
Regional Political Parties: Challenge to Political Stability of Pakistan

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National integration has been a challenge to Pakistan, a federation. The regional political parties have played a critical role to add to the misery of situation. The regional parties have their vested interests and they do everything to achieve those interests. The leadership is mostly low profile and parochial. Since it is not possible for them to achieve some prominent place in the national politics, they appeal to the regional sentiments of the masses and aggravate the provincial and ethnic issues to stay in news headlines. They contest elections on the basis of regional issues, and subsequently, make people feel scared through the perceived threats to the community's interests and even to its survival. They win a few seats in the elections and start blackmailing the government on the matters of national interest. Some of them have no recognition among the masses but they continue to haunt the process of national integration. No doubt, the regional imbalances and deprivations remained there and the allocation of scarce resources had been the source of conflict in Pakistan. The absence of representative institutions and the prolonged periods of military rule have further complicated these issues but the presence of strong and articulated political parties could have consolidated the feelings of oneness among the people of Pakistan. Nonetheless, the absence of organized political parties have established on democratic principles and the negative role of

regional parties made the process of national integration a challenge for political stability and the very existence of polity. This paper studies the challenges to the political system of Pakistan due to the negative role played by the regional political parties.

In post-colonial era, the political instability of developing countries has been problematic which poses a serious challenge not only to the political system of these countries but also disrupts the economic development. This article studies the problem of political stability in the context of the role the regional political parties have been playing in Pakistan. It also highlights that if the national political parties would not play their role in keeping sub-nations integrated and in maintaining legitimacy to the government the regional parties would continue to work as the pressure groups for the major parties, detrimental to the process of national integration. The focus of study is the parliament of 2008-2013, and the regional parties in that house. First section deals with the theoretical framework and the background of the party politics in the colonial period. Second section deals with the party system and its importance in a federation. Third section forming on the national and regional parties discusses as to how the regional parties, having a few seats in the parliament enter into alliance politics and exploit the mainstream political parties threatening to withdraw their support if the government fails to fulfil their demands. This has become a serious blow to the survival and stability of the coalition governments.

Theoretical Framework

Man has a natural instinct to form associations. These associations cover different aspects of human life including social, economic and political. A political party is an organised body of people assembled for certain common principles to achieve some goals within the political system of a country. It carries the ideology and the demands of the society. It provides a link between the people and the elected representative institutions.

For a democratic form of government, the political parties are considered to be the pre-requisite. Strong political parties are inevitable for open, competitive and representative politics especially in the emerging democracies.¹ They influence the political life at the grass root level.² In the sociological-cum-institutional theory "the penetration of the state by some non-state actors provides political stability."³ They create awareness among the masses and mobilize them on national issues. The political party system not only provides options to choose better representatives on the basis of their proposed programs (Party Manifesto) but it also fills the gap between regional and national interests, by interest articulation at both levels. In fact, a political party established on national level performs the function of national integration in a heterogeneous society, if it works properly. But for that purpose it has to establish itself at the grassroots level in larger areas of the country.

Contrary to national political parties, there are some political parties which do not enjoy influence at the national level. Their area of influence and activities are confined to particular region or the provinces. Working in a particular region they may pursue the interests of one community only e. g. Indian regional parties contest elections in one state (province) only but in some cases they work in neighbouring states sharing the same culture. All the regional and ethnic parties "focus on defending the interests of a certain region or ethnicity or both."⁴ Strmiska defines regional parties as "formation of the ideology, program and organizational identity, as well as, the source of political standing and electoral mobilization used by them are of regional character".⁵ Stramiska is of the view that the same definition can be used for ethnic political party with a change that in the latter case identity and source is ethnic in character not the regional.⁶ Normally the regional parties are also ethnic at the same time but there may be exceptions.⁷ Mutahida Quami Movement (MQM) is the example of ethno-regional party working in one region only, while Awami National

Party (ANP) represents the Pukhtun interests in different regions, simultaneously.

To earn the support of the local masses, such parties choose to stand for regional/provincial or ethnic issues which are the source of resentment and deprivation in that region. These parties can work positively by collaborating with mainstream parties to accommodate their regional interests without hindering to achieve national goals. L. S. Gassah says that such regional parties claim themselves as "to be regional parties with a national outlook."⁸ It is advocated by the regional politicians that the "future belongs to provincial parties which championed the hopes and aspirations of the people of their respective regions."⁹ However most of the time the regional parties work for parochial, ethnic and economic interests of a particular region even at the cost of national interests and the political stability of the country.

Background

Before independence in 1947, the areas which were later included in Pakistan were having almost all the political parties with regional interest, except those parties operating at All India level like All India Muslim League and All India National Congress. Some of these parties were non-communal but since these areas were Muslim majority areas therefore most of them were Muslim political parties.¹⁰ Three of Muslim political parties were working in Punjab, and one each in NWFP, Balochistan and Sindh. In Punjab the Nationalist Unionist Party, Mujlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, Khaksar Organization, in NWFP Khudai Khidmatgar, in Balochistan Anjuman-i-Watan and Sindh Hari Committee in operated Sindh province. Although these regional political parties played an important role in the struggle for independence, but all of them were not in favour of the division of India into two states, India and Pakistan, on communal basis.¹¹

In post-independence period a fragile democracy was created without conducting general elections which paved the way for

palace intrigues and internal shifts of loyalties within the ruling Muslim League. Consequently Pakistan became a military-bureaucratic oligarchy.¹² Polity's overemphasis on centralization and denial of ethnic and regional identities became the ostensible reasons for centrifugal trends among others. Regional parties found space in the absence of efficient national political parties.¹³ Awami League that won the first general elections in 1970 represented only the Bengali interests and as such played vital a role in disintegration of Pakistan in 1971. Further socio-economic challenges and scarcity of resources in the absence of true representative system led to politicization of identities resulting in the orientation of ethnicity formations. Next section deals with the causes of development of regional political parties.

Causes of Development of Regional Political Parties

Failure of Muslim League

In the post-independence period the Muslim League emerged as the creator of Pakistan and regional parties were side-lined due to two reasons: one these were discredited due to their opposition to the demand for Pakistan and the second, that most of their prominent leaders had joined Muslim League at the time of independence. The Muslim League had roots among the masses and like other native parties in colonies¹⁴ it emerged outside the parliament and later became a part of elected institutions. The Indian National Congress retained its stronghold over political system of India till 1969, maintaining almost a single party system¹⁵ but Muslim League could not retain its unity and within first three years of independence it split into many political parties mostly around personalities.¹⁶ The dominance of executive power over legislature and administration over politics left the Muslim League as an effete political force unable to control the provincial branches of the party and to respond to the political aspiration of the masses.¹⁷ This gap led to reactivation of the regional parties.

Provincial Autonomy and Constitution Making

Like most of the federations, the provinces of Pakistan were asking for more provincial autonomy.¹⁸ The issue of provincial autonomy remained one of the main hurdles in the process of constitution making in Pakistan. The dominant forces like military and bureaucracy were in favour of a strong centre because it was difficult for them to operate at the provincial level. They were supported by the non-representative bureaucrats turned politicians¹⁹ who showed common interest among themselves. The Mahajir politicians were also in favour of ideological fervor rather than regional sentiments since they were having no roots in the present land of Pakistan. Moreover, the agony of migration added to anti-Indian sentiments never to be forgotten. Therefore they were in favor of a strong military establishment against India and a strong center to exercise absolute power for the security and prosperity of Pakistan. But a bid for strong center was directly in conflict with the demand of more provincial autonomy. It intensified the ethnic and regional sentiments not only in the smaller provinces but also in the largest province of Pakistan.²⁰ Struggle for power among the provinces and ethnic groups led to the creation of new regional parties with vested interests.

