

**Role of Parliament in Political Development of
Pakistan
(2002 to 2018)**



Mehar Gull Session

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Pakistan**

(2002 to 2018)

by

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RESEARCH COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

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Declaration

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Signature of Deponent

Dedication

To my Late Father

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Abstract

It has been seen that Pakistan's political system doesn't remain consistent in stabilizing its political institutions like parliament. Authoritarian tendencies, interference of departments, military interventions, centralization of the state, imbalance in civil-military relations, instability of political parties have always effect the stability and political development in Pakistan. In this context, Parliament is not considered as a mature institution to show continuous political development in the state. Parliament is the institution representing the society and public. If representative institutions are weak then other institutions will dominate weakening the political system and under such state of affairs political development also suffers. For the research thesis, the timeframe of 2002- 2018 is supposed to be the main functionary of the study. The research study was aimed to investigate the role of parliament in the political development of Pakistan with the analysis of other factors and challenges. The strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and performance of the parliament will be discussed in the study and their influence in changing the nature of the political development of Pakistan.

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List of Abbreviations

AL	Awaami League
ANP	Awami National Party
APML	All Pakistan Muslim League
APS	Army Public School
ASF	Airport Security Force
CCP	China Communist Party
CM	Chief Minister
COG	Commonwealth Observer Group
CON	Commonwealth of Nations
CSOs	Civil Servant Officers
EU	European Union
FATA	Federal Administered Tribal Areas
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoP	Government of Pakistan
IFHR	International Federation of Human Rights
JI	Jamaat e Islaami
LFO	Legal Framework Order
MNA	Members of National Assembly
MQM	Mutahida Qaumi Movement
NA	National Assembly
NRO	National Reconciliation Order
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PCO	Provincial Constitutional Order
PKMP	Pakhtun Khwa Milli Party
PM	Prime Minister

PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
Pres	President
PPP	Pakistan's Peoples Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf
TTP	Tehreek e Talibaan Pakistan
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNO	United Nations Organization
US	United States
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER 01

INTRODUCTION

Introduction:

In the democratic setup, parliament is the imperative element in determining the level and direction of the political development. The goals and objectives of political development could not be met without an efficient parliament. Parliament is basically the institution which is representing society and people while other institutions are the state institutions like military and bureaucracy. The political system weakens if representative institutions are weak and under such state of affairs political development also suffers. The type of political system depends on the factor that who is allocating and controlling the resources. The state with strong democratic institutions have political forces taking the control of resources and leading the state towards political development.

The instability in the political development of Pakistan involved several reasons. One of the major reasons is that Pakistan has gone through continuous dissolutions of governments in the past. It has been more than seventy years but still, Pakistan is still not a developed state. We have not seen the concept of political development in the system. Numerous experiments have been done but no visible development regarding any state's institution is observed so either we will have any political development in the coming years or will keep experimenting with different systems in this country. The role of Parliament and its history of dissolving them due to political instabilities is also a major factor in it. Since the 1973 constitution, the charter was set up as a federal system of government in the state. Pakistan has witnessed a transition from one democratically elected parliament to the other since 2002. This parliament must make certain the continuation and broadening of the democratic procedure.

To keep the society united and to maintain its legitimacy, nation needs to stabilize its political system and encourage democracy in the country. It will also help the state in the development of its politics. Other factors that are involved in it include economic growth, integration in society, and law supremacy in a state. The building of a nation or a state is depending on the stability of the political system which can easily affect the procedures of the government. Thus, instability of the political system of any state can be defined in three aspects, the very first aspect is that the regime's propensity or changes in government, next comes the second aspect which is to focus the disturbance and disorders in the society due to political incidences and violence, such as killings and last but not the least, the third aspect focuses on the growth of economics in a state which is effect by instability.

Pakistan has spent almost half of its life dealing with internal political instability, political emergencies, and constitutional deadlocks. In Pakistan, this long-haul instability has been considered as the highest one in East Asia after the partition of India. So this research shows that the lack of maturity in the leadership of Pakistan, having disputes in the main pillars or institutes of the country such as legislature, judiciary, military, etc, disputed relationship of the federal government with its provincial governments, fight for gaining the powers among politicians, high level of corruption, the strong hold of bureaucracy in the government's matters, the

military interference in the government issues, disputes of political parties with each other and the economic crises and extra doses of a foreign loan; these all the reasons which can easily be a threat to the democracy in Pakistan. Therefore it can be said that the instability of the parliament is also the biggest reason behind the less growth of Pakistan's political development.

In the initial years of Pakistan, there was a lack of mutual consent between the constituent assemblies and the parliament while the disagreements puzzled the situation of the political behavior of the state. After the first two constitutions and dissolution of both provinces as a result of the separation of East Pakistan, the foundation of the nationhood of Pakistan was established. Pakistan's Parliamentary system can't work as per the finest models of the west as in the history we have seen some of the group always tried to hold the power in their hands.

Quaid-e-Azam had constantly anticipated a democratic regime in Pakistan and after his death, his successors tried to follow his aim but were not very much successful. But the history depicts that the number one goal of political leaders was to retain their own political authority rather than focusing on the political stability.

In this study, parliamentary history has been discussed in detail. First, all of the research objectives and questions have been mentioned with the relevance of the whole study. An authentic and verified literature has been studied and explained in understanding the whole topic and to work on the statement of the problem. The further theoretical framework for the relevance and significance of the study is mentioned as any research must be significant in terms of theories or approaches. The next chapters give detailed material on the role of parliament in the political development of Pakistan since its inception. At last interviews from primary and secondary methods will be used to identify the reasons and caused behind the uplift and downfall of parliamentary politics and developmental politics in Pakistan.

Statement of Problem

Multiple factors are responsible for the continuous change in the political development of Pakistan since its creation. It failed to remain sustainable and stable due to the internal and external challenges of the state. The parliamentary system has been seen working efficiently in many states in the world but in Pakistan role of Parliament was not efficient enough to turn it into an advanced political developed state. The role of parliament is still questionable and needs to clarify and identify the hidden clauses behind its work and implementation to have a deep understanding of the role of Parliament in the political development of Pakistan.

Research Questions

The research is supposed to seek answers to the following questions:

- What is the role of Parliament in the political development of Pakistan?
- How can the parliamentarians work to increase the growth of parliamentary efficiency?
- What are the main hurdles in the political development of Pakistan?

Chapertization/Scheme of study:

The Research Thesis is comprised of the following six chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In the first chapter, the researcher gives the introduction of the topic in detail. It explains the set of the course and patterns of the research and reveals the way it would be conducted. The introductory chapter draws a sketch related to the topic in detail including the significance of research, objectives, methodology, and rationale of the study. It gives an overview of the basic introduction of the research. It explains the sources and the methodology related to the study and identified research questions that should ask or dealt with next chapters.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

In the second chapter, the researcher explains the available literature on the topic. It highlighted a detailed review of books, journals, and online material that is linked to the topic. This chapter also outlines the theory of Institutional framework including system theory analysis that has been used to carry out the research. The theoretical basis of the study examines in a way that enables the research to evaluate the problems efficiently.

Chapter 3: Historical Background of Political Development of Pakistan

This chapter deals with the historical background of the role of parliament in the political development of Pakistan. It covers the period of post-independence till the year 2001. The historical events and factors will help in understanding the nature of political development in Pakistan.

Chapter 4: Role of Parliament in Political Development of Pakistan (2002-2018)

This chapter deals with the case study of the research. The role of Parliament in the political development of Pakistan from 2002 to 2018 has been discussed in detail. The growth factors, hurdles in development, changes in Parliaments have been discussed in detail for better understanding.

Chapter 5: Analysis of Political Development in Pakistan

This chapter analyze the case study and research questions in the light of interviews of scholars, students of political science including lecturers, media analysts, and many more. It will also find out the basic objectives of the research study.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this concluding Chapter, the summary of the entire dissertation, findings, recommendations, and suggestions are given. With the help of the interviews and through research, the final chapter puts forward suggestions on the important research questions. It is the overview of the whole study discussed in the previous chapters. The analysis of the study will help to design or formulate recommendations or suggestions. It comprises the concluding analysis based on research. Suggestions are also useful and practicable in solving problems.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is to explore the effectiveness of the working of parliament in any state concerning its development in politics. The study is aimed to investigate the strength, weaknesses, opportunities, and challenges of the parliament of Pakistan with evaluation and an analytical review. The targets for the examiner had been to decide the complete overall performance of the Parliament in terms of Strengths covered in the sample. The research will determine the weaknesses and the factors that affected the overall performance of the Parliament of Pakistan. After this research, the researcher will be able in explaining how to decide the demanding situations being confronted utilizing the Parliamentarians to identify priorities and remedial strategies.

The paper aims to draw attention to the system wherein the organization of parliament advanced in Pakistan. The paper will mark numerous tendencies regarding the growth of parliament. Moreover, the formation and shape of the parliament in addition to the distribution of the seats in keeping with various criteria could also be tested. How the parliament did affect the political tool within the form of law and how parliament helped in generating the governmental and political management of the country will also be clarified. The historic method has been used to hint out distinct information and to prove assumptions.

Research Methodology

Research is the systematic and scientific investigation in any field of knowledge. In the current study, the researcher researched with the help of a descriptive and analytical approach. Facts will be analyzed to make a critical evaluation of the research material also. The qualitative method of research is used to investigate the topic under which governmental or official documents, books, newspapers, magazines, and journals are used by the researcher. The research is conducted by utilizing both primary and secondary sources of material. The research paper is analyzed in descriptive-analytical form. Apart from above mentioned primary and secondary resources, internet sources are also used as per the requirements of the study.

Objectives of the Research

- To have a deep understanding of Parliamentary history as an institution in Pakistan.
- To identify whether the Parliamentary system is sustainable for the Political development of Pakistan or not.
- To get to know about the strengths and weaknesses of the Parliament in changing the patterns within the state.
- To examine the political development in Pakistan with the relevancy of public demands and inputs.
- To examine the military influence in the political development in the state.
- To analyze the different challenges and threats hindering the political development in Pakistan.

CHAPTER 02

LITERATURE REVIEW AND

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Literature Review

In any kind of research, a review of literature is very much important in shaping a major constituent. It helps us in avoiding the repetition of analysis and works. With the help of a literature review, we can compare data and its interpretations. The concerning literature in the form of books and articles is available on this topic which covers the different aspects of the study including the conception of political development, history of parliament, the role of parliament in changing the political development of any state. In this regard, diverse literature with broader emphasis is assessed. An ample of sources are available on changing patterns of political development in different political systems of the world. Literature covering different aspects of these advancements is evaluated.

The available literature is characterized into an organized way in which first the political development is discussed and how it functions, later it discussed how the concept of parliament has been evolved. After that, the role of parliament in political development has been discussed specifically in Pakistan. The study majorly focuses on the role of parliament in the political development of Pakistan from the period of 2002 to 2018. But before going towards the main study, a historical analysis will be made to have to know-how about basic terminology. A deep analysis will be made on the history of political development in Pakistan since its inception.

In the first place the literature review deals with the literature regarding the research topic, and in the second place; it deals with the theoretical framework applying to dealing with the research work. Many researchers have contributed to the study of the political developments in the country and the role of parliament in the political development of Pakistan. Some of the significant studies are as follows:

(Ruttan 1991) In this article, the author wrote about the impact of political development on any state's economy. The demand and strategies of political developments are directly proportional to the economic development in any country which helps it to grow even more. When social scientists research the term of political development in the field of Political Science, they relate it with the progress of economic development. Later political development was known to be as a study of making organized and institutionalized departments in any political system. It can be only done if the government of the state is enough capable or specialized. The concept of Political development also relates to the change in the politics and the system in the country. A sound and mature political development in any state will surely increase economic resources and economic development in the state.

Pennock (1966), in this journal article, the political scientist perceived that the developments in any state also depend upon how politically developed any state is. It can be measured by how political institutions are taking part in their political activities. It's not only the working of political institutions but it's also the relations between them. Political development is the betterment of the political system that is operational in any country. The dimension of political development relies on the output of the system. Effective establishment of administrations will always have a consistent look on the demand and supply chain in the context of its

citizen's necessities. It's not as easy as it's in written form but it's a long procedure of individual's rights, needs, and demands from their state representatives.

Public policy and governance both are processes that directly or indirectly affect the lives of citizens so it's important to understand to build a democratic society and to attain rights within the society which can be directly related to the parliamentary form of government. It helps to attain our interests such as problems related to education, transport or rights. If we know about the system and in which the public can participate to keep it functional is necessary. Policies are made by the government that is known as public policy as per some system of any state. If we didn't decide the purposes for those laws and policies then states can never be functional and there will be no political development there. In Pakistan, all departments are linked with our daily lives like the department of education, health, finance, communication, etc. Efficient governments or parliamentarians made such policies that will benefit the state as much as they can.

O'Manique (1994), in this research paper, Marx's idea of political development has been mentioned. As per his perspective, a society is politically developed when the individuals living there got their due rights and all resources they deserve. Every citizen or individual deserves to be satisfied with their self-esteem or dignity. Actual political development in the society is where all of its members feel equal and none of them will be deprived. All of the groups and communities are treated equally at all levels.

(Agbaje 2014) In this research article, the political scientist explained the basics of the theory of political development. Political Development is termed as the national political unity increased in any state and thus its level of political participation is also visible. It refers to more by the increase of economic growth and a nation to be shown as vigilant politically and ideologically. Political development can be seen through various indicators that are social, economic, cultural, political, psychological, etc. It can be viewed as an outcome of any change in the GDP (Gross National Product), literacy rate, socio-economic status, changing political-cultural towards betterment, ethnic fractionalization, religious affiliation, etc. The theory of political development is not a new concept as it emerged as a part of the study of political science after the 1950s. Some of the thinkers perceived that political development can also be seen in any monarchial system of dictatorship but later their analysis was discarded by many as the majority claimed the political development level is functional if there is a democratic system governing in the state. Any power or institution that is empowered through force can never be the reason for political development in a state as it came into power by separate means either its military or monarchial system.

Chattopadhyay (1988), in this relevant study, the author generalizes and explains the concepts related to the political system of any state. Political development is directly related to democracy. The more democratic values increased in any state will make it more manageable and developed politically and economically. Other concepts like political mobilization, political culture, and political transformation act like factors and reasons for the process or upgrading of political development in any country.

(Tanter 1967) The writer described and discussed the theories of political development. The connection between the political improvement hypothesis and the spread of popular government is an inquisitive one. In the period when the political improvement hypothesis was generally powerful, endeavors to disperse majority

rule government all through the Third World following its basic beliefs were eminently fruitless. It later went into obscure as a result of the disappointment of progressive endeavors at theory-building, from utilitarian, social, and near recorded points of view individually. Regardless of this twofold disappointment, its center thoughts have re-emerged as a prevailing power in ongoing democratization writing. This article traces the central thoughts of the writing, wherein moderate elitism, as opposed to modernization hypothesis, gives the binding together string.

Huntington (1965), in explaining the proponents of the theory of political development, the writer defined their perspective in justifying the theoretical basics also. One of the great proponents of Political Development theory, Finer states that political development and political culture are very relevant. Political cultures are diverse in the whole world and it showed the diversity of political development in the states of the world also. The development in any field in the country has its effect on political development also.

While another advocate of the theory, Huntington viewed the concept of the theory of political development as to how much the political organizations working in a state are institutionalized and strengthened to enhance its development as a stable state. If the governmental structure of any state is more effective and practical then political development can be seen more visible. But it doesn't mean that people or the public of the state is not involved in any process of political development in the state. Another well-known political scientist, Pye perceived that public participation, activeness of citizens, awareness of political matters, and participation of masses in the activities related to politics are the signs of positive political development in any country. If citizens of the state have not concerned with the government, political institutions, working of organizations then it can never be expected that political development can be seen anywhere.

