

Abdul Qadir Mushtaq \*

## **Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)**

*“.....do not be frightened of this movement. It is for our people, for our poor, for our children so that they do not live in poverty, hunger and disease. Struggle for your parliament, for your government, for your constitution so that the decisions are taken for the poor people and not for the junta and its stooges.....” (Benazir Bhutto)*

### **Abstract**

The dictators come into power with the announcement of the suspension of existing constitution and political activities. They launch the program of reforms so that the favors of the population may be secured. The political parties are the most organized and institutionalized agents of oppositions in any society. Therefore, the focus of the study is the role of opposition political parties. It is not possible for one party to challenge the rule of dictator and alliances come into existence for powerful movements against the dictators. The present study not only helps to understand the causes of political instability and the role of opposition parties against the dictatorship of Zia government.

### **Introduction**

In the elections<sup>1</sup> of 1977, Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was a major alliance against Z.A.Bhutto. Unexpected results in the elections prepared a ground for PNA to raise protest against the government of Pakistan People’s Party. Most of the religious parties had formed this alliance due to liberal out look of Bhutto government. American role in the projection of PNA has also been highlighted by Bhutto himself in his book “If I am assassinated”. The alliance gained momentum and Bhutto felt need to negotiate with the leaders of PNA. But it was too late and the military decided to oust the PPP government with the support of PNA. Gen. Muhammad Zia Ul Haq took over reins of the government and suspended the constitution of 1973 with the

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*Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)*

promise of holding elections within 90 days. The PNA leaders not only welcomed the promulgation of Martial Law but also decided to support his policies.

Bhutto had a very strong and dynamic personality. He had instilled a new philosophy of Bhuttoism in the minds of the middle and lower middle class through his slogans and reforms. Pakistan People's Party had cultivated its vote bank in all the provinces of Pakistan and it was too difficult to ignore its powerful vote bank in the coming elections. It could be predicted that PPP would again win the large number of seats in the coming elections which were going to be held under the supervision of Zia. Z.A.Bhutto had become a great threat to the leaders of PNA and Zia's military regime. That's why Zia was not willing to give Bhutto free hand in the elections. Common fear facilitated the convergence of interests between the military and PNA. Zia wanted to oust PPP from the electoral arena and the PNA was also fearful of its electoral prospect. After the elimination of Z.A.Bhutto, the free and fair election was the major demand of major political parties. Zia made several commitments of holding free and fair elections but renege. The promulgation of Martial Law had developed a rift within those parties who were supporting the military regime. Only few parties, like Muslim League led by Pir Pagro, stood with the dictator and the most political parties made an alliance in the form of MRD with PPP.<sup>2</sup>

Pakistan People's Party was the only forceful opposition party in Pakistan which consistently opposed the policies of Zia. Bhutto's removal from the political scene deprived the PPP of its most charismatic leader. To further weaken the base of the party, false cases were registered against its leaders. Military courts awarded severe punishments to party's activists. It was not possible for PPP to launch a movement against military regime without the support of the other political parties. The movement of Restoration of Democracy revived Pakistan People's Party and provided it a chance to challenge the dictatorship effectively. PPP leadership also realized that they had to put Bhutto's execution behind and act under the political logic and compulsion of the situation and reach for erstwhile political opponents for waging a collective struggle against the military regime.<sup>3</sup>

### **Marriage of convenience**

MRD was an alliance of nine political parties. Most of those political parties<sup>4</sup> who had earlier launched a movement against Bhutto were the part of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy against Zia. Religio-political parties like JUI, Centrist opposition Parties like Muslim League, Nationalist Opposition parties like NAP, Leftist political Parties like Qoumi Mahaz Azadi, Mazdour Kassan Party, PPP. All kinds of parties had joined the alliance. Jamaat-i-Islami was also divided on the issue of supporting Zia regime. Though Jamaat was not the part of the alliance but it was being thought that Jamaat was promoting the agenda of MRD because of scathing criticism of Prof. Ghafoor and Munawaar Hasan on Zia regime.

