M.Sc / BS Pakistan Studies

Study Guide
POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS IN PAKISTAN
PS- 545 / 9371

Department of Pakistan Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

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Table of Contents

Part One: Organization of the Course

1. Structure of the Course 7
2. How to use Reading Material 8
3. Study Chart 9
4. Time Table 10
5. How to Attend a Tutorial 11
6. Assessment 12
7. Course Description 13

Part Two: Blocks 1-9 17

1. Block One: Concepts-I 18
   - 1.1 Introduction 18
   - 1.2 What is a Political Party? 19
   - 1.3 Required Readings 19
   - 1.4 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 20

2. Block Two Concepts-II 22
   - 2.1 Introduction 23
   - 2.2 What is a Pressure Group? 25
   - 2.3 Required Readings 25
   - 2.4 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 25
   - 2.5 Public Opinion and Propaganda 26
   - 2.6 Required Readings 26
   - 2.7 Self Learning Questions with points to Note 26

3. Block Three Political Parties & Pressure Groups. 27
   Interaction & Interrelationship 27
   - 3.1 Introduction 28
   - 3.2 Interaction and interrelationship between Political Parties and Pressure Groups 30
   - 3.3 Required Readings 30
   - 3.4 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 30
   - 3.5 What is party strength? 30
   - 3.6 Required Readings 30
   - 3.7 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 31
   - 3.8 How does the making and breaking of coalition or alliance occur with-in or among political parties? 32
   - 3.9 Required Readings 32
   - 3.10 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 32
   - 3.11 Impact of Political Parties on Political Development 32
   - 3.12 Required Readings 32
   - 3.13 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 32

4. Block Four & Five Party systems and political stability 33
4.1 Introduction 34
4.2 Traditional Political System and Political Change 36
4.3 Required Readings 36
4.4 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 36
4.5 Single Party System 37
4.6 Required Readings 37
4.7 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 37
4.8 Two-Party Systems 38
4.9 Required Readings 38
4.10 Self Learning's Questions with Points to Note 38
4.11 Multi-Partism 39
4.12 Required Readings 39
4.13 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 39
4.14 Political Stability 39
4.15 Required Readings 39
4.16 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note. 39

5. Black Six Party system in Pakistan 41
5.1 Introduction 42
5.2 1947-58 44
5.3 Required Readings 44
5.4 Self learning Questions with Points to Note 44
5.5 1958-69 44
5.6 Required Readings 44
5.7 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 45
5.8 1969-71 46
5.9 Required Readings 46
5.10 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 46
5.11 1971-77 48
5.12 Required Readings 48
5.13 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note. 48
5.14 1977-88 49
5.15 Required Readings 49
5.16 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 49
5.17 1988-to date 50
5.18 Required Readings 50
5.19 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 50

6. Block Seven & Eight Role of Political parties 51
6.1 Introduction 52
6.2 Pakistan Muslim League 53
6.3 Required Reading 53
6.4 Self Learning Questions with Points to Not 53
6.5 Pakistan People's Party 54

6.6 Required Readings 54
6.7 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 54
6.8 National Awami Party 55
5.9 Required Readings 55
6.10 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 55
6.11 Jamiat-I-Ulam-i-Islam 56
6.12 Required Readings 56
6.13 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 56
6.14 Republican Party 56
6.15 Required Readings 56
6.16 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 57
6.17 Jamat-i-Islamai 57
6.18 Required Readings 57
6.19 Self Learning Question with Points to Note 57
6.20 Jamiat-al-Ulama-i-Pakistan 58
6.21 Required Readings 58
6.22 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 58
6.23 Mohajir Qaumi Movement 58
6.24 Required Readings 58
6.25 Self Learning Questions 58

Block Nine Pressure groups in Pakistan 60
7.1 Introduction 61
7.2 Role of Major Pressure/Interest Groups in Pakistani Politics 61
7.3 Required Readings 61
7.4 Self Learning Questions with Points to Note 61

Prescribed Reading List 63

PART ONE ORGANISATION OF THE COURSE

1. STRUCTURE OF THE COURSE

- The course has been structured to make it as easy as possible for you to do the required work. Like a half credit course this course consists of nine blocks but of unequal length. Ideally one block is a student work of 12-16 hours. Since the course work of one block will include studying the prescribed reading material and carrying out the various self-learning questions and as the length of the blocks is unequal, we have calculated the length of time you are required to o spend on each block which is given in the time table. We expect you to finish the work within the allocated time. (See section 4)

- We have organized this course to enable you to acquire the skill of self-learning. Your will find a course description at the end of this part which will provide you an overall view of the course. For each block an introduction is given to help you develop an objective analysis of the major and sub-themes discussed in the prescribed reading material. Major and sub- themes are listed along with the prescribed reading material.

- Each prescribed reading is compulsory for successful completion of course.

- We expect you to do your study in the suggested manner given in "how to use reading material" (for details please see section 2)

- For this course, ‘Forth nightly Tutorials' are arranged in University's Regional Study Centers. They provide facilities to meet with one another for mutual help and individual discussion with the 'Course Guide'. These tutorials are not formal 'lectures' given in any formal University; rather these are meant for group and individual discussion with the Course Guide to facilitate you to undertake part of your learning together. So before going to attend a tutorial prepare you self to discuss course material with your colleagues and course guide. (For detail see section 5 How to Attend the Tutorial).

2. HOW TO USE READING MATERIAL

- As this is a ‘distance education’ course we have organized the required course work in the following manner to help you in evolving a self-learning process in absence of formal class room teaching.

  i) A detailed course description.
  ii) Introduction to each Block.

  iii) The major theme of the block is divided into sub-themes, which are listed along with Required Readings. Unlike other courses, Required Readings are not classified as compulsory and suggested, each prescribed reading is compulsory for successful completion of the course.
  iv) After listing 'Required Readings' we have given you few self learning questions for each topic or theme. These questions are not only meant to facilitate you in understanding the required readings but also to provide you an opportunity to assess yourself how far have you learnt.
  v) To help you in answering the questions, points to note arc given. These points will not only lead you to a better understanding but will also suggest a direction in which we expect you to think and analyse. You can of source think or many more points.
  vi) Although you choose your own way of studying the required reading material, you are advised to follow the steps which are shown in the study chart that follows (Section 3)

3. STUDY CHART

STEP 1 For clear identification of your reading materials thoroughly read the Course Description and introductions to the Blocks.

STEP 2 Read carefully the way the reading material is to be used (2)

STEP 3 Complete the first quick reading of your required study material,

STEP 4 Carefully make the 2nd reading and note down some of the points you were not able to fully understand.

STEP 5 Carry out the self-learning questions with the help of your study material.

STEP 6 Revise your notes. There is every likelihood that many of those points which you did not previously understand become clearer to you now during the process of carrying our self-learning questions.

STEP 7 Preparation for the tutorial meeting i.e. note down the point for discussion with other members of your group and with your Course Guide.

STEP 8 Make a third and final reading of your study material. At this stage, students are advised to also keep in view the home work assignments which they supposed to complete in relation to each block.

4. TIME TABLE

(Course Description == 2 hours

	Block-1	Block-2	Block-3	Block-4 & 5	Block-6	Block 7& 8	Block-9
Reading Instrucation	30 Minutes	30 Minutes	30 Minutes	45 Minutes	30 Minutes	45 Minutes	30 Minutes
Studying Required Reading	5-6 Hours	4-6 Hours	6-8 Hours	14-15 Hours	5-7 Hours	14-15 Hours	6-8 Hours
Self Learning Activities & Questions	4-6 Hours	4-6 Hours	4-6 Hours	7-9 Hours	4-6 Hours	10-12 Hours	5-6 Hours
Preparation for Tutorials	1-2 Hours	1-2 Hours	1-2 Hours	2-4 Hours	1-2 Hours	3-4 Hours	2-3 Hours

Total Hours of Study: Maximum= 140 Hours
Minimum = 108 Hours

5. HOW TO ATTEND A TUTORIAL

Before attending a tutorial you are required to prepare yourself in the following manner to get maximum benefit.
The first tutorial is Introductory Tutorial for which you are required to do the following work.

STET 1 Go through first part of the Study Guide which includes:

i) Organization of the course
ii) Structure of the Programme
iii) How to use Reading material
iv) Assessment

STEP 2 Read carefully Course Description 2.3 times to have a better understanding of the course. It will give you an overview of the whole course. Make notes of those point which you cannot fully understand or wish to discuss with your Course Guide.
In tutorial 2-9, you will complete course work consisting of 9 Study Blocks. The way we have arranged these tutorials, will give you an opportunity to discuss one block in one tutorial.
Please see schedule of the semester.

STEP 3 Read Introduction to 'the block', and make notes of the themes, around which, the block is constructed.

STEP 4 Study "Required Readings", in the manner, these are prescribed in how to Use Reading Material, and make notes of the points you are not able to fully understand and wish to discuss with your Course Guide.

6. ASSESSMENT

For each course the registered student will be assessed as following:

- Assignments (continuous assessment) see details as given below. Final Examination three hours written examination will take place at the end of the semester).