The integration of provinces and states of West Pakistan and establishment of one unit to create a parity between the two wings of Pakistan in 1954 through an executive order led to further discontentment in smaller provinces of Pakistan. Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra asserted that this action would promote national integration, eliminate provincialism, reduce administrative expenditures and facilitate the task of constitution making. So much so he argued that a unitary form of government was the best for Pakistan but given the distance of 1,000 miles between the two wings of Pakistan, it could not be adopted. He said "As it [was] not possible to unify the whole of Pakistan, we should at least unify the whole of West Pakistan."²¹ It shows that the head of the government was not receptive to the demand of

more provincial autonomy. The result was struggle for the repeal of 'One Unit,' in small provinces.

The federal governments' efforts to control the provincial governments, dismissing and appointing handpicked chief ministers and undue interference in working of provincial legislatures created resentment in the provinces.²² Since the federal government was dominated by Mohajir and Punjabi's therefore all the provinces, other than Punjab were alienated from the central government. In India, the same policies of Mrs. Indra Gandhi led to the emergence of non-Congress parties in the Union and regional parties in states. The political leaders who founded regional parties, later claimed that the national parties ignored regional aspirations, therefore the regional parties became a necessity to take care of the regional aspirations.²³

Intolerance for Opposition

From the very beginning politics became a domain of the ruling party. As Liaqat Ali Khan,²⁴ assumed the headship of Muslim League along with the office of the Prime Minister it was apparently an effort of 'reinvigorating' the Muslim League but later it converted the ruling political party as a 'handmaiden of the government.'²⁵ The attack on Unionists in Punjab and harsh language against the opponents like H. S. Suharwerdi and Abdul Hamid Bhashani further intensified the trends of intolerance in Pakistani political culture. The introduction of (PRODA) in 1949²⁶ was another step towards authoritarianism by the civilian government of Pakistan.²⁷ This law showed distrust towards politicians and was also misused by the regional political factions against each other.

The concentration of power in Muslim League's government without asking for any fresh mandate from the people of Pakistan and distrust towards politicians from East and West wings of the country led to intensive grouping of Bengalis and non-Bengalis within the Muslim League and the Government. This grouping led

to the disintegration of Muslim League and strengthening of regional political parties in Pakistan. As a result, the Muslim League was defeated in provincial elections of 1954, by the United Front, a coalition of regional parties in East Pakistan. Intolerance to criticism, establishment of personal rule and lust for power led to the creation of new political parties, most of which were hardly known at the country level.

Military Rule and Ban on Political Parties

Prolonged military rule further increased the discontentment of the provinces. All the military dictators banned political parties in the country immediately after the imposition of the, martial law. It disrupted the process of the growth of political parties.²⁸ Military dictators restored political parties but under strict conditions. The legal cover or constitutional engineering were adopted as the ultimate resort.²⁹ They also started the process of accountability against the politicians keeping them outside the domain of politics. General Ayub Khan, the first military dictator, was more furious against the politicians. He introduced elected bodies Disqualification order (EBDO).³⁰ Such type of measures were adopted to check the anti-martial law sentiments among the politicians and the result was the creation of a class with vested interests that helped to civilianize the face of military regime in the form of a King's Party³¹ on the one hand and the strengthening of anti-establishment sentiments on the other. General Zia postponed the elections twice to complete the process of accountability of the politicians and hanged the elected prime minister through a quasi-judicial trial. He took all the measures to block anti-martial law political parties generally and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) particularly using all the powers of the state.

He conducted party-less elections which relegated the fragile national politics from provincial to the local level fragmenting the society into clans and baradris.³² General Musharraf also played upon the religious, ethnic and provincial differences to gather the support of politicians against his opponent Mian Nawaz Sharif,

whom he had dismissed from the office of the prime minister. He also established National Accountability Bureau (NAB) for the persecution of politicians and their supporting bureaucrats.³³ Ruining national politics at such a level made it discreditable and opened the avenues for regional politicians. Moreover the rival groups were encouraged by the military government for forming factionalism among the political leaders of a region to counter balance each other and let the military government a safe sailing.³⁴

Elite Culture and Regional Leadership

The British colonial rulers established their control in Northern India through the elites and the feudals. Since most of the time in the political history of Pakistan there were military governments, they preferred to operate through the local elites following the institutional legacy of the colonial rulers. But it was not confined to military rule only, the civilian interludes were also dominated by the civil and military bureaucracies. They established links with the local elites to get civilian support and appease the masses. These regional elites were among those which were the beneficiaries of the military-bureaucratic rule. Their vested interests were served by the military regimes in return to their support. But the real issues of the region remained unaddressed which caused resentment in the area in the form of either a split in regional parties or creation of new regional parties with anti-government and in-turn anti-Pakistan sentiments. The regional politicians, not capable of entering into national politics, availed the opportunity to take up these issues and aggravated them, sometimes against the national interests.

Political System of Pakistan

Pakistan is a federation of four provinces³⁵ having a parliamentary system of government with a bicameral parliament. Senate, the upper house represents the provinces and is elected by the provincial assemblies through proportionate representation. While the National Assembly, the lower house of the parliament,

is elected directly by the electorate of Pakistan on the basis of population. The president of Pakistan is elected for a period of five years through an electoral college consisting of the national and provincial assemblies of Pakistan. The tenure of National and Provincial assemblies is 5 years while the Senate is a permanent body where every member is elected for 6 years and one third of the membership retires after every 3 years.³⁶

All the federating units and the federal government derive their authority from the constitution which provides separate lists of areas for the central government and the provinces. The Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment has abolished the concurrent list from the constitution giving residuary powers to the provinces, guaranteeing more provincial autonomy to the provinces.³⁷

The same pattern is followed at the provincial level.³⁸ There is a list of areas which fall under the jurisdiction of the provinces; provincial legislature can make laws on the provincial matters. The head of each province is the Governor appointed by the President of Pakistan, while majority party in the Provincial Assembly makes the government under the Chief Minister. The Provincial Assembly of each province is elected by the people of that province on the basis of population. The Provincial Assemblies of all the provinces choose the member of the Senate of Pakistan.³⁹ The Provincial Assemblies also act as the electoral college for the elections of the President of Pakistan. Mostly the regional parties make government in the provinces.

Party System of Pakistan

From the onset of independence, Pakistan has adopted a multi-party system. The cultural diversity, pluralism and ideology shaped this multi-party system in Pakistan.⁴⁰ There are 178 political parties registered with the Election Commission of Pakistan.⁴¹ The democracy has worked in Pakistan in short interludes between the longer periods of military rule. Therefore

the natural growth of political parties has suffered. Gen. Zia further damaged this process through party-less elections in 1985. When the electoral democracy was restored in 1988, no political party was in a position to make government alone. The result was the emergence of the fragile coalition governments. The whole political system remained wadding under the 58 (2B),⁴² but a positive development was that a direct competition of two parties namely the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) the and Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) or (PML (N) was established leading to what was just short of two party system in Pakistan. Though both the political parties could not secure an absolute majority but they were able to make government at the federal level in collaboration with the regional and small parties. For making an coalition government, they needed collaboration of regional political parties having representation in the parliament.

National Parties and Regional Parties

Although no definition of national parties and regional parties is given in the constitution or the election laws of Pakistan but practically a clear distinction exists between these two types.⁴³ Those political parties which exercise influence all over the country are called national political parties. It does not mean that a national party would enjoy equal footings in all the provinces; it may vary from province to province.⁴⁴ On the other hand, Vít Hloušek and Lubomír Kopeček define the regional and ethnic parties as those which "focus on defending the interests of a certain region or ethnicity or both."⁴⁵ According to this specification these can work in a particular region or protect the interests of their community in different regions. Contrary to the common perception, the regional political parties are neither weak nor short lived. Some of these parties are very strong in their region and they enjoy overriding status in their area of influence and national parties have to rely on their support in electoral process and later in government formation due to their rigid vote bank. The MQM is the most recent example in the

urban areas of Sindh. Awami League had this status in later half of 1960s in East Pakistan.

