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Batch-61-NOA (combined)

Time: 5:15

For: NOA - Chemistry

Practice Q - PAC Political Instability  
Political Parties are considered weak.

How has this contributed to the Political  
Instability in Pakistan?

## Introduction

Pakistan is a pluralistic society which is divided on the grounds of culture, language, ethnicity and regional loyalty. Although Islam was seen as the uniting factor by early Pakistani leaders, however the stark reality which has unfolded post-1947, demonstrates a different story. Uniting Pakistan under the banner of Islam has not been successful. The lack of unity among different units can be traced to prevalent political instability in the country. Political issues have not been addressed by political means rather force has been applied which eventually resulted in the fall of Dhona in 1971, scarred Sindh's political landscape in Sindh post MRD suppression in 1983, and <sup>recreated</sup> military intervention leading to decline in democratic principles. Weak political party structure can

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Structure can be traced to early decline of Muslim League, Bureaucratic meddling in Politics, Repeated imposition of Martial Law, Personalisation of Politics over Institutionalism, and Lack of Internal Democracy in Political Party Structure. The result has been Political instability.

Reasons for Weak Political Parties and <sup>Impact on</sup> <sub>Political Structure</sub>

i) Decline of Muslim League in Early Years of Pakistan.

The All India Muslim League, founded in 1906 was instrumental in attaining Independence for Pakistan. However, post-Independence Muslim League was required to adapt from agitational politics to governance of a newly formed country requiring nation-building. Leading a liberation movement and running a country is two separate things and the M.L. failed in the latter. The first setback faced by M.L. was when its leader M.A. Jinnah passed away just 13 months after Pakistan had come to existence. Jinnah had trained

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and expected Liaqat Ali Khan to takeover after him but LAD could not fill the shoes of Jinnah successfully.

Secondly, ML was dominated by the feudals from mid-1940s which was not the case when the party was founded. In the initial years of ~~Pakistan~~ ML, the party represented the middle class and working class while the feudals supported the United Party in Punjab (India) which was clearly evident in 1937 elections. However, between 1945 till 1947 the feudals, who were mainly self-seekers, saw the momentum the Pakistan Movement was gaining under ML. Thus, for self-aspirations the feudals sided with ML and the ML dominated the 1946 election. However, when Pakistan was founded in 1947, these feudal leaders aimed to fulfill their selfish ambitions and were not willing to build their grassroots politics resulting in declining support for the party. Over time internal disputes began

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to arise between members of ML and this resulted in the emergence of factions within the party. Consequently, this led to the Daultanas and Mammadis, eventually leading to disintegration of ML. Therefore, the disintegration of ML during the very initial years of ML signalled the absence of healthy political atmosphere in Pakistan from the beginning.

## ii) Bureaucratic Meddling in Politics:

The bureaucracy was a powerful institution in the executive organ of Pakistan from the very beginning. By 1950s the bureaucrats began to dominate the political landscape of Pakistan. The first direct intervention can be traced back to 1954 election when the Daultanas of Muslim League rewarded the bureaucracy the political post of Governor General due to their support in the Punjab elections. This resulted in ~~the~~ Ghulam Muhammad's entrance into politics who was a bureaucrat. After assuming power as Governor General, Ghulam Muhammad

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toppled two successive governments by removing Khawaja Nazimuddin and M. Ali Bogra. After Rehman Muhammad, Iskander Mirza became the Governor General who was also a bureaucrat. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali became the Prime Minister who had the same credentials. Therefore, it is clearly evident that the bureaucracy dominated the political scene of Pakistan in the early years of Pakistan. Eventually, Iskander Mirza also placed the first Martial Law on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1958, and Field Marshal Ayub Khan took charge as Martial Law Administrator.

Assessing the period from 1948 till 1958 we see bureaucrats playing the political field through manipulation demonstrating Nationalism inspired tactics. This resulted in immense political instability as no political party was allowed to stably operate its government and implement much needed long-term reforms, leading to weakened political party structure.

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### iii) Repeated Imposition of Martial Law

Pakistan since 1947 has been under military rule four times for a total duration of 35 years. The first martial law was imposed in 1958 and continued till 1969 under Ayub Khan. The second martial law was imposed in 1969 till 1979 by Yahya Khan. The third military regime was between 1977 till 1988 under Zia ul Haq. The last martial law was imposed in 1999 which lasted till General elections 2008 by Pervez Musharraf. Since the last martial law the military has assumed role of Kingmaker, utilizing political proxies to establish a hybrid regime which is indirectly controlled by the military.