R. Packenham (1964), Discusses the dimensions of political development in the states. A developmental point of view, which is at present partaking in a recovery in the sociologies, raises the chance of a significant change in the investigation of political turn of events and modernization. It could be alluring to enhance (and on certain occasions supplant) the idea of political development with the idea of political evolution. Political advancement might be compared to the natural course of ontogeny. It includes the development of a reasonable arrangement of political qua robotic cycles and designs at any degree of social association, from wolf packs to human families to realms. Political development is a part of phylogeny. It includes the creation, elaboration, and dissemination of novel political types, all things considered, just some of which might be more compelling, or comprehensive, or majority neither rule and so on Nor are altogether transformative changes fundamentally better. Political advancement is worried about issues of social designing, while political development is worried about the rise of practically huge political developments. Political advancement is consistently circumstance explicit, while political development is additionally authentic and may incorporate changes that diffuse and become species-wide. Political advancement is in this manner a component of the bigger course of natural development. The development of political frameworks, which long originates before the advancement of humanity, comprises a bunch of versatile techniques with huge transformative outcomes. A specific nation might create or rot autonomously of the bigger course of political

development. Among the numerous hypothetical ramifications of this reasonable reformulation, we momentarily address the effect on functionalist hypothesis, modernization hypothesis, social assembly hypothesis, political economy (positive hypothesis), world frameworks hypothesis, reliance hypothesis, and contemporary communist perspectives. Gaines-Baran (1995)

Huntington (1971), In this paper, shows factors for improvement of political development in any state. Advancement ways to deal with the investigation of governmental issues, definitively because they center on development through time, appear to be remarkably situated to enlighten the rationale and experience of the country in a way that can't be caught by more regular political theory strategies. But, political advancement has come to be viewed as whatever authentic change happens to a system, ignoring the regularizing idea of the country. The outcome is an established way to deal with the political turn of events. This paper contends that political theory can and ought to look at advancement in regularizing terms and that endeavors to fit political improvement all the more safely inside esteem free sociology take steps to deny it of its guarantee.

Ruttan (1989), the researcher in this specific research data explained the direct relationship between political and economic development. A vast analysis was also given that how these economies and the concept of industrialization turned into the increasing developments in politics also. By giving different examples and historical backgrounds of different patterns of economic development, it has been discussed that how it played a great impact on political development in any state. With the time, when political science was gradually developed and changes started taking place in all of its related fields or matters. New political activities were initiated with advancements in new political movements also. The emergence of new systems and states in the world also shaped the nature of Political development. In the time of mid-1970s, the challenges of political development started. Political scientists worked on various theories and inventions in the field and also analyze the difference in different periods of history and current. The major important factor discussed was dependency, capitalism, and imperialism in the political systems of the world.

Packenham (1964), in this article, the political scientist tried to relate the direct relation of political development with economic development. Political development can also be termed as a sort of political change in any state, country, or international world system. It is concerned with the development of the economy and the development of the system whereas it depends on increasing power and structure as a political system. The traditional school of thought views power as an entity to rule while others considered it as analyzing which group is applicable or should be in power. The participation of individuals was also an important factor. As it's a great concept that people are actually to rule over other people who came to govern them. Talking about history and its foundations, political development is associated with power, and that power is always constrained in between two entities between the one who is governing and the one who is governed. Power should be equally distributed but that is not so easy to manage as the growth rate varies also.

Ayoob (1971), Political Development changes and began to expand to a certain level when the first general elections take place in the 1970 year. As per the electoral history of the electorate system in Pakistan, it is considered one of the greatest events in Pakistan's political system. Pakistan before its inception has always

asked about democracy and its foundations to be set for political time but after its creation, it takes a long time in setting up general elections in the state. It gives a boost up to the positive sign of political development but it didn't happen as it was perceived. The result went wrong and it was not seen as a positive output in the context of political development in any state.

Dennon (1969), in this article, the researcher defines certain changes in political advancements which are directly related to the changing patterns of politics in the world. From the angle of political turn of events, party roles and arrangements can be seen as the outgrowth of the advancement interaction the climax, so to speak, of cycles of social, financial, and political change and additionally as regulated powers influencing political change, regardless of whether it is moderate or retrogressive. The rise of mass ideological groups is a valuable institutional list of a degree of political turn of events achieved in a given creating country. Political advancement suggests, in addition to other things, a serious level of association. Ideological groups arise any place the exercises of a political framework arrive at a specific level of intricacy, or on the other hand any place the thought of political force comes to incorporate the possibility that the mass public should take part or be controlled.

Pye (1968), the author became one of the pioneers during the 1950s and 1960s in creating speculations about the political turn of events and modernization of Third World countries. His essential scholarly interest was to investigate the social contrasts that assist with clarifying why legislative issues vary so enormously starting with one country then onto the next. Eventually, political improvement can be characterized as an increment in public political solidarity and an expansion in political cooperation. In his research and study, Political improvement is very important as it upgrades the state's ability to prepare and assign assets, to handle strategy inputs into implementable yields. This helps with problem-solving and variation to ecological changes and objective acknowledgment.

Somjee (1992), in his study, mentioned the questions and doubts regarding the conceptualization of political development concerning its practicality. Critics of the theory of political development question its conception regarding the functionality in democratic systems only as some of the states don't consider it as an ideal system. Some of the analysts considered it a failed system. They perceived that every state can function according to its feasibility. Some have been explored as political development in democratic systems; few are running their systems well in the monarchical system while some considered authoritarian systems as an ideal system for the increase of the level of political development in the state. The level of political development also differs from the nature and development of the state as it can never be the same in both developing and developed states. A developed western state has a different level of political development and on the other hand, if there is an underdeveloped state, it will have a different domain of development. It can never be the same even both have the same systems of government.

Vorys (1965), In this research study, the political scientist perceived as per his analysis that it could be feasible to show up at an idea of political advancement by recognizing the political elements of the interaction which will prompt suffering political frameworks in the recently autonomous states. Such methodology would zero in on the underlying job of drive in a climate of dynamically disturbed customary limited scope

social orders and ongoing financial disequilibrium which frequently describe these states. Maybe, of course, this drive has turned into the capacity of government. At this stage legislatures in recently Free states, be that as it may, don't have the ability to coordinate the course and the pace of social and financial change. They will yet need to foster this limit through consistent and adjusted augmentations in their abilities of compulsion and influence.

Stokes (1986), illustrates that the concept of nationalism was evolved in the 18th century as a new concept. When capitalism originated, various communities began to trade with each other and to create a common market. In the feudal system as well as in Asia or a slave society, villages were relatively self-sufficient. They didn't produce for the market. So this was a big change that came about in the 1600s and the 1500s where they began to produce not for themselves but to exchange and when they began to exchange, naturally they exchange with people who lived close to them or may understand their languages. So, a community was formed that has five basic characteristics in common that they were nomads, having a common territory, common languages, a common culture, and a common economy. These characteristics define a nation and bring them together into a nation. Later when nations came into being and as they grow richer, then they began to challenge the political power of the landed class. They did that in English and French. When they finally overthrew the monarchies of their times they created nation-states.

Khan (2018), says that political institutions and religious institutions are two sets of institutions. Political institutes are under the supervision of the state while religious institutions are meant to be run by religious scholars and leaders. The separation of two countries, India and Pakistan in 1947 is also a reason for linking Nationalism with religion. It enabled the defining powers of violence and relocation to tear the existing social aspects, the culture so efficiently that the method of repair has not indeed started. The principle obligation lies with the state to the extent that it has syndication of political force and the authentic utilization of power. State arrangements ought to endeavor to decentralize power while simultaneously perceiving the privilege of being socially unmistakable, even in issues applicable for political talks.

Aziz (2001), In this article, the author explains the initial times of Pakistan after gaining independence. At the point when Pakistan became autonomous in 1947; it acquired a working type of government from colonial India dependent on the Public authority of the 1935 Indian Act, as altered by the India Freedom Act 1947. There were set up the components of government that are depicted as a leader or regulatory. There existed a common help that controlled legislatures at the middle and in the areas, a police power, a tactical foundation, nearby states, and different fundamentals important to direct this new element, the province of Pakistan. As per the writer, Pakistan consequently proceeded under what was properly portrayed as a framework, with extreme position vested in one individual, regardless of whether that individual was depicted as Lead representative General, President, Military Law Head, or Prime Minister.

The demise of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in September 1948 denied the Pakistan Constituent assembly of administration it couldn't supplant. In 1951 Pakistan's first PM Liaquat Ali Khan was murdered by a recruited Afghan specialist and Jinnah's replacement as lead representative Khwaja Nazimuddin, who ventured down from that post to become executive. The new Lead representative General, Ghulam

Muhammad, started very quickly to practice powers far in overabundance of those given to lead representative officers in different territories where the parliamentary government was utilized, and the Lead representative Commanders had mostly formal powers. Ghulam Muhammad excused Nazimuddin without allowing him to test his entitlement to stay in office through a demonstration of positive support in the governing body. Nazimuddin engaged the Sovereign, expressing that the Lead representative General had surpassed his forces; however, the Crown didn't wish to meddle in the overseeing of Pakistan.

Maniruzzaman (1967), the researcher describes the constitutional framework and setup so the country could be functional constitutionally. After over eight years of discussions and debates, a Constitution was at long last settled upon in 1956. This set up a parliamentary framework, however the strategy for choosing the parliament couldn't be settled upon. West Pakistanis demanded proceeding with the different electorate framework however the East Pakistanis needed joint electorates. No political decision was at any point held under the 1956 Constitution. The constitution incorporated the idea of equality, which implied that East Pakistanis would be under-addressed. The more crowded east wing would have a similar number of seats in parliament as would the less crowded west wing. The head of the East Pakistan bunch, Suharwardi, acknowledged this with the unwritten agreement that endeavors would be made to bring the east wing up to equality with the west wing in such regions as a monetary turn of events and taxpayer-driven organization. Decisions were to be held in mid-1959. The voice of individuals would finally be heard through direct decisions at the public level. This was not to occur. In two phases in October 1958, the military took over under military law. General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the president of the military, acquired control under military law. While various advances were taken in the monetary and social fields, the idea of uninhibitedly and straightforwardly choosing bodies to sanction enactment and support financial plans at the public and the common level was not in the contemplations of Ayub.

Singhal (1962), the writer explains in determining the constitutional features from the second constitution of Pakistan of 1962. His thoughts incorporated the idea of fundamental liberals who might play out the jobs related to neighborhood government. They would be straightforwardly chosen. However, they would likewise fill in as an electing school for more significant levels of nearby government, for the common and public congregations, and the president. In the public gathering and official races, the guideline of equality would be maintained, as there would be a similar number of essential liberals in every region, who might choose an equivalent number of individuals from the public get together. The Constitution of 1962 was an official framework, yet was a continuation of the previous framework by different means. The forces of the gathering were restricted in the pivotal space of the spending plan. The individuals who should address individuals couldn't manage how the country's incomes were to be used. Shows and revolting against the Ayub system started in 1968 as the interest by individuals for a free political decision for a significant assembly heightened. Ayub had to leave in Walk 1969 and was supplanted by Broad Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan. Yahya professed to be a guardian who might hold a political race to pick delegates to another constituent get-together. He expressed that he would need to 'authenticate' any Constitution taken on by the gathering, subsequently putting himself over the chosen body. Decisions were held and changes in the

framework were vital to the political race. The previous West Pakistan regions were reestablished. Equality was finished and East Pakistan would choose individuals from the get together in extent for its portion of the populace. The electorates would be in joint form, as they had been in the surveys for Ayub's essential liberals. Ideological groups had the option to crusade unreservedly. This implied that the Awami Association was not blocked when it put together its mission concerning the Six Places of Sheik Mujibur Rahman. These requested an undeniable degree of independence for the east wing and were seen by numerous individuals as a street to freedom for East Pakistan.

Baxter (2001), Baxter contends that the tactical authority expected that there would be a no larger part in the Gathering and that a multi-party alliance would be required, and it would create a trade-off constitution. The political decision results gave the Awami Association 160 of 162 seats from East Pakistan and accordingly, a larger part of the gathering of 300, without winning a seat in the west wing. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won a larger part of the seats in the west wing. The scientist noticed that the voice of individuals was not followed. A definitive outcome was the division of Pakistan and the making of the new territory of Bangladesh.

Aziz (2001), tracked down that the All India Muslim Association was a tradition of Aligarh and was constrained by the U.P. blue-bloods, who took every significant choice and constrained it to disregard, even harm, and the interests and hurt the sensations of the Muslims of the remainder of India. So unyielding and powerful was this custom that in any event, during the critical long stretches of 1937-47 the Association regarded the Bengali Muslims as though they were its subordinates and employed men. The establishments of Bangladesh were laid before the formation of Pakistan.

Feldman (1974), when President Yahya Khan surrenders the whole situation then Zulfikar Ali Bhutto manages to control the emergency in Pakistan. A loss of East Pakistan was followed by the previous events. He called those West Pakistanis who had won Constituent Gathering seats in the 1970 political race to frame a constituent get together and the parliament for leftover Pakistan. A Constitution was authorized in 1973, and with significant changes stays the protected record in Pakistan today. It was suspected to be a parliamentary Constitution and it gave specific forces to the four common legislatures. In any case, the force of the PM turned out to be practically outright and the endorsed strategy for eliminating him from office was exceptionally difficult. A movement of no certainty should incorporate the name of the replacement PM. In expansion, a part who abused party discipline would lose participation in the get-together. Two of the regions, Baluchistan and NWFP, hosted chose non-PPP gatherings that framed states in those regions. Intolerance by the focal legislature of common states headed by various gatherings or even people who had lost blessing with the focal government was a long-standing example. During the first supposed parliamentary government (1947-58) services were changed in each of the three areas in the west wing by the middle. Presently, Bhutto abrogated the decision of the electorate and excused states in Baluchistan and NWFP, and, to compound an already painful situation, prohibited the Public Awami Party and imprisoned its chiefs. Bhutto likewise deferred parliamentary races by declaring that, albeit chosen in 1970, the parliament didn't start its sittings until 1972 and along these lines would lapse in 1977. The significant resistance groups had the option to

shape constituent collusion, that is, they set up a solitary up-and-comer against the PPP up-and-comer and consented to help that up-and-comer together. The genuine consequence of the 1977 political decision can't be known as the PPP occupied with significant apparatus of the vote. Most onlookers seem to concur that the PPP would have won a larger part without apparatus; however, this training made the edge more prominent. It likewise ignited shows and endeavors by Bhutto to arrive at a trade-off that would involve another political race. On 5 July 1977, the military took over under the authority of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq.

Burki (1988), narrated in his article about the emergence of Zia's administration in Pakistan. Zia ul Haq came into power with the help of a referendum; he then introduced Islamization in the state and made certain changes in the constitution also. Later in 1988, President Zia removed Muhammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister of Pakistan and ordered to arrange new elections for all of the assemblies. The official ability to eliminate a leader and break down the gatherings was utilized against every one of the initial three services starting with the Benazir Bhutto service chosen in 1988. Notwithstanding, the evacuation of the Nawaz Sharif government in 1993 was saved by the Supreme Court, albeit presently the President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and the Prime Minister surrendered. The second evacuation of Benazir Bhutto in 1996 was tested in the Supreme Court however was maintained. The public authority of Nawaz Sharif in 1997 passed an alteration to the Constitution eliminating the official ability to excuse government. Presently the course for protected evacuation of an executive will be through a demonstration of general disapproval. However, the extra-protected course of a tactical overthrow stays a chance.