### **Manifesto**

The Military<sup>5</sup> officer, General Muhammad Zia, had promised the Pakistani politicians and the public that elections would be held within ninety days of the coup but he intentionally created such circumstances in which the elections were not possible. He delayed the elections twice (1977 & 1979) and created mistrust within the pro-government political parties also. The main demand of MRD was the free and fair elections in Pakistan.<sup>6</sup> Zia wanted to prolong his rule in Pakistan but except few small political parties, no one was ready to give more time to his government. Zia was not ready to transfer power to the elected political parties that were opposing him. Zia wanted to create such circumstances before the elections that would strengthen his rule after the elections. When he felt that it was not possible to gain the support of the political parties, he decided to hold elections on non-party bases.

Democracy and political parties go side by side. Political parties are the main players of democratic system and in position to manage the affairs of the government effectively. In the dictatorship, the system and reforms are imposed by those figures who are not representatives of the people. It tends to be least interested in the affairs of people but is most interested in prolonging its rule. Political activities are strictly prohibited so that no party could challenge its authoritarian rule. Amidst forbidding conditions, the pro-democratic parties of Pakistan made strenuous efforts for the restoration of democracy. Restoration of

democracy was main demand of MRD which was not possible without free and fair party based elections.

The second major demand was the revival of constitution of 1973. It was the first constitution in the history of Pakistan that had been introduced and approved by the elected representatives. The contribution and cooperation of the opposition parties had been viewed a tremendous achievement of Bhutto government. Under this constitution, parliamentary form of government was introduced and civilian supremacy was ensured in this system which was not perhaps acceptable to the military. The Article.6 of the constitution of 1973 attempted to close the chapter of Martial Law which stated that:

*“Any person who abrogates or attempt or conspires to abrogate, subverts or attempts or conspires to subvert the constitution by use of force or show of force or by other unconstitutional means shall be guilty of high treason*

*Any person aiding or abetting the acts mentioned in clause 1 shall likewise be guilty of high treason.”<sup>7</sup>*

The punishment of high treason was death penalty. Under the Article 6 Zia committed a high treason. In such circumstances, he could not restore the original constitution of 1973 which was the main demand of the leaders of MRD. Like other military dictators, Zia did not give importance to the constitution. While addressing a press conference in Tehran, Zia said,

*“What is the constitution? It is the booklet with ten or twelve pages. I can tear the up and say that from tomorrow we shall live under a different system. Is there anybody to stop me? Today the people will follow wherever I lead. All the politicians including the once mighty Mr Bhutto will follow me with their tails wagging.”<sup>8</sup>*

Zia had developed the fear of constitution in his mind. He, therefore first, wanted to introduce amendments and modifications in the constitution so that he might secure his position. He had also the desire to change the system of government from parliamentary to presidential. He raised the slogan of Islamization in Pakistan and under this slogan he changed the shape of constitution.

MRD was also against the newly adopted approach in foreign policy of Pakistan. The leaders of MRD criticized the government's

*Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)*

foreign policy and especially called on the government to sever ties to the United States. They opposed the concept of alignment with USA and protested to establish Pakistan as a non-aligned state.<sup>9</sup>

On 11 May 1983, the leaders of MRD announced 31 points program and resolved to fulfill it. Among those points, these were the remarkable key demands

- (a) Greater provincial autonomy
- (b) Independent judiciary
- (c) Restoration of fundamental rights
- (d) Lifting of restrictions on the press
- (e) Promotion of trade unions
- (f) End of discrimination against women
- (g) No discrimination on religious basis.
- (h) Strict accountability of all civil and military personnel
- (i) Reduction in tax burdens on workers with fixed incomes
- (j) Clear demarcation between private industry and public corporations
- (k) Establishment of compulsory military training
- (l) Making Pakistan a non-aligned state
- (m) Questioned the heavy transfer of American weapons to Pakistan
- (n) Urged the government to pursue good relations with all the neighbour countries
- (o) Good relations with the Third World countries
- (p) Cordial relations with Muslim countries.<sup>10</sup>

