on IJI tickets. He relinquished his NA seat and was elected speaker. On a straight party vote by 154 to 101. In the 1990, polls he again won both the national and provincial seats. He thus became a contender along with Chaudhary Pervaiz Elahi, for the Punjab Chief Ministership in place of Sharif who became the Prime Minister. Wyne however was made the compromise chief minister. Wattoo settled for a third term as speaker. However with the dissolution of the National Assembly in 1993, Wattoo seized the chance by overthrowing Wyne and became the Chief Minister of Punjab on April 25. When NA was

restored, Wattoo's support began to dissipate prompting him to dissolve the assembly on May 29. The Lahore High Court restored the assembly but Wattoo again dissolved the assembly, seven minutes after the High court restored it on June 29. In the October elections Mian Manzoor Wattoo lost both his national and provincial assembly seats from Okara. He was however, returned from Faisalabad provincial assembly seat where the Wattoos are in a majority. His election to the Chief Ministership was looked upon with scepticism even by his own allies, due to the unsavoury tactics used by him.

Barely a week after PPP-PML(J) alliance got together to form a government in Punjab, tension arose between the two components. Faisal Saleh Hayat of PPP was the source of tension. He was appointed the top man in the Punjab with control of the home and services departments.

The PPP felt Faisal was the best candidate to strike a balance with Wattoo. Incidentally Wattoo and Faisal were from the same feudal background and are well tuned to the dynamics of the Punjab's rural politics. Faisal by taking over the home ministry could evaluate the CM's recommendations for transfers and postings more sympathetically than anyone else.

Punjab remained rudderless for two months. Wattoo had told the PPP leadership that no Chief Minister could govern

a province effectively without control over the home and services department. He tried to take charge of these portfolios. Finally Benazir told him not to delay the cabinet formation. He then filled the cabinet slots in January 1994. Within two weeks of Faisal's resignation, the Wattoo administration reshuffled senior officers gasping for breath.

There was controversy over the Governor, Lieutenant General (Retired) Mohammad Iqbal decision to retain the Chief Minister's administrative powers through an amendment. It was not an individual decision, four bureaucrats who enjoyed the support Lt. General (Retd.) Ghulam Jilani manouvered this move. Jilani is the political mentor of Sharif.

Later however Chaudhary Altaf Husain was appointed governor of Punjab. Wattoo had worked with him in 1993 and well knew what his appointment meant. Wattoo and Altaf are worlds apart. Altaf commands the people's respect because his politics is intractably linked with the ambition of retaining a moral high ground in whatever he does. While Wattoo is known for his unwavering commitment.

Wattoo has played his cards well whenever pressure was exerted on him by the PPP high command. He promptly issued statements about the possible merger with the major PML faction which worked like a sword of Damocles on the PPP.

Conclusion

The Punjab centre tussle first between Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto and later between Manzoor Wattoo and Nawaz Sharif, was the single most important factor in bringing down two recent governments. The importance of the province has been realised by both Benazir and Sharif. It was crucial to form a government in Punjab to survive at the Centre. Equal time was devoted by the two rivals in the selection of candidates for the provincial assembly elections. Nawaz Sharif reshuffled his nominees to make sure that they are likely to win but also they are loyal. Benazir also devoted equal time in choosing the right candidates for the provincial assembly. A successful battle in Punjab irrespective of the National Assembly results was a necessity to be able to breathe.

Both Benazir and Sharif have experienced the consequences of tussle with the kingmaker province which can make or break central authority. The three days gap between of National Assembly and Provincial Assembly, was well exploited by the parties in influencing the provincial elections. PPP was against this gap and wanted the Election Commission to have the two elections on the same day, so as to prevent drastic election expenses.

The PML representatives however insisted that elections

should be held in the traditional two stage manner. The Election Commission finally decided not to tamper with the election dates. The PML's opposition to conducting both polls on the same had a reason. The 1988 and 1990 elections Nawaz Sharif exploited the situation by playing the Punjabi card. Branding the PPP as a party of Sindhis and using slogans like. "Jaag Punjabi Jaag..." the party successfully turned the tables in the provincial assembly polls in the Punjab.

The Punjab election results had led to volte face in many issues in the 1993.

The PPP which has always been identified as the party of the poor and underprivileged emerged as the champion of the feudal and rural gentry. The PML (N) which had been the refuge of the feudal made phenomenal inroads among the masses in the Punjab. Now PML (N) represents a party challenging the feudal stranglehold on politics. The socio political changes taking place in the province has led to this role reversal. PPP has failed to keep pace.

