

Historical Perspective of Political and Constitutional Development in Pakistan

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Abstract: *The political and constitutional history of Pakistan over the years has been quite enigmatic. The unprecedented political crises, security threats, failure of domestic and external policies impaired the political development of the country considerably. While looking at the historical underpinnings, the political system was dominated by bureaucratic-military elites. They developed symbiotic relationship along with feudal lords who readily accepted the policy of second fiddle. Military along with bureaucracy collaborated to re-structure the political system and brought constitutional changes to consolidate power. On the other hand the political parties were unable to capitalize upon political power. They remained averse to solving political issues, invariably contributed in strengthening the hands of extra constitutional forces. The ineffective system of accountability, weak organization of judiciary and social backwardness were among other factors which hampered political development considerably. This paper attempts to unfold the historical analysis of political and constitutional development and how those developments impacted the political system of Pakistan.*

Key words: *Military-bureaucratic oligarchy, mushroom growth of political parties, political structures in the state of disequilibrium*

I. Introduction

The political system of Pakistan encountered many shocks and a few break downs. While looking at the historical underpinnings of political development, one can argue that political and constitutional development was impaired by one problem or the other. These problems got surfaced frequently thus undermined the entire politico-economic and social development of Pakistan. One of the most traumatic episodes it ever got was the separation of its Eastern wing becoming Bangladesh¹. It deeply sabotaged the national integration and attempted to unleash fissiparous tendencies in the state. Sadly speaking Pakistan never derived any lesson from the bitter realities of the past. Political structures kept on overlapping in performing allocated roles. The political system remained in the state of disequilibrium resultantly brought structural decay. Many social scientists brooded over the lethargic institutional development. Muhammad Waseem considered it as institutional dysfunctionality². Hassan Askari Rizvi while brooding over the key factors of political instability delineated that repeated military intervention strongly debilitated the political order of Pakistan³. Ayesha Jalal opinionated the continuous intervention of army left profound implications on the polity of Pakistan⁴. Shahid Javeed Burki & Craig Baxter viewed that weak political parties and strong military-bureaucratic influence contributed to political melancholy in Pakistan⁵. Whatever the elucidation for the political crisis, it is undeniable fact that Pakistan needs rigorous efforts to evolve a political system by which institutions become capable of sustaining shocks and breakdowns.

II. Development of Political System

Soon after the inception of Pakistan, the Government of India Act 1935 and the Act of Independence (1947) after few modifications were adopted as interim arrangements for administering the political business of the state. Besides, the Constituent Assembly was also given the responsibility of framing the new constitution. This assembly failed to respond positively and got entangled into political intricacies thus delayed the process of

¹G.W.Choudhry, Last Days of United Pakistan, (London: G. Hurt and Company, 1974), 202-210

² Muhammad Waseem, Politics and the State in Pakistan, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1989), 461-464

³ Hassan Askari Rizvi, Military and Politics in Pakistan, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1986), 255-270

⁴ Ayesha Jalal, The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 18

⁵ Shahid Javeed Burki & Craig Baxter, Pakistan Under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia-ul-Haq, (Oxford: Westview Press, 1991), 01-48

making constitution. The constitutionalists and the political elites gave following reasons for posing delay in making the first constitution.

- Influx of Refugees- An unprecedented Migration
- Administrative Vacuum
- Economic Collapse
- Political Unrest
- Indian-British Conspiracies
- Insecure Borders

In order to resolve growing constitutional issues, the Objective Resolution (1949) was passed by Liaqat Ali Khan (the Prime Minister) but it further exacerbated ongoing political conditions. For the first time minorities were marginalized and forced to raise concerns over the futuristic outlook of Pakistan. The key features of the Objective Resolution were as follows:

- Islamic State
- Federal Structure
- Distribution of Powers
- Equality before Law
- Independence of Judiciary
- Urdu and English be the National Languages

Instead of pouring oil on the trouble waters Objective Resolution invited plethora of problems. The language issue, distribution of seats in the Legislative Assembly and the division of powers between the federation and the federating units germinated agitational politics in East Pakistan. With the assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan (1951), political instability anomalously crept in. Moreover the Ahmedi Movement (1953) also polluted the political environment and resulted in the imposition of limited Martial Law in Lahore. Later the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and re-constituting of the second Assembly also weakened the political system. The arbitrary use of powers by the governor generals seriously jeopardized the working of political system. The growing influence of army and bureaucracy in the politics also rang alarming bells for the politicians who looked incapacitated to counter such preponderance. These developments negatively carved the process of political development. Ch. Muhammad Ali (Prime Minister) was able to present the first Constitution in 1956 and it was hailed as one of the greatest political triumph of a bureaucrat. Unfortunately the Constitution of the Islamic Republic in Pakistan remained in vogue only for couple of years. The salient features were:

- Written Constitution (234 articles, divided into 13 parts and 6 schedules)
- Islamic State
- Federal System with Uni-Cameral Legislature
- Division of Powers
- Parliamentary Order
- Independence of Judiciary

The failure of the constitution also intensified political crisis. The appalling economic conditions were creating more uncertainties among the masses. In amid environment of political and economic chaos, military had to capture the reins of the government in 1958. Thus Ayub Khan emerged as a savior of a frustrated nation. He abrogated the Constitution of 1956 and attempted to re-structured political order. He blamed politicians for creating political turmoil. The activities of the politicians were brought under heavy restraint by the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) in 1959. In order to give country a type of democracy which the people could understand, Ayub Khan introduced the system of Basic Democracies in 1959⁶. The idea behind this scheme was to ensure democracy at grass root level. He believed that without coherent political culture at local level the foundation of real democracy was not possible. This system provided for the election of 80,000 Basic Democrats, equally divided between East and West Pakistan. They were to be elected on direct adult franchise⁷. However to make it an electoral college for the election of the president was injudicious step. Ayub Khan unilaterally reversed the entire political order from parliamentary system to Presidential one in 1962 Constitution. The salient features were as follows:

- Written Constitution (250 Articles, divided into 12 Parts and 3 Schedules)

⁶ Hamid Yousuf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1999), 72

⁷ Ibid.