Fozia Bibi, Sumbal Jameel & Syed Umair Jalal (2018), talks about the development of the PPP under the initiative of Bhutto made one more gathering that was overall, a solitary chief party. Bhutto and his partners won a larger part of West Pakistan's seats in 1970, yet after taking office he abandoned a significant number of his unique partners and supplanted them with others, frequently from the supposed primitive gatherings he had gone against. Today, the party, under his girl, Benazir, can scarcely be known as an efficient party. Its constituent presentation in 1997 has decreased it, briefly, to a local party as it won no National Assembly situations from any area other than Sindh. At that time regional parties started influencing the national parties in politics. MQM started gaining its control in areas of Sindh while in Baluchistan Awami National Party started attracting people of the province.

Mohammad Waseem and Sikandar Hayat (1997), mentioned the clashes in the state of Pakistan exude from a set of components identifying with the state framework, the unsteady territorial setting, and the failed worldwide framework. The state framework in Pakistan has been portrayed by issues of unavoidably immature common set-ups, the failure of poor decisions for the pervasive framework seen by a special traveler initiative, a centralist position structure, and a tyrannical job of armed force. During the most recent fifty years, the state went through different processes of centralism, populism, and protected designing by the military-regulatory foundation just as Islamization, generally to the detriment of common independence and a feeling of interest occupied with the state shared by all networks. Non-acknowledgment of electing command as the vast wellspring of authenticity prompted the rise of ethnic developments in East Pakistan, the NWFP, Baluchistan, and Sindh. The apparent Punjabisation of the state has made sensations of ethnic

aggression among all districts other than Punjab. Social weaknesses brought about by fast friendly change, like urbanization overall and in-relocation in Karachi specifically, have fuelled ethnic scorn for what it's worth. Essentially, the inundation of displaced people from adjoining nations, alongside arms and medication dealing, has prompted new examples of personality legislative issues and more significant levels of political brutality. The state's relative non-execution at the neighborhood level has pushed numerous partisan gatherings to exit from the parliamentary system of governmental issues towards an explicit utilization of arms. What is required is the production of a third level of government at the region and sub-region levels. At the highest point of the need, rundown ought to be an approach of decentralization and congruity in the discretionary cycle to carry the hard-headed components into the standard, de-weaponization, and reinforcing of ideological groups as interest-collecting and strategy bearing organizations.

Richter (1989), writes about Benazir Bhutto that she was the main lady PM of a cutting-edge Muslim state, are the recipient of dynastic governmental issues, and the passionate ties of an enormous part of the electorate to her charming family. Benazir needed to revoke the Eighth Amendment to fortify her situation as a leader yet couldn't marshal adequate political help and before long deserted the work. Benazir likewise confronted not just the old issues of the political job of the tactical powers, the division of force between the focal and commonplace states, and the job of Islam, yet in addition squeezing new ones, including an enormous spending plan deficiency and developing ethnic viciousness. Benazir likewise needed to fight with developing political resistance. As a political force specialist, she was in the last part of the 1980s no counterpart for her fundamental opponent, then, at that point, boss pastor of Punjab, Nawaz Sharif. In the 1988 races that carried Benazir to control, her party had won the biggest number of seats in the National Assembly however controlled just one of the four areas. Punjab, the most crowded region, with over a portion of Pakistan's populace, went under the control of the resistance IJI and of its chief, Nawaz Sharif, who was the main major political figure from the Zia time to endure the reappearance of the PPP. To keep up with her force and execute her projects, Benazir would have expected to move effectively between an amazing president and the tactical first class and to arrive at a political convenience with Nawaz Sharif. All things considered, she sought after a course of a conflict, remembering fruitless endeavors to topple him for the common gathering. Also, the disappointment of the PPP to impart force and crown jewels to its alliance accomplices brought on additional distance, including the withdrawal of the MQM from the public authority in October 1989.

Shafqat (1996), interprets that Benazir barely endure a no-certainty movement in the National Assembly in October 1989. Her administration didn't arrange a record of achievement that may have assisted with counterbalancing her different hardships. No new enactment was passed, and less than twelve bills, all minor changes to existing enactment, passed the National Assembly. On the worldwide front, Pakistan confronted increased strains with India over Kashmir and issues related to the unsettled Afghan conflict. At long last, on August 6, 1990, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan excused the Benazir government, broken down the National Assembly just as the Sindh and North-West Frontier Province commonplace gatherings, and delegated a guardian government headed by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the head of the Combined Opposition Parties in the

National Assembly. As per the constitution, the president booked public and commonplace decisions for October 1990.

Rizvi (2000), Pakistan entered into a new stage of change in politics. Nawaz Sharif after securing their place in the political sphere started getting alienated in the sphere of political management and political administration. Soon in 1998, the elected government was replaced by military rule. General Musharraf takes over the whole government and takes time from the Supreme Court of Pakistan that he will conduct elections in Pakistan after three years. General Musharraf validated his dedication to revitalizing the economy in its early days, His number one aim became to build establishments and conduct free and truthful elections through transparency, decentralization, and democracy through new mergers. General Musharraf worked for the enlightened modern policies and privatization.

(Asghar Ullah Khan, Dr. Zain Ul Abiden Malik, and Hani Fatima 2020) In this research paper, the changes in the political development in Pakistan in the era of Musharraf have been explained. However, the establishment functions with the cooperation of army support as a substitute than the help of people. All these civilian establishments had been only permissible so long as they were submissive to the military dictator, and so long as they embraced the military powers, all kinds of civilian participation were applicable. Under his leadership, the method of civilianization was added within the shape of a paradigm of energy sharing at the loss of actual democratic establishments. On large evaluation and deep perception into the measures taken in the direction of civilianization and changes implemented for right governance and open transparency, numerous different motivations seemed contradictory to his obvious excessive statements that have been bundled in attractive terms. Despite beginning the civilianization method, it turned into no longer viable for civil institutions and the democratic method to achieve too much power to assist it.

Mamoon (2018), analyzes in this paper about the journey or process of political reforms from 2008 to 2018. In setting up strong democratic precedence and rule of law in the state, the suggestions were evaluated about remodeling into structural adjustments inside the economic system. It will be very helpful in further strengthening its institutional and macro- monetary governance. With each new democratic government in the locality after completing its turnover as mandated by way of the constitution of Pakistan, in the final ten years, the United States has been addressing many demanding situations that have emerged as an aftermath of the dictatorial rule of Musharraf. Though Pres Musharraf stays to be an enlightened autocrat taking a few crucial steps to reinforce the economic system his government witnessed a steep slide in social acceptance as true amongst human beings of Pakistan amid armed conflict in Afghanistan that took an ugly turn and affected Pakistani social and ethical grounds due to permeable nature of Durand Line.

Siddiqi (2013), describes the political situation of that time by summarizing the events. President Pervaiz Musharraf step down from this post as president of Pakistan and with that Election Commission of Pakistan announced that elections would be held on the 18th of February 2008. As a result of the elections, Asif Zardari from PPP became the President of Pakistan and Yusuf Raza Gillani became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Military operations happened in the state within this tenure. The stability and international image of Pakistan were disturbed due to the attack on the cricket team of Sri Lanka in Pakistan. Later in the same tenure, the

major development politically made was of the eighteenth amendment. Provincial autonomy was promoted and the federal nature of politics was highlighted in the state. Other challenges that effect the political development in the state were the issues like terrorism, the crash of an air blue plane, Karachi riots, excessive floods, bombings, etc. It was not an easy task for the government to tackle all these issues.

Zaidi (2017), In 2013, Nawaz Sharif was elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Pakistan Muslim League N got the majority of votes and Nawaz becomes the Prime Minister for the third time in Pakistan. Mr. Mamnoon Hussain was elected as the President of Pakistan in 2013. At that time the major issues were terrorism and terrorist activities were happening in the state and the country again was in an unstable position. When such a situation takes place, then the pressure on parliament increases. Even though the government was trying hard to counter the challenges the government again failed to complete its tenure. The parliamentarian government ended and Nawaz Sharif was dismissed by the verdict of the greatest court of Pakistan, the Supreme Court. He was dismissed due to some issues of payment of salary and he was involved in several cases like Panama paper s, property issues, etc. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi becomes the acting and succeeding Prime Minister of Pakistan. In the 2018 elections, PTI 'Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf' won the majority seats, and the chairman of the party, Imran Khan became the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

KARTODIRDJO (1966), describes the reasons behind the stability or instability of any political system. The relevancy of the research is of Pakistan's political stability. The crises examine the stability of political systems in extremely instructive ways, for their area inconceivable needs at the political leadership and the shape and techniques of the machine. Since the quality of the political management is frequently decisive, the one's systems that offer methods of selecting competent leaders and changing them acquire fundamental benefits. Although management capacity isn't always guaranteed with the relief of any approach of selection, it is more likely to be discovered in which there's loose opposition for leadership positions. The availability of setting up strategies of replacing leaders is similarly, if now not extra, essential, for the result of crises is frequently to disgrace the leaders in power, and, if they cannot get replaced without problems, their continued incumbency may additionally discredit the complete regime.

Other situations of the survival of political systems relate to the effectiveness of the processes of governments and systems in meeting the needs located on them. Political systems suffer violent breakdowns when their medium failed to feature it correctly. Such as the institutional systems and methods failing to remedy conflicts amongst needs and to put in force suitable for the regulations, and when the device ceases to be regarded as responsive utilizing the person or any group making demands on it. In a few structures, survival does not now rely upon the precise management of the society or close governmental control over social tactics but is the result of the political response to the military forces of exchange, of adjustment, or management of the systems to fulfill the pressures of innovation, and of diverse political procedures that allows an orderly development.

(Hussain, 2011) writes in the article that the effectiveness of the Assembly turned into confined through numerous factors. First, the gadget of indirect elections didn't inspire enough recognition for the House as an essential political institution since it did no longer provide the participants an actual feeling that they represent

the humans directly. While the National Assembly's political status could not be better within the absence of powerful strength. And the overwhelming strength of the authority's party inside the National Assembly induced distrust among competition participants also.

Theoretical Framework

The theory involves the process of viewing, reasoning, and thinking. Any phenomenon that is to be related to any theory must go through the process of first describing it, then analyzing it, and then bringing all of the clarification and explanations as a synthesis of that study. The major theoretical dimensions in comparative politics revolved around the state, government, and systems such as institutional framework, individual preferences, nature of culture and developments, etc. For any efficient administration in the state, there should be sound political development in the state.

The concept is related majority with the demands of people and that is why it comes under comparative politics. In comparative politics, any matter concerning institutions, government, and public participation is being discussed in the light of theories of comparative politics. The fields in Comparative Politics are directly related to comparative government and in the same way; political development is also dependent upon the nature of the political government of any state. The working of political parties especially those that are governing in the state are directly responsible for better governance. Institutions like legislative assemblies, executive or judiciary are highly responsible for the better working of any institution in the state. Comparative government or politics also highlighted the comparison between various states and the relation between them and their developmental spheres. Two major aspects that are highlighted in comparative politics regarding political development are political and economic. Political scientists usually demonstrated that the economy is an important aspect of any state's political development while economists give their explanations on the effects and impact of political relations on any economical linkages of the state. (James A. Bill, Robert L. Hardgrave 1981)

In the 18th century, Political economy was studied as an important parameter of guiding and policing the states about their relation with politics and economy. And in return, it will boost or encourage political development in the state. But political economy is always advocating the supremacy of economical behavior of anything. They perceived that if any state is politically developed, it must be economically developed. And if it is not sustainable in economic development then it will not be considered as a politically developed state. In previous times, when capitalism was rising in the world, then the states were advocating the system to run their economy in which they may suppress other nations or states. While after the 2nd world war, nations tend to focus or hear the voices of the Marxists or communists, etc. But the question arises that how these concepts can be identified or focused in any region. There is a specific process to identify the need and demand that is required in any state to have feedback from its citizens. Generally, a theory is the first part or aspect on which any statement or problem in the state can be based. The methodology will be given to work on any theoretical framework. Tools can be designed or selected for the designed purpose. Political

Development can be studied as the model or theory by researchers to understand the working of political institutions, political stability, and economic growth of the country as a whole. The theory is more relevant in the democratic systems of the countries in the world. As the theory of political development analyzes the working of institutions, governments, and rulers of the state and what are the strategies of holding their rulers or leaders accountable in the system. (Eckstein 2000)

Institutional Frameworks

In the 1950s, the state was studied under the traditional setups that the system analysis was used in identifying the nature of the political development also. Political scientists like David Easton, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, Gabriel Almond, Max Weber, Bronislaw Malinowski worked for the theories in understanding comparative politics.

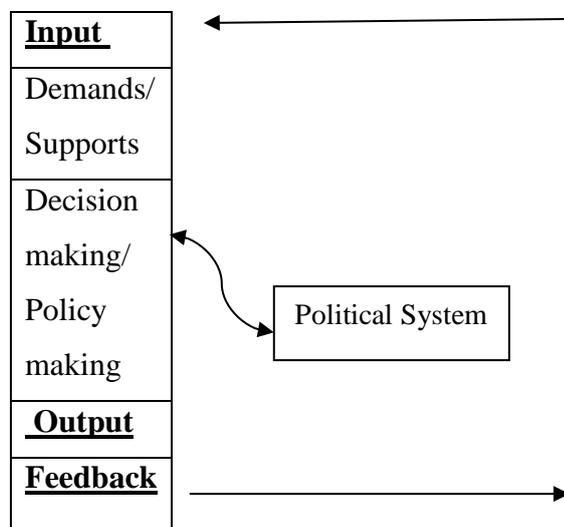
After the 1950s the institutional approach gradually started declining and after some time it was re-founded as the theory of 'institutionalism'. The new study or approach towards was the theory and practice both. It deals with the importance and working of institutions in any state.

System Theory

System Theory model in understanding the system of any state. It's a model of communication between the models of the state and within the state also. It's like dialectics that a discussion and interaction between the important actors within the system. Political development in a sense that there is input that people deliberately making some demands. Demands for laws or here is the Parliament and has it is making those laws that are being demanded by the people, according to the people. Inputs and demands are being asked by the public and masses living in the states and then outputs that a state gets in return are the result of the policies, laws, and decisions. In our case study if we are looking at the parliament then we will be looking at it. The first thing is we have to identify what are the demands e.g. if there is any electoral demand of any party that they asked or made to their parliamentarians and with that, it also turned to be as a popular demand. Now it's being asked by the system that how they address that input and what output they will deliver in that case. (Johari 1982)

The system approach is used by both natural and social sciences both. Political scientists used methodologies that are structural and functional analysis and it also included input or output analysis. The system approach is theoretical in General System Theory to fit the needs of political science. One of the models is given by David Easton, whose input-output model emphasizes the behavior of the political system with its environment in terms of analyzing inputs that are demands and supports, demonstrating outputs that are the authoritative allocation of values or policy decisions or actions. Another is structural input and functional output.

Others also utilize the communication theories and models of communication theories and systems to conceptualize the process of political integration among several countries or ethnic communities making up a new system. (Calvert 2002)

Table 2.1 System Approach Model in Political System

Source; (Pennock 1966)

David Easton Model Regarding System Approach

The political system is a set of processes that covers input into output in which Input means demand and output are the decisions. David Easton has defined or has the distinction of having a developed and an original or unique systematic approach for political analysis. He defined the political system as a system of interactions within the society through combined, binding, or authoritative allocations are made and implemented in a state. Its authoritative allocation of values is the environment of the state. David Easton was the first political scientist who worked on it and analyzes the concept of the political system and its functionality. He perceived it as a major unit of analysis.