The conditions to qualify each component arc given below:

i) A minimum of 40% for MSc and 50% for BS in each assignment (Total number of assignments for this course is 2)

ii) A minimum of 40% for MSc and 50% for BS in the final written examination.

iii) An aggregate 40% for MSc and 50% for BS of both the components i.e. assignments and final examination.

iv) To take final examination the student has to pass the Assignment component

The grade will be determined as following:

40% - 54%	C
55% - 69%	B
70% - Above	A

Assignments

- Assignments are those written exercises which you are required to complete at your own home or place of work after having studied different parts of the prescribed reading material; within the scheduled period of study. (Please see the schedule). For this course you will receive two assignments- which we expect you to complete within the study period.

- This compulsory course work and its successful completion will make you eligible to take final examination at the end of the semester.
- To complete your course work successfully, you are provided with tutorial support, so that you can discuss you 'academic problems in tutorial meetings. (See section 5)

- After completing the assignment you will send it to the Tutor/Course Guide, whose name is already notified to you for assessment Aril necessary guidance. Your Tutor/Course Guide will return it after marking and providing you academic guidance and supervision.

- To qualify each assignment, you have to obtain a minimum marks.

7. COURSE DESCRIPTION

There is a considerable confusion about the nature and functioning of political parties - particularly in Pakistan and generally in the third world countries. This course will aim to clarify confusion with regard to political parties. The effort will be made to provide a theoretical and conceptual basis of political parties as well as pressure groups.

Once we have provided the theoretical and conceptual foundations of what constitute a political party and a pressure group, then we would like to see, to what degree these concepts help to facilitate our understanding about political parties and pressure groups in Pakistan.

To achieve these twin objectives we will focus on the following topics.

i) What is a political party?
ii) What is a pressure group?
iii) What is public opinion and propaganda?
iv) Interaction and interrelationship between political parties and pressure groups.
v) How the making breaking of coalition occurs within or among political parties.
vi) An understating of various party systems, such as, one party system, two party systems; Multi party system and No party system.
vii) Party system in Pakistan: Its strengths and weaknesses.
viii) Political parties and their role in Pakistani politics. Case studies of major political parties in Pakistan.
ix) Major pressure groups and their role in Pakistani politics.

This course will be divided into two parts. The first part will focus on providing theoretical and conceptual foundations of a political party and a pressure group. Once we have laid down the foundations of theoretical perspective we will concentrate on explaining the evolution, growth, development and the decay of political parties in Pakistan.

Theoretical literature on political parties is enormous. Political parties have been defined by the scholars in various ways. For example, according to leading American political Scientist, a political party can he defined as a, "relatively stable, organized, label providing group". However, while analyzing political party factors like continuity of its leadership, ideology, organization, sources of funding, social class of members must be taken into account. For the purposes of this course and with reference to the problems and prospects of the political parties in the third world countries, we will focus on the contributions made by o scholars, such as Huntignton, Apter, Duverger and La Palombara.

During the various phases of nationalist movements in the third world countries, political parties have played a significant role in the creation of new nation-states. However, in most of these developing countries once independence was achieved political parties have invariably failed to sustain the momentum that they created during the phase of nationalist movements. It can be appreciated that political parties performed a

modernizing role. These parties were agents of mobilization and change and were able to integrate diverse interest groups during the phase of national movements, while explaining the evolution and development of political parties: Apter has identified two types of political parties: Parties of Solidarity and Parties of Representation.

Parties of Solidarity

According to Apter parties of Solidarity emerged invariably in the form of a movement. Such parties promote group affinity and fellow-feeling. In these types of parties ideology plays an important binding role for the diverse groups. Such parties aim at mobilizing the masses and are in general, mass-based. In the parties of solidarity the organizational component is relatively weak. As these parties are amorphous in size, organization remains their problem. Furthermore, Apter suggests that in the third world countries most of the nationalist movements were led by such parties of Solidarity. Since the organizational component was weak in parties of solidarity, therefore after independence these parties invariably began to disintegrate. Thus if political parties are weak in developing countries, according to Apter one need to understand the circumstances of their origin and the process of evolution and development that these underwent. This of course led him to conclude that parties of solidarity were born in mobilization systems.

Parties of Representation

According to Apter, Parties of Representation are born in an environment of competition and pluralism. Such parties in their origin are elite based. However, as the competition increased, they began to incorporate and represent the interests of the various groups. Parties of representation promote consensus building, compromise and bargain. Such parties minimize the significance of ideology. In such parties interests are given preference over ideology. However, parties of representation are well financed by those whose interests they represent. In such parties "party machine" plays an important role thereby making these political parties relatively better organized and stable. Given these characteristics, Apter suggests that such political parties are associated with reconciliation system.

According to Huntington, a political party is an important modernizer. He argues that the evolution and development of a political party can be seen in four phases. In the first phase the political party emerges as a faction, which basically promotes organizational activity. In the second phase as polarization increases in the society as a consequence of modernization, this associational activity consolidates the development of a political party. In the third phase expansion of political process increases the number of participants. This in turn, facilitates the development of a political party. However, it is not until the final and fourth phase which Huntington describes "institutionalization", that a political party really acquires according to Huntington the institutional strength of a political party to be measured by taking into consideration the following factors.

- The ability to survive its founder or charismatic leader.
- Adaptive capacity of the party.

- Its organizational structure i.e. how stable and strong arc the linkages between the party and the socio-economic organizations that support it e.g labour unions, interest groups, etc.
- Loyalty to the party given by its members.

Huntington however suggests that in traditional societies the relatively conservative elements obstruct the modernizing role of a political party. He argues that since in the developing societies life is disorganized in general, a political party performs the role of an organizer. According to him, whosoever is able to organize, has the potential to organize society and acquire power. He asserts that the need is to institutionalize the process of party development. Party is considered as performing a pivotal role in promoting political stability in a given society. According to Huntington, disorganization is way of life in developing societies, therefore, as a policy choice he has recommended the creation of Leninist type of political party which has a stable organization, consistent ideology, and mass membership. Such a party would promote political order in these countries.

In addition to political parties we will focus on pressure groups. A pressure group can he based on class, ethnicity, religion, or shared interest. Its basic function is to promote the interests of those who form the group. Pressure groups form an important component of political parties. More than one type of pressure groups may exist and operate in a political party. Inter-relationship between pressure groups and political parties is complex one. However, an important point of distinction between a pressure group and a political party is that a pressure group operates behind the scenes, within a political party, to advance the interests of that group. It is interesting to note that in American political parties pressure groups play pivotal role. They have legitimate position and influence the party's ideology and programmes. On the contrary, in developing countries pressure groups invariably compete with political parties. Pressure groups operate outside the domain of a Political party. However, in recent years they have begun to clamour for a place in the political parties.

The second part of the course will focus on the evolution, development and of political parties in Pakistan. Most of the literature, i.e. appearing on political parties in Pakistan is either historical or descriptive in nature. In most of the writings it is argued that political parties have failed in Pakistan because either the leadership was faction ridden or the political parties were unable to organize themselves and discipline their members. Consequently, political parties failed to develop a competitive party system. The failure of political parties facilitated praetorianism i.e. intervention of military into politics. It will be interesting to explore that if the political parties failed to develop a stable political system what were the causes of this? To explore and analyze this problem we will focus on the evolution and development of political parties in Pakistan. It will be suggested that in order to have a better comprehension of how political parties came into being and how they function in Pakistani polity? We should focus on the following factors:

i) Type and continuity in leadership
ii) Organization
iii) Ideology
iv) Sources of funding
v) Membership i.e. is it class based, region based or a mass membership.

Keeping these factors in view we will adopt the framework provided by Huntington and Apter, and see to what degree it explains the development of political parties in Pakistan. Furthermore the effort will be made to identify some of the major pressure and the kind of role these play with reference to party development or the lack of it in Pakistan.

On the basis of above mentioned factors the effort will be made to analyse the evolution and development of political parties and the role that these have played in the politics of Pakistan. We will focus on the following political parties.

i) Pakistan Muslim League (i.e. all the factions that have emerged or decayed since its creation to contemporary times)
ii) Pakistan People's Party
iii) National Awami Party (alongwith their various factions that have emerged or decayed in this party from its inception to present times)
iv) Jamat-i-Islami of Pakistan
v) Jamiat-ulma-e-Islam
vi) Jamiat-Ulma-e-Pakistan (along with their various factions from their inception till contemporary times)
vii) Mohajir Qaumi Movement / Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)

To analyze the role and contribution of these parties in Pakistani politics, we will look at their manifestoes, speeches and statements made by the leaders of the parties and spacific position that these parties have taken on important social, political and economic issues.

PART TWO BLOCKS 1-9
BLOCK ONE
CONCEPTS-I

Introduction

This is the first block of this course and the theme in the block revolves around the pivotal question:

What is a political party?

There is a common misperception that any group of individuals that acquires a label can he considered a political party. This is misleading. We would like to see how various scholars have defined a political party.