- Islamic State
- Federal System with Uni-Cameral Legislature
- Division of Powers
- Presidential System
- Basic Democracy
- Independence of Judiciary

During Presidential election (1965), Ayub Khan successively manipulated Basic Democracy System and defeated Fatima Jinnah. However the political opponents questioned the legality of this election. Later the outbreak of war between Pakistan-India enabled him to maneuver public sentiments in his favor but subsequent talks at Tashkent and signing of Tashkent Declaration (1966) proved to be a swan song for him. The massive agitational movement forced him to hand over power to another military general Yahya Khan in 1969. Yahya Khan just like his predecessor also abrogated the Constitution of 1962 and gave LFO (Legal Frame Work Order) in 1969. One of the significant features of LFO was to hold general election in the state. The general elections were held in 1970. This election instead of bringing political homogeneity resulted in providing unmitigated suffering to the political order. It sabotaged the national integrity of Pakistan. Yahya- Bhutto reluctance to hand over power to Majeed Ur- Rehman (the leader of Awami League) who was determined to materialize his six point's agenda in the new polity resulted in the breakup of this country. In other words defective political strategies of military-bureaucratic elements led to sad episode. After the drop scene of East Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto formed government in truncated Pakistan. He made efforts to stabilize politico-economic conditions. He presented the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 which was endorsed by the majority of the members sitting in the National Assembly. The significant features were;

- Written Constitution (280 Articles, 12 Chapters and 6 schedules)
- Islamic State
- Federal System with Bi-Cameral Legislature
- Division of Powers
- Parliamentary Order
- Independence of Judiciary

Although this constitution provided legitimacy to the political structures but it could not contribute positively to the institutional development. It had to suffer from shocks and break downs. It was amended, suspended but not abrogated. When Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was replaced by Zia-ul-Haq, he too amended the constitution and incorporated 8th Amendment to strike balance between the powers of the President and the Prime Minister. However, this Amendment proved to be a sword of Damocles for the successive governments. In the decade of democratization from 1988-1998, democratic development jolted badly due to Article 58 II B of 1973 constitution which had empowered the President to dissolve the National Assembly whenever he felt so. During the second tenure of Mian Nawaz Sharif, efforts were made to restore the dignity of the parliamentary system. Consequently the 8th Amendment was replaced by 13th Amendment.

These political measures proved to be all moon shine when General Pervaiz Musssraf ousted Mian Nawaz Sharif on 12th October 1999. He made structural changes in the political system. He was given a legal cover by the apex Court of Pakistan under the law of necessity. Alike his predecessor took various steps like, local government system, electoral reforms, increasing the seats of National Assembly and Senate, holding 2002 general election etc. However the most astonishing political step was the 17th Amendment that gave more powers to the head of the state in comparison with the prime minister. The pendulum of powers swung back to the President who could dissolve the parliament under unfavorable circumstances. After 2008 general elections the government of Pakistan People's Party repealed it with 18th Amendment. Over the year's chronic political and economic instability, border conflicts, ineffective internal and external policy mechanism, frequent changes in the constitution has badly weakened the political system. The political system of Pakistan portrayed the following features:

1. Federal Parliamentary Structure
2. Legitimacy of the Government
3. Mushroom Growth of Political Parties
4. Military-Bureaucratic Oligarchy
5. Absence of Accountability

Federal-Parliamentary Structure-:

Since the birth of Pakistan federal-Parliamentary structure has been in the state of practice. The system was British legacy and was followed with modifications in the post-independent setup. The formulation of Objective Resolution was also done in the light of it. Later the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

1956 crystallized it in clandestine manner. The only exception was the period of Ayub Khan in which Presidential order was implemented but due to lack of political indoctrination Presidential system, it got catapulted the moment he left government. Federal-Parliamentary structure was reinvigorated under 1973 constitution. However, conspicuous changes in the shape of 8th and 17th Amendments changed the nature of the original Constitution. He was supposed to be a ceremonial head of the state and all powers were to be exercised by the head of the government.

The constitution states a person can only be eligible for this office that is a resident of Pakistan, a Muslim, should be mentally sound, has not been punished by any court and meets the age of 40 years. The Electoral College comprising of the members of the National Assembly, Senate and Provincial Assemblies vote for him into power. He remains in office for five years. He can be impeached, if he goes against the principles of the constitution⁸. He enjoys powers like, signing of bills, rejecting bills but if passed by the National Assembly with 2/3 majority then it would become a law without the approval of the President⁹, issuing ordinances whose validity is of six months, during this time Parliament has to pass or reject it otherwise it will cease to function, dissolution of the National Assembly under 8th & 17th Amendments but it has curtailed under 18th Amendment, giving grants to organizations, receiving foreign delegations, dignitaries, diplomats, touring any country, summoning the joint session of the Parliament, addressing that session, appointing state officials on the advice of the prime minister etc.

Prime Minister is a leader of the majority party is invited by the President to form government. He is the real executive who performs all functions of the state. He makes cabinet. He can remain in his office as long as he enjoys the confidence of the parliament. On the other Majlis-e-Shura (Legislature) consists of National Assembly and the Senate. Sadly speaking the prerequisite of federation is bicameral legislature but this feature was non-existent in the previous two constitutions. Senate was established under 1973 constitution. Currently National Assembly comprises of 342 members and Senate has 104 members¹⁰. Lower House is directly constituted by the votes of general public where as Senate is elected on the basis of Proportional Representation.

Another feature of federation is distribution of powers. Since the inception of Pakistan there had been political discrepancies over the pattern of distribution of powers. Political bickering continued to weaken federation and the impact was disintegration of Pakistan. After the sad debacle of Bangladesh a uniformed measure of distributing powers was adopted in the Constitution of 1973 and efforts were made to ensure provincial autonomy. By the virtue of the original constitution national government/Central government enjoyed the power of legislating on 67 subjects where as provincial governments were 47 subjects to legislate on¹¹. Residuary powers belonged to provincial governments. The 18th Amendment abolished the current list, although Criminal Laws, Criminal Procedure and Evidence remained subjects on which both the Parliament and the Provincial legislatures were given powers to make laws. Now there are 77 subjects in federal list including 59 in Part I and 18 in Part II¹². Federalism was always perceived to be the best system for Pakistan due to its peculiar circumstances, even the military rulers adopted it as rhetoric to appease the federating units, however, despite explicit constitutional provisions, and Pakistan mostly functioned as a unitary state¹³.

Judiciary being the cornerstone is represented by the Supreme Court whose judges are to be appointed by the President through Parliamentary Commission. The names of the judges shall be recommended to the Parliamentary Commission by judicial Commission¹⁴. Supreme Court hears appeals against the cases decided by the High Courts, interprets the Constitution, decide cases between provinces, or provinces and the federation, acts as custodian of fundamental rights etc.

