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Factors Responsible for Weak Democratic Culture among the Political Parties of the Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

Democracy, as defined by Lincoln, is “government of the people by the people, and for the people” (1). Political parties around the globe function under the same ideology. On the contrary, the true democratic process is not fully observed within these parties. Though this observation is applicable globally to nearly all political parties in one way or another, in Pakistan, similar to other third world countries, the political parties have growing scarcity of the democratic culture. If party elections and voting are held to some extent, it is taken merely as a ritual or legal binding only. As a practice, one finds an authoritarian approach, hegemony, oligarchy and limited freedom of decision-making provided to members of parties.

Keywords: Lincoln, Democratic Process, Hegemony, Growing scarcity

1. INTRODUCTION

Prologue and Justification

The current research identifies the factors accountable for the fragile democratic culture among Pakistan’s political stratum. Many reasons are identified as the fundamental cause of this weakness; however, not all of them can be taken as appropriate in academic discussion. In this article, the main causes that affect the democratic process among the political parties are taken into account that includes evolutionary differences, historical legacy, colonial heritage, cultural limitations, patronage, military coups, debacle between centers and units, and lack of basic democracy.

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Ontology and Epistemology of the Study

Due to the specific nature of the topic, both descriptive and analytical methods are used. Since the primary research, the material is available for the same subject in the same way. It has been noticed that deep insight of the same material will easily come out by using the approach. The topic covers not only the persistent weaknesses of over seven decades after the creation of Pakistan, but also it refers to the historical legacy along with built-in flaws that resulted together in a remarkably different political culture in Pakistan unlike with a sharp contrast to those of developed countries of the world. The following reasons are briefly discussed:

Roots of Undemocratic System in Pakistani Politics

According to the World Book Dictionary and Oxford Dictionary, a nation may refer to a community of people who share a common language, culture, ethnicity, descent, and/or history. In this definition, a nation has no physical borders. However, it can also refer to people who share a common territory and government (for example the inhabitants of sovereign states) irrespective of their ethnic make-up whereas the state is an organized political community, living under a government.

A nation's state is a state that self-identifies as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign entity for a nation as a sovereign territorial unit. A state is a political and geopolitical entity; the nation is a cultural or ethnic entity. The term "nation-state" implies that the two terms purely match. The concept of Nationalism emerged in Europe after the industrial revolution and it further gave birth to democracy, which resulted in the formation of the political parties, legislature and governance initially in Europe and later in the complete western world.

A nation, which has sent out colonists to different parts of the world, may conceivably form a number of states that may be even antagonistic to others, but it cannot turn itself into different nations when it has the same common ancestry, the same traits and customs, and the same language. What happens, of course, is that the previous "colony," now an independent State, may develop its own customs, culture, and language to be very different from the home country especially if the former colony amalgamates with new peoples and becomes a power far greater than the old State. It is very doubtful

whether Australia, New Zealand, and Canada can qualify as “nations”; certainly not Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) or South Africa. This process continued after the World War II, with the emergence of a large number of newly independent States in Africa and in Asia but with none of them, except China, Korea, and Vietnam have the ability to become modern nations. Indian sub-continent that was divided into India and Pakistan are also not an exception.

Pakistan was established in the name of a religion. The inheritance of the very foundations of a completely democratic process including rationale and practices of political parties was quite different from the developed part of the world. These legacies are discussed below:

Pakistan and India adopted most of its systems as legacies of colonial India. After 1857, the British were of the opinion to introduce representative councils at a lower level to train the native people in the art of administration. The book was written by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, ‘The causes of the Indian revolt’ also guided the British in this aspect. He pointed out in his book that the basic cause of the great revolt was the absence of any Indian representing the Indian point of view in the state councils. The book also highlighted the lack of social intercourse between the British and the native people. Mr. A.O. Hume, the founder of Indian National Congress made it clear in 1892 that it was the book of Sir Syed, which guided me in the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885. In 1906, All India Muslim League was founded to protect the rights of the Indian Muslims through constitutional means. The evolutionary process of democratization started in India through a series of Indian Council Acts i.e. the Indian Council Act of 1862, the Indian Council Act of 1892, the Indian Council Act of 1909, the Indian Council Act of 1919 and the Indian Council Act of 1935. The British wanted to induct native people both in the process of legislation and public administration but not at the price of their autocracy. To maintain a stronghold over inhabitant and political institutions, a strong military and well-trained bureaucracy were in place in India. The following are some colonial legacies and policies responsible for the undemocratic culture and authoritarianism in the politics of Pakistan.