A leading American political scientist has defined a political party as a "relatively stable, organized, label providing group". However for political party factors like ideology, social foundations, structure, organization, participation, strategy, continuity of leadership, sources of funding must be taken into account. According to Maurice Duverger "in the first half of the nineteenth century when people referred to parties they were thinking primarily of ideologies rather than the men who subscribed them"* With Lenin & Marx the emphasis was placed on the underlying social foundations i.e. "parties were viewed as the expression of social classes in a nation's political life.**

Duverger has identified three types of parties: the elitist or traditional parties that include the European and the American type and which are not concerned with recruiting large membership but are more concerned with quality than with the quantity. Then there are the mass parties that came into existence more than half a century ago by the socialist movements and this technique of organizing mass parties was later on adopted by communist and fascist parties and also by parties in the developing countries. In between these elitist and mass parties are the indirect parties e.g. the British Labour Party in its original organization. Its main committees were formed by union representatives, mutual aid societies, cooperatives and intellectual groups that agreed to take common action an political issues.

David Apter has identified two types of political parties of Solidarity and parties of Representation. The former, according to him, are born in the mobilization system. They invariably emerge in the form of a mass movement and are thus mass based. They promote group affinity but due to their size are weakly organized. Ideology plays an important role in such parties. After has suggested that in the third world countries most of the independence movements were led by such parties of solidarity. These began to disintegrate after they had achieved their goal i.e. independence. Parties or Representation according to Apter minimize the role of ideology and are elite based interest groups play an important role and they promote consensus building compromise and bargain. These parties are financed by those whose interests they represent. The parties arc organized and stable, therefore, Apter has suggested, they are born in reconciliation system.

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* Durverger. Party politics and pressure groups, 1972

** Italies

Huntington discusses the evolution and development of a political party in four phases. According to him a political party is an important modernizer. In the first phase the political party emerges as a faction and it promotes organizational activity. In the second phase as a result of polarization which is due to modernization, this organizational activity helps consolidate the development of a political party. The third phase is that of expansion - increase in the number of participants and the final phase is stability which Huntington calls "institutionalization'. Which is stability in terms of membership and continuity of leadership.

Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner argue, that political party emerges when the "….activities of a political system reach a certain degree of complexity or whenever the motion of political power comes to include the idea that mass public must participate or be controlled"*. Thus they suggest that just as bureaucracy emerged when public administration could not be controlled by the princes, the political party emerged when recruitment of political leadership and making of public policies could not be handled by a clique of men unconcerned with the sentiments of the public.

Thus political party can be viewed as dependent variable -- outgrowth of a process of development or an independent variable - as an institutional force affecting the political develop at itself e.g. role of parties in communist countries can be taken as an example of independent variable.

Broadly speaking a political party may be defined as consisting of individuals and associations who share similar interests and ideology which give them a sense of identification. These individuals and associations while developing an organization work voluntarily to pursue the above defined common goals.

1.2 What is a political party?

1.3 Required readings

Reading 1 Party politics and Pressure groups
(Maurice Duverger)
PP 3-18

Reading 2 Political Parties
(Maurice Duverger)
PP 1-60

Reading 3 "The origin and development of political parties."
(Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner) in Political Parties and Political development edited by Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner:
PP 3-42

* La Palombara and Weiner, Political parties and political development. 1966

Reading 4 Political Order in Changing Societies

(S.P, Huntington)
PP 412-20

Reading 5 Politics of Modernization

(David E. Apter)
PP 179-216

1.4 Self learning Questions

Question-1
What is meant by the term 'basic element'? What are the basic elements that can be related to most of the existing Political parties according to Duverger? Discuss.

Points to note

— Basic elements' are the component units of party organization, such as branches or local organizations that are dispersed throughout the country.

— These ‘basic elements’ are linked by coordinating institutions, like trade unions or cooperaties that are not political by nature.

— These elements are the caucus, the branch, the cell and the militia.

— Caucus is a committee or a limited closed group that yieds great power and forms the normal organization of parties under a property system of universal suffrage that is still in its beginning.

— Universal suffrage and techniques directly adapted to masses (e.g. the branch) have brought decline of caucus. A branch is much less decentralized than a caucus.

— A cell is an even smaller group. It is different from the branch on the basis of group which is mostly occupational rather than geographical and on an even smaller number of members than of a branch.

Militia is a kind of a private army whose members are subjected to same discipline as soldiers. Parties with militia as their basis have a more definite breach between electoral and parliamentary action. These members are neither mobilized nor maintained by the organization and are of two categories: active and reserve e.g. National Socialist Storm Troops of Hilter. However, no political party has ever been exclusively formed on the basis of militia.

Question-2
What are the Common Functions performed by a political party according to Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner? What are the conditions that give rise to a political party?

Points to note

— Organization of public opinion and communication of demands to the central power or the government, which ever the case may be.

— To articulate the meaning of broader community to its followers and the selection of political leadership.

— Political parties emerge when there is a degree of complexity in the activities of a political system or when the idea emerges that public must participate or be controlled.

Question-3

Differentiate between the elitist or traditional parties and the mass parties.

Points to note

— Elitist parties are not mass based and are more concerned with quality than with the quantity.

— Elitist parties are of two different types -- the European and the American type.

— Mass parties were organized by socialist movements more than half a century ago. This technique was later adopted by Communist and Fascist parties and much later by parties in the developing countries. Mass parties are broadly based but because of their amorphous size their organization is not that strong.

Question-4

Is the emergence of political parties related to modernization process? If so, is their creation a continuous process? Elaborate.

Points to note

— Political parties emerge when a political crisis of systematic magnitude occurs at such a time when sufficient modernization has taken place and conditions for party development are present.

— Process of creation of political parties is continuous.

— Origin of parties can be surveyed by theories concerning origin of parties that are:

i) Institutional theories
ii) Historical situation theories
iii) Development theories

BLOCK TWO
CONCEPTS-II

2.1 Introduction

In this block we will focus our attention on pressure groups, public opinion and propaganda. If one were to ask a question 'what is a pressure group' a simple answer would be a group that may be based on class, ethnicity, religion or shared interest. However the basic functions of a pressure group would be to promote the interests of those who form the group.

Political parties strive to acquire power and to exercise it by electing local officials, mayors, senators, head of the state etc., while pressure groups do not strive directly either to acquire power or to exercise it. They influence power, i.e. they exert `pressure' while remaining behind formal structures of power. Pressure groups form an important component of a political party. More than one pressure groups may operate and exist in a political party. Pressure group may not necessarily be political in nature on the contrary they are usually non political organizations whose primary activity is anything but political. According to Maurice Duverger "any group, association, organization, even those whose normal concerns are far removed from politics, can act as a pressure group in certain areas and under certain circumstances."*

Duverger further proceeds to distinguish between the genuine and pseudo pressure groups. While defining pressure groups two problems seem to arise. Could organization with fewer activities in the area of political pressure be considered pressure groups. Are governmental groups pressure groups? A pressure group is "exclusive", Duverger argues, if its activities are solely in the political domain with bringing pressure to bear upon public power e.g. the French Parliamentary Association for the Defence of Educational freedom. Whereas a group would be "partial" if political pressure is one of the facets of its activities and whose normal concerns may be far removed from politics e.g. a Labour Union.

However, this distinction is not very clear in application because certain "exclusive groups" could be technical agencies acting on behalf of other "partial" groups.

Then there are private and public groups. At first only the former were taken into account as pressure groups, however there is a growing tendency to include governmental bodies and public agencies as 'public' groups. Even public groups are of two kinds -- one, the governmental bodies that act to defend the interest of their agencies which they tend to identify with public interest. While the second is made up of government officials who tend to monopolize the top positions of influence. In this case also, the distinction between the two is not clear. On the contrary, it tends to blur. There is yet another important pressure group and it is the 'foreign' group. As is clear from its name these groups do not belong to the countries in which they influence or exert pressure e.g. intelligence agencies of the super powers and ex-colonial powers at times have been found influential in creating such groups to influence the politics in the third world

* Duverger, op, cit

countries. These groups may be public or private in their country of origin but would invariably be private groups since they are foreign to the government of the nation that is subjected to such pressure. The pseudo pressure groups include such organization that do not constitute a pressure group but exercise political pressure. This category includes the technical pressure group such as fund raising organization. In America where pressure groups have a legitimate position and are called lobbies - which is an organization of experts e.g. lawyers, that extend its services -- in other words it is a commercial organization that pressure groups use to promote their own ends. The other kind of pseudo pressure group is the newspaper and the information media.

The different kinds of pressure groups include professional organization e.g. Employer's associations in business and industry form organization, of salaried workers etc. Other kinds may include specialized political organization, intellectual groups partial pressure groups like veteran's association. In addition public pressure groups like governmental agencies and civil service cadres. Finally military can also act as pressure group, it attempts to influence the decision makers, and uses intervention as a threat.

Public opinion deals with making or breaking of opinion on specific issues. "…opinions held by groups of individuals on a particular issue can be described as public opinion. V.O. Key has applied the term to those "opinions held by private persons which governments find prudent to heed."* Family, occupation and additional background are important in forming ones ideas and opinions and can be taken as primary group. Other important influences are the mass media, political parties, pressure groups and the government especially in democratic states. Public opinion polls are carried out to estimate public opinion whereby the opinion of a large group of people is predicted by asking the opinion of a smaller group which is called as a sample group. Public opinion has been accused of being erratic, inconsistent and conservative. However in the modern times it is felt that man is capable and has the qualities to undertake important decisions-- public opinion helps him take one.