Legitimacy of the Government with a few Successions

While viewing at 68 years history of Pakistan one can argue that more than three decades military rulers usurped powers. Ayub Khan, Zia ul Haq and Pervaiz Musharraf used electoral system and referendum as tools to perpetuate political ascendancy in Pakistan. They moved from defacto sovereigns to de jure sovereigns of the state. The only exception was Yaya Khan, who remained a defacto ruler without election. Interestingly,

⁸ The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, Articles, 46,47,48

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Previously Senate had 100 members, four seats for non-Muslims included in the Constitution through Eighteenth Amendment Act, 2010 (Act No. X of 2010)

¹¹ For more information see Chapter V, Articles 141-159 of the 1973 Constitution

¹² For more information see Eighteenth Amendment Act, 2010

¹³ Amir Khan Goraya, Concurrent List: 1973 Constitution and Recent Political Developments, retrieved from www.forumfed.org on November 20, 2014

¹⁴ see Eighteenth Amendment Act, 2010

during referendums voter turnout was astonishing. Ayub Khan bagged 95.6 percent votes from BD's, Zia ul Haq earned 97.7 percent and President Musharraf mustered 97.5 percent of the total polled votes¹⁵.

Since the inception of Pakistan, the people of Pakistan remained without general elections. The first general election was ever held in 1970 on the basis of popular will. For the first time general public was given the right to cast vote on adult franchise. Political parties played significant role in mobilizing public. However when Zia-ul-Haq overthrew the government of Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, he screwed general elections and went for holding elections on non-party basis in 1985.

The democratic process was jolted by frequent changes in the government. Most of the political governments failed to consolidate political power. They were either removed by military elites or president applying article 58-2 (B) to unseat them¹⁶. The concept of the troika (sharing power between the president, prime minister and the military command), though clearly an extra-constitutional development, became a fact of life in Pakistan after the death of Zia-ul-Haq. Later Musharraf virtually militarized the entire state structure¹⁷. The impact was, political system suffered heavily.

Unfortunately one of the most traumatic experiences was the losing parties always used agitational politics to destabilize political government. They never accepted elections results and blamed winning party for rigging election, misusing state machinery, intimidation and exploitation. The table below portrays the picture of system break downs.

Table: 1.0¹⁸

Years	Party Governments	Breakdowns
1958	Pakistan Muslim League	Military Take Over
1969	PML (C)	Military Take Over
1977	Pakistan People's Party	Military Take Over
1988	PML (C)	Removed by 58-2 (B)
1990	Pakistan People's Party	Removed by 58-2 (B)
1993	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz	Removed by the President Ishaq Khan using 58-2 (B)
1996	Pakistan People's Party	Removed by the President Farooq Leghari using 58-2 (B)
1997	Pakistan Muslim League (N)	Crises-The President resigned
1999	Pakistan Muslim League (N)	Military Take Over

This table demonstrates that political governments failed to capitalize upon political power. They kept on having political issues either with the head of the state or political parties. The spillover implication of such political crises was military intervention. Thus it negatively contributed to political development and political system was exposed to vulnerability.

Burgeon Growth of Political Parties

The representative democracy is manifested by the positive, cogent and constructive role of political parties. Political parties are the channels of arousing political awareness among the masses. They remain instrumental in mobilizing public opinion on different national and international issues. The quality of political leadership and how the political parties discharge their tasks go a long way to shape the nature and direction of the political system.

The practical demonstration of the politics has to be exhibited by the strong role of political parties. At the same time political parties are also accused of cultivating the seeds of political disharmony. Holistically speaking the more the political parties a state have, the more would be the division of the population. In Pakistan the strength of the political parties is increasing day by day. In the last general election of 2013, there were 162 registered political parties¹⁹. Today, there are 282 political parties working in the political setup. The following table illustrates it precisely.

Table: 1.1²⁰

¹⁵ For more information visit official website of Election Commission of Pakistan, www.ecp.gov.pk/

¹⁶ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the 20th Century: A Political History*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 55-68

¹⁷ Hamid Khan, *Political and Constitutional History of Pakistan*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 548

¹⁸ Compiled by the researcher

¹⁹ For Information see <http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/ListPolParties.aspx>

²⁰ Data has been compiled from the official web site of Election Commission of Pakistan (<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/>)