The major motive of all the parties was to unseat Zia. PPP considered him the main enemy while the other parties had also opposed him due to their own reasons. The leftist parties had wanted an end of Zia's exploitation of religion.<sup>11</sup>

*Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)*

In 1986, MRD, headed by Pakistan People's Party demanded the mid-term elections but it did not achieve its targets due to the following reasons

- (a) The demand of mid-term election did not gain firm footing within the people as the general elections were held in 1985.
- (b) There was a lack of unity among the parties who had joined MRD. Tehrik-i-Istaqlal did not support this demand and Khan Wali Khan had gone abroad.
- (c) Clashes had developed among the leaders of MRD. That's why, there was a leadership crisis.<sup>12</sup>

**Efforts**

On 26 March 1981, the parties of MRD held a meeting at Lahore and passed a resolution against the amendments in the constitution of 1973. The leaders issued the statement that Ziaul Haq had abrogated the constitution of 1973 and was therefore a traitor. These meetings also congratulated those judges who had refused to take oath under PCO.<sup>13</sup>

MRD started agitation against the Zia regime in various cities of Pakistan. Students, doctors, actors, politicians and lawyers participated in the agitation. The middle and lower middle classes in Punjab showed the solidarity with PPP and became part of the protest from the platform of MRD. In Faisalabad, the lawyers staged protests against Zia regime. The prominent personalities from Faisalabad were, Ch Talib Hussain, Zaman Khan, Badruddin Ch., Ch. Umer Draz, Shams Ul Islam Naz, Ahmed Saeed Awan, Fazal Hussain Rahi, Ghias uddin Janbaz. The people of Multan also strengthened the movement like Ch Arshad, Mukhtar Ahmed Awan. From Lahore, Atzaz ahsin, Mahmood Butt were the prominent personalities.<sup>14</sup> The student's protests started in Dargai, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan and Quetta. Several students were injured in clashes with the police and many were arrested in the different cities of Pakistan. Lawyers also observed the 2<sup>nd</sup> March as a protest day against the government. They also protested on the miserable treatment of Yahya Bukhtair by the Quetta jail staff and demanded the dismissal of the jail superintendent. On 19 Oct. 1983, the lawyers organized "a protest day against the martial law

regime”. In Lahore, they tried to take out a procession but police created hurdles as a result. Clashes took place in the premises of Lahore High Court. The role of Talat Yaqub (Lawyer) was very remarkable in Lahore Bar Association. She used to urge by shouting at the male dominated Lahore Bar Association, throwing off her glass bangles and waving the Pakistani flag. She raised the slogans of democracy and challenged the restrictions of police. The doctors of Rawalpindi also joined the movement and arranged discussions on the demand of MRD on 27 Feb 1981. About twenty doctors were arrested by the government. As a result, the doctors all over the country decided to go on strike and demanded the release of the arrested doctors. They threatened that the strike would go on until their demand not met.<sup>15</sup> The students also contributed in the movements through the strikes in the institutions, especially in universities. The students in the Frontier Khyber Pakhtunkha province were the first to take to the streets. The protests also broke out in the educational institutions of Multan, Sheikupura, Bahawalpur and Quetta.<sup>16</sup> In Lyari, the poorest section of Karachi, PPP and MRD organized rally and the poor people fully joined it. Busses, cars and trucks were burnt by the people and challenged the writ of the government. The police arrested the workers and tried to eliminate the demonstration.<sup>17</sup>

The poets, writers and scholars also contributed in the Movement for Restoration of Democracy through their writings, speeches and poems. Rehmattullah Manjothi, Naseer Mirza, Tariq Alam, Adal Soomro were the renowned poets. In the rallies of MRD, the poems of the various poets were very chanted by the workers. The poetry of Manzoor Solangi were remark