Propaganda on the other hand, is any attempt to influence the opinion of others-- by the manipulation of facts, one sided presentation of information or the use of non rational appeal. It plays an important role in all systems of governments well as for political paities, pressure groups and individuals.

Factors like a crisis situation censorship, degree of accuracy and appeal to certain groups contribute to the success of propaganda.

* Leeds Politics 1968

2.2 What is Pressure group?

2.3 Required readings

Reading 6 Party Politics and Pressure groups (Maurice Duverger) PP 216-18
Reading 7 The politics of Modernization (David E. Apter) –PP 101- 17, 121-58
Reading; 8 Comparative Politics (Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell Jr.) PP 169-77

2.4 Self Learning Questions

Question-5

Are pressure groups always political? If not how do they exert political pressure? Explain.

Points to note

— Definition of a pressure group.

— Definition of a pressure group with respect to a non-political organization.

— Difference between an Exclusive and Partial group.

Question-6

What arc pseudo pressure groups? How do they exert political pressure? Discuss.

Points to note

— Definition of pseudo pressure groups.

— Types of pseudo pressure groups-- technical pressure groups and information media.

— Election campaigns, lobbies, newspaper and information media, private propaganda bureaus are a few modes of exerting political pressures by the pseudo pressure groups.

Question-7

What is meant by public pressure groups? Distinguish between pressure from civil organization and pressure from military.

Points to note

— Definition of public pressure groups.

— Role of civil organization-government agencies and civil service cadres.

— Role of military as a pressure group--through intervention force and political pressure.

2.5 Public opinion and propaganda

2.6 Required readings

Reading 9 Politics (C.A. Leeds) PP-155-65

2.7 Self Learning Questions

Question-8

Public Opinion can be described as 'opinions held by groups of individuals on a particular issue. Discuss the formation of public opinion. Explain how can it he measured.

Points to note

— Personal experiences, mass media, pressure groups, political parties and role of government help in the formation or public opinion.

— Old methods of measuring public opinion included polls through ballots printed in newspapers.

— Modern methods include public opinion polls through quota sampling and random sampling.

Question-9

Define propaganda. Briefly explain the various methods and strategies which can be employed for a successful campaign.

Points to note

— Definition of public opinion.

— Techniques include

  — timing of the campaign,

  — choice of medium of communication, presentation of information,

  — Selection of specific devices.

BLOCK THREE
POLITICAL PARTIES & PRESSURE GROUPS: INTERACTION & INTERRELATIONSHIP.

3.1 Introduction

In the previous blocks we have familiarized you with the concepts of a political party, a pressure group, public opinion and propaganda. How ever our aim is not to discuss these concepts separately, rather, our purpose is to establish and understand the interrelationship between these concepts.
In this block we would try to analyze:-

— The interaction and interrelationship between political parties and pressure groups.

— Processes of party development.

— Relationship between party development and political stability or the lack of it.

— What is the impact of political parties on political development?

— Making and breaking of alliances among political parties.

We can identify three possible relationships between political parties and pressure groups:

- Some political parties may be subordinate to pressure groups;
- Some pressure groups may be subordinate to political parties; and
- There could be cooperation on equal basis between a political parry and a pressure group.

By focusing these relationships we can analyze the nature of interaction between pressure groups and political parties. Some criteria is required to measure the strength of a party. According to Duverger there are three different yardsticks, the members, the voters and the parliamentary seats. Three types of parties can be distinguished on the basis of strength --

i) parties with a majority bent,
ii) major parties and
iii) minor parties.

The first term is used for those parties which command a majority in the parliament or likely to command such a status. Major parties are those that have no hope of ever obtaining a majority except in exceptional circumstances which do not correspond with the nature of the system. Even if they are alone in office they exercise power with the support and agreement of other parties. Normally they govern inside a coalition government -- their strength o allowing them to play an important role inside the alliance like having key posts and ministries. Even in opposition they are influential and cannot be ignored.

Minor parties, on the other hand are merely makeweights whether on office or in opposition, unless the gap between the majority and minority is insignificant. In such a case they are in a position of holding a balance, their importance thus increases. In the given reading Duverger discusses the theory of minor parties' in detail.

The principal types, Duverger argues, in the development of party strength are alternation, stable distribution, domination and leftism. Alternation exists mainly in dualist countries and has been defined as 'pendulum movement' each party moving from opposition to office and from office to opposition'.[*] Britain is the classic example.

Stable distribution is in direct contrast with alternation, it corresponds to greatest immobility "…The absence of any serious variation among the parties over a long period of time".[**] In every period some doctrine has provided the basic intellectual framework, the general organization of thought with the result that even its adversaries have been able to criticize it or destroy it only by adopting its methods of reasoning. Christianity in the Middle Ages and Liberalism in the nineteenth century serve as example. When Marx constructed his theory he made use of arguments taken from Liberalism. He turned its own logic against it: he was the last of the Liberals today Marxism tends itself to assume the position of dominant doctrine: it can only be contested within the bounds of its own dialectic. Similar phenomena of domination arc sometimes encountered in the evolution of parties"[***]. Leftism is the birth of new parties on the 'left' of the old parties which causes the latter to slide to the 'Right' or may bring disappearance or fusion amongst them. There are certain other patterns of leftism, "... the weakening of all right-wing parties to the advantage of left-wing parties without either disappearance or new creation (e.g. France, 1924 - 39), the preservation of an overall balance between two blocks with internal evolution inside one of them, ... the replacement of an old left party by a new more energetic and intransigent one ..., the rise of the party furthest left at the expense of all others"...[****] so on and so forth.

The idea of strength is inseparable from that of alliance. Duverger argues, that alliance between parties varies in form and degree. Some are unorganized temporary coalitions which may take place in order to benefit the parties concerned in elections, or in order to overthrow the government or to support one. Other are more strongly organized and therefore lasting. So they are sometimes, as Duverger calls them, like super-parties. In the given reading factors in alliances such as the number of parties, national traditions, governmental interference, historical circumstances, influence of electoral regimes are discussed. Types of alliances and relations between the allies are also dealt with. The impact of parties on political development has been discussed at length by Joseph Lapalombara and Myron Weiner. They have talked in detail about some selected problems in the development of a party namely "…national integration political participation, legitimacy and the management of conflict"[+] and parties as instruments of political socialization.

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[*] Duverger, Political Parties 1967

[**] ibid

[***] ibid

[****] ibid

[+] Joseph La Palomber and Myron weiner (eds) Political Parties and Political development, 1972 p-399

3.2 Interaction and interrelationship between political parties and pressure groups.

3.3 Required readings

Reading 10 Party Politics and Pressure Groups (Maurice Duverger) P....117-21

3.4 Sell Learning Questions

Question-10
Political parties strive to acquire power while pressure groups attempt to influence those who acquire power. If so, what sort of relationship is possible between political parties and pressure groups? Discuss.

Points to note

Pressure groups normally seek to influence men who wield power rather than replacing their own men in power officially.

— A Pressure group can be subordinate to a political party

— A Political party can be subordinate to a pressure group.

— Cooperation on equal basis.

3.5 What is party strength?

3.6 Required readings

Reading 11 Political Parties (Maurice Duverger) PP 281-324

3.7 Self Learning Questions

Question-11
What is a minor party? Discuss the role of 'personality parties' and 'permanent minority parties.

Points to note

— The concept of minor party.

— Types of minor parties.

— Personality parties are parliamentary groups and have no social substructure. They may be composed of the retinue of influential persons for reasons of prestige or favor. Other types are more egaliarian.

Then there are independent parties not linked with any major party and the satellites that are strongly attached to a major party. They are riot generally based on any precise doctrine and correspond to caucus parties with weak organization, high degree of decentralization and complete lack of discipline (except in retinue parties and in some satellites).

— Permanent minority parties do not exist solely on parliamentary level. They may dispose of an organization, either national or local, in the country. Some are based upon caucus or branch, others on cell or even militia but they are mass parties by structure, having a social or a political substructure,

— Personality parties tend to be for the government while minority parties are usually against it.

Question-12
Discuss the criteria or principles through which a party's strength may be measured.

Points to note

— Broadly speaking there are four principle types, namely;
alternation
stable distribution
domination and
leftism.

— Alternation means movement of each party from opposition to office and vice versa. This pendulum movement is due to two fundamental factors. First of all the exercise of power compels a party to rarefy its programme so the promises made to the electors are not fulfilled completely. This leads to the transferring of votes by a certain proportion to the opposing party. Secondly the activities of the government also give rise to opposition and disagreements within the majority party. Alternation of power mainly occurs in two party systems.

— Stable distribution is the absence of serious variation among parties over a long period of time. It corresponds to immobility and is in direct contrast with alternation. Slightness of variation between elections and rareness of long term trends are the two main elements of stable distribution.