Autocratic Indians Council Acts:

From 1858 to 1919, it was a tyrannical period in India with some elections. The Indian Councils Acts of 1892 and 1909 were the first step towards democratization of India in the Indians Councils Acts of 1919 and 1935 in which a semi-responsible government was introduced to a system of Diarchy. The study of the period from 1919 to 1947 revealed that the colonial masters wanted democratization but in an authoritarian way. The Governor General and Governors were given complete control over legislatures and administration in the Center and provinces respectively. In pre-independence era, the right of the vote was granted to a limited section of the population. It was given to landowners, taxpayers, and persons in government services.

In the elections of 1946, less than one-third of the adult population cast their votes. From 1858 to 1909, the period may be considered as complete autocracy and the local inhabitant had no place in the process of legislation. Despite the local Indians were there in the Councils but their status was not more than the advisers. The Indians have given a semi-responsible government for 27 years (1919-1946). This is why the British Indian political institutes were not trained in the art of legislation and public administration. Another reason for the weak political institutions under postcolonial era was pointed out by Gita Subrahmanyam in his article, 'The Ruling Continuities: Colonial Rule Social Forces and Path Dependence in British India and Africa' (2006). Gita applied Martin Wight model of nine stages in process of democratization in India and proved that India was at the seventh stage of democratization at the time of independence. They were not ready for independence (Subrahmanyam, 2006). The Indians never enjoyed full internal self-government even at the provincial level under British rule. British India jumped from stage 4 to stage 9 and that is why the political institutions were weak and unable to manage the machinery of independent states. In fact, their population was inexperience in the political process.

Martin Wight has divided the course of evolutionary legislation and the steps towards independence in colonies into the following nine stages:

Wight Model applied to India by Gita Subrahmanyam (Subrahmanyam, 2006)		
S. No	Stages of Democratization in Colonies	British India
1	Governor as the sole legislature	
2	Governor-in-council as legislature	1858- 1860
3	Legislative council with the official majority and wholly nominated unofficial minority	1861-1909
4	Mixed council	1909-1918
5	Semi-representative legislature	
6	Representative government	
7	Semi-responsible government	1919- Before 14 th of August 1947
8	Responsible government	
9	Independence	14 th of August 1947

Low investment in the social sector:

The British were not interested in the growth of political institutions while the well-trained bureaucracy, organized and powerful military was their requirements for the maintenance of law and order. It was also vital to suppress the movements against their rule. This is why South Asia got well-organized, powerful military, bureaucracy and the weak political institutions after the independence. The advancement of moral and material capacities of the Indians was not the main purpose of the British rulers rather they were interested in the convenience ruling and controlling the economic and human resources. The British spent more on roads, railways, ports, and military during their stay in India. Through communication infrastructure, they wanted to collect more economic benefits and to move troops more easily to the points of disturbance. In North-West India, the investment on roads and railways were for the protection of British India and Afghan border to counter the spread of Communism. The British spent very less on the welfare, education, health and other social and political activities of the people. The table below indicates investment in three areas by the British in India.

1910-1919	1. Railways and ports	32
Per year average in percentage	2. Military/defense	20
	3. Public works and utilities	9
1920-1929	1. Military/defense	29
Per year average in percentage	2. Railways and ports	25
	3. Public works and utilities	7

1930-37 Per year average in percentage	1. Railways and ports 2. Military/defense 3. Public works and utilities	31 17 8
1938-1945 Per year average in percentage	1. Railways and ports 2. Military/defense 3. Public works and utilities	33 17 7
1946 in percentage	1. Military/defense 2. Railways and ports 3. Public works and utilities	27 26 6

Table: Shows the percentage of annual expenditure in the three leading areas in British India (Subrahmanyam, 2006).

The table shows that the British were not interested in the civic improvement of the people. They spent very less amount in the social sector. They did not give attention to modernize colonial social and political institutions and left India with an untrained population in the field of political activities and self-government.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

British Policy in North West India:

North West India was treated differently from the rest of India due to its geopolitical conditions as the area for the future Pakistan, the British emphasized on law and order rather than encouragement of political participation. Initially, the British settled in the areas, which later became India. After the War of Independence, the government started democratization process steadily. The East India Company before the War of Independence in 1858 acquired almost all the Indian territories except North West India. The Company introduced the system of office management and judiciary based on European style. The Company established the presidency of Madras in 1640, the Presidency of Bombay in 1687 and the Presidency of Bengal were established in 1690 (Saqib, 1999, p. 269). On the other hand, the future Pakistan's areas were captured later than the remainder of British India. (not clear the point please check) The tribal composition of these areas and the tribal opposition to the British Raj made the area further backward in the pace of democratization (Subrahmanyam, 2006). In addition, the British kept North Western India in tight security to prevent the expansion of

Communism in South Asia (Talbot, 2009, p. 55).