*“Manban, chhapran, ghar ghar mein golioon, fouji police chaway dhariyal paya golioon.”<sup>18</sup>*

The workers of MRD targeted the symbols of state authority – Jails, Police stations, Banks, Government Vehicles, Railway Stations and Judicial Institutions. At few places, they disrupted railway tracks also.<sup>19</sup>

In Feb. 1983, the leaders of the MRD met in Lahore under the tight security of government. The meeting was a violation of martial law regulations. The leaders decided to observe a “Political Prisoner’s Day”. That meeting was dispersed by the police by force.<sup>20</sup>

*Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)*

In August 1983, MRD led a forceful movement especially in Sindh. The Urban areas of the provinces remained quite but the interior of Sindh broke all expectations of the governments and the agencies. Especially in the districts of Sukkur, Larkana, Jacobabad, Khairpur, Thatta, Dadu, Sanghar, the agitation started with a bang and was like a volcanic eruption. Such agitation had never been seen in the interior of Sindh before this move of MRD. It was purely a rural agitation. Cars and buses stopped running. Police stations were burned. Hundreds of people lost their lives. The Waderas of Interior Sindh put the moral, material and political support behind the agitation. It was the first time in the history of interior Sindh that the Waders went against the wishes of the establishment. Secondly they 'first time' participated in the politics of agitation. It was evident that political awareness had risen unperceived.<sup>21</sup> Another important factor was that MRD was organized from grass root level and pressure from below pushed the Waderas into the movement.<sup>22</sup> Abdul Hamid Jatui, President of Pakistan National Party Sindh, says that

*"The Wadera is basically 'Buzdil'. He was pushed into this agitation due to pressure from the people, so it is essentially a question of survival for him."*<sup>23</sup>

But few Sindhi nationalists, like G.M.Sayid, refused to support the objectives of MRD. He was of the opinion that the first objective of MRD was to save Pakistan while he was not interested in saving Pakistan. The second objective was the restoration of 1973 constitution which was unacceptable for him. Third objective of the agitation was the restoration of democracy and this objective would put the Sindhis in a minority cadre. He even said that

*"We are staying out of this agitation. It is not a popular movement. It is only led by PPP feudals for their lust of power. Like a Dog, the PPP is only seeking crumbs and bones. Ghulam Mustafa Jatui joined in when he got a pat on the back for it from some American senators he had met."*<sup>24</sup>

It shows that the separatists and anti-Pakistan lobby in Sindh was not the part of MRD and even they refused to accept MRD as a popular movement.

Few regional parties in Sindh also strengthened the hands of MRD through providing vigorous support. One of them was Sindh Awami Tehrik (SAT)<sup>25</sup> whose workers had courted arrests. Dadu,



*Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)*

Tharparkar and Larkana were the districts where the Awami Tehrik had been active.<sup>26</sup>

In 1983, Zia visited Sindh and faced resistance in Dadu. The Sindhis compelled him to stay in the Rest House of Dadu for hours and the forces helped him to dismantled the pressure of the public. After that, he never visited Interior Sindh.<sup>27</sup>

It is also said that the people of other provinces did not show so much interest in the MRD sponsored protests as the people of Sindh had. It was viewed as a Sindhi movement which had been launched for the redressal of Sindhi grievances and removal of their sense of deprivation. Due to Sindhi tag on the movement, it lost its national appeal.<sup>28</sup> Ayesha Jalal has also of the opinion that MRD failed to ignite the majority province of Punjab. The government had exerted influence over the local politicians. She has the idea that

*“The regime’s policies of differential patronage and selective mobilization had won over substantial segments of Punjab’s dominant socio-economic strata, landlords and industrialists and, most promisingly, emergent commercial groups.”<sup>29</sup>*

It is fact that the landlords and the industrialists did play no role in supporting MRD cause in Punjab but the real power of PPP has always been middle and lower middle classes. The workers and the trade unions of Punjab resented Zia’s policies. In the major cities of Punjab, Lahore, Faisalabad and Multan, MRD was successful in gathering the support of people. A lot of people from these cities faced and endure cases and imprisonment.