Major National Parties

In Pakistan, very few political parties enjoy the status of national political party. Most of the political parties are confined to one or two provinces. In 1990s although there was a fragile democracy but a positive development reappeared with the emergence of a new pattern of party politics. The fragile majorities in the elections of 1988, 1990 and 1993 compelled political parties to make alliances to secure the required majority to form government, a known phenomenon in a multi-party political system. Both in case of electoral and post-electoral alliances one national party was at the centre for which people voted. This pattern established a nearly a two party system in which the PPP and PML(N) were at direct contest with each other.

The founding political party of Pakistan which led the struggle for independence was All India Muslim League established in 1906. After the creation of Pakistan, it was renamed as Pakistan Muslim League (PML). After the early death of the founding founder the ruling Muslim League suffered from internal factionalism which later resulted in the intra-party conflicts leading to its division. The central leadership was also divided into groups and was unable to perform its earlier function of moderating and neutralizing factional splits in the parliament and the provinces.

This party was used by all the dictators as a Kings Party when they switched their military rule to a civilian one. For example, during Ayub's regime, those politicians who stood with the dictator restored their party with the name of the PML (Convention). In the general elections of 1970, the PML could not register its presence having split into different factions mostly around personalities. In general elections of 1977, the PML

contested as a part of electoral alliance of nine political parties called Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), which was instrumental in starting mass movement against Bhutto that resulted in another martial law in 1977.⁴⁶

The Muslim League was again restored in the National Assembly elected through party-less elections of 1985 under the leadership of then Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo. In 1988, its leadership was in the hands of Mian Nawaz Sharif and it was known as the PML (N). The centre of the national power for PML (N) remained Punjab, the largest province, in all the elections of the post-Zia period. The PML (N), remained in power twice in the post-Zia period. It had constituencies among the middle class, small businesses, industrialists and workers while the PPP demonstrated strength in the feudal southern Punjab.⁴⁷ The insecurity, personalization of rule, efforts to gather all powers in the office of the Prime Minister, the Kargil issue and mistrust with Gen. Musharraf, the Army Chief led to the dismissal of the PML government and imposition of martial law for the fourth time in Pakistan in 1999.

With the exile of Nawaz and his family and emergence of new PML (Quaid-i-Azam)⁴⁸ pushed the PML (N) into periphery of politics following the elections of 2002 under military dictator Gen. Musharraf as the President of Pakistan. The PML (N) again emerged on the political scene when Nawaz Sharif, was allowed to come back in Pakistan in 2007. Learning from the past, both PML (N) and PPP signed a Charter of Democracy to launch a joint struggle against the military dictator. Following the victory of PPP in the elections of 2008, the PML (N) played a role of friendly opposition for more than two years. But greater disagreement led to the reactivation of hostility between the two parties. Although the temperature was high on both the sides, but they refrained from any move that could lead to derailment of democracy, to the benefit of establishment.

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP), another mainstream party, won all the seats in elections of 1970 in West Pakistan, just after 3 years of its creation. But it emerged as a regional party in joint Pakistan since it won from West Pakistan only and did not contest any seat from East Pakistan. It secured 85 seats out of a total of 138 seats reserved for West Pakistan, mostly from Punjab and Sindh.⁴⁹ After secession of East Pakistan it emerged as a majority party in the new Pakistan.⁵⁰ Its power base was rural Sindh and the Punjab but it maintained its presence in other two provinces of the country also.

The PPP remained in power from 1971 to 1977, when General Zia-ul-Haq imposed martial law in Pakistan. He instituted a judicial trial and hanged the elected Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto.⁵¹ The PPP became an important component of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD), which was started by eleven parties to pressurize General Zia to restore democratic order in the country. It won the general election in the post-Zia-ul-Haq period, securing a fragile majority and was offered to make the government.⁵² Its government was twice dismissed in 1990 and in 1996. It served as an opposition party during the periods of 1990-1993 and 1997-1999. It also emerged victorious in the elections of 2008 after the murder of its Chairperson Benazir Bhutto.⁵³ Now it is a ruling party with its coalition partners, Awami National Party (ANP), Muthhida Quami Movement (MQM) and Jamiat-e-Ulama-i-Islam Fazl-ur-Rahman group (JUI- F).

As far as ideological base is concerned, PPP emerged as a left to the center political party with a socialist leanings on economy. Despite a long struggle for restoration of democracy in Pakistan the PPP could not exercise democracy within the party system and its chairperson-ship has never been given to the non-Bhutto candidate.⁵⁴

Like the PPP, the PML (N) from the very beginning of its rule has been a party of Sharif Family. The presence of Mian Sharif, father of Nawaz, his brother Shahbaz Sharif and now their sons Hassan Nawaz and Hamza Shahbaz and daughter Maryam Nawaz and son-in-law Capt. (R) Safder in the leadership position confirms that the PML (N) to is a dynastic party.

The Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-i-Azam) as a dissociated faction of PML, consisted of rivals of Nawaz within PML (N) and those who were scared of persecution by military government parted their ways from the PML (N).⁵⁵ When General Musharraf in 2000-01 called for restoration of the PML as the King's Party they joined it availing the call of time.⁵⁶ The PML (Q) lost its political standings the existing Gen. Pervaiz Musharraf and restoration of the civilian order in 2008, despite its presence in all the provincial assemblies. As political expediency, it joined PPP led coalition. Some wise politicians were working for reunion of the PML (N) and PML (Q), so that the PML might emerge as a strong party.⁵⁷ But all efforts remained fruitless and the division in the party has continued.

Politics of Alliances and Regional Political Parties

In addition to the mainstream national political parties, strong regional-based parties are there in the smaller provinces. This phenomenon has existed since independence and has continued to-date. It is the recognition of the ethnic and regional diversity which these political parties represent.⁵⁸ The alliance politics which became a feature in the period of 1988-99 and later restored in 2008, was good to accommodate regional politics with the mainstream national political parties to ensure their representation at national level to and avoid the sense of deprivation and alienation among different ethnic and regional groups. Both the major alliances which formed government in 1990s the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IJI) and Pakistan Democratic Front (PDF) major political parties namely the PML (N) and the PPP would accommodate had evolved the principle

that the smaller regional parties as their allies. In the formation of the coalition government the same principle was followed. However, the regional parties exploited this opportunity and instead of playing a positive role in the national government, integrating their regional aspirations in mainstream politics and atigning their demands with the national goals, continued their chorus of deprivation and exploitation and threatened the break up from the coalition if their demands would not be fulfilled. Such type of politics has caused instability in the political system. Even both mainstream political parties having power bases in different provinces used different slogans in different regions to appeal to the ethnic and provincial sentiments of the voters. This type of appeal intensified already present ethnic divide in different regions. This study is confined to the regional political parties which are there in the parliament and it focuses on the role they play as the members of the parliament or the government.

Political Parties in Parliament

The election results of 2008 show that in addition to PPP, PML (N) and PML (Q) there were three regional parties in the National Assembly, i.e., MQM, ANP and BNP (A). Rest of the parties claiming one or two seats were the personality based factions or break away of national parties. They included Pakistan People's Party (Sher Pao) and National People's Party (NPP), disintegrated from PPP. PML (Functional) was a faction of PML and it could secure only five seats.⁵⁹ The party-wix position as a result of the National Assembly Election 2008 is reflected in the Table below.