— Domination is the intellectual frame work or general organization of thought during any period that can only be criticized or destroyed by using its methods of reasoning while leftism is the birth of new parties on the left of the old parties, causing the latter to disappear or fuse together or slide to the right,

3.8 How does the making and breaking of coalition or alliance occur within or among political partite?

3.9 Required Reading

Reading 12 Political Parties (Maurice Duverger) PP....324-51

3.10 Self learning Questions

Question-13
Critically analyse the factors that play a determining role in the formation of alliances.

Points to note

- — How and why are alliance formed
- — The number of parties
- — National traditions
- — Governmental influences
- — Historical circumstances
- — Influences of electoral regimes

3.11 Impact of political parties on political development

3.12 Required readings

Reading 13 Political Parties and Political Development (Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner, eds.) PP 399-435

Reading 14 Politics of Modernization (David E. Apter) PP 218-22

3.13 Self Learning Questions

Question-14
Critically examine the role of political participation in the development of a political party.

Points to note

- — the meaning of political participation
- — Different patterns of response to the demand for political participation by party government: repression, mobilization, limited and full admission into the party system.

BLOCKS FOUR AND FIVE
PARTY SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL STABILITY

4.1 Introduction

After working through the previous blocks we hope that you have not only understood the basic concepts but also their interrelationship. We hope that you have got some idea about the working of a political party, pressure group, the influence of public opinion and its interrelationship with a political party. How does a political party acquire stability and what is the politics of coalition or alliance.

Since a political party does not exist in isolation but is the creature of modern and modernizing political systems, we would try, in these blocks, to understand and analyze the various types of political systems. In Addition, we shall see what is political stability, what are the forces that bring about stability, what is the role of political parties in this context and how do they affect political development. In this context we would focus our attention on three types of political system': the single party, the multi- party and the two-party systems. However before we analyze these system we have included a reading by Huntington in which he talks about the traditional political systems. The idea is to give you a background of how power existed in the traditional systems. Huntington suggests that traditional political systems have existed in different shapes from city-states, tribal kingdoms, absolute monarchies to bureaucratic empires, aristocracies, theocracies etc. Traditionally, two patterns have exited as political structure; centralized or the bureaucratic states and the dispersed or feudal state (the role of the monarch in each type either active or passive.) In the former case the monarch has more authority than in the latter where power and office are hereditary in an aristocratic class.

Therefore, one finds a considerable degree of political and social mobility in case of a bureaucratic state while a dispersed feudal state is highly stratified. Legitimacy and authority lie with the monarch in the former political structure while in the latter, he shares legitimacy with the nobility whose authority over the subjects is independent of the monarch's authority over then. In other words, the monarch shares legitimacy but sources of authority of the nobility over their subjects are not dependence upon the monarch but independent. In both political structures, the role of the monarch can be different, i.e. active or passive. Huntington has given a table citing examples and for your convenience we are reproducing it below.

Table 1: Traditional political systems*

Political Structure	Role of Monarch	
	ACTIVE (Ruling)	PASSIVE (OLIGARCHICAL)
Centralized (Bureaucratic)	Roman Empire Ethiopia China	Korea Meiji Japan Thailand
Dispersed (Feudal)	Medieval Europe	Tokugawa Japan

Both monarchies-ruling and oligarchical are different from the modern parliamentary monarchies. A comparison between the traditional and the modern is clearly evident from the table produced below:

Table2: Types of contemporary monarchies**

	Traditional		Modern
	RULING	OLIGARCHICAL	PARLIAMENTARY
Principal function of Monarch	Rule and reign	Reign	Reign
Principal source of legitimacy	Monarchy	Monarchy	People
Principle efficient authorities	Monarchy bureaucracy Army and perhaps parties	Army and bureaucracy	Cabinet Parties and Parliament
Scope of political participation	Narrow to medium	Narrow	Broad

In contrast to bureaucratic system the feudal politics manifest fewer political institutions, less complicated administrative structure, lesser specialization and division of labour, inequality of opportunity, less social mobility. In short, a lower level of political modernization is found in dispersed or feudal politics than in the bureaucrat is system.

Now that a background has been established, we would try to analyze the various types of party systems,, viz-a-viz. One party, Multi-party and Two-party system.

In a political system, if at least two parties co-exist with no single party enjoying overwhelming superiority over other or others, then the system is a pluralistic party system. If on the other hand, one predominates then it becomes a `dominant' party

* Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, 1968

** ibid

system. Within pluralistic system exist 'two party' and 'multi party' systems that are based upon functional differences in democratic institutions. However a flexible two-party system is closer to multi party system. Similarly the notion of a 'dominant' party system serves as kind of connection or a bridge between one party and pluratistic party systems.

The fundamental difference between the two-party and the multiparty system is the number of parties. In the former case for practical purposes two parties share the parliamentary seats one assuming the entire charge of government, the other taking the responsibility of free expression of criticism or the opposition. In case of multi-party system, there is a coalition among various parties who may differ in their programmes and supporters. Coalitions are inherently unstable, therefore, in multi party systems sustaining a coalition and ensuring parliamentary majority remains a constant problem.

Since majority of one party regimes that existed prior to World War II were either communist or fascist, there is a general tendency to believe that their structures are inherent in the one party system. You will find out when you go through the prescribed readings that there are differences between the dictatorial regimes in general and one-party system in particular. Moreover the one-party situation differs from country to country in term of its ideology and the level of party development in the country. It would be clear to you by now that whether it is one-party, two-party or multi-party system, the basic function of political parries operating in these systems is to promote political stability and ensure peaceful succession/transfer of power from one party to another or from one set of individuals to another.

4.2 Traditional political systems and political change

4.3 Required readings

Reading 15 Political Order in Changing Societies (S.P. Huntington) PP .104-53

4.4 Self Learning Questions

Question-15
Analyze the Political structure in the traditional political systems.

Points to note

- — Types of political structure -- centralized or bureaucratic state and dispersed or feudal state.
- — In a centralized or bureaucratic state the monarch has more authority, there is a considerable degree of social and political mobility and authority and legitimacy both lie with the monarch.
- — The monarch shares legitimacy with the nobility in dispersed or feudal state, since power and office arc hereditary in an aristocratic class. The sources of authority of the nobility over their subjects are independent of the monarch. A feudal state is highly stratified i.e. there is less social and political mobility.
- — Monarchies are of two types in traditional systems -- ruling and oligarchical.

Question-16
See table 2 in the introduction to bocks four and five. Make a comparative analysis of traditional and modern monarchies.

Points to note

— The principal function of the monarch and the principal source of legitimacy.

— The principle efficient authorities and the scope of political participation.

— Comparison between the modern and traditional monarchies.

4.5 Single party system

4.6 Required readings

Reading 16 Political Parties (Maurice Duverger) PP 255-80

4.7 Self Learning Questions

Question-17
Practice has preceded theory in case of the single party. Critically analyze.

Points to note

— Evolution of the single party.

— Structural similarity between the single parties and the parties of democratic regimes.

— Internal structure and variations in single party systems.

— General characteristics of the single party.

Question-18
Discuss the fundamental differences between the fascist and communist single parties.

Point to note

— Doctrinal difference between fascism and communism -- the former having a pessimistic approach attains; the optimistic approach of the latter.

— On the whole, the fact that from the social point of view the definition of communist parties as the tools of the proletariat to overthrow the authority of the middle classes and the fascist parties as 'tools of the middle classes to retain their power and prevent its falling into the hands of the proletariat'

corresponds to reality. The former enlists working class to overthrow the middle class state while fascism works to oppose this overthrow. Thus for the birth and development of the latter the presence of a communist party is important.

— Similarities between fascism: and communism in terms of relying more on working class, general framework and structure.

— Communist party adopts elections for the appointment of leaders while fascist parties rely on a system of nomination. Other differences are e.g. in terms of 'basic elements' of the parties, the admission or recruitment policy, membership, system of expulsion, and the differences in conception and extent of the role of the single parties and their aims.

4.8 Two party system

4.9 Required readings

Reading 17 Political Parties (Maurice Duverger) PP 207-28

4.10 Self Learning Questions

Question-19

Is two party system specifically an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon? Discuss

Points to note

— Some Anglo-Saxon countries have a multiparty system e.g. Australia, Canada, while a number of Latin American countries have two-party system and there is an evolution towards it in some continental European states. e.g. Germany and Italy.

— Within the Anglo-Saxon two party system a clear distinction should be made between Britain and America in terms of survival of two party system, structure of parties, roles and aims of the American and the British parties.

— Evolution towards a two party system in Latin American and continental European states. This dualist trend has been a result of the suppression of the single party.

Question-20

According to Maurice Duverger three types of two-party systems have succeeded one another since the nineteenth century. Why is it so? Discuss.

Points to note

- — a bourgeois two party system due to 'property franchise'
- — the development of Radicalism
- — the development of Socialism - the establishment of universal suffrage and the appearance of socialist parties at the parliamentary level.