In Balochistan, the people did not actively participate in the campaign of MRD because they did not have any interest in the slogans. The restoration of democracy has never been remained important for the people of Balochistan due to tribal system and peculiar nature of its politics. Baluch nationalist leaders declared the MRD a part of American conspiracy which had been planned for changing status quo. But on the other hand, Pushtoons joined MRD and even faced jails.<sup>30</sup>

Movement for Restoration for Democracy enlisted the support of labour unions. It was an effort to activate the labor class against the autocratic rule of Gen. Zia. Due to labor reforms of ZAB and socialist policies of PPP had created soft corner in the hearts of labor unions.<sup>31</sup> The Pakistan Railway worker’s union decided to oppose to the

*Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)*

government of Gen Zia and support the slogans of MRD. On 26<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1983, factory and railway workers took out a procession in Lahore and shouted anti-martial law slogans. In the procession, about ten thousands workers took part. Police tried to stop them and the leader of workers, Bashir Zafar, was injured. Police tried to confine the protestors to the railway premises. The workers became aggressive and burnt buses, cars and petrol stations. They also burnt the portraits of Gen Zia.<sup>32</sup>

On 8<sup>th</sup> November, 1981, Zia issued a statement that Pakistan was not ready for democracy. MRD condemned the statement and declared nominated federal advisory council (Majlis-i-Shura) as undemocratic and un-Islamic. It demanded the restoration of democracy in Pakistan as soon as possible.<sup>33</sup>

For implementation of its 31 point programme throughout the country, the leaders of MRD decided to hold major protest meetings on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1983. They had chosen Independence Day because Zia had the intentions to reveal a new political system on the occasion of nation's independence holiday.<sup>34</sup>

In the elections of Local Bodies in 1979, many elected councilors had close links with PPP. The councilors agreed to resign and to show support for the cause of MRD.<sup>35</sup>

Zia was not in a position to face the collective pressure of main political parties and he was also not in a position to win elections in a free atmosphere. For legitimizing his position, he decided to hold referendum<sup>36</sup>. The Referendum Order 1984 was passed, putting a complex question to the citizens but, in essence, was endorsement of the process initiated by Zia for Islamization in Pakistan. The referendum was held on 19 December 1984 with a question that

*“whether the people of Pakistan endorse the process initiated by Gen. Muhammad Zia-Ul-Haq, the president of Pakistan, for bringing the laws of Pakistan in conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and for the preservation of the ideology of Pakistan, for the continuation and consolidation of that process, and for the smooth and orderly*

*Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)*

*transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.”* <sup>37</sup>

The leaders of Movement For Restoration of Democracy boycotted the referendum and refused to accept the results which had been announced by the government machinery. The faked results gave five years term to Zia as President of Pakistan. No doubt, people had largely ignored the referendum and some analysts put the turnout as low as 2 percent. In spite of this, Zia took the referendum as a vote of confidence on him. <sup>38</sup> It was very strange that both the parties, Zia and MRD declared it their victories after the results of referendum. The turnout in the election was as under

<b>Province</b>	<b>Turnout</b>
Sindh	0-5 percent
NWFP	5-25 percent
Punjab	35-40 percent
Balochistan	10-15 percent

But according to official results, sixty seven percent of the registered voters voted in the referendum. Ninety seven percent out of these gave vote in the favor of islamization. It was very interesting that officials on duty on polling stations allowed everyone to vote and where the turnout was low, they added votes. <sup>39</sup>