Decisions taken by any political system are the authoritative allocation of values because it is the legislative system of society that enjoys legitimacy to bind people to be obeyed. It is an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation concerning a particular subject of matter should or should not be made for by those responsible for doing so. A demand is which is expressed by the masses of that state. Support is also a type of input. It is related to the remaining input transactions between a system and its environment after that demands have been subtracted. Support is the further demands from the one who demands or from the environment. Sometimes demands are hidden or fully not expressed. They need support for the full mechanism of the completion of support. It ensures maintenance in the political system and decisions connected through feedback to support. (Evans 2008)

Its interests are fully satisfied then it is positive support and if interests are rejected then it is negative support. When the output has failed, it will be called a stress output then it goes through feedback, and in return, more demands will be expressed. At that level, there is a multiplication of support then changes should be made in

the political system. If it is failed or is unstable then there is no means, no feedback will be there. Thus, support is another input for demands in a political system. If there are more demands, more efficiency of political systems will be developed as a political system is there to fulfill the demands of the people. There should be a strong system for having more demands or support otherwise system will go towards destruction.

Almond and Powell Regarding System Approach

Every political system has a common structure political system influenced the interactions which attract use or the fear of legitimate power and he perceived that any political system is related to its governmental structure, legitimate structure or electives, etc. They are similar in many ways but practically perform differently in different political structures.

Almond focused on some of the characters of the political system of any state. It includes comprehensiveness, universalism, and universal political structure, universality in nature, common political function, and culturally mixed character of any political system. Any system in the country is interdependent following the environment and boundaries. No society came to be in existence without political states and there is universality in the system either they are modern, primitive, etc of some political structure. Structures and functions like legislature are the same and divide into input and output. (Kasianiuk 2015)

Input functions are diverse in functionality. All of the political systems have formal and informal systems too. Some are developed, developing and some are developed too. In that model, input functions include the following that is recognized generally all over the world;

- political socialization
- political recruitment
- interest articulation
- interest aggregation
- political communication

As per the model, the output functions are following;

- Rule making
- Rule application
- Rule adjudication

The process functions are following;

- Interest articulation
- Interest aggregation
- Policy making
- Policy implementations
- Adjudication

Further, the System functions are as follows;

- Socialization

- Recruitment
- Communication

Other output functions also included regulation, extraction, and distribution. This model is also known as the functional approach to be studied in comparative politics. It may be summed up as some are input functions or system functions or policy functions and as result, the output shows the positive which may be positive or negative. If it is negative, the input functions again started according to the coming feedback in the process. (Fisher 2010)

Relation of Theory and Research

Comparative politics is the subfield of politics. The theories within will be used in our study and the first theory is of institutional framework theory. As per this research, Parliament is also an institution so we will have to look for an institutional analysis to see its role in political development. Within the institutional framework, we will go through the system theory as well. By that, we can then find the research question that, Is Parliament playing its role in the development of politics or political development of Pakistan?

A parliamentary device or parliamentary democracy is a device of democratic governance of an entity in which the government derives its democratic legitimacy from its potential to command the legislature, usually a parliament, to which it's far accountable. It operates via a mechanism of inputs and outputs and below inside an environment that impacts it and which, in turn, offers feedback to the surroundings. It is essential problem is as to how pleasant it could keep itself and face the demanding situations of deterioration and decline.

Relevance with Political Development

In the time of 1950s, many states were being de colonized and political scientists were observing and studying the concept of political development and how they can overcome their declining situation. If any state is more economically developed, and then it is must be a politically developed state. If we have a look at the developed western states, they all are industrially developed and political scientists guided the colonized states to work on the same mechanism to get rid of imperialism. Other than that it was suggested the nation-state would give an efficient result on the political development of the state.

The political development of any state can be identified by its political modernization, legal development, functioning of the nation-state, administrative development, mass mobilizations, its responsive democratic norms, stability and orderly change, and various dimensions of social changes as well.

CHAPTER 03

**Historical Background of Role of
Parliament in Political Development in
Pakistan**

History of Parliament in the World

In ancient times when people used to live in tribes; there were councils whose decisions were assessed by the heads or elders of that particular tribe. It was also said that in ancient Mesopotamia and ancient India; there was also the same type of councils or assemblies where kings were assessed by them, which is just like democracy. Ancient Athens used to have assemblies where free male citizens could only take part in discussions. Whereas the Roman Republic had some sort of legislative assemblies in which they used to have elections, enactments of laws or new statutes, carry out punishments, and also declarations or dissolution with alliances. And in ancient Muslim societies, there was an Islamic Shura system for making the decisions of public affairs. These all were used to call some sort of parliaments in ancient times. (A.F. POLLARD 1926)

It was the year 930 when the first and earliest parliament in the world was made in Iceland; named as an assembly of Alþingi. And this assembly was consisting of a national assembly and court of justice. Later on in 1188, it was Spain that was announced by UNESCO as the first sample of a modern parliamentary system in the history of Europe; having common people and elected representatives together. And in 1215, it was England where the first proper parliament is founded in the world. Then in 1581, it was the Netherlands and Belgium which became the early examples of the parliamentary systems in the world. And it can be said that the modern concept of the parliamentary system was further developed in the Kingdom of England in the year of 1688. (Pivatto 2019)

Therefore in the 11th century, the word parliament is derived from an old French word “parler” and becomes “Parlement” meaning “speaking or to talk or discussion”. Later on in the 14th century, in old English, it was called “PARLIAMENT” which means a formal legislative conference which is made for the discussion of public affairs. And since the 15th century, a parliament is also known as the legislative body of the government, which governs three, functions; making of laws, representing the electorate, and overseeing the government. (A.F. POLLARD 1926)

Many countries around the world are mostly influenced by the system of government which is originated in Britain with an executive government drawn from and directly responsible to a parliament. The British parliament is also known as the mother of parliaments that is comprised of the House of Lords and House of Commons. Therefore; most of the countries copied their system as it is and some of the countries just adopted that model for them. For example; Canada has a bicameral parliament system in which the House of Commons and senate work together. France has a parliament consisting of the National Assembly and Senate. The Indian parliamentary system is known as Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. New Zealand parliamentary system is comprised of the governor-general and House of Representatives. American parliament consists of the House of Representatives and senate. (Pivatto 2019)

Role of Parliament in Changing Politics of World:

The political system is defined as the process of interaction. It can also be called the process of interacting between social systems and nonpolitical systems; for example, the economic system. The third wave of

democratization has changed the forms of government in many countries. In the late 1970s and 1980s, political scientists were preoccupied with the conditions facilitating the collapse of authoritarian regimes and the prerequisites for democratization, from the 1990s onward research has increasingly concentrated on the strengthening of democracy. Political institutions such as parliaments have historical antecedents that shape their roles, the role expectations directed towards them by the public, their functions, and their performance. The longer the history of representative institutions of a country, the greater the chances that democracy as a form of government has taken root in society. (Jürgen Rüland, Patrick Ziegenhain, Clemens Jürgenmeyer, Michael H. Nelson 2005)

The progressions in the political framework are called political change and these progressions can cause a few times challenges and a few times benefits in this arrangement of legislative issues. Consequently, it isn't just a response to "objective" factors like financial powers yet in addition the result of their control. In clarifying the development and improvement of political frameworks it is difficult to disregard the way that individuals, having thought about the benefits and weaknesses of various types of government, frequently choose to embrace one structure instead of another. (Heslop 2020)

Political organizations, for example, parliaments have authentic forerunners that shape their jobs, the job assumptions coordinated towards them by the public, their capacities, and their presentation. The more extended the set of experiences of agent foundations of a country, the more prominent the possibilities that a vote-based system as a type of government has flourished in the public arena. While a large number of them as of now settled majority rules systems might have begun as vote based systems without liberals, their combination and development relies upon tip-top help for majority rules system as well as on the acknowledgment of vote based system by the majority, and likewise on the advancement of urban mass culture. (Jürgen Rüland, Patrick Ziegenhain, Clemens Jürgenmeyer, Michael H. Nelson 2005)

Great empires were disintegrated and nation-states emerged at that time. These states flourished and then vanished by the changing events in the global world. The world wars twice transformed the international system with new ideologies and swept the world and end the established groups from power. But a few countries experienced at least one revolution and many countries two or more which changed their states completely. The domestic politics in every system was contorted by social strife and economic crisis. Everywhere like political life was changed by the forms and changes of political activity. The new means of mass communication, the enlargement of popular participation in politics, the rise of new political issues, the threat of nuclear war, and innumerable other social, economic, and technical developments became a new part of the structures of the government. (Heslop 2020)

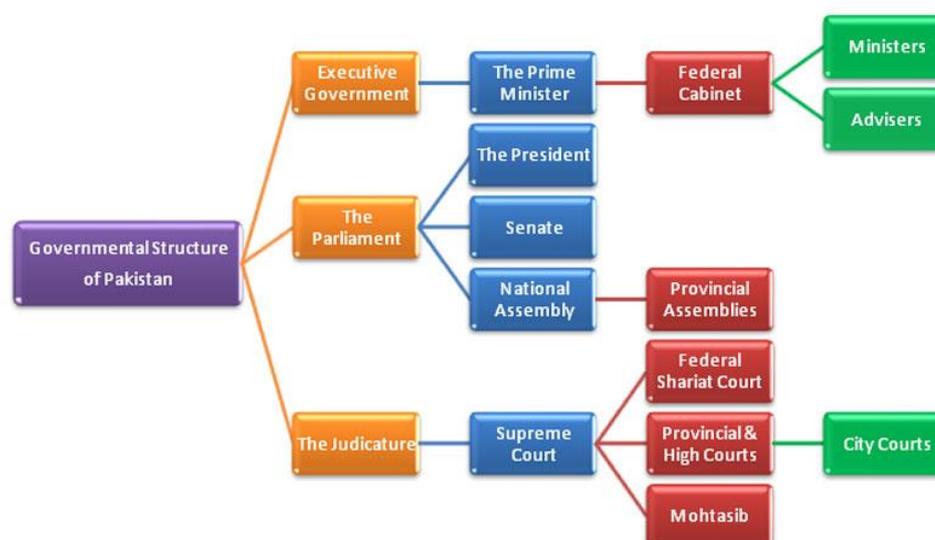
In 1295, the Parliament of the United Kingdom evolved to include nobles and bishops as well as two representatives from each of the counties and towns in England and since 1282, Wales. This turned into the model for the organization of every single future Parliament. Through a progression of administrative demonstrations, known as the "Change Acts," various changes were made to the synthesis and authoritative cycle in Parliament. The Reform Act of 1918 gave ladies the option to cast a ballot, and the main lady was chosen for the body that very year. (Ronek 2015)

Internationally it can be seen that the parliamentary system in most of the countries helps in the following basic factors for running their states; adaptability, scrutiny and accountability, and distribution of power. Countries with such a system include Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom as well as Portugal, etc.

Structure of Parliament in Pakistan:

The parliament of Pakistan is the government and incomparable reliable group of Pakistan. It is a bicameral legislature or lawmaking body that comprises Senate and National Assembly. The Senate is the upper house and the National Assembly is the lower house of the Parliament. As per the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the head of Pakistan (President) is also a part of the Parliament. The national assembly is chosen for five years. The residency of an Individual from the national assembly is for the term of the house, or sooner, on the off chance that the member resigns or dies. The residency of the national assembly likewise concludes whenever broke down on the exhortation of the executive or by the president in his carefulness under the Constitution. The Parliament meets at the Parliament House working in Islamabad, where chambers for the two houses are available for discussions and negotiations. Until 1960, the Parliament House was situated in Karachi. The parliament working in Islamabad was introduced on 28th May 1986. Therefore the Article 50 of the Pakistan constitution of 1973 states that the parliament of Pakistan is comprised of the President, National Assembly, and Senate. Both the Senate and the National Assembly can start and pass the ratifying of bills except for money bills. Just the National Assembly can endorse the government spending plan and all money bills. On account of different bills, the President might forestall section except if the governing body in joint sitting overrules the President by a greater part of individuals from the two houses present and casting a ballot. In contrast to the National Assembly, the Senate can't be disintegrated by the President. (Iqra Mushtaq, Fawad Baig and Sehrish Mustaq 2018)

Figure 3.1; Figure showing Governmental Structure of Pakistan



Source; (NGO 2015)

President: The President of Pakistan is the formal Head of the State and a nonentity who is a regular citizen

Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Armed Forces according to the Constitution of Pakistan and ahead of the country. The President is kept informed by the Prime Minister on every one of the questions of inward and international strategy just as on every single administrative proposition. (Ahmed 2002)

National Assembly:

NA 'National Assembly' is commonly known as a lower house of the Parliament of Pakistan. The member who is elected for five years in the parliament is known as MNAs 'Member of National Assembly'. The total seats for them are three hundred and forty-two. The members are elected through the adult suffrage of Pakistan as the people who have reached the age of 18 can cast their votes in the electoral panels. Seats are assigned to every one of the four provinces of Pakistan, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and Islamabad Capital Territory based on the population. Public Assembly individuals serve for the parliamentary term, which is five years, except if they pass on or leave sooner, or except if in the case the National Assembly is disintegrated. Although by far most of the individuals are Muslim, around 5% of the seats are reserved for the minorities, including Christians, Hindus, and Sikhs. There are additionally 50+ special seats for women now, and women are chosen by their separate party heads. (Ahmed 2002)

Figure 3.2; Figure showing Composition of National Assembly

COMPOSITION OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY				
Area / Province	General Seats	Women	Non Muslims	Total
Federal Capital	2	-	10	2
Punjab	148	35		183
Sindh	61	14		75
NWFP	35	8		43
Balochistan	14	3		17
FATAs	12	-		12
Total	272	60	10	342

Source; (Farooq 2013)

Senate:

Senate is also known as the upper house which is a part of the Parliament of Pakistan commonly known as Majlis e Shoora also. Senate includes one hundred and four members who are to be elected for six years. Half of them retired after every three years so the house never remains empty and the process of legislation never stopped there. The representation of senators was given according to the population of provinces from which they belong. There are the delegates from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Islamabad,

our capital territory. The Chairman of the Senate, under the constitution, can also act as President of Pakistan in his absence. Elections can be called out once it is possible for the state. The Senate is not subject to dissolution but the term of its members is six years. (Ahmed 2002)

History of Parliamentary System of Pakistan:

Since the middle of the 19th century, the Muslims of the subcontinent had begun their struggle for a separate homeland where they can freely live according to their norms and values without any type of restrictions. This all was based on the concept of the two-nation theory. And later in 1947, the colonial rulers were left with no choice but to accept all demands of the Muslims of India and separate these two nations into two distinct homelands. Thus on 14th August 1947, Pakistan emerged on the world map as an independent state under the independence act 1947. Later Quaid-e-Azam became the first governor-general of Pakistan on 15th August 1947 and all the powers regarding the framing of new constituents were to be governed under the Government of India Act 1935. (khan 2018)