There was hard evidence of rural-urban divide in Punjab with the PML winning the majority of its 56 Punjab seats from the cities and large towns, while PPP banked on the rural areas where by coopting peasants with feudals it easily got votes.

The new voting trends in the Punjab was underlined with

pervasive pragmatism. The performance of Government incumbents was kept in mind. The PML (N) sympathy wave in Punjab failed to come to aid of 2/3 of the Nawaz cabinet because of the dismal performance of its members in their home constituencies. Candidates who worked as spoilers were rejected too. Even Jamaat-i-Islami faithfully devoted for PML(N) instead of PIF candidates as they wanted their votes to make a difference. Incumbent who had acquired reputation for corruption, who returned to their constituency only during election time were all voted out.

The PML(N) did well in Lahore and Rawalpindi where the population was the main beneficiary of Nawaz's economic reforms. Major part of development budget spent here, while the rest of the cities were neglected by their elected representatives.

Nawaz's appeal had certainly widened over the years. He has put together a coalition that is remarkably varied and includes people ranging from leftists intellectuals to nationalists. His persona typifies the aspirations of the post partition generation of Punjabis.

Although the coalition government under Wattoo is working, the anomalies of Punjabi have only began to surface.

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CHAPTER - IV
CONCLUSION

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In these 48 years, Pakistan has lived under seven different constitutions. It has shifted to presidential form of government, has had a run of 15 prime ministers and for 25 of these 48 years it has been under military rule. And there has been almost no change of government that has been peaceful, orderly, or non-controversial.

Two elements often stand out in the decline and fall of nations. One is failing to establish respect for rules. The other is refusal to progressively widen the base of popular state in the future of the society and the state. Diagnoses of the widespread disarray in Pakistan these 48 years after its independence show that in one way or another, the above two factors are found. Proof for the respect of the rules which should be non-discriminatory and binding should be given by those who exercise authority. The very first head of the state Mohammad Ali Jinnah, had glossed over the constitutional requirements to dismiss a provincial government, which became a baneful precedent for the future. The first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali also set unhealthy precedents. He had publicly declared that his political

party was above parliament. He considered any political opposition treachery. The cavalier attitude towards the basic law was from then on reflected more and more in the manipulation of governments in each of the provinces, in the ridiculously frequent dissolution of assemblies and to ensure that the other provinces remained pliant and subdued in relation to the centre.¹

The other factor behind national disarray is the feature of the elite to widen the base of the people's involvements in the future of this country. This attitudes led to defeat of democratic institutions and process in the country. Zia-ul Haq who ruled for the longest term did many harms to Pakistan. He sowed the seeds of dissension in Sindh, he midwifed an aggressive fundamentalism and lastly his rule stirred a political culture in the Punjab so instinct with confrontionist polarisation that it has since prevented the normal functioning of representative governance in the country. When the bending of rule to one's convenience or interests is practiced by the authorities, others elsewhere are bound to emulate.

Political and Economic Prosperity of Punjab

As Pakistan enters the last decade of the 20th century the Punjab gives an unmistakable impression of being politically ascendant and economically buoyant. The electoral verdict of the Punjab in October 1988 and specially that of 1990 was instrumental in shaping the contours of political authority in Islamabad. It was mainly due to the social and economic changes in the Punjab that made the emergence of a power elite in this province possible. The process had begun during Ayub's time and Mr. Nawaz Sharif gave it the thrust that it needed. Three important characteristics that came to the forefront from 1988 onwards were rise of Islamic fundamentalism, shift of rural power base to urban base and prosperity boom, mainly in Punjab.

The capitalist farmers had already propped up during Ayub's time. They however were not stagnant, they prospered from regime to regime. The traditional landlords acquired a new entrepreneurial outlook. The marketing of their produce and increasing contact with the state machinery for the provision of inputs led to the expansion of rural urban linkages.