4.11 Multi-partism

4.12 Required readings

Reading 18 Political Parties (Maurice Duverger) pp 228-54

4.13 Self Learning Questions

Question-21
How would you describe the multi-party system? What is meant by tri-partism' quadri-partism and poly-parties? Discuss.

Points to note
What is meant by the multi-Party system and how is it formed.
Descrption of tri-Partism quadri-partism and poly- partism with examples.

Question-22

Discuss proportional representation with reference to the multi- party system.

4.14 Political stability

4.15 Required readings

Reading 19 Political Order in Changing Societies (S.P. Huntington) PP 1-92 397-461
Reading 20 Comparative Politics (Gabriel A. Almond) (G. Bingham. Powell, Jr.) PP 71-76

4.16 Self Learning Questions

Question-23

"1 do know that there is no greater necessity for men who live in communities than that they be governed, self governed if possible well governed if they are fortunate, but in any event, governed".

Do you think that a political community is fragmented where political institutions have little power? Critically analyze.

Points to note

— Difference between the developed and the developing/modernizing countries.

— What are political institutions

— Social forces and political institutions.

— Strength of political organization and scope of support.

— Level of institutionalization.

Question 24

Discuss the impact of modernization on politics.

Points to note

— What is meant by modernization?

— Aspects of modernization more relevant to politics-- social mobilization and economic development

— Different stages of political modernization.

Questions-25

Stability of a modernizing political system depends upon the strength of its political parties. Elaborate.

Point to note

— Strength of political parties depends upon the level of institutionalization i.e. institutionalized mass support.

— This strength is inversely proportional to the susceptibility of military intervention in a political system.

— Measurement of the institutional strength of a party.
  — Its ability to survive its founder
  — Its organizational complexity and depth
  — party loyalty.

BLOCK SIX
PARTY SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this course as is evident from its title Political parties and pressure groups in Pakistan is to analyze their role in Pakistani polities. As you have been familiarized with these concepts and their working in the previous blocks, in this block we would briefly discuss the party system in Pakistan during the last forty one years with particular reference to the role of political parties. For convenience we have divided the block into several phases namely: From independence till the imposition of martial law in 1958, Ayub Khan era, the Yahya period, the period of civilian rule i.e. the Z.A Bhutto period till the imposition of the third and the longest martial law in 1977, 1977-88 i.e. Zia's military regime and Junejo period 1985-88 and finally 1988 elections with PPP emerging victorious and Benazir Bhutto assuming the office of the Prime Minister. Pakistan is one of the countries that came into being after the second World War. The political elite of the new country were familiar with the British parliamentary system. Therefore these elites showed preference for adopting the parliamentary democracy as a form of a government. The period from 1947-58 can be described as the dominant party system with Muslim League as the dominant party. The other political parties were weak. Muslim League, however, was unable to sustain its dominance for long. The elections in East Bengal in 1954 saw Muslim League defeated. It never regained the former footing in East Bengal. Between 1954-58. Muslim League support began to decrease. Making and breaking of coalitions became a frequent phenomenon leading to the decline of the dominant party system. A number of smaller parties emerged leading to a drift towards multiparty system. Distrust and political insights among the religions and political elites facilitated the ascendency of civilian bureaucracy supported by the military.

The political process was suspended in a coup d'état and Martial Law was imposed in October 1958. The period between 1958-62 hampered the development of party system in Pakistan. Political parties had almost no role to play in the political order that ensued the Martial Law. They remained under a formal ban till June 1962 and even after the ban was lifted their role was greatly restricted in decision making.

The 1962, constitution introduced Presidential form of government. The powers of the president were immense. Election to the office of the president were not to be held directly, rather an indirect system was introduced known as the Basic Democracies. 80,000 Basic Democrats were to be elected (40,000 from East & 40,000 from West. Pakistan). These elected members were to act as the electoral college for the presidential elections.

In 1963 .Ayub Khan formally joined the Convention Muslim League. The presidential elections between Ayuh Khan and Fatima Jinnah were held under the Basic Democracy (BD) system of indirect elections in 1965. Thus it signifies, as Huntington suggests,"that in Modernizing, systems it is difficult to do away with political parties". However the system allowed to develop was the dominant party system and Convention Muslim League emerged as the dominant party. After the 1964-65 presidential elections through Basic Democrats ,Convention. Muslim League remained the dominant party in the country."

The second Martial Law was imposed in 1969 after Ayub Khan resigned as a result of mass agitation. However, the period between 1969-71 saw the emergence of competitive politics and facilitated the process of party development. The election results of 1970 brought to the forefront the two-party system as Pakistan People's Party from West and the Awami League (AL) from East Pakistan emerged as strong parties, still both were regionally based. However, the system could not be described clearly as the two-party system as we see in the advanced industrialised countries. Besides PPP and AL that emerged as strong leading parties, there were other minor parties. Once again we find that the political system in Pakistan did not exactly correspond with multi-party system that we see in some of the European countries. The period from 1971 after the dismemberment of Pakistan, to 1977, is a classic example of the earliest period i.e. 1947-58. This was also a period of dominant party system in which the smaller parties either decayed or made coalitions. However, due to government patronage PPP was able to acquire stability and strength.

Once again the political process was overthrown in coup d'etat by the military in July 1977. During the period of Martial Law (1977-85) political parties and political associations were banned and political parties were excluded from the political process. It is interesting to note that 1983 MRD movement indicated that despite military rule and its efforts to do away with the party system, political parties were not totally eliminated from the political scene. In order to minimize the significance of political parties, non-party based elections were held in 1985. However, once the parliaments were instituted and the government was installed it was realized that in modernizing countries where even restricted participatory process is restored, it becomes difficult to do away with the political parties. The interesting change of 1985 electoral process was that despite non-party based elections, with the parliament two parties emerged the ruling party, new Muslim League called the Official Parliamentary Group (OPG) and the opposition group. From a period of 1985 to May 1988 under non-party system, Pakistan began to see the revival of political parties. This clearly indicates that political activity how-so-ever restricted, necessitates the emergence of a party system.

In August, 1988, through sheer accident of history the death of president Zia, led to the holding of party based elections. In November 1988, the elections were held. The results of 1988 elections reveal that political parties are a pivot for participatory politics. Without political parties individual freedom, competitive politics and route to democracy cannot occur. It is pre-mature to give any label to the kind of direction that Pakistani party system will grow in the post '88 period. However, one thing is evident that in modernizing societies like Pakistan, political parties cannot be completely eliminated even though their development may be hampered and their growth delayed by the interventionist regimes. Political parties and their development is imperative for a country like ours.

5.2 1947-58

5.3 Required readings

Reading 21 Political System of Pakistan (Khalid Bin Sayeed) .,PP 60-93
Reading 22 Polities in. Pakistan (Khalid Bin Sayeed) PP 32-53
Reading 23 Political Parties in Pakistan (1947-1958) (M. Rafique Afzal) PP 240-45

5.4 Self Learning Questions

Question-26
Discuss the emergence of civil-military dominance during 1947-58, with reference to social and ethnic conflicts.

Points to note

— West Pakistan was dominated by land lords and religious clashes that was different from East Pakistan where despite economic backwardness the lower middle class groups were emerging against the domination of land owning classes and urban based leaders.

— Emergence of growing conflict between Punjabis and Bengalis and within West Pakistan.

— Ineffectiveness of Muslim League to run such a geographically and ethnically split country.

5.5 1958-69

5.6 Required readings

Reading 24 Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969 (M. Rafique Afzal) PP1-21 and 38-52

Reading 25 Pakistan: the Enigma of Political Development (Lawrence. Ziring) PP 75-87

Reading 26 Political Order in Changing Societies (S.P. Huntington) PP 251-55

Reading 27 The Ayub Khan Era (Lawrence Ziring) PP 23-43

Reading 28 A Political System of Pakistan (Khalid Bin Sayeed) PP 101-26

5.7 Self Learning Questions

Question-27

Do you think that the first Martial Law was imposed to exclude political parties from the political system? Explain it in the light of measures taken by the Ayub regime during 1958-62. Did he succeed in terminating their activities? Comment

Points to note

— From the time of the imposition of martial law till June 1962 political parties remained under a formal ban.

— Various short term and long ranged policies in various sectors to justify the continuance of martial law and the banning of party politics.

— Activities of the politicians were highly restricted and many were arrested

— Prumalgation of PRODA (Public Representatives Officers Disqualification Act) followed by PODO (Public Offices Disqualification Order) and EBDO (Elective Bodies Disqualification Order).

— Political Parties struggled to survive the period of ban under martial law, and the politicians used every opportunity to assert themselves and mobilize public opinion.

— In June 1962, a political parties bill was drafted and passed by the national assembly and the president in July. Thus political parties were revived and political activity restored signifying the fact that it is difficult to do away with political parties in modernizing systems.

Question-28

Do you agree that the constitution of 1962 established 'constitutional autocracy'?

Points to note

— Ayub's arguments about the non-suitability of parliamentary democracy.

— Elections to the office of the president indirectly through eighty thousand 'basic democrats.

— Wide range of presidential powers especially financial powers and powers of legislation. Moreover his removal from the office became almost an impossibility.