Quaid remained in the position of governor-general till 1948 and after his death; the Objective Resolution 1949 was implemented in the country which makes Liaquat Ali Khan the first prime minister of Pakistan. He made a committee of 24 members for forming the new draft of the constitution. Later in 1951, after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan; Khawaja Nazimuddin took over his place as a prime minister. And a final draft of the Constitution was prepared in 1954. By that time, Muhammad Ali Bogra had taken over as the PM 'Prime Minister'. But before the approval of the draft the Governor-general, 'Ghulam Mustafa' abrogated the assembly and was asked by the prime minister to run the country with a reconstituted cabinet only. Then in 1955, 2nd constituent assembly was formed for the formation of a new draft of the constitution. This Assembly achieved its target by giving the first Constitution to the nation i.e. the Constitution of Pakistan 1956. Choudhary Muhammad Ali was the Prime Minister at that time. Under this Constitution, Pakistan became the Islamic Republic; hence 23rd March became our Republic day. Major General Iskandar Mirza became the first elected President of Pakistan. The 1956 constitution provides for a Parliamentary form of government with all the executive powers in the hands of the Prime Minister. A unicameral type of parliament was formed including the legislative powers vested in the Parliament. The system has consisted of the President and the National Assembly comprising 300 Members divided equally between East and West Pakistan. In addition to these three hundred seats, five seats were reserved for women for each of the two wings for ten years. Thus it increases the total membership of the House to 310. Later the President of Pakistan, Iskandar Mirza abrogated the Constitution and dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies of Pakistan. He declared Martial Law on 7th October 1958 and appointed General Muhammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and to administer the Martial Law as a Chief. (khan 2018)

In the year of 1958 Genera, Ayub Khan had taken over as Pakistan's second President. On the 17th of February 1960, the very first and brave step that General Khan had taken was the appointment of the Commission of the constitution. And on the 29th of April 1961, this commission submitted the report, to the government. This is how through that report of the commission on the constitution, a new constitution was

framed and given to the nation on 1st March 1962. The Constitution of 1962 envisaged a Federal State with a Presidential form of government, with National Assembly at the center and the Provincial Assemblies in the Provinces. The total members in the National Assembly were 156, one-half of which was to be elected from East Pakistan and the other half from West Pakistan. Three seats were also reserved for women in each province. The duration of this assembly was set to be of three years. In 1969, the second Martial law was forced and General, 'Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan' took over as the President of Pakistan and Chief Martial Law Administrator. (D. S. Ahmed 2017)

He later issued a Legal Framework Order (LFO), under which the first-ever general elections were held on 7th December 1970. This was the first Assembly elected on the adult franchise and population basis. It consists of 313 members, 169 from East Pakistan and 144 from West Pakistan including 13 reserved seats for women (6 were from West Pakistan and 7 from East Pakistan). Soon after the elections, due to grave political differences, the Province of East Pakistan seceded from West Pakistan and became Bangladesh. On 20th December 1971, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over as the President of Pakistan as well as the first civil Chief Martial Law Administrator. (D. S. Ahmed 2017)

On 17th April 1972, an Interim Constitution was adopted by the National Assembly, which provided for a Presidential form of Government. The Assembly also formed a Constitution Committee on 17th April 1972 to prepare the first draft for framing a Constitution. The report of the Committee was presented with a draft Constitution on 31st December 1972. It was unanimously passed by the Assembly in its session on 10th April 1973 and was authenticated by the President on 12th April 1973. This Constitution, called the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, was promulgated on 14th August 1973. On the same day, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took an oath as the Prime Minister, while Mr. Fazal Illahi Choudhary took an oath as the President of Pakistan. (Hussain 2011)

The 1973 Constitution provides for a parliamentary form of government where the executive authority of the state vests with the Prime Minister. The President, according to the Constitution, is at the apex, representing the unity of the Republic. This is how the parliamentary system was formed in Pakistan through the constitution of 1973 and it is still working now after so many years. But this system had to face many difficulties and opposition too in history. (Hussain 2011)

History of Political Development in Pakistan:

- **Pakistan:**

Pakistan is the second biggest Muslim country in population and its status as a marked atomic force. Being the main Muslim country to have that status, Pakistan has its influence worldwide. It is a functioning entity as a member of the United Nations Organization (UNO) and Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). The legislative issues in Pakistan which happened inside the system always affected in setting up any constitution in the state. Pakistan is an Islamic and parliamentary republic state. Its state religion is Islam and is delegated as an important country in South Asia. The Prime Minister of Pakistan exclusively drives the chief government which is autonomous for the state parliament. A bicameral parliament was set up in which two

chambers were included. The Senate is known to be (upper house) and the National Assembly is also known as (lower house). The Judicial branch and its structures with the synthesis of the Supreme Court were acted as a top most court closely by with the high court and other session courts. The legal executive can interpret the constitution and government laws and guidelines. The President of Pakistan is a formal non-entity who addresses the solidarity of the country and expresses the administration as an imperative piece of the Parliament. Pakistan is partitioned into 4 provincial regions, 2 disputed regions, and 1 capital domain. Every area has a Provincial Assembly, an elected law-making body. Individuals are chosen for five years of government. Every Assembly chooses a Chief Minister, who then formed a cabinet in which he assigned departments to those cabinet members. (Jalal 2020)

- **Political Development:**

The developments of the institutes, norms and values that can form the political power systems in society are called political development. It can enhance the capacity of the state to mobilize and the allocation of the resources which can process the input and later give the output. It is a very complex concept to be understood because it is difficult for measuring and understanding the empirical and operative terms. And it is more and more controversial if seen in normative terms. Therefore, the normative thinkers state that political development depends on good political orders while the non-normative thinkers state that it is the characteristics, conditions, and processes of a political system that give rise to political development. (Jürgen Rüländ, Patrick Ziegenhain, Clemens Jürgenmeyer, Michael H. Nelson 2005)

- **Political development in Pakistan:**

The history of Pakistan is full of different political events, issues, or factors, and these all are leading towards the democratic processes and as well as hindrances in the various spell of martial law. This whole history of Pakistan shows both the progress and decay of political institutes. The political history of Pakistan mirrors minimal worry to regulate the political framework for popularity-based soundness. Unified state structure with tyrant propensities, challenging ideological groups for force, and unevenness common military relations have consistently taken steps to ruin the reason for political security. The powerless political administration and less organized and less integrated political parties are the sources of political instability. These political patterns show the frail majority rule soul and least responsibility of government officials to regulate the framework in Pakistan. (Tellies 2012)

Pakistan's short history is covered with rehashed disappointments of political turn of events. The justification for this case is obvious: since accomplishing statehood in 1947, the nation has had three constitutions, seen four military upsets, and has encountered a normal shift of regular citizen and military legislatures wherein no delegate allotment has yet really served out its full term in once. Missing from the start of Pakistan's emergency past to the present time has been the way to political advancement regulation, or the making of standards, constructions, and examples of conduct that are helpful for the serene creation of political request, financial development, and civil rights through delegate instruments of rule. The outcome has been a path of

destructive results that plague Pakistan right up 'til the present time. Pakistan's hindered political advancement is established in the decisions made by its originators, who, when faced with a bunch of horrible political circum-positions, settled on the pivotal choice to endeavor to determine their problems by tolerating administrative guidelines as the exit from their difficulties. (Tellies 2012)

Role of Parliament in Political Development of Pakistan (1947-2001):

- **Parliament:**

Parliament is the body that is used to represent people's interests and make sure they are taken into account by the concerned government. As we know that parliament is made of persons that are elected by the people therefore there can be no implementations of new rules and laws without the consent of parliament. The parliament of any state can cause the stability and instability of political conditions in any country. And Pakistan is still working on its political and economical stability. Let's have a brief review on the history of political developments in Pakistan and what was the role of parliament in each regime as below: (Group 2013)

- ❖ **The year 1947 to 1951:**

The dominion of Pakistan was established in 1947; Liaquat Ali Khan forms a government as a prime minister and Muhammad Ali Jinnah as governor-general. And after the death of Quaid in 1948; the seat was appointed to Khwaja Nazimuddin as governor-general. The state was running under the Indian act 1935 and there was no proper constitution and parliamentary system in Pakistan, which make a crisis in the county. Prime Minister Ali Khan was assassinated in the year 1951, and the new prime minister of Pakistan who was Governor-General Nazimuddin formed a government. Sixteen innocent people got killed in different riots and violence in Karachi in January. There was instability in the whole country. The political development was at its low point. (World, Timeline of major political events in Pakistan 2018)

- ❖ **The year 1951 to 1956:**

According to a parliamentary form of government, the head of state had no role to play in politics. In Pakistan's democratic era, the years 1951 to 1956 are called a weak democratic period. Ghulam Mohammad and Iskandar Mirza were the head of the state. These heads violated that rule as chief of the country were involved in political activities. They had a hold on parties, government, and bureaucracy. They also play a major role to make weak political parties and governments. They were involved to make an unstable government at the center and in provinces. Ghulam Mohammad and Iskandar Mirza belonged to bureaucracy. In this period no elections were held. The legislature was elected indirectly. Only in 1954 elections were held at the provincial level. The other action by Ghulam Mohammad which was out of democratic law was the dismissal of Prime Minister Nazim-ud- Din who had a vote of confidence in the assembly (Hassan, Causes of Military Intervention in Pakistan: A Revisionist Discourse "Pakistan Vision")

No voice was heard against prime minister Dismissal. No actions of assembly like discussion or notice were taken for his removal. This act was against democratic rule and show where no voice was heard. For their

interest, he appointed Bogra as a prime minister. Relationships between Bogra and Ghulam Mohammad were just like an owner and a servant. (Nawaz 2015)

❖ **The year 1956 to 1958:**

On 23rd March 1956, after the promulgation of a new constitution, The Islamic Republic of Pakistan was proclaimed. On the 11th of October 1957, Prime Minister Hussein Shaheed resigned from his position, and later after seeing this situation Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar of the ML formed a coalition government as a new prime minister of Pakistan on the 18th of October 1957. But this was all in vain because there was once again the interference of the military in the democracy that the President of Pakistan at that time who was Iskandar Mirza abrogated the constitution of the state and also disbanded the National Assembly of Pakistan. This is how he proclaimed martial law on the 7th of October 1958 which create a great puss in the political situation of Pakistan. Later, on 8th October 1958, Iskandar Mirza appointed his loyal General Muhammad Ayub Khan as Chief martial law administrator. But this is the power of the game, so when General Khan took control of the government he forced President Iskandar Mirza to resign, which he had to give on 27th October 1958. These years were totally under the pressure of the military and no development can be seen politically or any progress of the country due to the martial law enforcement in the country. (Nawaz 2015)

❖ **The year 1959 to 1969:**

In 1960, General Ayub Khan was elected president and was inaugurated as president. Almost thousands of innocent people got killed and died in different riots and strikes from 1960 to 1961. He later approved a new constitution for Pakistan in 1962. A new constitution was implemented on June 7, 1962. He also legalized political parties and the lifting of martial law was announced on June 8, 1962. This is how in this era the political development can be seen. On the 4th of October 1962 the former leader of Awami League, Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy, established the National Democratic Front in support of democratic reforms. Ayub Khan was elected again as a leader of the APML (*All-Pakistan Muslim League*) in the year of 1963. The Supreme Court of Pakistan uplifted the restrictions on the party of *Jamaat-e-Islami*. Ayub Khan was re-elected as the president of Pakistan for a five-year term and was inaugurated on March 23, 1965. (World, Timeline of major political events in Pakistan 2018)

Opposition candidate, Fatima Jinnah, claimed election fraud on January 3, 1965. Then on the 21st of March 1965, Parliamentary elections were conducted, and the Muslim League won in these elections with the majority in the National Assembly, and the rest of the parties could only be won thirteen seats in Assembly. The provincial elections of West and East Pakistan were conducted on the 16th of May 1965; in which the All Pakistan Muslim League won the one hundred and forty-one seats in West Pakistan and one hundred and eighteen seats in East Pakistan. (khan 2018)

On 1st December 1967, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto established his political party with the name of Pakistan People's Party (PPP). While on 13th November 1968, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and other members of the PPP got arrested in the city of Lahore. And everywhere in the country was riots and killing of innocence on different issues which was causing the political growth of the state and its parliament. Ayub Khan as the president of Pakistan

offered PPP to negotiate on the matters of constitutional changes with other opposition political parties and after this, he also on 17th February 1969 uplifted the state-of-emergency. There was chaos everywhere, police were killed, and students were killed. Seeing these all situations and losing control over the government so Ayub Khan resigned from his position of president on the 25th of March 1969. (D. S. Ahmed 2017)

❖ **The year 1969 to 1977:**

After the resignation of President Ayub Khan, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan took control of the government, and Martial law was declared on the 26th of March, 1969. By this act, the constitution of 1962 was suspended on 31st of March, 1969. Yahya Khan after taking power gave LFO (Legal Framework Order) so that the country will work accordingly temporarily. The very first election known to be General Elections was held in the year 1970. Yahya Khan arranged the elections and as per the results, Awami League (AL) got the majority in East Pakistan and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) got the majority in West Pakistan. PPP stood second in NA (National Assembly) of Pakistan and maximum votes were with Awami League. Parliament was postponed by President Yahya Khan on the 1st of March, 1971, and announced to convene the Parliament on 25th of March, 1971. It was the right of Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman to be declared as 1st elected Prime Minister of Pakistan but it didn't happen so. The army had some reservations against giving domination to East Pakistan as security threats were a part of their threats and the major inclination towards India. It was decided to declare Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as Prime Minister of Pakistan. On that decision, a situation of civil unrest was begun in East Pakistan. Supporters of the Awami League and especially the people of East Pakistan went out on roads and protest against the decision. Emergency was declared in East Pakistan by the military to control and manage the situation. Other than East Pakistan, several demonstrations were also seen in the big cities of West Pakistan like Peshawar, Lahore, and Karachi in the year 1971. The result of the war of 1971 resulted in the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan. Yahya Khan resigned on the 20th of December, 1971 as the President of Pakistan. And on the very next day on the 21st of December, ZAB (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) of PPP (Pakistan's Peoples Party) became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan after the separation of East Pakistan and West Pakistan. An interim constitution was framed in 1972. On 20th April 1972, martial law was uplifted from the country. New Party and the government started to bring back the democratization in the state and put their efforts into raising political development in Pakistan. Later the draft for Pakistan's constitution was made and the NA (National Assembly) of Pakistan adopted a new constitution. The constitution was implemented on the 14th of August, 1973. PM (Prime Minister) of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took oath under the 3rd Constitution of Pakistan of 1973. Bhutto nationalizes the whole system and discourages privatization in the state to discourage capitalist point of view and encourage the sense of nationalism among the state also. The nationalization of institutions brings many positive and negative impacts on the development of the state.