National Assembly Elections, 2008			
Party			Seats
Pakistan	People's	Party	126 (ruling party)
Parliamentarians, (PPPP)			
Pakistan (Nawaz) PML (N)	Muslim	League	91 (Previously part of coalition government)

Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-i-Azam) PML (Q)	50
Muttahida Qaumi Movement, (MQM)	25
Awami National Party (ANP)	13
Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal(MMA)	8
Pakistan Muslim League (Functional)	5
Pakistan People's Party (Sher Pao)	1
National People's Party (NPP)	1
Balochistan National Party (Awami) BNP (A)	1
Independents	20

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan.⁶⁰

Muthhida Quami Movement (MQM)

The MQM is the most organised ethnic/regional political party which has its roots in the middle and the lower middle classes of those communities which migrated from the central provinces of India in the years following independence (commonly called Mohajir) and settled in urban centres of Sindh. With a different culture these communities are mostly Urdu speaking. The MQM has a complete hold in urban Sindh especially in Karachi and Hyderabad. It exhibited astonishing successes in the elections of 1988 and 1990 by securing five per cent of national vote which was translated into 13 seats in National Assembly. It was also successful in securing 28 seats in Sindh Provincial Assembly. The MQM boycotted the elections of 1993. It secured 12 seats in the elections of 1997 claiming a share of slightly less than five per cent of the national votes.⁶¹ These results provided the MQM with a leverage to bargain with every government on its own agenda.

The MQM is not a separatist movement but it is an ethno-linguistic party.⁶² Mohajir who migrated from India were socio-economically more advanced than the host community in Sindh. Since opportunities were available due to migration of the

educated Hindu community to India, virtually all from urban Sindh, the Mohajars enjoyed privileged positions and became key actors in cities especially Karachi, the national capital at that time. However, they felt threatened when the Sindh University and Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education declared that the Sindh language would be compulsory for all in Sindh.⁶³ Their political action was a reaction to their declining influence after the national capital was shifted from Karachi to Islamabad. The reason was the emergence of local groups which assumed greater power especially the Punjabis and the Pakhtuns in the new capital. Later in 1980s the socio-economic changes in cities like Karachi and Hyderabad due to Pakhtun dominance in the economy further reduced the influence of the Mohajir community leading to riots and violence.⁶⁴ This became a serious intimidation not only to the national security and political stability of Pakistan but also to its economy.

Altaf Hussain, a student of Karachi University, founded the All Pakistan Mohajir Students' Organization (APMSO) in response to the perceived threat to the Mohajir community in terms of university admissions and government jobs. The allocation of jobs in Sindh on the basis of urban and rural quota and adopting Sindh as the medium of instruction were the main reasons for this threat perception.⁶⁵ Later he established the MQM in 1984 by combining all cadres of APMSO.⁶⁶ Ethnicity was augmented due to party-less elections conducted by Gen. Zia in 1985. The MQM registered its presence through landslide victories in local Government Elections, in Karachi and Hyderabad. From the very beginning the MQM established a hold over the Mohajir community of urban Sindh by articulating their demands to end discrimination in a highly organized way. The party took the task of public welfare like free bazaars, free dispensaries and beautification of cities. At the same time it acquired the reputation of being involved in violence, intimidation of opponents and other terrorist acts.⁶⁷ Despite all allegations the MQM undoubtedly continued to exist as the most powerful

political force in the urban Sindh. The Mohajir Quami Movement re-named itself as the Muthhida Quami Movement claiming itself the only force to bail out all deprived reactions of Pakistan in the 1990s. It was an effort to extend its area of influence to other areas of the country. But progress on this front was checked due to internal rifts within the party which resulted in the emergence of a faction MQM –Haqiqi.⁶⁸ which opposed Altaf Hussain.

The MQM joined the PPP government in 1988 following an accord signed with Benazir which was declared as a “charter of peace, love and rights by both sides.” The PPP and MQM leadership declared that it was an effort to unite the rural and urban population of Sindh.⁶⁹It was a political expediency for Benazir to make a coalition government and get the MQM’s support in the province. At the same time the accord was very ambitious and in the wake of conflicting interests of the two communities it was not possible for Benazir to implement this accord, especially the demand for repatriation of 250,000 Pakistanis living in camps in Bangladesh.⁷⁰ The hawks within PPP led by Makhdoms of Hala were highly critical to this accord. The MQM was also aware of this fact. It appears that were taking time to get their activists released by the authorities.

Recurrent killing and violence in Karachi threatened the accord between the government and MQM. In the which year, three ministers of MQM in the provincial government resigned.⁷¹ The situation in Karachi was slipping out of hands while the Prime Minister declared it as a mini-insurgency. Instead of addressing the real issue, she regarded it as a legacy of dictator the which needed some time to recover.⁷² Altaf Hussain’s detention for three hours on Hyderabad airport during his visit to the city was taken as a humiliation of the MQM leadership. The MQM joined opposition the IJI in criticizing government but at the same time declared that the resignation of the MQM ministers should not be taken as a sign of termination of Karachi Accord.⁷³ Although the government immediately reversed its decision to reduce the number of seats

from urban quota in Dawood Engineering College, but the MQM observed 26 May which year as a Black Day. It was followed by a wave of violence in Karachi, cross firing between the APMSO and Peoples Students Federation to defect, taking several lives and creating an environment of terror in Karachi. In order to pressurise government Altaf Hussain appealed to the President of Pakistan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan to intervene.⁷⁴ This move put a question mark on the survival of the coalition government.

Keeping in view the fragile majority of the PPP government the MQM decided to defect which year from the government. The day after the opposition tabled the no confidence move in the National Assembly. Altaf Hussain appeared in a press conference with the IJI president Muhammad Nawaz and announced the break up with the PPP government. He concluded a new 17 point to accord with IJI mainly incorporating the demand for repatriation of Biharis.⁷⁵ Although the PPP government won the day with 12 votes but democratic process was damaged through this move.⁷⁶ The MQM threatened the continuity of the central government and derailed the political process just to blackmail the government for their regional agenda and terminated a few months old agreement without negotiating with the PPP. The political stability was further threatened when the MQM remained at forefront in the anti-PPP movement. The show of power in the form of grand rally at the Quaid-i-Azam Mausoleum was virtually the largest one in the political history of Pakistan. It followed a grave wave of violence claiming 57 innocent lives who became victim of cross fire between the police and unknown terrorist to the MQM's show of power continued and death toll was very high. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the President of Pakistan, summoned Aitizaz Ahsan, the Minister for Interior to explain the deteriorating law and order situation in Karachi.⁷⁷ It adversely affected already the fragile economy and business because Karachi is the only port and the economic hub of Pakistan.

The rising violence in all urban centers of Sindh had serious repercussion for Sindh government. It led to the change of Chief Minister Sindh from Qaim Ali Shah to Aftab Shaban Mirani. The efforts of all law enforcement agencies and rangers were dashed. The panic of government was at peak when in Hyderabad, city police opened fire in a search operation for illegal weapons, killing 40 people.⁷⁸ The threat of the survival to the PPP central government was further intensified because an Urdu speaking Chief of Army Staff was there in office.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, violence by the MQM in the face of government's inability to deal with it effectively, led to the dismissal of Benazir government.