The successful boycott of the 1984 referendum caused the MRD to design its next step. Being confident of public opinion, MRD boycotted the non-party based 1985 elections. <sup>40</sup> From 14 to 16 Sept 1984, the meeting of the leaders of MRD held in Lahore and they decided to boycott any elections which were not free, fair and in accordance with the constitution of 1973. They also pledged to form an electoral alliance in any future elections in which the MRD would take part and after the election to stay together in the government. Later on, the central council of MRD met from 18 to 19 Jan 1985 <sup>41</sup> and demanded that the elections should not be held under Zia regime and that the 1973 constitution had to be restored before elections could take place. They also demanded that martial law should be lifted before elections and political prisoners should be released and elections should be held on party basis. The leaders agreed that if these conditions were not met, they would not accept any election under martial law. All the

political parties that had joined Movement for Restoration of Democracy not only refused to participate in the elections which were going to be held under the supervision of military government but also decided not to accept the results of the elections. Contrary to the expectations of the leaders of MRD, the voters turned to the polles in large numbers. The few leaders of PPP also participated in the elections and violated the party discipline.<sup>42</sup> But Asghar Khan has a different opinion about turn out in the elections of 1985. He mentions the names of those districts in his book “My Political Struggle” where the turn out was very low. Among those districts were Abbottabad, Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Mardan, Quetta, Sahiwal, Faisalabad, Vehari, Multan and Sargodha. The turn out in these areas was near about 30 percent but the election commission announced that 52.9 percent votes had been cast in the National Assembly polls.<sup>43</sup> But Sartaj Aziz disputes the claim of Asghar Khan with the statement that the voter’s turnout was quite impressive. Out of 33 million registered voters, 17.3 million or 53 percent cast votes for National Assembly candidates and 18.5 million or 57 percent for provincial assembly candidates.<sup>44</sup> But later on in the elections of 1988, most of the parties of MRD put their candidates and won the seats from the different provinces of Pakistan. Regarding the boycott of elections, Christina Lamb has of the opinion that

*“PPP later admitted that boycott was a mistake, and when Zia announced elections in 1988, Benazir was quick to announce their participation on whatever basis.”<sup>45</sup>*

Sartaj Aziz also declares the decision of PPP and MRD to boycott the elections of 1985 wrong because the boycott left substantial political space for the political coalition Zia ul Haq was trying to build.<sup>46</sup>

Inspite of the boycott from MRD side, the pressure of the opposition was so much on the government that it became fearful they were very careful that opposition would support anti-establishment candidates. General Fazal-e-Haq, Governor of NWFP, in the meeting organized by Zia for the selection of the pro-establishment candidates in the coming elections said:

*“Do not underestimate the opposition. Despite the boycott, they will support anti-establishment candidates. We have to disqualify some of these candidates otherwise the agitation will become unbearable.”<sup>47</sup>*

The female organ of MRD was also very active. In Faisalabad, Lahore, Gujranwala, female workers of MRD distributed fruits in the jails to the workers. Amina, Zia, Shahida Nafis, Ameena Zaman, Nasreen, Ruksana Zahoor, Nafis Siddiqui, Mrs Tahira Mazhar Ali Khan, Mumtaz Noorani, were the prominent personalities. Women's Action Forum led by Mahnaz Rafi arranged a demonstration in Lahore on 12 Feb. 1983 and 200 women took part. The police used tear gas and baton charges for dispersing the women. Aitzaz Ahsan's mother and wife were put under house arrest in Lahore. On 24 Sept. 1983, the women workers took out a procession against the military dictator in Lahore. During this procession, the police arrested fourteen women including Asma Jilani.<sup>48</sup> Even the women writers and literary figures also contributed in the movement against Zia regime. Atiya Dawood wrote poetry against the oppression of opposition.<sup>49</sup> Fahmida Riaz showed concern on the atrocities of Zia regime and the military courts in her poetry. Actually Zia government tried to reduce the social status of women in its policies. All the organizations of women protested against dictator and his policies. Among these organizations, APWA, Democratic Women Association were very active.<sup>50</sup>

Against strict censorship and restrictions on the press, the journalists organized protest meetings and rallies in the different cities of Pakistan. They raised the voice against the brutal policies of Martial Law regime.<sup>51</sup>