Serial NO.	Name of Political Party	Name of Party Leader
1.	Aalay Kalam Ullah Farman Rasool (saw)	Mirza Zulfiqar Ahmed
2.	Aam Admi Justice Party	Mian Ghulam Rasool
3.	Aam Admi Party of Pakistan.	Mr. Adnan Haider Randhawa
4.	Aam Insan Movement (AIM).	Rana Moeen Akhter
5.	Aam Pakistani Party.	Syed Safdar Rizvi
6.	Aap Janab Sarkar Party	Nawab Dr.Amber Shahzada,
7.	Afghan National Party	Khair-ul-Hakin
8.	Afghan Qumi Movement (Pakistan)	Mr. Ahmed Khan
9.	All Pakistan Aam Admi Party.	Ch. Nashir Mehmood
10.	All Pakistan Bayrozgar Party	Rana Muhammad Ali
11.	All Pakistan Chirstian League	Prof. Salamat Akhtar
12.	All Pakistan Minorities Alliance.	Dr. Paul Jacob Bhatti
13.	All Pakistan Muslim League	Muhammad Ali Saif
14.	All Pakistan Peoples Qaumi Movement	Danish Deedar
15.	All Pakistan Youth Working Party	Saghir Ahmad
16.	Allah-o-Akbar Tehreek	Dr. Mian Ihsan Bari,
17.	Amm Admi Party	Arslan-Ul-Mulk,
18.	Awami Himayat Tehreek Pakistan	Moulvi Iqbal Haider
19.	Awami Ittehad Party	Liaquat Ali Jatoi
20.	Awami Jamhoori Party (AJP).	Karam Hussain Wasan
21.	Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan	Mr. ShahramKhanTarakai
22.	Awami Justice Party	Mehar Ghulam Mustafa Mangan
23.	Awami Muslim League Pakistan	Sheikh Rashid Ahmed
24.	Awami National Party	Asfandyar Wali Khan
25.	Awami Qiadat Party	General (R) Mirza Aslam Beg
26.	Awami Tehreek Bahali-e-Soba Bahawalpur Pakistan	Mr. Nazir Ahmed Sonchi
27.	Awami Warkers Party	Mr. Abid Hassan Minto
28.	Azad Pakistan Party	Gul Muhammad Bhatti
29.	Azmat-e-Islam Movement	Zaheer-ul-Islam Abbasi (MajorGeneral)
30.	Bahawalpur National Awami Party	Nawab Salahuddin Abbasi
31.	Bala Pir Tehreek Sadat Party Pakistan	Syed Noor-ul-Hasan Shah Gillani
32.	Balochistan National Congress	Abdul Hakim Lehri
33.	Balochistan National Democratic Party	Sardar Sanaullah Khan Zehri
34.	Balochistan National Movement	Dr.Abdul Hayee Baloch
35.	Balochistan National Party	Sardar Akhter Jan Mengal
36.	Balochistan National Party (Awami)	Mir Israrullah Zehri
37.	Bedar Pakistan	Abdul Razak Mian
38.	Christian Progressive Movement	Mrs. Naila Dayal
39.	Communist Party of Pakistan	Engineer Jameel Ahmad Malik
40.	General Pervez Musharaf Himayat Tehreek	Malik Arshad Mahmood Awan
41.	Ghareeb Awam Party	Syed Farrukh Kamal Hussaini
42.	Ham Awam Party.	Sardar Nasir Saleem Zai
43.	Haqiqi Jamote Qaumi Movement	Sardar Muhammad Wazir-ul-Qadri,
44.	Hazara Awami Ittehad Pakistan	Haji Imran Khan Jadoon
45.	Hazara Democratic Party	Abdul Khaliq Hazara
46.	Hazara Qaumi Mahaz	Qazi Mohammad Azhar
47.	Human Development Movement	Mr. Muhammad Kamran
48.	Islami Inqalab Party	Dr. Allama Ayaz Zaheer Hashimi
49.	Islami Nazriati Tehreek Pakistan	Mr. Zahid Afzal
50.	Islami Peoples Party	Mr. Khurshid Anwar Qureshi
51.	Islami Siasi Tehreek	Abdul Majeed Haidari
52.	Islami Tehreek Pakistan	Syed Sajid Ali Naqvi
53.	Islamic Law Pakistan Party	Muhammad Asif Khan
54.	Islamic Republican Party	Sultan Alam
55.	Istehkaam-e-Pakistan Movement Party	Mr. Muhammad Ashraf Khan Niazi
56.	Istiqlal Party	Syed Manzoor Ali Ghllani
57.	Ittehad Alam-e-Islam	Jan Muhammad
58.	Ittehad Milli Hazara	Abdul Majeed Haidry
59.	Jamaat Ahle Hadith Pakistan (Ropri)	Hafiz Abdul Ghafer Rooberi
60.	Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	Syed Munawar Hasan
61.	Jamait Ahle-Hadith Pakistan(Elahi Zaheer)	Allama Ibtisam Elahi Zaheer
62.	Jamhoori Wattan Party	Nawabzad Tahlal Akbar Bughti
63.	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (F)	Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman
64.	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (S)	Maulana Sami -ul-Haq
65.	Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan (Noorani)	Sahibzada Abul Khair Muhammad Zubair
66.	Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan	Zubair Kayani,
67.	Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (Niazi)	Pir Syed Muhammad Masoom, Hussain Shah Naqvi
68.	Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (Nifaz-e-Shariat)	Engr. Muhammad Saleem Ullah Khan

69.	Jamiat Ulma-e-Pakistan (Sawad-e-Azam)	Syed Muhammad Mahffuz Mushadi
70.	Jamiat-e-Mushaikh Pakistan	Pir Fazal Haq
71.	Jamote Qaumi Movement	Mir Abdul Majid Abro
72.	Jannat Pakistan Party	Dr. Asarulislam Syed
73.	Jeev-e-Pakistan Party	Dr. Irfan Latif
74.	Jumiat Ulma-e-Islam(Nazryati)	Maulana Asamatuull
75.	Justice and Development Party Pakistan	Mr. Tariq Bashir,
76.	Kakar Jamhoori Party Pakistan	Sardar Muhammad Ashraf Kakar
77.	Karwan-i-Millat Pakistan	Lt.Col ® Aizaz Haider
78.	Khud Mukhtar Pakistan Party	Khalid Munir Khan
79.	Khyber Union	Mr. Muhammad Aras Kanday Shahi Khel
80.	Law of Quran Nizam-e-Mustafa.	Muhammad Sarwar Tayyab
81.	Lower Middle Party	Zafar Awan,
82.	Madadgar Pakistan	Mr. Parvez Amin
83.	Majlis-e-Wahdat-e-Muslimeen Pakistan	Mr. Muhammad AminShaheedi
84.	Markazi Jamaat Ahle Hadieth (Zubair)	Allama Hafiz Zubair Ahmad Zahir
85.	Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith (Lakhwi Group)	Molana Moon-ud-Din Lakhwi
86.	Markazi Jamiat Al- Hadith (Sajid Mir)	Mr. Sajid Mir
87.	Markazi Jamiat Mushaikh Pakistan	Pir Syed Muhammad MakhdoomGillani
88.	Markazi Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (Sharif Rizvi)	Mr. Muhammad Sharif Rizvi
89.	Masih Awami Party	Emmanuel Zafar
90.	Menecracy action Party	Mr. Muhammad Tahir Khan
91.	Millat Party	Farooq Ahmad Leghari
92.	Mohajir Ittehad Tehrik	Dr. Saleem Haider
93.	Mohajir Kashmir Movement	Kashif Hussain Dutt
94.	Mohajir Qaumi Movement Pakistan	Afaq Ahmed
95.	Mohib-e-Wattan Movement	Mr. Abdul Khaliq
96.	Mohib-e-Wattan Nowjawan Inqilabion Ki Anjuman (MNAKA)	Ch. Muhammad Asghar
97.	Move on Pakistan	Mr. Muhammad Kamran
98.	Muhib-e-Wattan Roshan Pakistan	Mr. Ameer Ali Pattiwala
99.	Muslim Movement Pakistan	Syed Hasnain Raza Kazmi
100.	Mustaqbil Pakistan	Nadeem M. Qureshi
101.	Mutahida Baloch Movement Pakistan	Wadera Rab Nawaz Khan Murri
102.	Mutahida karwan-e-Pakistan Party	Ch. Arshad Ali Anjum
103.	Mutahidda Qabail Party	Habib Malik Orakzai
104.	Muttahida Muslim League	Chaudhry Nasir MahmoodAdvocate
105.	Muttahida Qaumi Movement Pakistan	Dr. Farooq Sattar
106.	Muttahidda Aman Party	Jehanzeb Babar
107.	Muttahidda Awami Ittehad Party	Mir Zabreen Karim Murre
108.	Muttahidda Jamiat Ulama-e-kistan	Mian Ghulam Shabbir Qadri
109.	Muttahidda Tehreek Inqilab Pakistan	Ch. Muhammad Siddique
110.	Muttahiddah Jamhoori Wattan Party Aali	Nawab Muhammad Mir Aali Bughtti
111.	Mutthida Majlis-e-Amal	Qazi Hussain Ahmed
112.	National Alliance	Mr.Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi,
113.	National Awami Party	Eng. Syed Tassaduq Hussain
114.	National Justice Party	Mr. Naroon-ur-Rashid Naushahi
115.	National Party	Dr.Abdul Malik Baloch
116.	National Peace & Justice Party	Ch. Muhammad Ali
117.	National Peoples Party	Ghulam Murtaza Khan Jatoi
118.	National Peoples Party Workers Group	Muhammad Ashraf Zaib
119.	Nazaria Pakistan Tehreek.	Muhammad Arshad Taqi
120.	Nizam-e-Mustafa Party	Hanif Tayyab
121.	Pak Justic Party (Haqiqi)	Mr. Haroon Ahmed
122.	Pak Muslim Alliance	Haji Muhammad Rafiq
123.	Pak Wattan Party	Syed Shujaat Ali Bukhari
124.	Paktoonkhwa Qaumi Party	Muhammad Afzal Khan
125.	Pakistan Amn Party	Haji M. Gulzar Awan
126.	Pakistan Amn Tehreek.	Ali Sher Khan
127.	Pakistan Awami Inqalab	Dr. Muhammad Aziz Khan
128.	Pakistan Awami Quwat Party	Syed Feroz Ahmad Quadri
129.	Pakistan Awami Tehreek	Mr. Raheeq Ahmed Abbasi
130.	Pakistan Awami Tehrik-e-Inqilab	Prof. Aftab Ahmed Khan Lodhi
131.	Pakistan Bachao Party	Makhdoom M. Duryab Yousaf, Qureshi-al-Hashmi
132.	Pakistan Basic Rights Movement	Ch. Shoukat Ali Thothal
133.	Pakistan Brohi Party	Imam Ali Brohi
134.	Pakistan Citizen Movement	Mr. Nadeem Butt
135.	Pakistan Conservative Party	Danish Channa
136.	Pakistan Democratic League (PDL)	Arshad Waheed
137.	Pakistan Democratic Party	Nawabzada Mansoor Ahmad Khan