— Limited provincial autonomy with the provincial executive who was completely subservient to the president since the governor who appointed the provincial executive was appointed by the president and held office during his pleasure.

— Judiciary was not only kept under control, its powers were restricted. e.g. the president had the power to appoint the Chief justice of the Supreme Court without. reference to any body and other judges in consultation with him. Similarly the president could appoint a judge in case of a High Court in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the governor of the province.

— Fundamental Rights were not provided, legal protection and mostly listed under "Principles of Law-Making".

5.8 1969-71

5.9 Required readings

Reading 29 The military and politics in Pakistan: 1947-86 (Hasan Askari Rizvi) PP 161-93

Reading 30 Pakistan: The enigma of political development (Lawrence Ziring) PP 97-100 and 87-89

5.10 Self Learning Questions

Question-29

Analyse the circumstances under which Ayub Khan handed over the reigns of the country to Yahya Khan. Why did he not hand over power according to constitution of 1962? Discuss.

Points to note

— Ineffectiveness of civil administration and constitutional authority.

— Withdrawal of support for Ayub Khan by the army itself, mainly due to Taskent Declaration and withdrawl of Agartala conspiracy case.

— Serious political implications in transfer of power in accordance with 1962 constitution. This was possible in theory but is practice meant serious political crisis and law and order situation.

— Rise of oppositions against Ayub in both provinces and countrywide political agitation.

Question-30

Critically analyse the results of the election of 1970 with reference to the emergence of competitive politics.

Points to note

— Emergency of Awami League and People's Party as the main victorious parties in East and West Pakistan respectively.

— Nearly twenty percent of seats secured by other parties and independents.

— Elections results also brought to the fore front the extent of regionalism in the country.

Question-31

Critically analyze the turn of events in the wake of 1970 elections that ultimately led to the dismemberment of Pakistan.

Points to note

— Results of 1970 election strengthening the extent of political alienation and frustration which had developed in many parts of Pakistan and Particularly in East Pakistan.

— Awami League's stand on six-point formula as the only basis for a constitution.

— Postponement of the session of the national assembly.

— Military action in East Pakistan to assert the power of the central government the beginning of an all out civil war between Pakistan military and its supporters and Awami League and the supporters of Bangladesh movement.

— India’s role both political and indirect military intervention as well as an all out invasion on East Pakistan.

— Other developments e.g. Kissinger's visit to China creating apprehensions in India about a U.S.-Pakistan-China axis against India and Soviet Union. As well as the statement by Yahya Khan about Chinese intervention in case India attacked, after the vague promise of Chinese support brought back by the delegation headed by Bhutto that visited China in the first week of November. Since the Chinese did not contradict the statement it caused Indians serious anguish. This also led to Indo-Sovict Treaty of friendship and co-operation.

Question 32
Why was transferring of power to the political representatives delayed? Was it delibrate? Comment.

Points to Note

— Results of 1970 elections fully reflected the existing polarisation of the electrorate along regional lines.

— Role of the military regime.

— Role of People's Party and Awami League.

5.11 1971-1977

5.12 Required readings

Reading 31 The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-86 (Hasan-Askari Rizvi) PP 194-217

Reading 32 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Reading 33 Problems of Contemprory Pakistan (J. Henry Korson) PP 30-50

Reading 34 Contemprory Pakistan (Manzoor ud din Ahmad) PP 13-27

5.13 Self Learning Questions

Question-33
Disscuss the steps taken by the Bhutto government in the post'71 period to limit military's political role and reassert civilian supremacy.

Point to note

— Bhutto assumed power amidst grave crisis and confusion. The separation of East Pakistan had caused unprecedented grief and anguish.

— Bhutto not only enjoyed mass appeal, he was the leader of the majority party in the national assembly. Moreover the supreme court of Pakistan unanimously held Yahya Khan's act of assuming power as usurpation and declared it "illegal and unconstitutional". Despite the fact that the judgment came four months later, nevertheless it did help in strengthening the civilian-government against the military. Finally military's status and reputation as a nation building force suffered greatly due to the fall of East Pakistan.

— Initial steps towards asserting civilian supremacy over military, included criticism of military involvement in politics. In addition various decisions were taken for the removal of several officers, setting up of a commission to look into the 1971 military debacle, restructuring of military high command,

reduction of chief of staff's tenure and services chiefs were not to be granted extensions.

— The 1973 constitution introduced major changes in the administrative set up of the military high command.

Question-34
Discuss parliamentary democracy as envisaged in the constitution of 1973

Points to note

— Parliamentary from Government enshrined in the constitution.

— Power of the Prime Minister in the constitution.

— Balance of power between the President and the Prime Minister.

5.14 1977-88

5.15 Required readings

Reading	35	Pakistan under Martial Law 1977-85 (Mohammad Waseem) PP 1-10, 22-27, 33-93
Reading	36	Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-86 (Hasan Askari Rizvi) PP - 225-62

5.16 Self Learning Questions

Question-35
Discuss Zia's Martial Law regime in the light of Mohammad Waseem's reading. Do you agree that during this period various new phenomena emerged to give the period a specific identity different from the previous Martial Laws?

Points to note

— Zia's regime can be divided into three phases namely:
the period of adjustment'
the 'period of stabilization'
the 'period of change, movement and transition'.

— The Bhutto phenomenon and the problems of legitimacy of the Martial Law regime.

— The Afghanistan factor

— The MRD movement

— The non party based elections of 1985 and RCO 1985.

— Comparison with the previous Martial Law regimes.

Question-36

Critically analyze the Revival of Constitutional Order (RCO) 1985.

Points to Note

- Concentration of power in the hands of the president.
- Shift of the government authority from the parliament which is the traditional source of the powers of the prime minister. Parliament is not the source of presidential powers in RCO 1985.
- The constitution of 1973 envisaged a parliamentary system; therefore the prime minister was committed to the continuation of parliament since his own fate was tied with it. The president does not lose anything according to RCO 1985 by abrogating it as happened on May 29, 1988.
- Problems in the maintenance of rule of law.

Question 37

Critically analyze the failures and successes of the 1983 MRD movements.

Points to Note:

- Political' character of the MRD movement
- The Dubai factor
- MRD unity
- Government's reaction to the movement.

5.17 1988 to date

5.18 Required readings

Readings 37 Monthly 'Herald' November, 1988 Election '88 issue and December, 1988 PP 20-91

3.19 Self Learning Questions

Question-38

Critically analyse the election results of November 16, 1988.

Points to Note

- Number of seat won by various parties in the assembly.
- PPP emerging as the single majority Party in the national assembly.

6. BLOCKS SEVEN & EIGHT
ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

6.1 Introduction

According to Huntington a political party is an important modernizer. He has discussed its evolution and development in four phases: We have talking about these phases in detail in block one. Our focus in these blocks will be on the constitution, development and decay of political parties in Pakistan. In most of the literature appearing on political parties in Pakistan it is generally argued that political parties have failed to develop a party system in Pakistan. The reasons for the failure are many--factional nature of leadership, lack of discipline, weak organization, changing loyalties -- i.e. failure to develop a competitive party system. This failure of the political parties, it is argued, facilitated the intervention of military into politics. Practorianism or military intervention is perceived as resulting from the weakness of political parties.

We shall see whether political parties have failed to develop a viable and competitive party system, or there are some other factors. We shall try to analyze the origin evolution and development of political parties in Pakistan. In this context we shall study all the factions that have emerged or decayed as a political party came into being.

In order to have some understanding of the problems of party development in Pakistan, we shall try to focus on the following Factors.

(a) Type and continuity in leadership
(b) Organization
(c) Ideology
(d) Source of funding
(e) Membership

We shall concentrate on following major and minor parties and alliances.

i) Pakistan Muslim League,
ii) Pakistan People's Partly
iii) National Awami Party
iv) Jiamiat-i-Ulama-i-lslam
v) Republican Party
vi) Jamiat-i-Islami
vii) Jamiat-al-Ulama-i-Pakistan
viii) Mohijir Qaumi Movement

6.2 Pakistan Muslim League

6.3 Required reading.

Reading 38 Pakistan: A Political Stud (Keith Cllard) PP 39-76

Reading 39 Party Politics in Pakistan (K.K. Aziz) PP 70-94

Reading 40 Political Parties in Pakistan. 1958-1969 Vol: II (M. RaFique Afzal) PP 53-78

Reading 41 Pakistan under Martial Law, 1977-1985 (Muhammad Waseeni) PP 46-53, 74-88

Reading 42 Sec Reading 37

6.4 Self Learning Questions

Question 39
Did Muslim League enjoy absolute power during the first seven years of independence Comment.

Points to note

— Identification of Muslim League with the country and the state by the people.

— Absence of substantial opposition parties.

— Absence of general elections to test the popularity of Muslim League.

Question 40
Critically examine the role of Muslim League during 1947-58. How far does the responsibility for the failure of parliamentary system rest on Muslim League. Discuss.

Points to note

— Due to the credit for leading the Pakistan movement, Muslim League continued to dominate even after independence.

— However, it suffered from a number of problems, such as;
A complete lack of leadership. After the Quaid and Liaqat Ali, no leaders from the League could create confidence to lead the party that was in the grip of conflicts.