In jails, the prisoners used to boycott the jail administration and refused to take food. They came out of their barracks and agitated against the martial law ruler and his atrocities on political workers. A riot took place in Sukkur jail where about a 100 political prisoners had been lodged. The police used baton charges against them and also fired in the air for creating fear.<sup>52</sup>

PPP workers who fled Pakistan after the coup had settled in London. The city of London had become the center of political activities. The brothers of Benazir Bhutto were also living there. She also settled in London after her exile from Pakistan. She launched a international campaign against Zia and exposed maltreatment of political prisoners who were in jails. The workers of PPP launched a magazine "Amal" in which articles were published regarding the cruel treatments of the prisoners.<sup>53</sup>

On 14<sup>th</sup> August 1988, MRD organized massive public meetings in Rawalpindi against Zia. They informed the people that the

time of the departure of dictator had come. Malik Qasim mentioned the departure of Zia in his speech and Tikka Khan, general secretary of PPP, spoke against the “Jalandhri Group”. They also made it clear that they were not against the institution of army but against those who were defaming the institution through their self serving policies.<sup>54</sup>

## References

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- <sup>1</sup> Election is a device for filling an office or post through choices made by designate body of people: the electorate. Elections have different functions in its roots, like as political recruitment, representation, making government and influencing policy. These are bottom up functions. While it has its to down functions which include that it build legitimacy, shape public opinion and help to strengthen elites. Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, p. 227.
- <sup>2</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 251.
- <sup>3</sup> Burki, Shahid Javed, *Pakistan Under the Military – Eleven Years of Zia Ul Haq*. Oxford University Press, 2009, p 34.
- <sup>4</sup> The political scientists declare the political party – a group of people organized for the purpose of wining government power. Political party displays some measures of ideological cohesion. The principal classification of political parties have distinguished between cadre and mass or, later, catch all parties, parties of representation and parties of integration, constitutional or main stream parties and revolutionary and anti-system ones, and left wing parties and right wing parties. Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, p. 249.
- <sup>5</sup> Military is a institution of a very particular kind. It is distinguished due to its monopoly over weapons and coercive power. The institution of military has a high level of internal discipline and strict hierarchy is being observed. A set of values and a culture separates it from those of civilian society. The perception has also developed within society that it embodies the national interest and so is above politics. The purpose of military is to be an instrument of war that can be directed against other political societies. It is also fact that the institution of military also operates as a powerful interest group that influences defence and foreign policy. It also helps the civilians in maintaining domestic order and stability when civilian mechanisms are unable or unwilling to act. This is institution is so much powerful that some times, it displaces civilian government with a form of military rule. Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, pp. 361-371.
- <sup>6</sup> Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 356.
- <sup>7</sup> Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, Art. 6.
- <sup>8</sup> Quoted in *Pakistan – A Dream Gone Sour* by Roedad Khan, pp . 87-88.