The constitutional development in North West India was too late as compared with the rest of India. In the Indian Council Act of 1935, the provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, and NWFP were created. These provinces were considered the least junior provinces of British India. The process of democratization was started very late as compared to the other parts of India. Moreover, a considerable portion of the NWFP and Baluchistan remained FATA and PATA, which were ruled by a bureaucracy with Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) (Talbot, 2009). The most parts of Baluchistan was controlled by local elites like Khan of Kalat, Bugtis, Murees and a very considerable area was under the direct rule of British chief commissioner. Shahi Jirga decided even the future of the province instead of the legislative assembly during the partition.

The Colonial Constitution and Authoritarianism:

Under the original Act of 1935, the Governor General as representative of the British Crown was considered being the final authority in India and was given the widest discretionary powers. He was given the power to choose and to dissolve the cabinet. The Act was designed to administer the British Indian Colony based on less democratic and more bureaucratic values. After the independence under the provisions of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, the Indian Act of 1935 was adopted in the country with some amendments. Through the amendment in the Act of 1935, the powers of Governor General were reduced (Sayeed, 1960, p. 234).

After Quid-e-Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan, the colonial powers of the Act were used for personal interests. After the death of Liaqat Ali Khan, Khawaja Nazimuddin became the second Prime Minister and Gulam Muhammad occupied the office of the Governor General of Pakistan. In April 1953, the G.G dissolved the ministry of Khawaja Nazimuddin at his discretion and Muhammad Ali Bogra became the next Premier of Pakistan. In September 1954, the Constituent Assembly reduced the powers of G.G by deleted the articles 9, 10, 10A and 10B of the Provisional Constitution (Act of 1935). The G.G lost its powers to dissolve the cabinet or Assembly at his discretion (Khan, 2010). However, the G.G was not ready to lose the powers given to him by the Indian Act of 1935. In retaliation, he dissolved the Constituent Assembly on 24th October 1954. The

dissolution of ministry and then the Constituent Assembly by the G.G of Pakistan (under Indian Act of 1935) was highly undemocratic steps, which weakened the position of the legislature. The removal of Nazimuddin and Bogra affected the party politics as both were the presidents of PML. The new PM Muhammad Ali Choudry, after his nomination, got the support of PML. This practice made the parties dependable instead of being strong and thinking sovereign. The politics of 1951-1958 laid down the foundation of undemocratic values in the politics of Pakistan. The dismissal of Nazimuddin and nomination of the next coming Prime Ministers were not upon the party decision or majority in the legislature but subject to the pleasure of the office of G.G. The G.G's lust for power and undemocratic behavior were supported by the Act of 1935. Unfortunately, the colonial Act remained in Pakistan for a long time due to hurdles in the process of constitution making.

Nomadic Lifestyle

Beside the urban areas, the irrigated land of Sind and Punjab had developed a settled rural life in an early 19th century. But again nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyle was common in the non-irrigated areas of Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan and they were not interested in the process of democratization introduced by the British government (Talbot, 2009, p. 58).

Bureaucratic Interference in Politics

The word Bureaucrat originated from French, which means the desk or office. The word bureaucracy means people work at offices. The colonial masters introduced the ICS (Indian Civil Service) which not only controlled district administration but also they controlled provincial and central secretariat. The civil servants were put to extensive training for this purpose at Fort William College that was established in Calcutta in 1800 (Khan, 2010). The English persons were selected for the service through a competitive examination. The key posts in administration and judiciary were reserved for the officials of this cadre. The Governor General of British India depended heavily on ICS officers in policies making and its implementation (Sayeed, 1960, p. 280). They were entrusted with decisive role in districts and provincial administration and judiciary. Even some of the small provinces were totally under the control of the bureaucracy, for example, NWFP

and Baluchistan were administered by the chief commissioner before 1935. After independence, the ICS cadre became CSP (Central Service of Pakistan) or CSS (Central Superior Service) having a number of groups like Pakistan Foreign Service, Management Group, Police, Military accounts, Audit, Custom & Excise and Office Management group. Pakistan inherited its administrative and political institutions from the colonial empire. It retained the class structure, the same elite characteristics and the same colonial pattern of administration.