PPP's meteoric rise in this province, must have been

due to the ability of the party to fulfill strongly felt needs. Its nominees, men of little consequence until then, stormed to success on the wings of the populist slogan of roti, kapra aur makan. Besides Bhutto was also a socially acceptable aristocrat, and a western educated modernist who could be trusted by minarets. In truth he was a radical using populist rhetoric without endangering the fundamental bases of traditionalism. That is why retired servicemen, the petit bourgeoisie, functional groups, minorities, the bureaucracy and successful professionals drawn all to his cause.²

During Z.A. Bhutto's rule, Punjab went through a process of 'circulation of elites' A large stratum of the petty bourgeoisie linked with the productive sector of the economy joined the ranks of a prosperous middle class and gained powerful positions in the elite structure. The populist framework of politics in the 1970s expanded the base of professional agricultural and industrial activity. In vertical terms, it incorporated sub elite section into the state's patronage structure. In horizontal terms, it expanded the network of political participation to the outlying areas and towns. Such marginal closing of gaps

between classes and regions in political terms was reflected in the expansion of urban productive capacity at the expense to the rural economy.

Zia's Islamisation program after Bhutto's socialist programme appealed to the feudal business elite-big and small. They were the main actors in the political scenario of Punjab. The lower status classes were too used to the patron client relationship with the landed elite for many generations. The middle class never got a chance to rise. The ascendant business elite of Punjab backed the Islamic ideology as it proved resourceful. The Islamic idiom of politics was to check the public pressure from participatory politics. This however, besides other negative effect led to creating sectarian politics in various districts of Punjab.

In the 1980, when Zia's martial law government ruled with an iron hand, the relevance of the landed elite was progressively marginalised. All military rulers have been biased in favour of the urban sector. The reason was because industrialists were looked upon as agents of modernization. The hatred for PPP during Zia's time led to state bourgeois-ideological complex being centred on the Punjab. This effectively and decisively pushed the process of the shift of power from the rural to the urban sector.³

Nawaz Sharif's ascent to power 1988 onwards gave a new trader and industrialist class the impetus to enter electoral politics. Besides the shift of power from rural to urban sector in the Punjab was also symbolised when Nawaz Sharif became what leader and the flag bearer of urban development. It is alleged that in 1990, Rs 2.5 billion was spent on development projects for Punjab alone.⁴ The dramatic rise of Ittefaq group demonstrated fruits of political clout. However another trend is followed by the old industrial class of Punjab. Their business wisdom still holds that political involvement is bad for business.

Infact, a number of feudals quit politics after they set up industry and business. The Prime Minister Feroze Khan Noon's son, Malik Noor Hayat Khan Noon, for example was a successful politician who won seat in the 1985 elections. But now that he has set up some industries he has quit politics, despite the fact he was offered tickets by both the PML(N) and the PPP for the 1993 election.

Besides Punjab's voters are also disinclined to hop on to the industrial bandwagon. People favour the feudals merely because they are known entities.

Contributing substantially to the Punjab's new

affluence is the boom in the real estate market that has accompanied the rapid urbanisation in the province. As the Punjab cities started expanding neighboring villages were grabbed by real estate dealers and converted into residential colonies and satellite towns.

The flow of resources have come from two sources. The emigrant labor in the Gulf from Pakistan have remitted billions of dollars back home during the last decade and half. Mini wave of prosperity swept many districts of Punjab especially in its Northern region. Individual career patterns, rather than collective action in pursuit of causes such as democracy, emerged as the new pattern of social behaviour. In other words, Pakistan expertise in the Gulf indirectly contributed to the depoliticisation of Punjab and various labour supplying areas of other provinces.

The petro dollar amassed wealth not in the hands of businessmen but in those of potential job seekers at the level of both the middle and working classes. Money was not invested in production oriented enterprises as much as in consumption based pursuits such as marriages, construction of houses and in education. A roaring business in property was another fallout of the Gulf boom. New residential colonies have emerged. The upwardly mobile migrant workers

and professional families tend to search for stability and access to provisions for civic amenities. They are inherently conservative in political terms.

The second factor of change in the 1980s was the U.S. aid to Pakistan during the Afghanistan crisis. The military sought to modernise its own war potential, while the economic management of the state improved with the help of the resource input from abroad.⁵

The Omnipotence of Feudal, Biraderi and Personalised Politics in Punjab

In Punjab there is an incredible complexity which decides the elections. Biradaris, local rivalries, petty scandals and even marriages play a far more important role than the political parties themselves. Although the bulk of the votes are generally cast for the party, the balance of power is held by the number of votes that each candidate can draw in using personal influence. In the Punjab this applied to at least one third of the total constituencies. The importance of individual for provincial elections are on personal likes and dislikes and the ability of the candidate to contribute to national election expenditure.⁶