138.	Pakistan Development Party	Kashif Rana
139.	Pakistan Dharti Maan Party	Rai Muhammad Nawaz Malik
140.	Pakistan Falah Party	Sohail Akhter Khan Niazi
141.	Pakistan Fatima Jinnah Muslim League	Syed Baqar Ali Shah Gailani
142.	Pakistan Freedom Party	Sardar Naseer Ahmed
143.	Pakistan Gharib Party	Miss. Mahwish Chaudhary
144.	Pakistan Ghurba Party	Mr. Mumtaz Hussain Niazi
145.	Pakistan Green Party	Liaquat Ali
146.	Pakistan Hizbullah Party	Muhammad Amin
147.	Pakistan Hum Wattan Party	Dr. Nasir Ahmed Khan
148.	Pakistan Human Party	Syed Salman Mohsin Gillani
149.	Pakistan Inqilabi Khidmatgar Tehreek	Mr. Iqbal Nadeem Sial
150.	Pakistan Insani Haqook Party (Pakistan Human Rights Party)	Mr. Khalid Aftab Sulehri,
151.	Pakistan Islami Justice Party	Mr. Muhammad Idress
152.	Pakistan Ittehad Tehreek	Muhammad Yusuf Kureshy
153.	Pakistan Ittehad Yaqeen Tanzeem Party	Tariq Mahmood
154.	Pakistan Jamhoori Ittehad	Mr. Muhammad Jamil
155.	Pakistan Jumhuri Aman Party	S.M. Nisar Safdar Naqvi
156.	Pakistan Justice Party	Malik Munsif Awan
157.	Pakistan Kissan Ittehad	Ch. Muhammad Anwar
158.	Pakistan Liberation League	Dr. Hadayatullah Minhas,
159.	Pakistan Maqsd Himayet Tehrik	Jan Alam
160.	Pakistan Mashih League	Dr. John Jee,
161.	Pakistan Mazdoor Kissan Party	S.M. Altaf
162.	Pakistan Mazdoor Mehaz.	Tufail Abbas
163.	Pakistan Motherland Party	Muhammad Akbar
164.	Pakistan Muhafiz Party	Yousaf Shah
165.	Pakistan Muhafiz Watan Party	Malik Ahmad Khan Awan
166.	Pakistan Muhammadi Party	Meherban Sain Rana Abdul Ghafoor Mian
167.	Pakistan Muslim League (Q)	Ch. Shujaat Hussain
168.	Pakistan Muslim League (F)	Pir Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagara
169.	Pakistan Muslim League (J)	Muhammad Iqbal Dar
170.	Pakistan Muslim League (Muttahida)	Fahad Mahmood
171.	Pakistan Muslim League (N)	Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif
172.	Pakistan Muslim League (Nazaryati)	Ch. Ishtiaq Ahmed Minhas
173.	Pakistan Muslim League (Qasim)	Dr. Qari Ashfaq Ullah
174.	Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum oup)	Khan Amanullah Khan
175.	Pakistan Muslim League (Safdar)	Safdar Zaman Hazarvi
176.	Pakistan Muslim League (Sher-e-Bangal)	Qadir Khan Mandokhail, Advocate
177.	Pakistan Muslim League (Zehri Group)	Mir Zarak Zehri
178.	Pakistan Muslim League "H" Haqiqi	Mr. Naveed Akhtar Khan
179.	Pakistan Muslim League Council	Sardar Muhammad Nasrullah
180.	Pakistan Muslim League Democratic	Dr. Ebadulla
181.	Pakistan Muslim League Humkhiyal (Like Minded)	Mulazim Hussain
182.	Pakistan Muslim League(Z)	Muhammad Ijaz-ul-Haq
183.	Pakistan National Democratic Party	Mr. Khadim Pervez Masih
184.	Pakistan National Muslim League	Amjad Ali Warriach
185.	Pakistan Overseas League	Dr.M. Shahbaz Mirza
186.	Pakistan Patriotic Movement	Mr. Abdul Rasheed Yousafzai
187.	Pakistan People's Alliance	Amir Choudhry,
188.	Pakistan Peoples Movement	Muhammad Ashfaq Choudhary
189.	Pakistan Peoples Party	Sardar Latif Khan Khosa
190.	Pakistan Peoples Party Shaheed Bhutto)	Ghinwa Bhutto
191.	Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians	Makhdoom Amin Fahim
192.	Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (Patriots)	
193.	Pakistan Peoples requirement Party	Mr. Muhammad Waris
194.	Pakistan Progressive Party	Rashid Ahmed
195.	Pakistan progressive Party Haqiqi)	Professor Muhammad Aslam
196.	Pakistan Progressive Party (Suraya Farman Group)	Begum Surriya Farman
197.	Pakistan Qaumi League	Qamar-ul-Islam
198.	Pakistan Qaumi Movement	Syed Mohammad Iqbal Kazmi
199.	Pakistan Qaumi Party	Muhmood Ahmed Khan Qalander
200.	Pakistan Qaumi Tehrik-E- Azadi	Ali Obaid
201.	Pakistan Rah-e-Haq Party	Ibrahim Qasmi
202.	Pakistan Republication Party	Mr. Saif-ul-Islam Khan
203.	Pakistan Sariaki Party	Barrister Taj Muhammad Khan Langah
204.	Pakistan Shia Political Party	Syed Nau Bahar Shah
205.	Pakistan Social Democratic Party	Ch. Muhammad Riaz Gondal
206.	Pakistan Social Justice Party	Akhtar Shah
207.	Pakistan Sunni Tehreek	Muhammad Sarwat Ejaz Qadri