Bureaucracy influenced the politics of Pakistan just after the independence. Quid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan were heavy on bureaucracy and during that time bureaucracy remained within their jurisdiction. After the death of Liaquat Ali Khan, Ghulam Muhammad became the Governor General of Pakistan. Ghulam Muhammad was a Civil Servant in British India. He was in the audit and account department. After partition, he became the finance minister and then remained in the office of G.G of Pakistan from October 1951 to October 1955. At the time of independence, Chaudhary Muhammad Ali holding the title of secretary general headed the civil service of Pakistan. Later on, his predecessor, Ghulam Muhammad, carried him into politics and appointed him as finance minister in 1952. After that, he was nominated as Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1955. In the period of Ghulam Muhammad and Sikander Mirza, the political intrigues and conspiracies reached its peak. The status of the legislature was reduced from a supreme body to a servant organization of the G.G office. The role of political parties was minimized as the political parties had no role in the nomination of Prime Ministers in the House. It was Head of the State to nominate a person as Prime Minister and then asked the political parties to elect him in the House. Ghulam Muhammad practiced it in the country after the assumption of G.G office and the practice continued in the regime of Sikander Mirza. Sikander Mirza the 4th G.G was a senior bureaucrat having a military background. After completion of his education, he joined British Indian military service. In 1926, he entered in the Indian political service. In the post-independence period, he remained the secretary of defense ministry from 1947- 54 and then Governor General and President of Pakistan (Aziz, 2007, p. 282). Their bureaucratic attitude led the political institutions towards authoritarianism. From 1947 to 1958,

political party's democratic culture and values remained absent and the party leadership was busy in the grouping and regrouping to acquire public offices with the help of bureaucrats. According to Hamid Khan (constitutional and political history of Pakistan, 2009), Ghulam Muhammad and Sikander Mirza were responsible for the political and constitutional decay in the formative phase. The Martial Laws of 1958 was a result of their bureaucratic and undemocratic role (Khan, 2010, p. 576). In the view of Safder Mehmood (Pakistan political roots & development 1947-1999, 2010) bureaucracy played a vital role in the promotion of undemocratic values in the nascent stage of Pakistan. Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the constituent assembly for his lust for power and the second bureaucrat having military background Sikandar Mirza was a strong advocate of controlled democracy. He was an expert of palace intrigues, the formation of Republican Party overnight and gave it a majority in the House is an example of his political behavior. In his regime, the civil service got greater influence in politics (Mehmood, 2010, p. 360).

These intrigues destroyed the democratic function of political institutions in the nascent stage. On the other hand, the politicians were incapable, selfish and empty of political consciousness. Delay in the constitution-making process, the political institutions lost the confidence of people. Moreover, elections were not held in the country after the independence, which created distance in between the people and the political parties. In Pakistan, due to lack of political stability, national consensus and trained politicians, civil servants acquired a prestigious position in politics and decision-making. Nadeem Akhtar in his dissertation further quoted Hassan Asker Rizvi who opined that the weak and non-organized political parties failed to compete with the well-organized and well-trained civil bureaucracy supported by the military establishment. The military bureaucracy nexus first penetrated into the political system and then destroyed their institutional structure (Akhtar, 2011).

The situation led the country toward military rule. In 1958, Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law. The imposition of Martial Law was a joint venture of military and bureaucracy. Ayub Khan was invited to declare Martial Law by Isikander Mirza and Isikander Mirza wanted to assume the pre Martial Law position but Ayub Khan was not

agreed with him. Nadeem Akhtar in his dissertation (Role of political parties in the democratic system of Pakistan) mentioned that Ayub Khan regime was heavily depended upon bureaucracy for the political setup he introduced. Keith Callard and Lawrence Ziring also made the political leadership and parties responsible for the imposition of Martial Law in Pakistan (Akhtar, 2011, p. 18). Ayub was in the opinion that the politicians are not reliable and loyal to the country. Their role was terminated by banning both on political activities and on political parties. He was in dire need of strong and well-trained bureaucracy to run the state affairs. From the beginning, bureaucracy got a prestigious position in the military government at high level (Afzal, 2000, p. 4). The first eleven members' military cabinet of Ayub Khan had three lieutenant Generals and three senior bureaucrats (Afzal, 2000). Ayub Khan introduced Basic Democracies system, which was totally controlled by bureaucrats at Tehsil, District and Divisional level. The District and Divisional Councils were totally controlled by Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners. The Democrats in BD system totally depended on bureaucracy. These basic democrats composed Electoral College for the Provincial, National and Presidential elections. Ayub Khan used bureaucracy to control these basic democrats. The fact that the country became independent but regarding bureaucracy there was no change in their behavior, attitude and style of governance. After the independence, they administered the country in the manner of colonial rule (Shafqat, 1999, p. 1004). In 1973, Bhutto introduced reforms. He introduced a unified grade system from 1-23 and replaced the terms CSP and PSP with DMG and secretariat group (Khan, 2010, p. 577). The reforms based on welfare of the people, the civil servants should be efficient, professional and accountable to the people. Later on, Bhutto himself became the civil servant on his political base.(please check the point is not clear). It was the first time when an elected party government completed its constitutional tenure. He did not organize his party on democratic lines as all the party offices were filled through nomination. The bearers of public and party officers were nominated to their offices on the recommendation of civil servants. Bhutto used police, civil servants and civil intelligent agencies for his political desires. Even the selections of candidates for contest of elections depended on the reports of intelligence agencies (Khan, 2010, p. 551).