Traditionally the Punjab has been a squirearchy. Key

rural families controlled politics through elections and the holding of appointive offices. They have else maintained close family links with the bureaucracy at the higher levels and with the officer corps in the military. Lower level bureaucrats and others in the military were often recruited from the areas in which the landlords held sway. The dominance of rural elites of Punjab in alliance with urban elements has given them strength. On the whole, when one speaks of feudal elite, one meant the Punjabi (and some Sindhi) landlords and their counterparts (tribal leadership) in NWFP and Baluchistan.⁷

Political parties have failed to make any inroads into the feudal strongholds. Only two parties which forced local autocrats to join their fold because of the populist appeal of their programme were the Muslim League and the People Party. The feudal joined these parties in their enlightened self-interest and have not hesitated to change loyalties when they found it expedient to do so. Both the parties, because of the other demands of national politics and also because of the nature of their organizational structure, had to leave local politics in the hands of feudal barons. In cases where these parties could return candidates of humble

origins, sooner or later these persons too had to start practicing the feudal culture and values, which are symbols of authority.

The relationship between the vassal and the landlords is not based on the political party and electorate relation. They prefer to develop dyadic interpersonal loyalties.⁸ Judgment of loyalties are based on the basis of gestures like tributes in the shape of gifts. If the vassals feel they are not getting their due share for their loyalty, they do not hesitate to conspire.

Elections before 1970 used to be far simpler affair than they are today. Vote banks were more cohesive and the landlord factor more powerful similarly during Ayub Khan's Basic Democracies system. Family or feudal connections played the major role in the success or failure of a candidate.

All this changed for a short while after the 1970 elections which galvanised the masses and dealt a serious blow to the political influence of federal candidates in Punjab. In 1977 however Z.A. Bhutto opened the doors of the PPP to the same elements he had defeated in 1970. In Zia ul Haq's martial law the role of biradari and feudal politics remained the dominant features.

In the 1988, 1990 and 1993 elections held so far, ideology had made a retreat. Considerations of a more local nature like the wealth and the influence of the candidate in a constituency, are of greater importance, so candidates regardless what their past political leaning had been are put up as candidates.

With the ideological vote banks thus cancelling each other out, other considerations assumed added significance. Of these, the most important is the biraderi Biradari identity is very strong in Punjab. In a village proper, biraderi voting together is still quite a common trend. Biradaris too can be split and often are, between opposing candidates.⁹ During campaigning, efforts are made to win over the elders of the biraderi. If they are won over, rest of the biraderi members will follow.

The pir factor is also important on the rural areas. The countryside in Punjab is dotted with pirs and their shrines. Some of them have large followings. Although the pir does not have a final word as far as a vote is concerned, but it definitely has some influence on the way the voter thinks.

Also true is a fact that where landlord-tenant

relationship exists, the tenants finds it difficult to vote against the wishes of his landlord. Therefore politics is not only based on feudal structure, biradari relations but is also personalized.

Pakistan has been ruled by many families since the birth; most landed aristocrats. Some are semi literate not interested in maximum good of maximum number. Their priority of making law is to protect their own interest. They are opposed to land reforms and refuse to pay tax of agriculture incomes. They cannot be constitutionally ousted and class revolution is nobody's agenda.

The middle class and the intellectuals cannot enter National Assembly- to provide new ideas. In Pakistan however elections are decided on personal campaigns and personal merit. Elections are not run on party basis wholly.

Pakistan has a class based society in which the ruling class fight their own interests. Here the need for proportional representation comes. The landlord, the industrialists, the middle class, peasant and workers, women should get representation in the ratio of their number.

The Conflictual Trend of Politics in Pakistan

Pakistani political conflict lends itself to center-

periphery interpretation because of the domination of one province, the Punjab, both numerically and militarily over the smaller provincial ethnic groups: Sindhis (21 per cent) Pathans (13 per cent) and Baluchis (4 per cent).¹⁰

Pakistan Politics has increasingly become conflictual in nature. The conflict is not only between the centre and the province but also within the province. This has led to excessive spending on elections. Horse trading is common practice. Due to the Political deadlocks and unclear verdicts at the centre and in Punjab horse trading is practiced. The Pakistani electorate now weigh their interests more carefully and take time to make up their minds.

The Punjab centre tussle first between Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto and latter between Manzoor Wattoo and N. Sharif, was the single most important factor in bringing down two recent of governments of 1988 and 1990. Charges, and counter charges of corruption, treason, espionage are being traded. In all democracies it is the duty of the opposition to criticise th shortcomings of the government. But the parliamentary opposition has certain limits. Unfortunately Pakistan's political class has not developed

this democratic culture.¹¹

Soon after the 1988 elections when Benazir lost Punjab to the IJI, she decided to challenge the opposition in the Punjab. She tried toppling Nawaz Sharif by wooing his supporters in Punjab provincial assembly. But she failed to win a motion of no confidence against IJI leader in the winter of 1989. This also led to a personality clash between Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif.