208.	Pakistan Tehreek Sadaa-e-Haq	Muhammad Mahboob Shah
209.	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	Imran Khan
210.	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Paigham	Karim Khan
211.	Pakistan Tehrek-e-Inqalab	Alamgir Khan
212.	Pakistan United Inqalab Party	Sardar Muhammad Iqbal Gujjar
213.	Pakistan Welfare League	Chaudhry Nadeem Akhtar
214.	Pakistan Women Muslim League.	Mst. Rubina Shaheen
215.	Pakistan Workers Party	Nasrullah Khan Kakar
216.	Pakistan Young Blood Christian League	Mr. Iqbal Khan
217.	Pakistan Zindabad Party.	Sardar Aftab Ahmed Virk
218.	PakistanMeo Ittihad	Abid Hameed Khan Meo
219.	Pasban	Prof. Javeed Sandhu
220.	Pasban Pakistan.	Ataf Shakoor
221.	Pashtoon Quomi Tehreek	Rafique Pashtoon
222.	Pashtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party	Mahmood Khan Achakzai
223.	Peoples Democratic League	Mr. Muhammad Hanif ullah
224.	Peoples Muslim League Pakistan	Haji Sher Khan Nohri
225.	Peoples Revolutionary Congress Pakistan	Syed Saif-ul-Islam Khalid
226.	Progressive Democratic Party	Abdul Rehman Shawani
227.	Public Fourm	Dr. Muhammad Aslam
228.	Punjab National Front	Ch.Mustansar Assd
229.	Punjab National Party	Mian Amir Abbas
230.	Qaumi Inqilab Party	Raja Naseeb Khan
231.	Qaumi Jamhoori Party	Air Marshal (R) M. Asghar Khan
232.	Qaumi Tahaffaz Party	Rafiq R. Sanjrani
233.	Qaumi Watan Party (Sherpao)	Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao
234.	Qomi Awami Tehreek	Mr. Ayaz Latif Palijo
235.	Roshan Pakistan League	Muhammad Azam
236.	Roshan Pakistan Party	Mubrik Ali Ch.
237.	Sada-e-Pakistan Party	Malik Gul Nawaz
238.	Sairkistan Qaumi Ittehad	Khuwaja Chuam Farid Goreja
239.	Salam Pakistan Party	Muhammad Shoaib
240.	Seraiki Sooba Movement Pakistan	Malik Mumtaz Hussain Jai
241.	Shahideens Democratic Party of Pakistan	Syed Nadeem Hussain
242.	Shan-e-Pakistan Party	Abdul Hafeez Khokhar
243.	Shia Sunni Ittehad.	Farahan Ahmed(Allias) Ali Shah
244.	Sindh Democratic Alliance	Intiaz Ahmed Shaikh
245.	Sindh Dost Ittehad	Pir Zafar Jhandir,
246.	Sindh National Front	Sardar Mumtaz Ali Bhutto
247.	Sindh Taraqi Passand Party (STP)	Dr.Qader Bux Magsi
248.	Sindh United Party	Sayed Jalal Mehmood
249.	Sindh Urban-Rural Alliance	Syed Parvez Ali Shah
250.	Siyaasi Tehreek-e-Najaat	Mr.Fahad Nabi
251.	Social Democratic Movement Pakistan	Muhammad Hafeez Tabassum
252.	Sunni Ittehad Council	SahibZada Haji Muhammad Fazal Karim
253.	Sunni Tehreek.	Ahmed Bilal Qadri
254.	Swabi Qaumi Mahaz	Dr. Muhammad Saleem
255.	Tajir Awam Movement Pakistan	Khuwaja Muhammad Shafique
256.	Taleem Yafta Pakistan Party.	Prof. Muhammad Amjad Khan
257.	Tameer-e-Pakistan Party	Lt. Gen Faiz Ali Chishti (R)
258.	Tanzeem-e-Ahl-e-Sunnat	Pir Muhammad Afzal Qadri,
259.	Tehreek Islam Pakistan	Malik Muhammad Abdullah
260.	Tehreek Jamhoriat Pakistan	General (R) Zakir Ali Zadi
261.	Tehreek Tabdili Nizam Pakistan	Nawab Muhammad Iqbal Khan Baloch, Adovcate
262.	Tehreek-e-Awami Inqalab Party	Mr. Zubair Ramzan
263.	Tehreek-e-Difa-e-Pakistan	Mr. Zahid Iqbal Bakhtawari
264.	Tehreek-e-Ehsas-e-Pakistan	Rao Muhammad Zubair Aslam
265.	Tehreek-e-Emaan Pakistan	Mr. Ghulam Yaseen
266.	Tehreek-e-Haq Pakistan.	Syed Abbas Shah
267.	Tehreek-e-Hussainia Pakistan	Muhammad Hussain Akbar
268.	Tehreek-e-Insaniat Pakistan	Ehsan-ul-Haque
269.	Tehreek-e-Istehkaam Pakistan	Syed Ali Raza
270.	Tehreek-e-Ittehad Pakistan.	Shahzad Khan
271.	Tehreek-e-Ittehad Ummat Pakistan	Syed Charagh-ud-Din Shah
272.	Tehreek-e-Ittehad-e-Adam	Ijaz Ahmed
273.	Tehreek-e-Khalaft Pakistan	Azhar Ali
274.	Tehreek-e-Pasmanada Awam Pakistan	Chaudhry Hasham Hayat Wathra
275.	Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara	SardarHaider Zaman (Baba)
276.	Tehreek-e-Tahafuze Pakistan	Rao Muhammad Akbar Khan Mayo
277.	Tehreek-e-Wafaq Pakistan	Manzoor Ali Bhatti