The MQM continued to be a part of coalition government of the IJI. Subsequently, the government and the MQM developed differences when army extended its action against law breakers both in the rural Sindh and urban Sindh in order to improve the law and order situation. Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister was not willing to bring the army action to urban Sindh but army command was independent in its decision. The MQM was caught in surprise when the army recovered weapons and its torture cells. In order to neutralize the power of MQM, the army also supported the internal rifts of the organization and sponsored the creation of a new faction named the MQM (Hagigi). The MQM protested to the federal government but the Prime Minister was helpless before the army command. Altaf Hussain resorted to self exile and continued to command its party organization through the use of satellite the use of communication system from his home in North London.⁸⁰ The MQM boycotted the elections of 1993 as a protest but again won 12 seats in the National Assembly in the elections of February 1997 and became the coalition partner of the Nawaz government.

It remained coalition partner of government in 1997 but its reliance on violence continued. Later in 2002 the MQM also joined hands with Gen. Musharraf, a military dictator, despite its claim of being a democrat party. The positive result of this deal

was a peaceful interlude in Karachi in particular, and in the urban Sindh in generally. But when Musharraf could not deliver up to their expectations, the MQM reverted to its old practices. It joined PPP government (2008-2013), in the province as well as the and centre, but threat to withdraw and to reverse its decision after assurances of government, continued to be its tactics to assert its position.

The government of Mian Nawaz Sharif (2013 to date) in the its bid to restore peace in Karachi called an all parties conference to take on board all the stake holders. With the consensus of all parties operation was started against criminals.⁸¹ When the MQM workers and leaders were detained, MQM started making hue and cry and declared the operation as targeted against MQM only.⁸²

The MQM's militancy remained a major source of conflict in urban areas of Sindh. Its popularity at the grass root level is still intact as it is taken as a guardian of the interests of the Mohajir community. However, the element of terror is also there that compels the Urdu speaking population to remain under strong party discipline. The MQM's torture cells and its militancy against all their opponents including those who breach party discipline as is open secret. Almost all its leadership has a criminal record and its hundreds of activists are wanted by the courts of law. Therefore, the MQM cannot afford to stay out of power. At the same time, no government can ignore its participation due to its control over Karachi, the economic hub of the country and other urban areas of Sindh.

The Awami National Party (ANP)

This party is a regional party having appeal to Pakhtun areas. Its power base is Khyber Pakhtumkhwa but with its limited seats it remained a coalition partner in National Governments in 1990s and then after the restoration of democracy in 2008. At the provincial level it has remained in power a number of times. It is also a family dynasty with Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan, followed by

his son has, Wali Khan, and his grandson Asfandar Yar Wali, as its successive chairmen. Begum Nasim Wali Khan also played an active role in party politics when her husband Wali Khan was arrested in 1975, during the Bhutto regime.

The party has passed through three phases. The first phase is associated with the Khudai Khidmatgar or Red Shirts movement. It was led by Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan who was titled as Frontier's Gandhi due to his ideas and affiliation with the Indian National Congress.⁸³ His anti-British stance was the cause of considerable political activism in NWFP (as it was named at that time), but at the time of partition, people of the province voted for Pakistan in a referendum.⁸⁴ After independence, Abdul Ghafar Khan took the oath as the member of the constituent assembly but the central government remained suspicious due to his continued struggle for Pakhtunistan which had intensified at the time of tensions with Afghanistan and India. He tried to expand Khudai Khidmatgar movement outside KPK and consequently was arrested with his son Wali Khan.⁸⁵ He frequently travelled to Afghanistan and was awarded the Nehru Peace Award by India in 1969. It was an open secret that he was raising the issue of Pakhtunistan on the backing of Afghanistan and India to destabilize Pakistan.

In the second phase of the party evolution, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan joined hands with Baloch, Sindhi and Bengali nationalists along with left to the center Punjabi politicians and formed a new party, the National Awami Party (NAP). It adopted the stance of a secular party advocating and focusing on social reforms. As a left to the center party, it was in opposition to the conservative PML. It exercised a strong hold over provincial politics. It demanded dissolution of one unit and more provincial autonomy. Soon it was broken away and its Pakhtun faction headed by Wali Khan was able to establish coalition governments with the JUI (Madni group) in the provinces of Balochistan and KPK in 1972.

The provincial governments in KPK and Balochistan tried to strengthen its political base in the provinces at the cost of the PPP and its sympathisers using all the state resources. The Balochistan government headed by Sardar Atta-ullah Mengal repatriated a large number of Federal civil servants who belonged to province other than Baloch. He instigated his supporting tribes to uproot the Punjabi settlers from the Pat-Feeder area in Balochistan. Balochistan government of the NAP established a local militia called the Balochistan Dehi Muhaz (BDM) and mobilized it against their opponent tribes in Lasbella and other areas of Balochistan. The Federal government intervened by sending troops to rescue these tribes. It repeatedly warned the provincial government to windup its operation against rival tribes but the later did not heed the advice. The Federal government again sent the troops to stop the war between the provincial government and Bazinjo- Mengal tribes and against Jamot tribes. The clashes erupted again in February 1973. During this period, an arms cache was discovered in the Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad. The federal government alleged that it was en-route to NAP government in Balochistan. The Balochistan provincial government of NAP was dismissed on 15 1973 February while the NAP-JUI government of KPK resigned in protest.

A large number of tribesmen and NAP activists recruited in provincial security force absconded with their weapons and continued their operations against the provincial government and army troops.⁸⁶ The groups of youth like Balochistan Student Organisation and other Marxist and nationalist factions joined them to make a greater Balochistan. A Balochistan crisis emerged which continued in the form of militancy against the federal government and the settlers in Balochistan. The federal government responded by an army action to deal with the situation which ended with the end of Bhutto government in 1977. But it still continues as chronic issue challenging the national integration and solidarity of the country.

The NAP continued to raise Pakhtunistan issue in collaboration with the Afghan governments. The Khudai Khitmatgar and its successor NAP led by his son Wali Khan Proved to be on Afghan inedentist when claiming Pakhtunistan. It had its roots in just four of the six settled districts of the province where this movement was led by landlords supported by their tenants in rural areas.⁸⁷ The NAP leaders continuously challenged the very rationale of Pakistan. Sardar Dawood, the Afghan President, not only supported Pakhtunistan issue in his government's official communication with Pakistan but also justified the cause of NAP and provided asylum to Baloch insurgents.⁸⁸ In the urban areas, Pakhtunistan could not receive any significant following. The reason was that Pakhtun urban middle or lower middle class were drawn into the institutions of the state such as the civil services and the Army. They were represented in the security serices of Pakistan more than Punjab's when compared in terms their ratios in the total population of the country. The provincial economy was more integrated with that of the Punjab. Pakhtun are highly entrepreneurial and mobile.⁸⁹ Therefore they prefer to live in Pakistan and that's why national political parties, both the PPP and the Muslim League won the seats in Khyber Pakhtun Khwa and Balochistan in all the general elections from 1970 to 2008.⁹⁰ However NAP, a regional political party with limited following continued its efforts to destabilize Pakistan on the initiative of the hostile Afghan governments for decades. It was banned by the federal government on account of anti-state activities of the party and the decision was upheld by the Supreme Court of Pakistan.⁹¹

The ANP was the successor party of the NAP. It remained a powerful political force in KPK, especially in the Pakhtun areas. Although diametrically at odds the ANP, a more left to the centre party, joined conservative PML (N) in IJI, an anti-PPP alliance in an effort to gain popular vote in the elections of 1988. Difficulties arise but the ANP compromised this time on its demand to rename its province as from NWFP to Khyber Pakhtun Khwa. Its

demand was opposed by non-Pashto speaking areas, a reason why the PML (N) could secure gains in Hazara areas at the cost of local parties, while the ANP was reduced to 3 seats in 1993 elections from 6 in 1990. In 1997, an agreement with the PML (N) bolstered the position of the ANP in its own province and it won 10 seats in the National Assembly. But soon it dissociated itself from the federal government due to alleged betrayal of Nawaz government from the old promise of renaming its province.⁹²

The ANP was a part of the government of PPP (2008-2013) with its 13 seats in the National Assembly. It ultimately achieved its objective of renaming NWFP as Khyber Pakhtun Khwa through the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment. The decision was hailed by the ANP provincial government and people of Pakhtun districts. But bloody clashes took place in Abbotabad, Mansehra and other areas where Hindko⁹³ speaking are in the majority. They objected that if Pakhtun Khwa is for the Pakhtuns then their areas should be separated from the province to make a new province named Hazara. The ANP's regional politics resulted in further ethnic violence in the province on the issue of linguistic identity. The provincial government of ANP in KPK is aiming at following Bach Khan's philosophy as the political guide for of the province. The opposition parties are accusing it for reviving the dream of greater Pakhtunistan⁹⁴ which has been a threat for national integration of Pakistan for decades.