Benazir and Nusrat Bhutto had to bite the bullet and welcome PPP's prodigal son the original Sher-i-punjab Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar, back into the fold in order to regain Punjab. Khar's task was to cut to size Mian Nawaz Sharif, the bete noir of the PPP. Nawaz Sharif however had the confidence of the leading members of the bureaucratic apparatus. The interests of the Punjabi elite and those of the civil-military bureaucracy have always overlapped¹²

Within the Punjab province, the conflict was between Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar and Mian Nawaz Sharif. Khar was known to be a master of both bluff and bureaucratic intrigue while in power.¹³ However the leverage of power in 1988-90 stood squarely behind the new expert in this field - Nawaz Sharif.

The 1990 elections was dubbed as the 'perfect crime' by

PDA's white paper.¹⁴ The IJI landslide victory in the Centre and Punjab was astonishing Nawaz Sharif was sworn in as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Ghulam Hyder Wyne was awarded with the Chief Ministership of Punjab. He was a compromise chief minister as Manzoor Wattoo and Chaudhary Pervez Elahi were the two other contenders of the seat of chief ministership of Punjab.

Manzoor Wattoo is known for his shrewdness and had began creating problems since 1988 when he was made speaker of Punjab provincial assembly. Sharif had become wary of him and was determined not to give him prominent role after 1990 elections. Pervez Elahi prevailed upon Sharif not to abandon him and Wattoo became the speaker again.

In what can only be described as a typical twist to Punjabi politics two of the greatest enemies of Nawaz Sharif Wattoo and Elahi, and as such natural allies of each other, were at each others throats in July 1993. Mian Wattoo engineered a coup against the Wyne government and was confident that Elahi would support him. But Pervez Elahi stood behind Sharif, a man who kept him out of power on three different occasions.¹⁵

Given these alternative in the conflictual scene of

Punjab, the Punjabis had the unenviable task of choosing between political opportunism and rank corruption,

Benazir Bhutto from the very beginning refused to cooperate with Nawaz Sharif. She believed the election was a farce. It hardly came as a surprise when she refused to side with Nawaz Sharif during his tussle with the President Ishaq Khan over the 8th Amendment. Ironically it was this very 8th amendment which had unseeded her. But she chose to side the President only for the sake of power. So great is the enmity between these elite personalities that they are ready to compromise even on principles dear to their heart.

During the two years of intense rivalry between the PPP and IJI from 1988 to 1990, Nawaz Sharif became the symbol of ascendancy of Punjab's business elite, Islamic ideology and continuity in policy. He was able to manipulate the support of anti PPP elements in Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan, while the PPP leadership failed to understand the nature of economic and political change in Punjab. Instead, the PPP continued to harp on the theme of a conspiracy by the establishment to defeat it in the 1988 elections.

After the dismissal of the Benazir government in Islamabad, the caretaker government of Jatoi was misunderstood as symbolising continuity in terms of a Sindhi

prime minister. In fact the whole election strategy of the establishment and the IJI was focussed on the Punjab. Through fair and foul means, the province was finally delivered to the IJI in the 1990 elections. The PPP found itself alienated from the province of Punjab to an extent.

The 1990 IJI government in Islamabad was essentially a Punjabi dispensation, sponsored by votes of the Punjab more than of any other province, and led by a Punjabi Prime Minister. Nawaz Sharif has emerged as the leading figure of the Punjabi bourgeoisie. His business concern, the Ittefaq Group of Industries, has close associates among the industrialists of the Punjab. At the provincial level, they seemed to have won the battle for leadership.¹⁶

Both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, having experienced from different sides of the divide the affects of a centre-provinc power tussele, were well aware of the crucial role of Punjab in making or breaking of central authority.

Fortunately the PPP bounced back to power both in Punjab and at the Centre in 1993. Benazir Bhutto was back as the Prime Minister. Manzoor Wattoo was made the Chief Minister of Punjab. The opposition however led by Nawaz

Sharif have kept the war drums beating.

Perhaps because of his struggle against heavy odds during the last days of his premiership, N. Sharif seems to have undergone a sea of change in his overall political behavior. A closely contested elections under neutral set up transformed him into a real politician. Since then he has been constantly on the rise, with many people looking towards him as an alternate leader.¹⁷ What mars his image is his desperation to return to power.