During the second Martial Law regime, (1977-1988) Zia was fully supported by bureaucracy. Not all the military regimes have the public support so they depend heavily on bureaucracy. That is why the civil service becomes stronger and assumes the status of ruling class in the military regimes. Zia again gave a chance to the bureaucracy to reorganized itself to regain its former prestige. However, the army remained the real source of government but he relied upon the civil servants as an instrument of governance. The party fewer elections of 1985 produced a new cadre of untrained and inefficient political leaders having no support of political parties. These political figures easily fall under the influence of civil service. They depended on bureaucracy in making policies and political decisions. Zia's planted politicized bureaucrat, Ghulam Ishaq, became President of Pakistan after the August 1988 Air crash. Ghulam Ishaq dissolved the two elected Assemblies. The elected government of Benazir Bhutto was dissolved in 1990 and the government of Nawaz Sharif was dissolved in 1993. (Talbot, 2009, p. 287).

Military Interference in Politics

Ayub Khan was well aware of the weaknesses of political parties and politicians. He remained partner with them as a defense minister in pre Martial Law period. He developed his own views that the democratic system under the parliamentary form of government in Pakistan is not workable. He made responsible the politicians for the pre-1958 ills and imposition of Martial Law. Ayub Khan banned all the political parties and sealed their offices throughout Pakistan. Most of the political leaders went underground and some were arrested. He adopted policies to prevent the comeback of politicians. Ayub Khan introduced PODO (Public Office Disqualification Order) for the exclusion of politicians from their roles in the coming political system. Later on, PODO was replaced with Elected Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) in August 1959. EBDO was more comprehensive than PODO. EBDO was applied to all those who remained members of public offices at any level from central legislature to municipal committees. He opposed the involvement of political parties in the political system. He designed the Basic Democracies System on non-party bases. The basic democrats 80000 in number 40000 from each wing served as Electoral College for provincial and National Assembly's elections. These Basic Democrats also composed Electoral College for Presidential

elections. Ayub Khan was not agreed to give any role to political parties in the coming constitutional reforms. The 1962 Constitution maintained ban on revival of political parties and no candidate could contest elections having any link with political parties. Subsequently, in 1962, Ayub Khan was convinced by his advisors to lift ban on political parties. Ayub Khan agreed to the revival of political parties under the constitutional framework. The Political Parties Act (PPA) of 1962 provided the constitutional framework for political parties (Afzal, 2000, p. 62). The PPA banned those politicians and officials who disqualified to hold office under EBDO. After these arrangements, he decided to create a political party of his own for the smooth running of political process in the legislature. A rift was created in Pakistan Muslim League that resulted in division of the party into two groups. The pro military Muslim League was known as Convention Muslim League and the prominent Muslim Leaguer Khaliquzzaman was appointed as the chief organizer. He played a supportive role in the legislature for the policies implementation of Ayub Khan. During Ayub Khan Era, the political parties were confused in doing their political roles. He controlled the political parties through preventive measures throughout the regime. All the major political parties opposed the political system introduced by Ayub Khan. However, no political party at that time was so strong and organized to resist independently. Z.A Bhutto founded the PPP in 1967 and he opposed the policies of Ayub Khan in his public gatherings. On the other hand, other political elements gathered in alliance like National Democratic Front (NDF), Combine Opposition Parties and Pakistan Democratic Movement to oppose the system (Afzal, 2000, p. 222). Due to the increased pressure of political alliances, Ayub Khan resigned and handed over the power to the next army chief Gen. Yahya Khan. It was another undemocratic practice of Ayub Khan as according to the 1962 Constitution, after resignation the power should be handed over to the speaker of National Assembly.

After Yahya Khan, Bhutto (1972-77) assumed power and act like a dictator in handling the political issues. He dissolved the provincial governments on the ground of poor law and order situation in their provinces and banned National Awami Party after the death of Hayat Muhammad Sherpao. He sidelined his own political workers and gave more importance to the civil servants. He handled political opposition through

undemocratic means throughout his regime. His government depended heavily upon bureaucracy (Khan, 2010). Bhutto adopted the military ruling style. Ziring argued that the Bhutto's close association with a military ruler during his political career was a factor in his undemocratic behavior (Ziring, 2003, p. 156).