The ANP is also involved in a worse kind of violence in Karachi as the guardian of Pakhtun interests. It has a strong militant wing and has adopted the policy of tit-for-tat in the face of any threat from the MQM, Ironically both ANP and MQM have been coalition partners in the centre but they could not reconcile on their ethnic agenda for peace. The ANP has lost its popularity in its home province KPK in the elections of 2013, but it has strong hold over the Pakhtun population of Karachi because it serves as a counter force to rival groups working against Pakhtun interests.

The Balochistan National Party (BNP)

It was formed by Sardar Atta-ullah Mengal, the former Chief Minister of the NAP-JUI coalition government in Balochistan (1972-1973). He formed Balochistan National Party in late 1996. This party tried to gather various small, nationalist Baloch parties. The BNP took 3 National Assembly seats in 1997 while the Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) of Akber Bugti claimed 2 seats only. The party was in a position to make a government in Balochistan with 10 provincial seats. In the National Assembly of 2008, it could return only one MNA. The Balochistan politics showed the regional trends from the very beginning specific to the Pakhtun and Baloch areas. The national political parties had limited appeal to the people of this province. The PPP, PML (N) and PML (Q) secured a few seats but smaller parties have their strong constituencies along regional and ethnic lines and those lines are being further deepened. The Baloch politicians hardly play national politics.⁹⁵ All the Baloch parties are established along ethnic or tribal lines and hardly make any appearance on the national scene.

Conclusion

Political instability is a serious problem threatening the survival of the country especially considering the heterogeneous structure of our societies. It is creating massive problems and hindering the development process of Pakistan. Regional ethnic parties threaten the very existence of the country and it had lost half of the territory and population due to ethnicity. Secession of the East Pakistan was not only a setback but also an occasion to rethink national priorities and to accommodate the regional aspirations through acknowledging the pluralism of the political culture. Low profile leadership always led to regional politics since it was not able to rise to the national level.

Deprivations are there in the post-colonial societies but the Pakhtun have never been deprived in terms of places in government apparatus both military and bureaucracy. They were given more space as compared to their ratio of population. They

remained mobile and were never denied opportunity in any part of the country in terms of fortune hunting, establishing business and settling as an household. Despite all this, the Pakhtun leadership of ANP and its predecessor parties, continued to detract people and hindered the process of national integration by raising the issue of Pakhtunistan time and again at the instigation of a neighbouring country. The leadership of the NAP was not denied its right to govern its province in honour of the peoples' mandate. But it exploited the opportunity to dispense with all the opponents and played factional politics. Consequently the centre-province clash in Balochistan led to a situation similar to that of East Pakistan in 1970-71.

ANP with its 8 seats in the parliament of 2008-2013 compelled the ruling PPP to fulfill its longstanding demand of changing the name of NWFP to KPK, without developing the consensus in their own province on the issue. As a result, when it was adopted by the federal government, a strong reaction was provoked in non-Pakhtun population of KPK, taking a lot of lives of innocent lives. Conflict of interests in Karachi and tit-for-tat strategy of ANP against MQM remained a constant source of violence in urban Sindh. It was ironic that both parties were sitting in government as coalition partners of PPP but unfortunately were not ready to reconcile with each other on national interests.

The political parties which are having seats in the parliament bear more responsibilities to strengthen the political system but in Pakistan, the regional parties with fewer seats in the parliament find it appropriate that its regional agenda should materialize in lieu of the political support which the mainstream political parties need for government formation. The MQM is the clear example that is contesting for allocation of jobs and quotas in the educational institutions while the the economic activity has been paralysed in the Urban areas of Sindh for decades. But they are not ready to reconcile. They join all the national governments in a

hope to extract more benefits and threaten break away when hopes are not fulfilled. Its leadership is highly educated and always talks about protection of rights and respect for law but practically they frequently clash with the law enforcing agencies, resulting in a high death toll. They are involved in mass killings of not only other ethnic groups like Pakhtun and Sindhis but also their own dissidents. They are fighting for more resources but their strategy of violence threatening peace and the very survival of the individuals and the society as a whole.

The problem lies in the treatment of ethnic issues. All the political governments took ethno-nationalist issues as a mere law and order problem while these issues needed a well chalked out political solution based on national consensus. The question of regional autonomy should be addressed as given under the constitution. The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution has progressed on this issue and has abolished the concurrent list, leaving all the residuary powers with the provinces. But still grievances are there which require constitutional modern.

The prolonged military rule has magnified the regional aspirations. The inability of the politicians to reconcile with the needs of time and resolve the political problems through a defined the political process has provided the armed forces time and again with a course to intervene. There is no other solution to the current complex political impose except through invoking the constitution, consolidating institutions and respecting the plural nature of the political culture. Strong political parties of national character are a pre-requisite for this purpose. The working of democracy, however fragile and short-lived it could groom the political system into a clear two party system. If the national political parties could exercise democracy within their own ranks, they could serve better interests articulation and filling the gaps of representation by all the factions. It is believed that it may be dangerous for democracy if leaders remain in office for longer periods.⁹⁶ Therefore fresh leadership from the grass root level

could end the sense of deprivation of masses of largest as the elite politics is no more the solution of the problem.

Strong representative institutions, accommodation of all factions in the process of governance and emergencies of leadership from the middle class will lead to a national source of patriotism which will not respond to foreign dictates, offers and incentives at the cost of national interests.

Notes and References

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- 2 Thomas Janoski, "Political Institutions Fundamentally Influence Political Life," *A handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 103.
- 3 Kevin T. Leicht, J. Craig Jenkins, *Handbook of Politics: State and Society in Global Perspective*, books.google.com.pk – 2010.
- 4 Dr Vít Hloušek and Dr Lubomír Kopeček, *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties: East-Central and Western Europe* (UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010), p. 204.
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- 6 Maxinilion Stramiska, "Regional Political Parties and Party Systems, Concept and Typology of European Regional Parties and Regional Party Arrangements," *Vyd. 1Brno. Anton Pasienska*, 2005, 72pp. *Politologicka'ed.*,5.
- 7 Dr Vít Hloušek and Dr Lubomír Kopeček, *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties*, 204.
- 8 L. S. Gassah, *Regional Political Parties in North East India* (India: Omsons Publications, 1992), ix.