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- <sup>9</sup> Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan At The Crosscurrent Of History*, London: Oneworld Publications, 2005, p. 183
- <sup>10</sup> Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century-A Political History*, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 460-61.
- <sup>11</sup> Benazir Bhutto, *Daughter of the East*, HarperCollins, 2008, pp. 143-45.
- <sup>12</sup> Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots & Developmeny 1947-99*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 379.
- <sup>13</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 257.
- <sup>14</sup> Interview with Amina Zaman, dated 1<sup>st</sup> August 2011.
- <sup>15</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 247, 249, 260.
- <sup>16</sup> Benazir Bhutto, *Daughter of the East*, HarperCollins, 2008, p. 146.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292.
- <sup>18</sup> H.Mujtaba, *The Desert's Legacy*, Newslne publication, 2008, p. 98.
- <sup>19</sup> Mushahid Hussain, *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years*, Progressive Publishers, 1990, p. 39.
- <sup>20</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 257.
- <sup>21</sup> Roedad Khan, *Pakistan – A Dream Gone Sour*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 89.
- <sup>22</sup> Mushahid Hussain, *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years*, Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1990, p. 41.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, P. 46.
- <sup>24</sup> Quoted in *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years* by Mushahid Hussain, p. 43
- <sup>25</sup> Sindh Awami Tehrik was established by Rasul Bux Paleejo in the early 70s. this organistaion emerged as a new potent factor to be reckoned within the context of Sindhi politics. It commanded respect and admiration amongst a broad section of Sindh. This Tehrik was against the Sindhi Wadera and Sindhi nationalist. It declaredthem pro-Americans and they did not desire any change in the socio-economic system. As opposed to the Sindhi nationalist slogan of "land should be free", the Awami Tehrik responded with the line that "People should be free". Sindhi nationalists spoke of "Sindhu Desh", while the SAT was very much for a united federal Pakistan, although it did not hold the view that "Pakistan is a multinational state". Mushahid Hussain, *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years*, PP. 47-51.
- <sup>26</sup> Mushahid Hussain, *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years*, Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1990, p. 48.
- <sup>27</sup> Azhar Sohail, *General Zia Ka Gyara Saal*,Lahore: Farozson publication, 1988, p. 98.
- <sup>28</sup> Roedad Khan, *Pakistan – A Dream Gone Sour*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 89.
- <sup>29</sup> Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, London: Cambridge University Press,1995, p. 106.

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- <sup>30</sup> Mushahid Hussain, *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years*, Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1990, pp. 56-60.
- <sup>31</sup> Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan At The Crosscurrent Of History*, London: Oneworld Publications, 2005, p. 183
- <sup>32</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*, p. 322.
- <sup>33</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*, p. 279.
- <sup>34</sup> Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century-A Political History*, pp. 462.
- <sup>35</sup> Benazir Bhutto, *Daughter of the East*, p. 147.
- <sup>36</sup> Referendum is a vote in which the electorate can express a view on a particular issue of public policy. It is a device of direct democracy. Referendum is typically used not to replace representative governments but to supplement them. It may be either advisory or binding. Like all other things, it has also advantages along with disadvantages. Few scholars consider it the best thing due to its check on the power of the elected governments because it ensures that they stay in line with public opinion. Referendum promote political participation and helps to promote more educated and better informed electorate. It strengthens legitimacy by providing the public with a way of expressing their views about specific issues. On the other hand, it also leaves political decisions in the hands of those who have the least education and experience . Referendum allow politicians to some extent to manipulate the political agenda and absolve themselves of responsibility for making difficult decisions. Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, p. 209.
- <sup>37</sup> Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 373.
- <sup>38</sup> Christina Lamb, *Waiting for Allah*, London: Penguin, 1991, p. 86.
- <sup>39</sup> Sartaj Aziz, *Between Dreams and Realities*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 66.
- <sup>40</sup> Nadeem Qasir, *An Investigation into the Political Economy 1948-1988*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 122.
- <sup>41</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*, p. 340.
- <sup>42</sup> Ayesha Jala, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, p. 106.
- <sup>43</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*, p. 356.
- <sup>44</sup> Sartaj Aziz, *Between Dreams and Realities*, p. 69.
- <sup>45</sup> Christina Lamb, *Waiting for Allah*, p. 86.
- <sup>46</sup> Sartaj Aziz, *Between Dreams and Realities*, p. 64.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- <sup>48</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political struggle*, p. 254, 299.
- <sup>49</sup> Ian Talbot, *Pakistan-A Modern History*, p. 253.
- <sup>50</sup> Nisar Hussain (ed), *Zameer Ka Qaidi*, p. 127.
- <sup>51</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*, p. 277.
- <sup>52</sup> Asghar Khan, *My Political Struggle*, p. 325.
- <sup>53</sup> Benazir Bhutto, *Daughter of the East*, p. 218, 229.
- <sup>54</sup> Azhar sohail, *From Sindhri to Ojhri Camp*, p. 147.