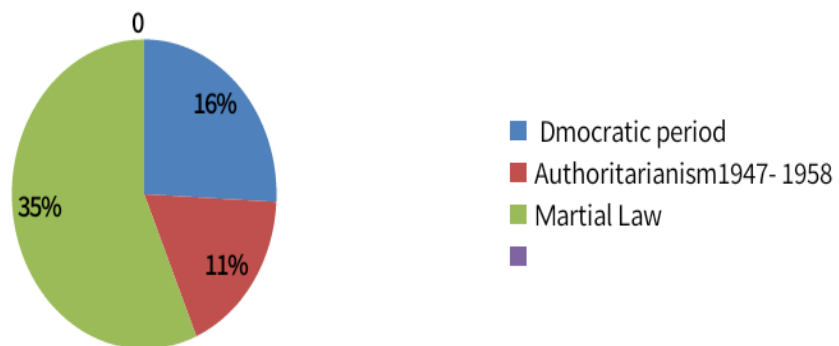
In 1977, Zia ul Haq destroyed the political process and imposed Martial Law. Once again, the political activities banned and Zia like his predecessor Ayub Khan, made the politicians responsible for the political ills in the country. All the political parties wanted the pleasure of the military regime for their self-interests. Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) accepted the decision of elections postponement because they were afraid of the popularity of PPP. Wali Khan, Marri, Bezenjo and some other political leaders were cultivated as friends by granted them bail at Hyderabad court. A faction of Muslim League headed by Pir Pagaro supported the military regime similarly; Jamat-e-Islami also extended its support to Zia. In 1981, Zia announced the formation of National Assembly (Majlis-e-Shoora) based on the nomination of 350 members of Shoora instead of the process of elections as a dictator. In the Shoora, many opportunist politicians gathered around the dictator (Talbot, 2009, p. 262). In the same year, PPP with the alliance of other parties formed the MRD (Movement for Restoration of Democracy). They started to struggle for restoration of democracy and demanded free and fair election. In the meanwhile, eighth amendment was introduced in the Constitution of 1973, which gave ample powers to the President of Pakistan. Like the Act of 1935 and the Constitution of 1962, a President would be the center of all powers and the pleasure of President was essential for the Prime Minister to remain in the office (Ziring, 2003). In addition, the power to dissolve Assemblies was on his discretion, which later on destroyed political stability and the political parties suffered enormously. In 1985, party less-elections held for National and Provincial Assemblies. However, the political parties boycotted the elections because it was based on party-less agenda and the Constitution of 1973 was not promulgated in its true shape. The party less-elections advocated biraderism instead of party affiliation. Moreover, practices of annual developmental funds to the members of Assemblies were started in these National and Provincial Assemblies. The funds were sanctioned to them as a political bribe and undemocratic, dictatorial practice

prevails in the country as military legacy, which profaned the political system. Later on, the parliamentarians consider this fund as their right. After the elections, Zia like his predecessor formed his own political party under the leadership of Muhammad Khan Junejo. Zia's period ended when he died in an air crash on 17th August, 1988. From 1988 to 1999, political parties did not improve their democratic norms and they were busy in intrigues against each other. No democratic values were adopted and practiced like dictators. Benazir wanted to control all provinces especially the Punjab and she started struggling to eliminate Nawaz Sharif's government in Punjab. On the other hand, Nawaz Sharif ignored constitutional limitations and performed like a dictator in Punjab and did not consider himself a subordinate of the Center (Ziring, 2003, p. 212). The 8th amendment was used frequently against the civilian regimes of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif by President Ghulam Ishaq, an ex-bureaucrat. On 12th March 1999, the Army Chief Gen. Musharraf overthrown the elected government of Nawaz Sharif and once again the political process in the country came to an end. He promised the restoration of democracy after completion the process of accountability similar to Zia. Meanwhile, major political parties were targeted and a huge rift was created among them. A new part, PML (Q) was created with the help of military backing. To give majority to his own created party, the state machinery was used by Musharraf (Talbot, 2009, p. 399). Like Ayub Khan's Political Parties Act of 1962, Musharraf introduced the Political Parties Order 2002 providing for intraparty democracy. However, his own created party did not follow the provisions. Musharraf's attitude towards major political parties like PPP and PML (N) were not friendly. He blocked the chances of the two political parties to form government in 2002 elections. Both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were exiled.

The weak organization of political parties, favouritism, nepotism and political corruption gave an open invitation to military dictators to engulf political regimes. Unorganized political parties were not able to resist dictators. The opportunist politicians were always there to extend their support to dictators and the dictators found it easy to form political parties of their own choice like the Conventional Muslim League, Pakistan Muslim League and Muslim League (Q). Iskander Mirza laid down the foundation of

such political parties by founded the Republican Party. There was lack of leadership in the political parties as their family elites head most of them. The party key posts were given to those who served the family interests instead of strengthening parties. The office bearers of the parties remained on the posts until the pleasure of party elites. Undemocratic procedures were adopted for nomination and removal of office bearers and whenever middle line leaders grab an opportunity of their own interests or a chance of their promotion, they left the party for self-interests. It was the reason why dictators never felt any harm in finding politicians to support them in their evil designs against democracy. The incompetent and undemocratic behavior of political leaders brought about collapse of the party system. Moreover, the lack of democratic norms in political institutions facilitated civil and military elites to mold them according to their wishes.