— The organizational structure was not attended to. It did not receive the much needed attention and therefore constantly declined. In this respect local conflicts which led provincial conflicts, combining of the office of president of Muslim League and Prime Minister of Pakistan and the same at provincial level played an important part in further declining the organizational base of the party.

— Muslim League failed to provide a meaningful programme for the basic problems of the country e.g. In effective attempts for the implementation of land reforms. These attempts were easily failed by the strong opposition of vested interests which not only led to frustration but left the party without strong supporters who could mobilize public opinion.

— Absence of strong opposition - a much needed ingredient for smooth running of parliamentary government.

6.5 Pakistan People's Party

6.6 Required readings

Reading	43	The Pakistan People's Party: Phases one and two (Anwar H. Syed), in Pakistan: The Long View, edited by Lawrence Ziring, Ralph Braibanti and W: Howiad WFigging: PP 70-116
Reading,	44	Changing Party Structures in Pakistan: From Muslim League to People's Party" (Philip E. Jones) in Contemporary Pakistan, edited by Manzoor -ud- din Ahmad PP 114-39
Reading	45	See Reading 37

6.7 Self Learning Questions

Question-41

Discuss the circumstances under which PPP emerged on the political scene of Pakistan.

Points to note

— Deepening political crisis during Ayub era
— Exit of Ayub Khan.

Question-42

Identify and examine some of the major problems faced by PPP after it came to power in 1971.

Points to note

— Crisis, of integration
— Problems of factionalism

Question- 43

What type of economic and social policies were spelled out of the PPP in the Foundation Documents'? Discuss

Point to note

— Social justice and establishment of a classless society

— A constitutional democratic order based on universal adult franchise

— Civil rights and liberties

— Full remuneration to workers for their labour, elimination of feudalism, self-help projects unions, fixation of minimum wage rates, free health care for peasants, educational facilities etc.

6.8 National Awami Party

6.9 Required readings

Reading 46 Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-58 (M. Rafiquc Afzal) PP 219-22

Reading 47 Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-69 (M. Rafique. Afzal) PP 108-115

Reading 48 In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet_ Temptations, Selig S. Harrison PP 41-69 83-91

Reading 49 Interest Groups in South Asia (Talukdar Muneer us Zaman) PP

Reading 50 The NAP Challenge (L.F. Rushbrooke Williams) PP

6.10 Self Learning Questions

Question 44
Discuss the origin of National Awami Party.

Points to note

— Pakistan National Party joined hands with Bhashani led Awam League dissidents and Ganatantri Dal. The new party emerged at Dacca on 25th July 1957 at the Democratic workers convention.

Question 45
Discuss the role of NAP during and after the first Martial Law.

Points to note

- — NAP suffered more than any other party for its views.
- — Its top leaders were under detention for a long time.
- — NAP was formally revived at Dacca in Feb, 1964 and immediately compaigned for adult franchise and direct elections.
- — In 1964-65 elections NAP did not follow a uniform policy but joined the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) on July 24, 1964.

6.11 Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam

6.12 Required readings

Reading 51 Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-58 (M. Rafique Afzal) PP 33.-37
Reading 52 Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-69 Vol: (M. Rafique Afzal) PI' 84-91
Reading 53 See Reading 37

6.13 Self Learning Questions

Question-46
Discuss the origin of Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam.

Points to note

- — Background of jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Hind.
- — Elections of 1945-46 moved the pro-League ulama to organize them selves into a separate party in order to counter the propaganda of the pro-Congress Jamiat.
- — The inauguration of the new party Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam was formally announced in Calcutta during October 26-29, 1945, and Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani was elected its president in absentia.

6.14 Republican Party

6.15 Required readings

Reading 54 Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-58 (K.K. Aziz) PP 105-10

Reading 55 Political Parties in' Pakistan 1947-58 (M. Rafique Afzal) PP 195-98

6.16 Self Learning Questions

Question-47
Discuss the origin and rise of the Republican Party.

Points to note

- — Political situation in the country,
- — The Party was formed with Dr. Khan Sahib as its convener, Among the Muslim Leaguers who joined the Republican party were those who were opposed Daultana as well as those who were opposed Khuhro.
- — The party had the blessings of President Iskandar Mirza and Governor Gurmani.

6.17 Jamat-i-Islami of Pakistan

6.18 Required readings

Reading 56 Jamat-i-Islami of Pakistan (Kalim Bahadur) PP 139-211

Reading 57 Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-58 (M. Rafique Afzal) PP 37-39

Reading 58 Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-69 Vol: H (M. Rafique Afzal) PP 91-100

Reading 59 See Reading 37

6.19 Self Learning Questions

Question-48

Discuss the Organizational structure of Jamiat-i-islami of Pakistan.

Points to note

- — According to its constitution the foremost position is held by the Arnir elected through direct ballot by the members.

- — Afterwards are the Majlis.i.Shura (Consultative Council) Majlis.i.Amla (Executive Council) Qaiyyum (Secretary General) and seven departments directly under the Amir'.

Question-49
Discuss the ideology of Jamat-i-Islami. Is the political philosophy of Mawdudi the ideology of Jama'at?

Points to note

— Freedom of will and predestination.

— Islamic Ethics and Islamic Economics

— Social Justice

— Individual and Society

— Socialism, Communism, Capitalism and Islam.

6.20 Jamiat-al-Ulma-e-Pakistan

6.21 Required readings

Reading 60 Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-69 Vol:II (M. Rafique Afzal) PP 79-80

Reading 61 See Reading 37

6.22 Self Learning Questions

Question 50

Discuss the organisation of Jmiat-al-Ulma-i-Pakistan.

Points to note

— JUP was organized by the ulama and mashaikh of the Brelvi school of thought in 1948.

6.23 Mohajir Qaumi Movement

6.24 Required readings

Reading 62 Sec Reading 37

Reading 63 MQM's Charter in daily, Dawn Nov. 1988.

6.25 Self Learning Questions

Question 51

Analys the factors that led to the creation of Mohajir Qaurni Movement (MQM) in Pakistan.

Points to note

— MQM was created in 1983 but the foundations of the party were laid in 1978 with the formation of All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization (APMSO) at the Karachi University. Altaf Hussain was the founder Chairman and Azim Tariq its General Secretary.

— MQM has completely changed the complexion of Sindh's urban politics.

— The 25-point charter of Resolutions acts as the basic document and manifesto of MQM.

7. BLOCK NINE
INTEREST/PRESSURE GROUPS IN PAKISTAN

7.1 Introduction

In block two we have studied the formation and types of pressure/interest groups. Not only that we also learnt that pressure/interest groups may not be political in nature. On the contrary, they are usually non-political organization whose primary visible activity is not political but social or economic.

In this block we shall try and analyze the organization and mobilization of pressure interest groups. In addition, we shall also study how systematic changes affect group development and how are these groups mobilized and organized in Pakistan. We shall see the main pressure/interest groups that operate in Pakistani politics e.g. the business and industrial communities, labour unions, teachers associations, etc. The role of military and bureaucracy as pressure groups shall also be considered.

7.2 Role of major pressure/interest groups in Pakistani politics.

7.3 Required readings

Reading	64	Interest Groups and Development (Stanley Kochanek) PP175-90, 292-311
Reading	65	Elite Politics in an Ideological State: The Case of Pakistan (Asaf Hussian) PP 61-110, 120-45
Reading	66	"Public Policy, Financial-industrial groups and development of Economic Institutions in Pakistan: The experience of 1960's" (Saeed Shafqat) in Pakistan Studies (Book of Reading) PP 206-39

7.4 Self Learning Questions

Question-52

Discuss the characteristics of the business community in Pakistani as an interest/pressure groups.

Points to note

— Though business community is the most highly organised social group in Pakistan, still it suffers from social diversities and uneven patterns of the growth of business.

— Collective action has tended to be usually formal and ceremonial.

Question-53

Critically analyze the factors that have hampered the business community in Pakistan to mobilize public support. What has been the role of press in this context?

Points to note

— Characteristics of business and character of the political system have resulted in the emergence of a business-government relationship based on individual rather than collective action.

— Business associations lack independent analytical and research capabilities.

— They have failed to establish a permanent foothold as owners or managers of major newspaper or financial journals.

Question 54

How do Interest Groups operate in Pakistani politics or the governmental process? What are its consequences? Analyze.

Points to note

— Participation of interest groups has been limited and confined to individuals.

— It has led to lack of governmental accountability as well as government's difficulty in gaining public support for its actions eventually leaving the government isolated when pressures began to build up against a regime and a system.

Question 55

Critically examine the role of the bureaucratic elite in Pakistani politics.

Points to note

— Dominance of bureaucratic and military elite has been the consequence of the absence of effective political system and vice- versa.

— Power became highly centralized.

— Therefore public policy took two distinguished characteristics; restricted participation and distributive benefits.

Question 56

Do you agree that failure to develop a competitive party system has led to the intervention of military into politics? Discuss.

Points to note

— Absence of well organized political parties.
— Personality cult in political parties.
— Military interference in political affairs.

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