278.	Tehrik-e-Istaqlal	Rehmat Khan Wardag
279.	Tehrik-e-Istiqlal Pakistan	President: Muhammad Ikram Nagra Rahbar: Air Marshal(R) M. Asghar Khan
280.	Tehrik-e-Masawaat	Mst. Musarrat Shaheen
281.	Waseeb Ittehad Pakistan	Shahbaz Ahmed
282.	Wattan National League Pakistan.	Gulfranz Khan Abbasi

While looking at the role of political parties, one can argue that political parties seemed incapacitated to deliver democracy in Pakistan. The Muslim League was the powerful party in the early years of its creation while several small parties existed in the legislature and the outside. Subsequently it changed into a multi-party system with the attendant problems of this system²¹. Hence most of the political parties having weak organizational structures had to fall in internal dissension and conflicts.

In Pakistan, political parties botched to build up a coherent political ideology. The environment of political stability, mutual tolerance and cooperation was a far cry in their mutual interactive behavior. The political parties in power most of the times looked out of action to address core public grievances. Hamid Khan believed that political parties failed to develop along with institutional lines. Parliamentary tradition had never taken roots and members of the legislature failed to perform their paramount duty of law making, thus reducing themselves to pawns of chessboard of power politics²². Unfortunately political parties looked incapacitated to promote healthy political culture. The mushroom growth of political parties circumscribed democratic development.

The democratic progression was adversely affected by the negative role of political parties. Moreover, the dilemma was that most of the political parties after losing elections resorted to agitational politics and worked for destabilizing political government. Further the winning party got majority of seats in legislature with the minority of vote's caste thus it helped opposition parties to launch anti-government campaign with an objective to unsettle the political business of the state²³. Political parties forged alliances against civilian governments as well as against the establishment of military rule. Surprisingly the idiom of democracy was the cardinal principle of their struggle.

In the decade of 1950s United Front (UF) was established against Muslim League. In 1960s Combined Opposition Parties (COP) was organized to challenge the might of Ayub Khan. After Presidential election of 1965, it converted into Pakistan Democratic Front (PDM) that aggressively worked against Ayub Khan. During the period of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto opposition parties formed Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) whose objective was to challenge the autocratic trends found in Pakistan People's Party government. When the results of the March 1997 election were announced, the opposition PNA charged rigging and boycotted the provincial level elections that were to follow the national election by a few days. Bhutto, like Indira Gandhi, thought that the disparate opposition would be unable to coalesce into a single group capable of seriously challenging him and his PPP²⁴. In the decade of 1980s Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was organized against the military ruler. The key objectives of MRD were the restoration of the 1973 Constitution, holding free and fair elections and handing over power to the civilians but military ruler used coercive, lethal and pugnacious means to suppress it. In order to undermine the popularity of PPP opposition parties formed Islamia Jamhoria Itihad (IJI). Later Pakistan Democratic Front (PDF) was setup to perturb PML (N). During the era of General Pervaiz Musharraf, the Charter of Democracy was signed in 2006 by Pakistan People Party and PML (N). The document signaled an alliance between two significant political parties of Pakistan aiming at restoring civilian democratic rule. Thus from 1947-2014 politics of Pakistan has been revolving around coalitional agitational politics and it would continue to as long as more political parties persist to surface on the political soil of this country.

The Military-Bureaucratic Oligarchy

In modern democracies, all opportunities for progress are provided to the people and governments are regarded as custodians of fundamental rights. In Pakistan military and bureaucracy wielded enormous powers during the period of political instability. With no shadow of doubt, the military has been the most formidable

²¹ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Development 1947-1999*, (New York: Oxford University Press,2000), 117

²² Hamid Khan, *op.cit*, p.547

²³ Muhammad Waseem, *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of 2002 General Elections*, (New York: Oxford University Press,2006), 4-13

²⁴ Craig Baxter, *Restructuring the Pakistan Political System*, in Shahid Javeed Burki & Craig Baxter, *Pakistan Under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia ul-Haq*, (Oxford: Westview Press, 1991), 29

and autonomous institution in Pakistan, capable of influencing the nature and direction of political change²⁵. Retrospectively the institution of military and bureaucracy were designed by the colonial masters to aggrandize power in the sub-continent, continued to dominate the political landscape of Pakistan in the post-independent scenario. The fragility of Muslim League and compounding problems necessitated the need of such preponderance by these institutions. After the demise of Quaid-e-Azam and with the brutal assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan the political system was dominated by the “gang of four” consisting of Ghulam Muhammad, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, Skindar Mirza and Ayub Khan. The dominance of the bureaucracy could be realized from the fact when Malik Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the government of Khawaja Nazimuddin even though the constituent assembly had given him a vote of confidence. Governor General not only appointed the new prime minister but also nominated ministers with their designated portfolios. Thus reducing the stature of the constituent assembly merely to a rubber stamp organization

The intervention of army in 1958 further strengthened military-bureaucratic relationship. During the era of Ayub Khan, bureaucracy readily transformed itself into the position of a partner in autocracy. If the military moved with a front assault, the bureaucracy proved its usefulness through slow permeation²⁶. His Martial Law changed the course of the nation. A new brand of colonialism with the connivance of bureaucracy was imposed. During the period of Yahya Khan the role of bureaucracy was relegated in the process of governance. The institution was also disjointed and dispirited by the dismissal of 303 civil servants. In the subsequent era Z.A Bhutto also revamped its structural and functional mechanism However Zi-ul-Haq gave greater confidence to bureaucracy by putting an end to the practice of screening which was prevalent in the previous regimes. The screening method was a sword of Damocles for bureaucrats who could be dismissed or transferred at short notice. He gave senior bureaucrats relatively long tenures so that they should materialize upon his set objectives.

The fact remains that whenever military meddled in the political system it never showed sympathies for political elites rather it blamed them for unleashing politico-economic crisis in the state. Consequently political elites were declared incompetent, docile and corrupt. In order to consolidate power military had to align itself with bureaucracy. Whenever political turmoil crept in and political institutions failed to control such crisis, military stepped into political arena and removed political governments through extra constitutional means.