The Type of Government from 1947 -2008



Feudalism and Religious Personalities (Pirs)

Feudalism is another major factor in the political instability of Pakistan since its independence. Our political history would have been different if land reforms were introduced in an early phase in the country. After the independence, these lords occupied all political institutions and dominated them permanently through their personal influence, which destroyed democratic culture in the nascent stage.

The British government in India introduced another class of landlords of their own interests. They distributed a large portion of land among people who showed loyalty

and they were linked with local administration. In this way, the lords got a great influence over their localities. During and after Colonial period, the landlords established their monopoly over politics in Pakistan while after the independence from India, through land reforms they removed one of the hurdles on the way of political stability. The pirs and landlords, in greater or less degree, captured all over the country particularly Southern Punjab, rural Sind and Baluchistan politically in their control (Sayeed, 1960, p. 203). From the very beginning, Muslim League was dominated by landlords. The Secretary-General of Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, was a big landlord of the United Provinces. Nawab Ismail Khan was another office bearer of ML. Khan Mamdot, Daulatana, Yousaf Haroon, Sir Hidayatullah, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Khan of Hoti, Arabs and other prominent Muslim Leaguers were big landlords too (Sayeed, 1960, p. 207). In 1945-46, landlords represented the largest group in the Central Muslim League Council. Out of 503 members, there were 163 landlords, in which 51 belonged to Punjab (Sayeed, 1960).

The South Asians Muslims have great respect for religious personalities and they highly influenced politics before and after the partition. According to Khalid Bin Seyeed, during the struggle for Pakistan, Muslim League had no popular support in the Muslim Majority provinces of Punjab and NWFP. For the purpose to attract the mass, Muslim League constituted Masha-e the committee in 1946, having prominent Ulema-e-Kiram.

On the hand, Land reforms were introduced in Pakistan during Ayub Khan's regime; Bhutto also introduced land reforms in 1972. The land reforms Commission constituted by Ayub Khan consist of seven members, all of them belonged to civil services, headed by the Governor of West Pakistan, Akhtar Hussain. Four out of the seven members themselves belonged to landlord families. They were not sincere to the task given to them (Sayeed, The political system of Pakistan, 1966, p. 94). In West Pakistan, Ayub Khan himself dependent on landlords. In his regime, Amir Muhammad Khan (Nawab of Kalabagh) remained on the post of West Pakistan's Governor. His Foreign Minister Z.A. Bhutto was a big landlord of Sind. PPP was a socialist political body and claimed that bread, clothing, and shelter will be provided to every needful person. However, the party was captured by landlords during 1972-77. In 1970 elections,

most of the candidates of PPP were unknown and common people while they defeated their well-known opposition candidates. In contrast, in the 1977's elections, PPP nominated most of its candidates among landowners class (Bokhari, 2011). The founder of PPP Z.A Bhutto was one of the richest landlords from Sidh. Bhutto family owned around 42000 acres of land (Bokhari, 2011). Zia ul Haq supported two persons during his government: one was Muhammad Khan Junejo, and the other was Nawaz Sharif, the former was a famous landlord of Sind and latter was a renowned industrialist of Punjab. Similarly, Musharraf supported Chaunteries of Gujrat and they created their own faction of Muslim League PML (Q).

Land distribution in Pakistan is very unjustified as the powerful landlords are less than 3 percent of the population while occupying 64% of the land (Ahmed, 2014). There are thousands of landlords each having thousands of acres of land throughout Pakistan. The peasants and workers financially dependent upon their lords. These lords are not only the masters of their lands but the peasants to are considering their property. The peasant's thinking, opinion, and political affiliation should be according to the will of their masters. Most of the political parties in the country dominated by these families and they treated the party workers as their paid servants. These lords distribute the key posts of the party's offices among those who are loyal to these specific families and work for the protection of their goals. Moreover, the electoral system of Pakistan made the political parties bound to give importance to landlords, Pirs and multi milliners instead of their own political workers as the landowners, Pirs and industrialists can contest elections in the electoral system of Pakistan while poor and middle class cannot contest elections because they cannot afford heavy expenses on election campaigns. In the circumstances, political parties are in dire need to acquire the support of multi milliners in order to win seat based on their wealth and influence.

Postponement of Elections

After the independence, general elections were not declared in the country for a long time. The first constitution was promulgated in the Country in 1956. Before this constitution, elections held in assemblies on the indirect pattern as prescribed in the Act of 1935. In 1962 constitution, Basic Democracy system was introduced that was totally

designed on partyless agenda. Though the political parties participated in the elections of 1964 due to B.D system, it could not bridge the political parties with common masses. First general elections held in the country based on adult franchise in 1970. The absence of general elections from 1947 to 1970 was a long period, which resulted in undemocratic practices among parties. Political parties were not provided a strong democratic atmosphere for their organizational strength.