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- 9 Biju Patnaik, who formed the Utkal Congress in 1970 in India advocated this theory.
 - 10 Whether communal or non-communal, all these regional parties were led by Muslims.
 - 11 Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1858-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1968).
 - 12 Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society* (Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003).
 - 13 Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1980)
 - 14 Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League fell under this category. M. Weiner and La Palombra (eds.), *Political Parties and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 9-10.
 - 15 K. C. Suri, "Parties under Pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence," pdf, retrieved on 28/01/12.
 - 16 The ex- Muslim Leaguers established 9 out of 13 parties by 1949. M. Rafiq Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-58* (Islamabad: National Institute of History and Culture, 1986), 36-37.
 - 17 Mohammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Institute of Cultural and Historical Research, 2007), 114-115.
 - 18 East Pakistan was the largest province in joint Pakistan; its provincial assembly passed a resolution in 1948 demanding maximum provincial autonomy.
 - 19 The third Governor General of Pakistan was a retired civil servant and was followed by the fourth Governor General (later became first President of Pakistan) Major General (Retd.) Iskender Mirza was a serviceman later converted to civil services. They never contested the elections and were appointed as the head of the state through executive action.
 - 20 The language issue caused acute reaction in 1953 in East Pakistan, the largest province of Pakistan. They were demanding Bengali as National Language and more provincial autonomy. These sentiments led to a humiliating defeat of Muslim League at the hands of an alliance of regional political parties in the

provincial elections of 1954. It was the end of national politics from this province and rise of regional politics which ultimately resulted in separation of East and West Pakistan in 1971.

- 21 For the text of the Prime Minister's address on Radio Pakistan see Pakistan News Digest, 1st December 1954.
- 22 President Iskander Mirza dismissed the elected governments of provinces and appointed his handpicked as the governors of the provinces. Politicians from West Pakistan like Feroze Khan Noon and Dr Khan Sahib were appointed as the governors of East Pakistan. This action further aggravated the sentiments against federal government and was taken against the provincial autonomy.
- 23 K. C. Suri, "Parties under pressure: Political Parties in India since Independence."
- 24 Liaqat Ali Khan was the first Prime Minister of Pakistan 1947-1951.
- 25 Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Company, 2005), 136.
- 26 Public Representative Disqualification Order (PRODA) was introduced to disqualify politicians for the offences like nepotism, bribery and corruption. The limit of the punishment was disqualification for ten years.
- 27 Seven cases were instituted against the politicians during the five years life period of PRODA (1949-1954). Four of them were convicted including Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, Kazi Fazl-ullah, Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan (all from Sindh) and Hamid-ul-Haq Chaudhry from East Pakistan. Cases were registered against Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Ahmed Daultana (from Punjab) and Ghulam Ali Talpur (from Sindh) but they could escape conviction. The Governor General exercised his power to withdraw restriction under PRODA to give relief to Khuhro.
- 28 It remained a common practice starting from first martial law in 1958 to the fourth martial law in 1999.
- 29 The Political Parties Act 1962, 1984 and 2002 are the examples.
- 30 EBDO means the Elected Bodies Disqualification Order. It was issued to discredit politicians from mainstream politics.

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- 31 Ayub Khan lifted martial law and restored political activity in the country in 1962, and assumed the headship of Pakistan Muslim League (Convention).
 - 32 In the absence of support from party, people contested the elections on family, clan and caste basis which tore the fabric of society into smaller communities.
 - 33 Zafar Hussain Chaudhry, *National Accountability Bureau Ordinance, 1999: as amended by ord., CXXXIII of 2002 and Anti-Terrorism Act with narcotics laws* (Lahore: Nadeem Law Books, 2003)
 - 34 Creation of MQM to balance Sindhi Nationalism and to check the power of PPP in Sindh is a clear example.
 - 35 At the time of independence in 1947 Pakistan was a federation of five provinces East Pakistan (Bengal), Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan and ten princely states. It was disintegrated in 1971 when East Pakistan became Bangladesh.
 - 36 Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as modified till 2004. [http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Publications /constitution.pdf](http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Publications/constitution.pdf), retrieved on 27/3/12.
 - 37" The Text of the Eighteenth Amendment to 1973 Constitution of Pakistan."
 - 38 The National Assembly has 342 seats while the four provincial assemblies have 728 seats in total.
 - 39 All provinces have equal seats in the Senate, with the total strength of hundred senators.
 - 40 There are four provinces in Pakistan with its own language and culture. Every province has further language and cultural diversity like Baloch and Brahvi are prominent languages along with Pakhtun and Punjabi settlers in Balochistan. Khyber Pakhtun Khawa (KPK) has almost half of the population of Pakhtun and other half is Hidko speaking. Southern Punjab has Siraiki speaking population on the borders of Sindh and Balochistan in addition to Potohari speaking districts of Jhelum to Attock. A large population is Punjabi speaking in Central Punjab. Sindh has Sindhi speaking native population in rural Sindh. But in the years followed by independence migration from central provinces of India changed the demographic composition of the urban areas of Sindh and Mohajir emerged as

the fifth nationality at par with Punjabi, Sindhi, Baloch and Pakhtun.

- 41 They are registered under the Executive Order of 2002, when General Musharraf restored political activity in Pakistan before the general elections of 2002.
- 42 It was the constitutional clause incorporated by General Zia-ul-Haq (Chief martial law administrator 1977-1988) through the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution of 1973 before lifting martial law in 1985. It empowered the president to dissolve National Assembly and dismiss elected government declaring them corrupt and unqualified. Four consecutive elected governments were dismissed by three presidents in a period of less than 10 years.
- 43 In India a political party which could secure 4 percent of the popular vote is considered to be a party with national influence. "National Political Parties," www.nios.ac.in/srsec317newE/317EL19.pdf. 10/04/12.
- 44 "Long Live Pakistan With Altaf Hussain & MQM," <http://forum.urduworld.com/f101/political-parties-pakistan-311513/>
- 45 Dr Vit Hloušek and Dr Lubomír Kopeček, *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties: East-Central and Western Europe*, p. 204.
- 46 The opposition alliance Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) refused to accept the election results and started protest movement against the ruling PPP. Bhutto took it lightly but when the situation was aggravated, he had to call military to restore order in 5 major cities of the country. Failure of political forces to reconcile with each other and military's continuous involvement in the process led to the imposition of another martial law, the third time in Pakistan in 1977.
- 47 Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Company), 332.
- 48 It was consisted of the disgruntled members of PML (N) and other politicians who wanted to en-cash the fruits of martial law government by joining it. It was named as PML (Q) after the name of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Founder of Nation.

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- 49 Awami League presided by Mujeeb-ur-Rehman won 160 seats (out of 162 reserved for East Pakistan) in a House of 300. The insistence of Z. A. Bhutto to reach a compromise outside the parliament and inability of leadership of both parties to accommodate each other's demands led to a deadlock which could not be resolved and army action by the martial law authorities and later Indian intervention led to separation of East Pakistan.
 - 50 Although Awami League won 160 seats and secured a clear cut majority in the joint National Assembly of East and West Pakistan but it was still a regional party because it could not get any seat from any other province of Pakistan. Its stubborn attitude towards other political parties led to the disintegration of the country.
 - 51 The Supreme Court of Pakistan is reinvestigating the judicial trial of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (Elected Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1973-1977). The jurists are agreed that his trial was not a fair one and the victim was not given due right of defence.
 - 52 Under the Eighth Constitutional Amendment instituted by General Zia to get indemnity to all the actions and ordinances military had taken during the period 1977-1985, the president was empowered to appoint any member of the elected National Assembly as Prime Minister whom he believed could win the vote of confidence from the National Assembly. This power was restricted to March 1990. General Zia instituted this power in the office of the president because he believed that he would remain in office for life time and appoint prime minister in a house based on non-party elections. But following his death in an air-crash in August 1988, the Supreme Court of Pakistan ordered that the general elections scheduled in October 1988 would be held on party basis in response to a petition by Miss Benazir. She was offered to make the government after a compromise with the military high command. PPP government was a coalition given its 88 seats in a house of 207.
 - 53 Benazir was murdered after a public meeting in 'Liaqat Bagh' Rawalpindi when she was coming out after addressing a large public meeting in December 2007 when President Gen. Musharraf allowed her to come back home.
 - 54 The widow of Mir Murtaza Bhutto, the eldest son of Z.A. Bhutto was not accommodated within the party therefore she

disintegrated making PPP (Shaheed Bhutto group). Initially the blessings of Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto were also with her. However due to lack of leadership it could not establish itself as a challenger to original PPP.