On the 11th of January, 1977 the opposition parties established an alliance against PPP (Pakistan's People's Party). Opposition parties combined and formed PNA (Pakistan National Alliance). On the 7th of March 1977, Parliamentary elections were held in the NA (National Assembly) of Pakistan and PPP (Pakistan's

Peoples Party) won those elections. Although PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) stood 2nd in the elections, still they claimed the elections to be not fair and declared them as a fraud. A situation of unrest was about to begin in the politics of the country again. Strikes and chaos were started happening everywhere which caused killings, destruction, and injuries to many citizens of Pakistan. (Ayoob 1971)

On the 26th of March 1977, the NA (National Assembly) of Pakistan was convened, and PPP was supposed to be in the government for the next years. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was elected as PM (Prime Minister) of Pakistan on the 28th of March, 1977. But the members of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) announced to boycott the National Assembly and they did so. An emergency forced to enforce martial law in the big cities of Pakistan which were Lahore, Karachi and also in Hyderabad on the 21st of April 1977. It increased political instability in the whole state which resulted in the instability of Pakistan's Parliamentary system as well. PM (Prime Minister) of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto lifted the martial law in the cities of Pakistan on the 6th of June, 1977. (KABASHIMA 1986)

❖ **The year 1977 to 1989:**

General Zia-ul-Haq took over the country and again a military intervention dissolved the assemblies of Pakistan. Bhutto was supposed to leave the assembly and another parliamentary crisis was seen in Pakistan. General Zia declared martial law and proclaimed himself as chief martial law administrator on the 6th of July, 1977. Zia conducted a referendum later and asked people who wanted Islamization to be enforced in the state. On 18th October 1977, it was decided that Parliamentary elections will be held in the country but General Zia ul Haq postponed the scheduled election. Meanwhile, Bhutto was blamed for the murder of Nawab M. Ahmad Khan and got arrested in the case on the 3rd of September, 1977. After the whole process of trial, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was convicted of murder and sentenced to death on the 18th of March, 1978. Fazal Elahi Chaudhary who was serving as the president resigned in 1978 and Zia take the oath as the President of Pakistan on the 16th of September, 1978. In 1979, Bhutto was hanged as it was declared by judicial decision. The state suffered huge political instability within its political sphere. (Group 2013)

Later on the 25th of February 1985, elections were supposed to be held in the National Assembly of Pakistan but still, the ban was not uplifted from the political parties of Pakistan. But the National Assembly of Pakistan was convened on the 23rd of March, 1985. General Zia ul Haq became President on the 23rd of March 1985. With that M. Khan Junejo was declared as the PM (Prime Minister) of Pakistan. Then NA (National Assembly) lifted the ban on the political parties on the 9th of December, 1985. Martial law was also lifted on 1st January 1986. The crisis in Pakistan started evolving in the state gradually and as per the condition, Pres (President) Zia dissolved the parliament on 29th of May, 1988. New elections were called on 16 to 19th of November, 1988. President of Pakistan, Zia decreed the replacement of secular civil law with (*Shariah*) on the 15th of June, 1988. (Jalal 2020)

All the laws and policies were made about making Pakistan an Islamic state. Many changes were seen in the policies, politics, and culture of the state. Later President of Pakistan, Zia ul Haq was killed in a plane crash on the 17th of August, 1988. After that Ghulam Ishaq Khan was made as an acting President of Pakistan. Legislative elections were decided to be held on 16-19 of November 1988, and the Pakistan People's Party won ninety-four out of two hundred seven seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan. On 1st December of 1988, the President of Pakistan (Ghulam Ishaq Khan) appointed Benazir Bhutto as prime minister of Pakistan. In the year of 1989, Pakistan again joined the *Commonwealth of Nations*. And the rise in political development occurs in the state of Pakistan in this way. And the parliamentary system helps the state to emerge as a democratic country again with more stability in the power structure and democracy. (World, Timeline of major political events in Pakistan 2018)

❖ **The year 1990 to 1993:**

After two years of the government, Benazir was accused of corruption and dismissed by the President of Pakistan, 'Ghulam Ishaq Khan' on the 6th of August, 1990. President declared a state of emergency in the year 1990 and was appointed as interim prime minister also. Later Legislative and provincial elections were held in Pakistan in 1990, and the 'IDA' won in the National Assembly. Opposition political parties claimed the election was very unfair again. The 'International Federation of Human Rights' (IFHR) sent observers to keep an eye on the elections and reported that the elections were not free and fair but it was declared as a rigged election. Mohammad Nawaz Sharif of the 'IDA' was appointed as the prime minister of Pakistan on the 6th of November, 1990. After that, he lifted the state of emergency from the state on the 7th of November, 1990. But later again President 'Ghulam Ishaq Khan' dismissed the PM 'Prime Minister' of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif in 1993. Balkh Sher Mazari was appointed as interim prime minister after the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif. The Supreme Court of Pakistan reinstated M. Nawaz Sharif as PM 'prime minister' on 26th May 1993. But Prime Minister Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan resigned on July 18, 1993. Wasim Sajjad Jan became the acting president of Pakistan, and Moeen Qureshi became the interim prime minister of Pakistan on the 19th of July, 1993. Legislative elections were held in 1993, and the 'Pakistan People's Party' (PPP) won in the National Assembly of Pakistan. The Pakistan Muslim League (PML) came 2nd on the list and then MQM boycotted the parliamentary elections of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto of the PPP (Pakistan's People Party) was appointed Prime Minister on the 19th of October, 1993. This is how the rise and fall continued in the parliamentary system of the country and it affected the political stability of the country. Mr. Farooq Ahmad Leghari was elected as the president by the parliament on the 13th of November, 1993. He took oath as the president on the 14th of November, 1993. (khan 2018)

❖ **The year 1994 to 1998:**

The situation of crisis and challenges started arising in the state especially in the province of Sindh. Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister of Pakistan was dismissed by the President, Farooq Leghari in the year of 1996. After that Malik Meraj Khalid became the interim prime minister of Pakistan. It showed that in what way the

political stability and parliamentary system of the state are directly proportional to each other. Later, Legislative elections were held on the 3rd of February, 1997, and the ‘Pakistan Muslim League’ (PML) won in the National Assembly. The PPP stood 2nd in the elections of the National Assembly. M. Nawaz Sharif of the ‘PML’ was elected as the prime minister by the National Assembly on the 17th of February, 1997. The ‘CON’ sent the ‘Commonwealth Observer Group’ (COG-Pakistan), which includes twenty-three observers headed by Malcolm Fraser of Australia, to observe the process of election from 28th of January to 6th of February, 1997. On the 7th of April 1997, the COG-Pakistan issued a report that stated that the election had been “a credible one which reflected a free expression of will by the people of Pakistan.” President, ‘Farooq Leghari’ resigned in 1997 and Wasim Sajjad was appointed as the acting president on the 3rd of December, 1997. Later, Muhammad Rafiq Tarar was elected president by an electoral college on the 31st of December, 1997. During the tests of nuclear weapons by the government of Pakistan ‘GoP’ on 28th of May to 1st of June, 1998, the U.S. And Japanese governments forced additional economic sanctions and reservations against the government of Pakistan. Despite this, all Pakistan on 11th of June, 1998 announced a moratorium on nuclear weapons testing. (Tellies 2012)

❖ **The year 1999 to 2001:**

After some interval, on 3rd January 1999, three individuals got killed in an assassination attempt against Prime Minister Sharif and many also got massacres in various political violence and riots in just one month period that is from November to October in the year 1999. The military coup which is led by General Pervez Musharraf overthrew Nawaz Sharif from the seat of prime minister and this is how the parliament was once again dissolved on the 12th of October 1999. And all international states condemned the military coup on the 16th of October 1999. Later the people who were in support of the democracy and Nawaz Sharif on 21st November 1999, exploded a bomb in the city Lahore, which results in the deaths of six innocents, and many others also got killed in much other political violence happening in the country due to this military coup in 2000. Every international organization was condemning the situation in the country but all in vain. (khan 2018)

Later, Mohammad Rafiq Tarar who was president at that time was also removed from his office by a military coup, and on 20th June 2001 General Musharraf had appointed himself as the president of Pakistan, and with this, he also banned two religious militant groups named as ‘*Lashkar-i-Jhangvi*’ and ‘*Sipah-e-Mohammad*’, on 14th of August 2001. After the attacks of 9/11 in the United States, there were different economic and military sanctions on Pakistan but on 22nd September 2001, it was uplifted by the government of the United States in the favor of Pakistan’s government. With this on 26th October 2001, the government of Japan also uplifted the economic sanctions against the government of Pakistan. Everywhere started the violent riots and killings. These all changes in politics are causing the political stability of Pakistan and this instability is causing the political development of the state. Thus the parliament must be free and must not be under the control of any institute for a better parliamentary system. (Jalal 2020)

Therefore, Because of repeated authoritarian interventions during Pakistan’s history directly or indirectly.

Pakistan's parliaments have either been absent, short-lived, or used for the military's policies. Their proceedings hollowed out and meaningless advantages were taken. Even under civilian rule, the institution of the judiciary has repeatedly encroached on parliamentary prerogatives. While the executive branch has dominated the governance agenda, the legislative advice and consent have been more concerned for their development. (Ayooob 1971)

In the book 'Pakistan- A Garrison State', the writer clarifies that the blame on the military that they destroyed all of the political development and other matters in Pakistan is not true. But our politicians were very irresponsible and incompetent from the very first day. Talking about Ayub Khan's military intervention, Pakistan experienced political development in the starting years and many states came here to visit the economic model of the Pakistani state. But the mistake they have made was the war of 1965. Once the war comes in, the development comes to an end. But other than that military is not only responsible but other factors are also there that change the circumstances. But if we perceived that the military will stay there to perform governmental functions and to bind the nation is not necessary. It is the function of the executives and governments not of the military. (I. Ahmed 2013)

CHAPTER 04

**Role of Parliament in Political
Development of Pakistan (2002-2018)**

Introduction:

The "political development" is an expression that had been utilized in the years of 1960s to explain the cycle of "political modernization" of newly arising autonomous states after decolonization. The beginning of political advancement infers that there is "underdevelopment" and "advancement" both in the societies. The underdevelopment demonstrates that both human and material resources are not used as expected to satisfy the necessities of that society. Because of this, poverty and unemployment become boundless. In this way, the individuals have been discouraged and their existences also. The objectives and destinations of political advancement can't be proficient without justifying the ideological groups. Somewhat, political parties permit individuals to save their privileges, and the help of individuals builds up political parties. Consequently, political parties advance the government assistance of society as an entirety. One essential need is to foster a political belief system and vote-based roots inside a state, which is a fundamental technique for political development. (Iqra Mushtaq, Fawad Baig and Sehrish Mustaq 2018)

In developing countries the democratic regimes are considered fragile states, no matter they are established as the result of decolonization or authoritarianism under the rule of the military. Therefore in these developing countries, social scientists have recognized many democratic problems as well as tried to emphasize the political institutionalization for the stability of the political system. Pakistan's political history shows the minimum concern towards the institutionalization of the political systems for the stability of democracy in the country. Authoritarian tendencies having the centralized state structure, political parties contesting only for powers, instability in the parliamentary system, and the relations between civil and military authorities have always effect and threatened political stability and its development in Pakistan. Therefore, it is said that the politics of Pakistan is only concerned with lots of conflicts and instability in the political system. (Ghulam Zikria, Dr. Khalil Ahmad and Ghulam Qasim 2019)

The initial period of Pakistan was considered as the period of uncertainty and changes between the civil and military, which shows that how much these two have conflicts on use of powers. The weak leadership in Pakistan, less integrated political parties, least commitments of the politicians, weak democratic spirits, and also less organized political systems were and still are the reasons behind the instability and lack of political development in Pakistan. Because even after the seventy-five years of independence, Pakistan still does not fully comply with the criteria of democratic transitions in the country. However, there is a large difference between the state and society. It is considered as the reason for the failure of the Pakistani government to establish good governance in the state. Not only this but also the stability of the parliament of the country affects the political development proportionally. The better the parliament working the better the political development in the country occurs. So keeping in view these all aspects, this study will discuss that how and what the governing authorities played an essential part in Pakistan's political development. (Kanwal 2017)

Political development focuses on expanding investments or the inclusion of residents in the state activities. It is involved in power estimations, and its consequences. There is the incredible importance of hierarchical

strength for political developments. Nonetheless, the strength of political associations varies with their scope of support and the level of institutionalization. It is observed by political scientists that political development work as a typical phenomenon of industrial society and these societies are the pattern setters of political development for other societies. There is another observation that relates that the prolonged separation, a specialty of political design, and the increasing secularization of political culture to political development and effectiveness, productivity, and limits are viewed as benchmarks of political turn of events or developments. According to L.W. Pye, political development has to go through three different levels that are; population, the good governance or performance of government, and organization of polity. (Group 2013) Therefore it is considered as that political improvement stresses the modernization course and also an intently related peculiarity of social preparation with more political cooperation. The mobilization rates and cooperation are high; the association's rate and regulation's rates are low. In emerging states, contention between mobilization and organization is the essence of governmental issues. From this point of view, an adjusted way or perspective on the governmental issues in agricultural nations needs more regard for the craft of interest enunciation and conglomeration, for the political development and its foundations. Therefore it was utilized that the experiences are given by the following methodologies in a clarification of political turn of events and regulation of majority rule process inside a state during 2002-2018. (Iqra Mushtaq, Fawad Baig and Sehrish Mustaq 2018)

Historical Background:

The political history of Pakistan is full of conflicts and complexity; it shows that how much Pakistan had to suffer in the past just because of the instability in the political development of the country. The two biggest reasons behind this were the civil and military authorities' conflicted relation and the day by day rising conflicts between political parties of the country. And this has effect the parliamentary system very badly; which directly hits the political development of the state which causes the instability of the democracy of Pakistan and also indirectly affects the socio-economic development of the state. From the beginning of the independence of Pakistan in 1947, the state has had to suffer a lot of problems and complexity regarding the political growth of the country. There was no proper constitution, assets, budget, and political system to run the state. Somehow Pakistan's governance in the very beginning of its creation tries its best to resolve these problems and run the country. But due to instability of the parliamentary system in Pakistan and continuous conflicts between the political parties for the powers, disturbs the political development later in the state which is discussed in Chapter 3 (Historical Background) of this study. The years of 1947 to 2001 were very difficult for Pakistan and its governance to stable the political development in the country as Pakistan had also suffered the three martial laws in these years, viz a, 1958 to 1971 (By Iskandar Mirza), 1977 to 1988 (By Zia-Ul-Haq) and 1999 to 2008 (By Pervez Musharaf). Therefore, it is said that the instability of political development in the history of Pakistan was due to these reasons; the unstable parliament, having no proper constitution, the martial laws, and conflicts of political parties for the possession of power. (Ghulam Zikria, Dr. Khalil Ahmad and Ghulam Qasim 2019)

The Role of Parliament in Political Development of Pakistan (2002 to 2018):

After having the knowledge and discussion of the past years (1947 to 2001) of Pakistan's history regarding its political development and the role of parliament in its stability or instability; it's time to discuss the regime of "2002 to 2018" of Pakistan's history as the political development.