Repeated imposition of martial law had resulted in the military defining the political landscape of Pakistan. The political parties have become pawns for the military establishment which has retained control through monitoring weak political parties created by the military itself. Ayub Khan, the

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Just martial law administration realised soon that the civilian government cannot operate without political parties but along this he was aware that strong political parties could and would detain him. Therefore, under Political Parties Act 1962 he revived the political parties but under certain restrictions. Through which he as the dictator could retain sufficient control. This led to the dividing of Muslim League which was divided into two factions:

1. Convention Muslim League  $\Rightarrow$  Supported Ayub
2. Council Muslim League  $\Rightarrow$  opposed Ayub

Through this dividing Ayub Khan retained control over the political parties until he was ousted by another military dictator, Yalta Khan.

The divide and rule policy adopted and practised by military dictators has served them well but it has resulted in weak political party structure and over reliance on the military establishment to come into power leading to hybrid regimes

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and the political organs of the state being an undetained subordinate of the military establishment.

After the tenure of Yahya Khan and the fall of Dhaka in 1971, the Muslim League had ceased to exist which led to the emergence of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Seeing the democratic power of PPP and Bhutto's strong arm politics which led to resistance, the "Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)" emerged which was also based on opposing the current leader agenda. The tensions between the two led to the third martial law

of Zia ul Haq. During Zia's rule a movement started which is known as the "Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)". The MRD's protests in 1983 in Sindh led to Zia calling for elections in 1985. However,

again the military leader suppressed political parties, created division among the strong party PPP by dividing into two factions. The divided PPP faction



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Came to be known as PPP (Pakistan People's Party) and through the Zia managed to retain control. The last martial law in Pakistan till date is the one imposed by General Pervez Musharraf. As per the Supreme Court's judgement, Musharraf's tenure was coming to an end. To retain power, Musharraf ~~announced~~ founded Pakistan Muslim League - Qaid-e-Azam PML(Q) in 2002. Through the utilization of state institutions such as the premier intelligence service of Pakistan, Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), and National Accountability Bureau (NAB); Musharraf managed to ensure PML(Q) won 78 National Assembly seats, 28 Independent Seats were merged with PML(Q) and 13 seats of MQM were also merged with PML(Q) to formulate a coalition government. This seriously weakened the political and democratic structure of Pakistan as PML(Q) was founded primarily from members of PML(N) and the state institutions were misused for political gain which has

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today become a norm in the political landscape of Pakistan.

Therefore, the repeated military rule in Pakistan has greatly weakened the political structure of Pakistan by weakening the democratic principles and values of the nation leading to fragile and dependent political parties.

iv) Dynamic Politics: Personalisation over Institutionalisation

Since Bhutto came to power under PPP's government in 1971, the concept of dynamic politics has emerged leading to political monopolies by PPP and PML-N under two families. However, the main problem arises from the personalisation of politics over institutionalisation, which was also visible in the operations of the 2018 federal government of PTT. The leaders of these parties have shown a tendency to operate independently which has resulted in strong individuals (leaders) and weak political institutions. A renowned lawyer

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of Pakistan, Hamid Khan, in his book "The Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan" describes the political failure of personification by stating that the political leaders of the parties don't understand the concept of "Tasarrufi Ane and Institutions live on" as these leaders prefer micro-management to retain control over effective delegation to improve governance.

The lack of delegation and overcentralization A decision-making results in the important objectives to be missed or delayed leading to poor governance and failure to achieve short-term and long-term goals.

#### v) Lack of Internal Democracy in Political Parties

As the political parties in Pakistan mainly operate as dynasties thus the concept of internal democracy feels alien to Pakistani politicians. No political party which has established the federal government (center) has conducted

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Internal elections also known as intra-party elections as the leaders are selected and they live on. Due to this the political workers of the political parties lack the ambition to put forward their thoughts and ideology as their success is limited to the restrictions placed. This leads to weak and undemocratic political parties structure which are unable to bring change or new thought needed for the betterment of the country and for the strength of political parties themselves.

### Conclusion

Political are foundationally weak in position due to the aforementioned reasons and their impact on political functioning. All these reasons and impacts club into political instability and inability to survive for long tenures which are required for long-term policymaking. The weakness of these political parties attributed to their undemocratic structure and repeated intervention by the state stakeholders has resulted into prolonged political instability and inability to retain power during constitutionally provided 5 year tenure.