- 55 Pervaiz Musharraf dismissed Prime Minister Nawaz's government on the charges that he later attempted on his life by not allowing his flight to land on Karachi airport and imposed martial law in 1999. Nawaz Sharif, and all his family were arrested and were under trial, when Royals of Saudi Arabia intervened to save Nawaz's life because it was suspected that he would be hanged just as Gen. Zia hanged Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1979 after a judicial trial. On their request Nawaz and his family were exiled to Saudi Arabia and then London. Like his predecessors, Musharraf instituted a king's party to civilianize its military rule in 2002.
- 56 Some high profile and close aides of Mian Nawaz Sharif were among these politicians like Chaudhry Shujat Hussain, Tariq Azeem, Maashahid Hussain, Naeem Chatta etc.
- 57 PML (N) had 91 seats while PML (Q) secured 50 seats. If they could afford to unite again they would have a majority in the National Assembly even over PPP with 126 seats.
- 58 Adam Ziegfeld, "Why the Rise of Regional Parties Isn't So Bad," 10/11/2010, <http://casi.ssc.upenn.edu/iit/ziegfeld>. retrieved on 12 April 2012.
- 59 Election Commission of Pakistan, <http://www.ecp.gov.pk/Misc/PartyPosition/NAPosition.pdf>, retrieved on 29/03/2012.
- 60 <http://www.ecp.gov.pk/Misc/PartyPosition/NAPosition.pdf>, retrieved on 29/03/2012.
- 61 This numbered was secured in a House of 207. Later in 2002 number of National Assembly seats were increased to 342.
- 62 Tariq Rehman, "Language and Ethnicity in Pakistan," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 37, No. 9 (Spring, 1997): 833-839.
- 63 It led to a series of riots and violence as Pakistan People's Party's provincial government which actually represented the native Sindhi, passed a bill in provincial assembly to increase the use of Sindhi vernacular, then imposed quota for admissions and jobs. *Ibid.*, 837.

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- 64 Rodney W. Jones, The Prospects for State Failure in Pakistan: Ethnic, Regional, and Sectarian Fissures, http://www.policyarchitects.org/pdf/Pak_statefailure_ExSumm.pdf
- 65 Altaf Hussain was a student in Pharmacy Department of Karachi University. He established this organization to protect the interests of Mohajir students. His organization faced first challenge from Islami Jamiat-i-Talaba. Bloody clashes with PSF resulted in loss of life and militancy in the student organizations. The hostels were converted into armed bunkers. Altaf Hussain was expelled from the university along with other fellows.
- 66 There were evidences that Gen. Zia supported its emergence as an opposition party to the PPP. The MQM challenged the PPP in its home ground and reduced its influence to the rural Sindh. Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 452-453.
- 67 Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 453.
- 68 The army command used internal fudges of MQM to check the violence in Karachi. But later clashes between the two factions of MQM created more violence. Ibid.
- 69 10 out of its 59 points were related to education. It also addressed the longstanding issues of domicile and job quotas. It demanded for compensation for the victims of Hyderabad bombing. *Dawn Overseas Weekly*, week ending 14 December 1988.
- 70 The demand was a part of long struggle of MQM but the native Sindhi have apprehensions about increasing threat to their already declining majority in the urban Sindh. But MQM was not ready to compromise less than that.
- 71 Altaf Hussain declared that this violence is targeted due to the fear that MQM might not unite the oppressed classes against exploiters in Pakistan. *Dawn Overseas Weekly*, week ending, 4 April 1989.
- 72 *Dawn Overseas Weekly*, week ending, 17 May 1989.
- 73 Public Statement of Bader Iqbal, MQM's Joint Secretary.
- 74 *Dawn Overseas Weekly*, week ending, 26 July 1989.
- 75 The loss of 14 MQM members was a great threat to the existence of the PPP government.

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- 76 Khalid-bin-Saeed, "The Three Worlds of Democracy in Pakistan," *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (1992), 62.
- 77 *Dawn*, 9 February 1990.
- 78 Police version of the incident was that they opened fire in retaliation to the firing from the homes. Both parties claimed their innocence but whatever the real picture was, 200 people were killed in the protest against this incident in Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukhar.
- 79 In post Zia period General Aslam Beg was the one who decided to allow the democracy to work. But the real powers were with the military which operated through the powerful President. There was an extra-constitutional arrangement at the government level, called Troika, where the Army Chief, President and Prime Minister were the power sharing offices.
- 80 Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, 212.
- 81 PPP, MQM, Jamat-i-Islami, PML-F, JUI, ANP and all other parties agreed in All Parties Conference (APC) that action is required to get the fruits of policy decisions. See Irfan Aliqi, "MQM, PPP exchange barbs over Karachi Operation," *Pakistan Observer*, 15 February 2014.
- 82 Kazim Abbas's arrest in Nimat Ali Randhawa murder case, who was the witness of the murder of Vali Baber, a journalist was reacted to by MQM. Kazim confessed 8 murders. See "Karachi Police Arrested MQM Activists in Randhawa Killing," 01 October 2013, www.dawn.com/news/1046733.
- 83 Mohandass Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) was the prominent leader of All India Congress in colonial period. Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan was the disciple of Gandhi following his philosophy of non-violence.
- 84 It was called for asking their opinion whether they wanted to join Pakistan or India.
- 85 The Khudai Khidmatgar was banned and Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan remained under arrest till 1954.
- 86 Hassan Askari Rizvi, *The Military State and Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1997* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1998), 227-228.

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- 87 These districts were the Pashto speaking areas of NWFP (now renamed as Khyber Pakhtun Khwa (KPK)) Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Mardan. It had little reach among Pakhtun in FATA or elsewhere.
- 88 Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military State and Society in Pakistan*, 156.
- 89 Pakhtun are highly entrepreneurial. They establish small businesses and do not hesitate migrating for jobs either within the country or the Gulf States. They own a large share of private transport businesses not only in KPK but all over the country including Karachi. Karachi has the largest population of Pakhtun even more than Peshawar, the capital of KPK.
- 90 "National Assembly General Elections," <http://www.ecp.gov.pk/GE/2002/PartiesPositionNA.aspx>, retrieved on 12/04/12.
- 91 The Supreme Court conducted the proceedings of the case in open and press reported freely from March to September. *Asian Recorder*, 23-29 April 1975, p.12556 and 8-14 January 1976, p. 12966.
- 92 Rodney W. Jones, "The Prospects for State Failure in Pakistan."
- 93 It is different from Pashto, a variation of Punjabi which is spoken in Abbotabad and Haripur divisions of KPK.
- 94 Provincial leader of JUI-F Gull Naseeb also alleged that the "Bacha Khan Education Foundation was being fully funded by the US and American delegations were frequently visiting the educational institutions run by the foundation. He demanded a thorough probe into the millions of dollars being spent by the foundation." see "ANP Plotting to Disintegrate Country: JUI-F Leader," *Pak Tribune*, <http://www.paktribune.com/news/print.php?id=207694>, retrieved on 5 may 2012.
- 95 <http://www.einfopedia.com/political-party-of-pakistan-top-ten-10-best-or-largest-parties.php>
- 96 Robert Michaels, *Political Parties, A sociological study of the Oligarchical Trend of Modern Democracies*, <http://www.zipdf.com/view.php?id=http://socserv.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3113/michels/polipart.pdf&k=main%20political%20parties>, retrieved on 27/03/12, 61