Nawaz Sharif had risen in stature tremendously since 1988. He was no longer the establishment's whip with which it could beat the PPP into submission. His conduct in office had changed his image completely from senseless spoilt brat brought into politics, to man who had his own vision for the country. His vision may be faulty, but Nawaz has risen to become a national leader.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif has also become the hero of the new and growing Punjabi bourgeoisie, He is championing the cause of Punjabi language and culture. He is the radical and ultimate option for the Punjab. Nawaz Sharif's Punjab is a bold, self reliant Punjab that does not wish to be held back by other and more backward provinces. The old Punjabi establishment was hesitant about being rich and dominant. It

could neither face defiantly, accusations of being unfair nor acquiesce in self liquidation (of its privileges). Its contradictions appear to have been resolved by Nawaz Sharif's leadership. He has been reported to have said,

"Here we are and we cannot help being what we are; We hold what we have: come and snatch it, if you can."¹⁸

After 1993 election the PPP had to award the chief ministership to its minority partner, the PML(J), in the interests of the coalition and for the sake of the part Wattoo had played in the past and still has to play in the future to keep the breakaway faction together,¹⁹ Faisal Saheh Hayat was made 'special assistant' of chief minister of Punjab. Hayat was made PPP's top man in the Punjab with control of the home and services department. Wattoo was not pleased. He wanted the strong portfolios of home and services. The tug of war between Wattoo and his principal adviser Faisal Saleh Hayat had begun. By March 1994, Faisal resigned, then in March 1994, Wattoo administration began a long waited administrative reshuffle.

But PPP government was one step ahead. Chaudhary Altaf Hussain was made the Governor of Punjab in April as a last ditch attempt to tame the Punjab PDF coalition government's

ambitious Chief Minister Manzoor Wattoo. The subsequent turn of events in the province, led her choosing this Chaudhary from Jehlum as the centre's sentinel. Even though Wattoo is silent on Altaf's appointment as Governor of the province, sources in the PPP say that he had bitterly opposed Altaf's appointment from the very beginning.²⁰

Wattoo however remains strong. He has the obvious option to open his door to the PML(N) if he falls out with the PPP.

Perhaps the only solution to avoid the conflictual nature of politics is to minimize the interference by the center and provinces in each other's domain. This would involve a complete devaluation of power with the provinces becoming autonomous and free from pressure from the central authority and to reduce the opportunity of using negative votes in the provincial elections.²¹

Some of the prominent trends that have evolved after the 1993 elections are significant. The PPP seems to be a party of the feudal and rural gentry rather than the party of the poor and underprivileged. The PML(N) on the other hand has made phenomenal inroads among the masses in the Punjab; and a party challenging the feudal class. The rural

urban divide in the Punjab has become obvious too. PML got 56 percent of seats from the cities in 1993.²² While the PPP found it easier to bank on rural areas where it was easier to manipulate peasant vote by coopting the feudals. Elections are visibly becoming free and fair. The emergence of two party system both at the centre and Punjab is a positive feature after the three elections. A significant feature of Pakistan election was the drubbing that the Islamist forces received. Horse trading is practice by and large both at the centre and province. Elections seem to have become a game of numbers. Army's supremacy in Pakistani politics continues but with a significant differences. It controls the levers of power while actively staying out of politics.

Of late crime has been on the rise in Punjab. Jang-Mianwali Faisalabd area is the home turf of sectarian battles which has got deeply entrenched in less than five years. The Shia community which is a political ally of the ruling coalition in the province, finds itself moving towards extremism to counter the sunni militants who have begun attracting Muslim League. As sectarian feelings become an inextinguishable reality in Pakistani politics, the country political system can come under great stress from phenomenon

that has the potential to wreak havoc.²³

What is needed in Pakistan is not to choose between peace and prosperity, but to recognise that in each case we cannot have one without the other.

Behind the dramatic events in Pakistan lies a central problem. That is how to reconcile a fledgling democracy with the power equations that have developed over the years.

Footnotes

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5. The Herald, February 1991, pp. 106-109.
6. The Herald, October, 1993, pg. 52.
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14. The Herald, October 1991, pg.89.
15. The Herald, July 1993, pg.41.
16. Ibid.
17. The Herald, October 1994, pg.36.
18. Newsline, December 1989, pg. 46.
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20. Newsline, April 1994, pg.48.
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