General Elections	1970, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2008, 2013	15 years of democratic Era
Party fewer elections	(1977Martial Law imposed)1985, 2002	8 years of party fewer parliaments
Assemblies Dissolved by civilian Head of the state	1954, 1990, 1993, 1996,	

Lack of Education/ Public Ignorance

In Pakistan, education is another hurdle in way of political stability. In the country, there are 6 million children doing child labor. Half of the population above 10 years never attended school and 47% of girls never enrolled in educational institutes (Tahmina, 2011).

Education is an essential factor in polishing a society. It is a key to establish a stable political system and reduction of poverty. William Easterly in his article, ‘the political economy of growth without development: A case study of Pakistan’, says that the people who have a monopoly over politics, always oppose education because educated people know their rights and they ask for it. In this way, their monopoly over politics and resources can be ended. The educated people are a guarantee for sustainable democracy. Democracy is the government of aware, mature and civilized people. According to the above-mentioned statistics, more than half of the population is uneducated. Even those who can write their name are in the list of educated people. Therefore, some specific families have a monopoly over political parties. It is due to lack of education that inner party democracy is not yet introduced in the political parties. As an educated person one can ask for their political rights in a democratic society while

uneducated people can easily be misguided by the political parties using undemocratic means. For example, ANP and PML (N) use the issue of Kalabagh Dam for their own interests. ANP opposing it while PML announcing its formation in their gatherings. Most people do not know about its dangers and benefits for the nation but they follow slogans of their political parties regarding Kalabagh Dam. An educated person can read the manifesto of a political party and becomes aware of its policies and politics then he can select a party of his own choice during casting his vote.

Patronage in the Electoral System of Pakistan

The electoral system of Pakistan is Simple Majority system and it supports and increasingly confined to rich people. Landlords, industrialists, and other money masters can contest elections while no peasant, worker, professional or any middle class citizen can contest elections because they do not have means to print thousands of multi-color posters, engage election workers, hire vehicles to transport voters, arrange rich and delicious food for supporters. In some rural and undeveloped areas, votes are a purchasable commodity. Candidates should have a huge amount to meet these requirements, therefore, political parties always in search of financially strong and wealthy candidates during elections. Poor and middle class parties workers do not meet this sort of merit and remain ignored.

3. CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATION

Democracy in Pakistan faced a host of difficulties, which did not let democratic principles, institutions, and processes to develop its firm roots in the polity. Pakistan started with a parliamentary system of governance, but the legacy of institutional imbalance and authoritarianism, problems encountered in setting up of a new state, external security pressures and fear of the collapse of the state adversely affected prospects of democracy. Other factors that caused problems for democracy included the crisis of leadership in the aftermath of the demise of Jinnah, failure of the Muslim League to transform itself from a nationalist movement to a national party, fragmentation, and degeneration of the political forces and the rise of the bureaucratic-military elite. Long before the first military takeover in October 1958, dominant elites were talking about the

unsuitability of liberal democracy for Pakistan. Intermittent constitutional and political breakdown, the ascendancy of the military to power and efforts of the top brass of the military to introduce a political system that protected their professional and corporate interests made it difficult to create participatory political institutions and processes that could command the voluntary support of diversified political interests.

The military elite employed democratic principles in a selective manner and their policy of co-option of a section of political leaders and exclusion of others accentuated polarization and jeopardized prospects of political accommodation and consensus building. 11 The experience suggests that democratic institutions and processes can be stabilized and matured if their natural evolution is not obstructed by partisan considerations and these must function in their true spirit over time, offering all citizens and groups an equal and fair opportunity to enter political mainstream and compete for power and influence. This helps to build support for political institutions and facilitate their sustainability. In Pakistan, the periodic breakdown of political order and repeated military take-over or attempts by the top brass to shape the political process to their political preferences failed to ensure political continuity and the competing interest did not get equal opportunity to enter freely in the political mainstream. Democracy and autonomy of civilian institutions and processes have been the major casualty of the expanded role of the military.

Surprisingly, whenever Pakistan returned to civilian and constitutional rule, the quality of democracy remained poor this is a case of a democracy deficit. Long-term endurance of political institutions and prospects of democracy face four major challenges in Pakistan: the non-expansion of participatory opportunities for those viewed as adversaries by the military dominated regime, the poor performance of the elected assemblies, failure to build consensus on the operational norms of the political system, and a drift towards confrontation, religious and cultural intolerance and extremism. This does not mean that people have given up on the primacy of the popular will, participatory governance, accountability of the rulers and governance for serving the people. The ideological commitment to these principles persists which will continue to question the legitimacy of non-participatory and authoritarian governance and political management.

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