On the other hand military-bureaucratic alliance contributed stupendously to economic development but pushed back state politically. S. Akbar Zaidi discussed although Pakistan’s military played a crucial role in the political process by backing and supporting particular individuals and creating political parties and alliances and working on economic development but with the disappearance of military rule the institutional decay, political and economic instability was also witnessed²⁷. Political elites were relegated, banned or intimidated to join the hands of army. The politics of referendum, localization of politics, political fractionalization and constitutional engineering helped military elites to maneuver political system in accordance with their own whims and caprices, in materializing such schemes bureaucracy remained a natural partner. Throughout the history of Pakistan bureaucracy remained subservient to the interests of military rulers. In the past it facilitated Ayub Khan, Zia-ul-Haq, and Musharraf in the process of acquiring legitimacy through manipulated referendums. Besides it also helped in establishing some semblance of democracy at grass root level. Mohammad Waseem observed that whenever military intervened it altered the entire political order in collaboration with bureaucracy²⁸.

The history bore out the fact that military emerged stronger partner in comparison with bureaucracy. Unfortunately there had been no authority to make them responsible in the performance of their duties and accountable for misuse of power, embezzlements or corruption. With no shadow of doubt one can argue that harmonious relationship between these institutions left indelible imprints upon the political system of Pakistan.

Lack of Accountability

It is universally acknowledged fact that democratic system can only be sustained if system of checks and balances is evolved on sound basis. In Britain parliament is empowered to check the misuse of power by principle of collective accountability. In U.S. the system of checks and balances have been developed to curtail omnipotency in the functional mechanism of political structures In third world countries like Pakistan neither collective accountability nor checks and balances systems have been followed. Vigilance, recall and referendums have been the useful means of making political and bureaucratic representatives accountable before

²⁵ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *The Military & Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2011), 11

²⁶ Hamid Yousuf, *op.cit.* p.76

²⁷ S.Akbar Zaidi, *Issues in Pakistan’s Economy*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 449-580

²⁸ Muhammad Waseem, *op.cit.* p.4

masses but in the environment of chronic illiteracy, political unconsciousness these tactics were never applied. The concept of accountability always looked farce in administering machinery of the state.

Without any exaggeration today Pakistan faces a crisis of governance. The essential elements of good governance, covering rule of law, accountability and transparency have been shattered by corrupt and incompetent Pakistani rulers. The outcome of such oblivion leads to widespread corruption, low human development and higher poverty levels in Pakistan are least surprising. In the absence of both sound internal controls and institutionalized accountability, Government departments turn into dens of corruption. Public office holders in general face a crisis of ethics, easily accept bribes and embezzle public funds. Lack of transparency in public sector procurement promotes the culture of kickbacks and commissions. Adding fuel to the fire, rampant corruption is proving catastrophic for democracy to survive. Corruption remains a substantial obstacle for Pakistan and democratic system. Transparency International (TI) has ranked Pakistan 34th most corrupt nation in the world. First government of PPP in 1988 was sacked because of charges of corruption, similarly elections held in 1997 were accused of such charges, and the recent compromise on corruption in the form of NRO, has raised many questions in the minds of nation against the credibility of political elite. The menace of corruption is hollowing the roots of already weak democracy. The absence of accountability also provided opportunity to army and bureaucracy to misuse power.

While looking at the political history of Pakistan party in power always developed its own scheme of accountability drive. Ayub Khan used EBDO (Elective Bodies Disqualification Order) to remove corrupt politicians from the political scene. Bhutto applied his doctrine of accountability by removing bureaucrats and army officials. Zia-ul-Haq victimized political opponents on the pretext of Ehtesab (Accountability). From 1988-1999 no political government was able to complete its democratically elected tenure. Thus it developed a negative trend and destabilized parliamentary system. In the second tenure of Mian Nawaz Sharif a selective weapon to victimize opposition was also introduced. An Ehtisab Act (1997) was promulgated and Ehtisab Cell was set up under Senator Saif-ur-Rehman, (a close confidant of Mian Nawaz). Regrettably the accountability drive was confined to opponents only. Mian Nawaz and his cronies were exempted from such proceedings. Later it was transformed into NAB (National Accountability Bureau) in 2002. The bureau claimed that it recovered over two hundred and forty billion rupees (four billion US dollars) from corrupt politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen. NAB however remained as a vehicle for detaining former officials and party leaders and a deviation from the normal justice system.

Unfortunately in Pakistan accountability method for political, civil and military elites had never been developed properly. The ruling party deciphered accountability as a method to victimize its own opponents. The opposition parties had been generally hostile, violent and blaming government for misuse of power. This behavior badly eroded the credibility of all institutions which were designed to ensure accountability. With no consensus in sight between PML-N and PPP over the draft holders of Public Office Accountability Bill 2009 to set-up an Independent Accountability Commission, it would be prudent to review and suitably amend Musharraf's National Accountability Ordinance (NAO) to give it a 'democratic' touch while retaining its strong anti-corruption character. Lack of accountability coupled with crisis of governance is posing a challenge to the smooth running of the system. The role of civil society and media is always vital for keeping each component of the government with its allocated domains. Unfortunately, Media's biasness has ignited a flame of political imbalance and disharmony which in turn, has been weakening the roots of democratic culture in Pakistan. The capability of NAB has been called into question. How long this culture of non-accountability would dominate nobody can say anything but one can argue that for maintaining real democracy government personals along with opposition parties will have to chalk out a plan to endure accountability process more vibrant, transparent and dynamic in nature.

III. Conclusion

Pakistan was removed from the womb from the womb of the one of the most successful experience of imperial systems in human experience, but it began its life in ambience totally out of phase with its incubation. Since the creation of Pakistan the political and constitutional development was impeded by unparalleled crises. Consequently political system could not be evolved on stable grounds. Whenever it was exposed to crises, the institution of military intervened and sought the help of bureaucracy to put Pakistan on the path of development. The political system failed to maintain itself. In the last 67 years, four military rulers directly ruled for 34 years, the minimum was nine years. Besides the absence of accountability exacerbated ongoing political conditions. The political, bureaucratic and military elites never expected to be held accountable before general masses. The ineffective role of Judiciary also added to the lethargic development.

Presently political system does not project hopeful situation. The economy is in shambles, politics is negatively messed up. The general election held in 2013, is being called into question by Pakistan Tahreek Insaf led by Imran Khan. The political impasse between two major political parties may unleash extra-constitutional forces. . The political elites and ruling junta will have to make hard endeavors aiming at putting system on

right, judicious and patriotic lines. They must search for political solutions based on constitutionalism, plurality of power, participatory governance and in-discriminated accountability. Otherwise it would be difficult to avert coming crises.