Year (2002 to 2007):

As in 1999, General Pervez Musharaf enforced martial law for the third time in the state to topple the civilian government of Nawaz Sharif. But in the 2000s, the Supreme Court justices of Pakistan who have been appointed under a 'Provisional Constitutional Order' PCO tried to legalize or authenticate the military power in the country. Therefore on June 20, 2001, General Musharaf became the President of Pakistan and was holding the post of chief of army staff also. Seeing this type of instability of politics in the country the government of the United States and (CON) Commonwealth of Nations' secretary condemned this act. On 11th August 2001, seven people were massacred in the political viciousness in the city of Gujrat. On 14th August 2001, General Musharaf prohibited Muslim assailant gatherings; Lashkar-I-Jhangvi and Sipah-e-Mohammad. Subsequently, in September 2001 the fearmonger assaulted and the government of the United States consented to uplift the financial and army assents in opposition to the government of Pakistan. In October 2001, the government of Japan also uplifted monetary authorizations (suspension of financial help) in opposition to the government of Pakistan. Three more people were massacred in political brutality in the area of Dera Ghazi Khan in November 2001. In January 2002 Musharaf also restricted five more religion-based political parties. In April 2002 twelve people were massacred in a besieging of Bhakkar's mosque in Punjab. (Jaffrelot 2015)

On 1st May 2002; approximately ninety-eight percent of electors supported this long-term expansion of Musharaf's standard in the mandate; however, resistance to politics-based gatherings asserted misrepresentation. In May 2002, thirteen innocent people were murdered which comprised of two local people and eleven specialists' of French in besieging in Karachi. Later in June 2002, in the city of Karachi, eight innocent were also called to death in a bombarding. General Musharaf in August 2002 also acquainted corrections within the constitution of Pakistan. The political viciousness and deaths of the innocent people and officials continued in the city of Karachi till September 2002 which created a lot of chaos in the whole country. Later in October 2002, the decisions of the parliament were hung and the political party of Nawaz Sharif which is PML-N won the elections with 126 in the National Assembly. Whereas, Asif Ali Zardari's political party PPP secured the position of an opposition leader by winning 81 seats in National Assembly. But the killings of people did not stop and it continues in October 2002 by sacrificing the lives of many innocent people for the sake of the powers and politics of Pakistan. The Commonwealth of Nations (CON) sent twenty-one political authorities and officials as eyewitnesses and ten members of staff faculty from eighteen nations led by Dato Tan Sri Musa canister Hitam of Malaysia to screen the elections of Pakistani parliament for almost one month of inspection from September to October 2002. The European Union (EU) sent nine political specialists, forty-three long-haul eyewitnesses, and thirty momentary spectators lead by

John Cushnahan from the state of Ireland to screen the elections of parliament in Pakistan for one month from September to October in 2002. Zafarullah Khan Jamali was chosen as Prime Minister through the majority votes on November 21, 2002, and he took on November 23, 2002. (Flintoff 2008)

After the appointment of Zafarullah Jamali as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, it was hoped that the killings of the people will be stopped but nothing can be seen like that. The riots, political viciousness, strikes, and protests continued and caused instability in the political system of Pakistan. Many people were killed in these all riots such as four people in Gujranwala, more than thirty people in Karachi, thirty-four people in areas of southern Punjab, more than fifty people in Quetta, and four people in Islamabad. These all killings continued from November 2002 to October 2003 all over Pakistan. These all killings show that how much the government of Pakistan's political system is unstable and how much the parliament had to work on it. Seeing all these situations and killings of innocent people in the country due to political instability, the U.S. government reported a five-year \$3 billion financial and military help bundle for the public authority of Pakistan. The parliament supported a correction to the constitution which approved each of the activities taken by General Musharaf since October 1999. These types of political acts of violence and amendments in the constitution and also not fully organized parliament of the country shows that how the country is running and what is a growth of political development and its stability. (Bhasin 2007)

Now the conflict phase started in Pakistan, Government troops struggle Islamic aggressors close to South Waziristan in the town of Wana from 16th March to 23rd March 2004, bringing about the passing of nearly fifty-five religious radicals and forty-nine government's members. Later in the next two months of April and May 2004 the killings of people and government officials such as police officers continued as the results of political riots. More than 20 people have died in these two months in the cities of Karachi and Lahore. On May 22, 2004, the Commonwealth of Nations (CON) uplifted conciliatory assents in opposition to the public authority. After this Pakistani armed forces conflicted with the terrorist groups close to the Afghan line for almost three days that is 9th June to 11 June 2004, in which almost fifty army officials were killed. Later Zafarullah Khan Jamali surrendered from his position of prime minister on June 26, 2004. Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was selected as prime minister and the parliament chose Shaukat Aziz as an executive of the state on August 28, 2004. In 2005, 18th to 25th August general elections were held again in Pakistan, and to monitor the fairness of these elections CON again sent four of his members as eyewitnesses and monitoring officers. Somewhere in the range of forty people were killed in political race-related viciousness. On 5th September 2006, the government of Pakistan consented to a harmonious arrangement with leaders of tribes residing in North Waziristan and South Waziristan. On 30th October 2006, the Pakistani air force bombarded a Madrassa located in the area of Bajaur, bringing about the death of exactly eighty people. Lots of other events were also held in this conflicted phase of the political history of Pakistan, which cause the death of many individuals including civilians and different authorities like soldiers and police officers. (Flintoff 2008)

In Peshawar, on January 27th, 2007 eleven people, for the most part, cops, were called to death in a bombarding. While in Dera Ismail Khan in the northwest of Pakistan, three more people were died in self-destruction bombarding; on January 29th, 2007. Continuation of these bombardings, suicide attacks, and

killings; six of the Pakistan People Party's activists got murdered in an assault in the towns of Attock in February 2007. Somewhere in the range of thirty people got killed in conflicts between the groups of al-Qaeda aggressors and Taliban's of the northwest of Pakistan; on March 19-20, 2007. In Peshawar, twenty-five people were killed in the self-destruction bombarding of an eatery/lodging. From 3rd July to 11th July 2007, the security or armed forces and religious aggressors groups conflicted in Islamabad; bringing about the passing of a hundred and eight people. Religious assailants besieged military forces and a police central command in the area of Waziristan in 2007, bringing about the passing of forty-one government troopers, twenty-eight cops, and five regular citizens. More and more killings and bombardments in the country cause many disturbances in the state and Pakistan start losing its stability as the political development in the world. A big question mark was rising again and again on the democracy of Pakistan and the working of the parliamentary system. Commonwealth of Nations (CON) Secretary, United Nations (UN) Secretary, the government of France, the British government, the government of India, and the president of United States; all condemned the bombardments, suicide attacks, and killings in Pakistan. From October 25th to November 7th, 2007 Taliban assailants measured control of the Swat District located in the northwest of Pakistan. Armed forces troops dispatched a tactical hostile against assailants groups in Swat District. Therefore, on November 3rd, 2007 observing the whole situation in the country, President Musharaf declared a state-of-emergency. This again shows the instability of parliament in the country which was directly hitting the political development of the state. Later he uplifted the state-of-emergency on December 15, 2007. (Bhasin 2007)

Ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto announces her coming back to Pakistan for the sake of democracy in Pakistan and against the dictatorship of President Musharaf. And on the 27th of December 2007, the first lady and former minister Benazir Bhutto and also the head of the PPP reached Pakistan and were killed in a suicide attack in Rawalpindi by the militant group, alongside 20 others. This incident changes the whole scenario of the politics of Pakistan. The secretaries of the UN, CON, and EU and Prime Ministers and Presidents of many countries like the USA, UK, Turkey, Argentina, Thailand, Bangladesh, etc condemned the death of Benazir. After the assassination of Benazir, the country has to face a lot of consequences, and seeing these situations in Pakistan; in 2007 Musharaf under national and international pressure resigned from his post of executive and left him as the strong military person having no power of legitimacy as the ruler or executive. Therefore it can be said that due to this type of instability of the parliamentary system, the political violence in the country, the fight of powers between the leaders of political parties, and dictatorship in the name of democracy had a lot of consequences on the political development, its stability and the growth of socio-economic of state. As it was discussed above in the study that political development depends on the growth and stability of parliament; and in these years of 2002 to 2007 there was a parliamentary system but only for the name there was the dictatorship of Musharaf in this regime; because of this the Justices of Supreme Court who were appointed under PCO 'Provisional Constitutional Order' also legalize this military coup to empower in the state. This causes political development growth and stability in a very bad way in the state. (Group 2013)

Year (2008 to 2012):

It was an overall insight that none of the parties would have the option to win in the general elections of 2008, which are important for the framing of the Government. PML-N (Muslim League Nawaz) was unfit to present a rational political system during the political race crusade. In the appointment of 2002, strict gatherings were not allowed to be held in the state. JI (Jammat-I-Islami), PTI (Pakistan Therik-e-Insaf), and PKMP (Pakhtun Khwa Milli Party) boycotted the elections as a dissent against the approaches of General Musharraf. On 27th December 2007, Benazir Bhutto was killed, when she had finished her political race discourse in Rawalpindi at Liaquat Bagh Stadium. This occurrence changed the discretionary situation for PPP (Pakistan People's Party) and Asif Ali Zardari turned into the Co-Chairman of the PPP in 2008. Later, on 18th February 2008, general elections were held and are viewed as the most attractive one since 1970. As per results 2008, PPP won ninety-one seats out of two hundred fifty-eight seats of National Assembly situations. PML-Q was the second biggest party as far as votes nonetheless, caught just forty-one seats. PML-N was second as far as seats by getting sixty-one. MQM, ANP, and MMA got nineteen, ten, and six seats separately. PML-F could secure only four seats. PPP-S, NPP, and BNP-A were the parties that secured just one seat each on their credit. And eighteen seats were won by the independent candidates in the elections. (Shah 2014)

PPP (Pakistan People Party) arose one of the biggest political parties overall in elections of 2008 yet were not in a situation to frame the government uniquely in the middle. Considering the exigency of the circumstance, Asif Ali Zardari shaped alliance government with PML-N, ANP, MQM, and (MMA) JUI-F, at the middle just as in regions despite the computations of President Musharraf. In the initial period of governmental development, PPP proposed eleven names for the bureaucratic bureau after an interview with PML-N. Among eleven names, five had a place with Punjab, four from Sindh, one from NWFP which is now KPK, and also one from Balochistan. Twenty-six PML-N (Pakistan Muslim League Noon) consented to impart capacity to each alliance party in Punjab with a similar proportion as continued in the government. Alliance governments were shaped in the regions. Dost Muhammad Khosa chosen one went against CM (Chief Minister) of the province of Punjab with the help of the alliance accomplices PML (N), PPP, and MMA. PML (N) has a hundred and nine seats in the place of two hundred ninety-seven barring saved seats. Further, a power-sharing formula was agreed upon between PPP and MQM. Thus MQM prevailed to get thirteen seats in the elections. The Sindh bureau was additionally extended from twenty-one to forty-one individuals with the acceptance of twenty more clergymen of which thirteen were incorporated from MQM and seven from PPP. In this way, PPP made an alliance government in the province of Sindh with the help of MQM (Muttahida Qaumi Movement) and ANP(Awami National Party). An alliance government of ANP, PML-N, and PPP was made in the province of NWFP. While in Balochistan, the government is made with the support of PPP, MMA, JUI-F, and also independent candidates. (Aziz 2008)

Dr. Fahmida Mirza got two hundred forty-nine votes and turned into the very first lady speaker of the NA 'National Assembly' of Pakistan on 20th March. Yousaf Raza Gilani was chosen as 'Prime Minister' PM of Pakistan with greater part, getting two hundred sixty-four votes in National Assembly. This was the first time throughout the entire existence of Pakistan that all members were confirmed with black bands on arms which

they wore as a sign of dissent against President Musharaf who directed a vow to them. The significant alliance accomplice of PPP and PML-N were philosophically on various frequencies furthermore, had a considerable rundown of past political contentions. The lawfulness circumstance in Karachi, non-conformity in Balochistan, imploding economy, and security issues were thought about as the central point to shape this alliance government. While on the other hand, the United States' government was expecting from this coalition that they will work against terrorism. (Shah 2014)

Later Nawaz Sharif wanted the PPP will restore the judiciary within thirty days through resolution after the coalition of both parties. But Zardari refused to do so because in these circumstances he did not want to collide with the military at any cost; as this can enhance the political popularity of Nawaz Sharif and his party. On the other hand, seeing this situation, Sharif withdrew his party from the coalition but continued their support to the PPP in the parliament for the sake of its stability and development. Therefore government decided to have the alliance of political parties for the country again by appointing the committee to resolve the issue of judges but all in vain because it did not even provide a resolution for a debate in the assembly. The government also gives its best to provide another solution to this issue to be solved through the next constitutional amendment. This is how Zardari managed to get himself elected president of Pakistan on the 26th of August 2008 with the support of MQM, PPP, ANP, JUI, and other coalition parties. (Kanwal 2017)

Pakistan's politics was initially dominated by the perception that Asif Zardari being co-chairman of Pakistan People Party and President of Pakistan had an influential position but at the same time, he had repeatedly conflicted with power centers of states that includes the judiciary, military, executive, and legislature and opposition political parties. Therefore after months of tension in the state and complex circumstances; Zardari had to Governor's rule in Punjab and later Supreme Court also disqualifies the Sharif brothers from their office which also causes the political development of Pakistan. And at the same time, the Lawyer's movement started in the country for restoration of judges in the country, which compel the government to restore sixteen judges, and that long march indicates the changed way of the process of democracy in the country. (Kanwal 2017)

Knowing that the judiciary is at its peak and is strong enough to make its decisions independently; the Supreme Court asked the government to make National Reconciliation Order 2007 as a law through the approval of parliament, but the government was failed to do so and the Supreme Court make this order null and void. And keeping these all matters in view court also order to open all corruption cases again that are against all other Pakistan's ex-presidents in the Swiss court. Meanwhile, judges also found out that the 18th Amendment approved by the parliament was having some provisions that are against the independence and autonomy of the judiciary. Therefore; on 22nd December 2010, National Assembly passed the 19th amendment and increased the powers of the judiciary so to avoid any further conflict with the judiciary. But this was not enough for the judiciary; the situation between government and judiciary becomes more serious when the court asks Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani to also reopen the bank accounts case of Zardari and his family and Gillani refused to do so. (Jaffrelot 2015)

Notwithstanding; on 24th May 2012 PPP guided the provided case to the speaker of the National Assembly

to audit the instance of Yousaf Raza Gilani in the light of the peak of the Court's decision. The Speaker precluded that notwithstanding being sentenced; Gilani can't be excluded under the constitution concerning article 63 and didn't advance the reference to Pakistan's Election Commission. PTI and PML-N both recorded separate requests in the Supreme Court testing the Speakers administering to save the disqualification of their Prime Minister. The PPP government considered it defended as, after the eighteenth amendment of the constitution, the speaker had legal abilities to choose over the exclusion of an individual from the National Assembly. The Supreme Court wouldn't acknowledge this position of Government lastly on 26th April 2012; Gilani was pronounced at fault for disdain of court, for not submitting to the sets of the court and resigned. Later, on 21st June 2012, Raja Pervez Ashraf was appointed as Prime Minister of Pakistan. (Kennedy 2012) These types of developments undermined the process of democracy in the state and opened the debate of sovereignty of Parliament viz -a- viz independent judiciary. These clashes in the institutions and the changes in the political transitions show that how the political developments in the regime of Zardari. Most political scientist also thinks that this regime is far better than the other in the viewpoint of the political development through the procedures of the parliament but still this era was also lots of conflicts which causes the political development and stability of the democracy in the country. (Kennedy 2012)

Year (2013-2018):

In the year 2013 on the 11th of May, elections were conducted after the government of the Pakistan People's Party. The PML (Pakistan Muslim League Noon) won hundred and sixty-six out of three hundred forty-two seats in the National Assembly. The PPP (*Pakistan People's Party*) won forty-five seats in the National Assembly. The EU (European Union) sent fifty-two long-haul spectators and ninety-two momentary onlookers from almost twenty-seven nations to screen the elections from 3rd April to 4th June 2013. The CON (Commonwealth of Nations) sent spectators to screen the parliamentary elections from 5th May to 13th May 2013. Nawaz Sharif framed an alliance government as a leader on the 19th of May 2013. Meanwhile, election-related violence was taking place in the country and many were killed too. After the elections, on 8th June 2014 religious groups were assaulted at the Jinnah International Airport in Karachi. Almost thirty-six people got killed in the assault asserted by the TTP (Tehrik-I-Taliban Pakistan) including ten assailants and twelve ASF (Airport Security Force) faculties. The legislatures of international countries like India, China, and the United States condemn the assault. UN Secretary-General and the EU additionally censured the assault. After this, military forces of almost thirty thousand soldiers launched a military operation (*Zarb-e-Azb*) in the opposition of religious militant groups in the area of North Waziristan that starts on 15th June 2014. (Idrees 2016)

Later after the general election of 2013, the Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf leader Imran Khan called these elections fraudulent elections and in protest of this, he also conducted Jalsa's against the fraudulent elections and wants the Election Commission to investigate all the elections again. He conducted rallies in Islamabad, Faisalabad, Sialkot, and Bahawalpur. And all the rallies were successful to gather a large amount of crowd especially the youth. And observing this amount of crowd with him and no response of election commission, Imran Khan Niazi announces Azadi March on 27th June 2014. He also gave the government a margin of one month

(because of the holy month of Ramadan) to open an investigation into four constituencies (as marked by his four jalsas) and presented further demands which are as follow:

- The first demand was the resignation of Nawaz Sharif as PM ‘Prime Minister’ and his brother Shahbaz Sharif as Punjab CM ‘Chief Minister’
- Dissolution and abolition of the government of ‘Pakistan Muslim League-N’ and replaced it with any other custodian government.
- After the setup of the caretaker government, there must be a call for snap elections.
- Still, there are expected changes of talks between Khan and the government in which much of the PTI’s demands, excluding re-election and replacing the Nawaz government, can be accepted shortly. (Group 2013)

Later, The Azadi March was begun from Lahore passing through the Mall Road, Faisal Chowk, Data Darbar, Bhatti Chowk, Azadi Chowk, and Minar-e-Pakistan, Niazi Chowk, Ravi Bridge, and finally Shahdaran to get onto the Grand Trunk Road leading to Islamabad. And this march had to face different restrictions on their way to Islamabad by the government but still, they managed to reach their destination Zero Point Islamabad on 16th august 2014. In this march, Pakistan Awami Tehreek’s leader Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri and his supporters were also with them. And this march causes a lot of political instability in the state. And after announcing civil disobedience by Khan on 19th august 2014, both the rallies of PTI and PAT started moving toward the Red Zone. And this cause a clash between protestors and police officers and rangers and more than 500, including women, children, and policemen, were injured and many were arrested. (Shah 2014)

Meanwhile, almost five rounds of talks got failed between the government and protesting parties. The government also asked the help of the army and met with Army Chief Raheel Sharif to discuss the situation that is causing the political instability in the state. On the other hand, Imran Khan was praising one month of Azadi Dharna with his party, PTI ‘Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf’. He declared the protest to different cities for which Karachi was picked as its first objective, stretching out onto Lahore and Multan. This stance was fruitful to compress government which the PTI needed. (Idrees 2016)

On 16th December of the year 2014, a vicious terrorist attack was held in APS ‘Army Public School’, Peshawar in which one hundred and forty-one were killed brutally by the terrorists. Among them, 132 were the children rest was the staff of the school. This incident shook the whole world and the whole country was in a state of grief. On the 17th of December 2014, Imran Khan announced to cancel the protest in response to this terrorist attack by saying that at this time the country needs national unity. After the end of the protest, the government claimed that due to this protest Pakistan face economic losses directly resulting from the sit-in was between Rs500 million and Rs800 million. The nation has been confronting various difficulties, including illegal intimidation, radicalism, and energy. It can't bear such exercises that would cause political shakiness that will antagonistically influence the economy and development of the state. (Iqra Mushtaq, Fawad Baig and Sehrish Mustaq 2018)

Later in 2015, the start was full of terrorist attacks in the churches and mosques and in response to that

Pakistan army defends this situation very well and killed many terrorists in different operations. In 2016, the Pakistan and Indian governments provided one another with a full list of nuclear sites, military, and civilian. On 28th July 2017, a consistent decision by the Supreme Court of Pakistan precluded Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from office, over the contention of him and a portion of his relative's names being in the Panama Papers, which prompted his acquiescence. On 1st August 2017, Shahid Khan Abbasi was appointed as the Prime Minister of Pakistan with Mamnoon Hussain as President of Pakistan. The happiest political party on the resignation of Nawaz was Pakistan Tehreek-e-Pakistan. Meanwhile, on 31st August 2017, the continuing investigation of the Benazir assassination was also completed. On November 5th, 2017 Tehreek-e-Labaik, an Islamist party drove by Khadim Hussain Rizvi, organized a protest in the government capital Islamabad over minor changes in the promise needed for parliamentarians overconfidence in the absolution of the prophethood of Muhammad (SAW), and requested the acquiescence of the Federal Minister of Law and Justice Zahid Hamid whom they considered liable for it; so he had to resign later on November 27. (Idrees 2016)

On 3rd March 2018, the senate general elections were held in Pakistan in which Overall, Pakistan Muslim League (N) came out as the largest party, followed by the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. In May 2018, the twenty-fifth amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan was approved by the Parliament of Pakistan and the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), giving way to the merger of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). In July 2018 the former prime minister and his daughter Maryam Nawaz and son-in-law Safdar Hussain was given life imprisonment of 10, 7, and 1 year in prison on the charges of corruption. Later on 25th June 2018 the general elections took place in which PTI won one forty-nine seats in the national assembly, PML-N won eighty-two seats, PPP won fifty-four seats, MMA won fifteen seats, independent candidates won thirteen seats and the rest of the seats were won by other parties. And on the 17th of August 2018, Imran Khan Niazi was appointed as Pakistan's new Prime Minister for the first time through voting in parliament. On 4th September 2018, presidential elections were conducted in which Arif Alvi was appointed as Pakistan's President through majority voting. (Kanwal 2017)

CHAPTER 05

**Analysis of Political Development in
Pakistan**

Political development is differently identified as per the nature of any state. The question is to what end you are defining it in Pakistan. Is Pakistan being an advanced democracy or having stable democratic norms. Various factors are involved in any country's development like economics, political culture, political advancement, modernization, industrialization, etc. If any political culture is more advanced then it will be more politically developed also e.g. if western states have a good parliamentary system then it will grow in the same way.

The concept of political development is considered as a confusing aspect in political science because some origins of the political sciences called political development based on the economic condition of the state, while other origins called it as it is based on the political aspects of the state. Therefore before analyzing its parameter, the first thing is to define it so, political development is defined as the increase in national, political unity, and political participation. Whereas if we look towards the economic aspects of political development, then it is defined as there must be political participation. While if we look at the economical dimensions of political development, then it is defined as that there must be the unification of institutions politically, national welfare, industrialization, and influence in the country for the growth of politics in the state. There are some of the parameters that must be considered as important in any state. There must be equal and popular participation in politics. It also require an increase in the political structures and institutes of the state. The unity among the nation and the leaders is also considered as the basic parameter of political development in the state. The sense of integration, the dimensional process of equality, the capacity to work hard, and differentiation are also called the factors of political development. Therefore, it can be said that political development is important for the growth of the state because it helped out the state to increase its capacity to mobilize in the world and to allocate the resources of the state to process the policy inputs into the executable outputs. Political development is a problem-solving method and process which can help in the adaptation of environmental, political, economical, and global changes as per the circumstances.

Parameters Showing Political Development in the State of Pakistan

Few parameters are very important to access any political system and one of them is how the public of any state is participating in its system. In 2008, the popular demand was to get rid of load shedding, terrorism, and inflation. At that time supply of sugar and wheat was in high demand. In the year 2013, the popular demand was to end load shedding and terrorism, in 2018 it was unemployment and to some extent justice and fight against corruption. On one side we have political demise and on the other side, we have a parliament. Any theoretical framework that analyzes it in a way that if any laws are being made then the proponents of Comparative politics will say it is a positive and good political development. Now we have political institutions that get activated in response to demands but if laws and policies are not made based on public demand then it will be considered as a negative political development in any state. Many groups of people in the state believe that these assemblies have been made only for the protection of landlords and for their interests. Laws have been made to protect them and their self-interests so; the laws, results, policy, etc will

give you the result that what kind of political development has been practiced in any political system. If the feedback is constantly negative and the cycle keeps on going without any improvement then at that level, even laws that have been made are not justifying the phenomenon of political development. At that phase, those laws should be executed and implemented so we may have a visible view of political development in any system.

Role of Parliament in the Political Development of Pakistan

A Parliament of the state played some basic roles as an institution. First, as the representatives of community or society, and secondly, they make the law which means it is a law-making body. Thirdly, it is accountable to the executive and fourthly the transparency of elections must be held by it. As per the implications towards the role of parliament in the political development of Pakistan, it can be seen very less in the past and present both. The reason behind that is the parliamentary system is always been intervened by the military rule or sometimes it has been short-lived due to the conflicts between the political parties because of differences of opinion. But the 13th National Assembly of 2008-2013 which was governed by the Pakistan People's Party was more effective than the previous for the political development of the country. This not only tried to execute the policies but also engage the public for the stability of politics in the country and the more stable the democratic norms will be. But this cannot be kept as long as the military rule is alive. This means parliament must continue to work for democratic reforms and its sovereignty for the improvement of political development in the country.

Parliament as a positive role in the Political Development of Pakistan

As in the parliamentary system, citizens elected their representatives, and the majority of those representatives became part of the legislative branch. So, they will represent citizens and the voices of the public in the parliament which positively affects the political development of the country. It's a legislative institution that can make constructive laws for the political development of the state. With democratic norms, the parliamentary system depicts the representation of local people in the institutions of the state. For its efficient working, there should be proper representation in every law-making process and opposition should also play an important role and closely monitor the policies.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Parliament

The parliament of Pakistan has much strength that helps to grow the country politically and economically both if used in the correct and wise ways. The parliament of Pakistan is given the power of supremacy and is independent. This means it can work and make laws without any type of pressure but with the proper check and balance. The other strength of Pakistan's parliament is the equal opportunities for women and minorities which is good for democratic norms. The participation of both members of ruling and opposition parties makes this body stronger and effective.

While on the other hand, it has some faults in the system of the Parliament of Pakistan which somehow decrease the stability and growth of Pakistan. The ruling party may sometimes try to dictate only and because of the majority, the account may be discrete towards the ruling party. Most of the parliamentarians are just

only for self-recognition and not actually for legislation. The youth and sometimes old too might be failed to maintain the codes and ethics of parliament which weakens the law-making body and decrease its growth.

Major Parliamentary Development in Pakistan

The political development of any state could be measured through its constitutional developments, proper functioning of the state's departments, and political awareness among the people of the states.

In the year 2010, two ninety-two out of three forty-two members of NA 'National Assembly' voted in the favor of the bill which was presented to restore the parliamentary system of government giving all provinces a power of self-autonomy. Since the independence of Pakistan, we as a society faced a lot of fluctuations in the government. But after the 18th amendment in the constitution of 1973 constitution, political development can be seen as it provided an effective parliamentary system and autonomy to the provinces which ensure more development in the way. It was considered as one of the constitutional reforms that aimed to restore the autonomous power of the governing institutions rather than the military governments that tampered with the Constitutions to legitimize their rules

Role of Working of Parliamentarians

The research study shows that parliamentarians can work to increase the growth of efficiency of parliament and can make a better-improved image of Pakistan in front of the world. There must be the formation of the legislative training institute for the professional orientation and capacity building of the leaders. The parliamentary committees must be given an authoritative role in law-making. The leader of the house must be accountable and have a specific code of conduct for the political parties. Corruption must be eradicated and there must be pieces of training of ethics and there must be pieces of training of ethical and technical educations.

There must also be transparency of elections for the efficiency and growth of the parliament. Not only between the opposite parties but also there must be intra-party democracy for better results.

Examples of Good Parliamentary Systems in the World

The working of parliament is maturely working in the European region. The parliamentary system there is working very effectively so that the political development is also visible there. There are many examples like Scandinavian democracy, western democracies like Germany, etc which are living examples of a parliamentary system.

Role of Military Intervention in Political Development

According to my opinion if I would say that the whole parliamentary system failed due to military involvement or martial laws in the state are a very populist kind of opinion. As a student of political science, we studied that there is no ultimate power in politics and as per our analysis of establishment; we assume that establishment is all-powerful but we didn't perceive that power in what context. That power is not in absolute terms, it is to be focusing that in what relevance the power can be justified or can be implemented. The power analysis is always in between the institutions. Institutions like Parliament, national assembly, Prime Minister Office, provincial assemblies, etc are separate institutions and the military is all-powerful. I don't agree with

this assumption that the military is fully involved in the micro-events of the politics of Pakistan.

I think so that the problem with the institution of the military is that they don't want any of the policies, government that will hinder itself from its institutional role in the politics of Pakistan. Behind it, there is a very problematic conspiracy theory that democracy does not or cannot stand on its own feet as it always needs some kind of overlook. These traditional theories have been explained to justify military involvement. Britain's democracy developed under the umbrella of the Queen and gradually it became independent or a complete process. Another example we may see is of South Korea that when it goes towards military development after the 1960s and the agencies related to military or intelligence agencies are very special in their political development there.

In Japan after Second World War, the relation between Mutin and Civel developed anemically that they wanted to stay liberal party in the government. Till the 1990s, elections were held in Pakistan but liberal parties always won and the agenda of liberal re founding continued there.

So, democracy cannot be developed without patronage and always the same terms. According to my perspective, the military has an understanding that we cannot let democracy develop on its terms. There is another justification by the military that they didn't come on their own choice but they have to come after political instability and injustice. But the other question is that why the military didn't understand that democracy can stand by its own also. Here I am not saying that the military is all-powerful or wanted to stay in the government all the time. But the institution has a separate ideology that if there is any democracy developed in any system is because they have paid some cost and we are not going to pay that cost.

Similarly in case, what happened if an Islamist party won the elections or if Muslim League won the elections? Then the bond that was created between Muslim League and the People's Party will split away because that was their need at that time. They could not afford to let the democracy stand on its terms because they considered themselves as party coops.

For Example, there is an impression in the West about China that if China will become a democracy then the nationalistic emotions within China and their nationalism is extremely anti-western that the relation between western states and China will not remain the same. That is why the nationalism in the decision-making institutions of China is not favorable for the West.

Either Communist Party of China is very oppressive and playing destruction in politics as well as they don't give civil liberties, didn't grant human rights, no democracy but CCP 'China Communist Party' at least control that nationalist behavior of China but if comes in power then it will be a great challenge for the west. The same is with Pakistan that the institution of the military may think that if they let democracy stand on their own or to develop on its terms, then they might get into a regime and it would be acceptable for the west. Because there are rebel and aggressive tendencies in society and there is also an appeal to get rid of extreme politics.

But to say that the military is all-powerful or able to do what they decide to do is questionable still. If they are to be blamed for everything then in some parts, yes and in some parts maybe it depends. As students of social scientists, we also know that nothing is absolute or there may be other dimensions as well.

Role of Civil Servant Officers and their Policies in Political Development

It is obvious that in Pakistan, the bureaucratic institution is highly vigilant and very important in changing the patterns of the systems governing the state. If we look upon the challenges then disagreements have been a part of Civil Society as well. While the citizens of Pakistan are not well aware of what this institution is supposed to do or what is their role in governance is. They have a larger capacity and capability in bringing alternative changes in the system and policies. An effective function in the responsible government will give advantages to not only the state's institutions but also at the grass-root level. More precisely, the participation of CSOs is being destabilized in the state of Pakistan. But we need an appropriate and efficient framework, in which there would be a consent of all of the stakeholders (citizens, Civil Servant Officers, work of documentations, political management), which is essential. But, without a vigorous political and bureaucratic will, a civil service officer's effectual function in democratic governance could nevertheless remain an outlying verity. (Shahid Habib & Zain Rafique* 2019)

Main Hurdles in the Political Development of Pakistan

The history of Pakistan shows that since 1947, Pakistan had to face a lot of hurdles in its political developments. The **intervention of military and bureaucracy** in the government has destroyed the political stability of Pakistan. The continuous conflicts between civil and military, political, corruption, fight for power and money, the difference of opinion between the political parties, and lack of patriotism among the leaders are the reasons behind less political development in the country.

One of the great reasons for the failure of the political development of Pakistan is **corruption**. If the element of corruption will exclude from our system and establishment, the parliamentarian will start working for the welfare of the state, not for their selfish interests. The democratic system, parliamentary system, etc all are useless if they are just the systems by name but it is only worth it if they work according to the just demands. With time the establishment of Pakistan also changed in nature. **The establishment** is a necessary part of your state but it is diluted if other institutions or state departments hold importance also. The more stakeholders in the state demand their share in the state but there is nothing bad in it as the power will be transferred and divided in each sphere which promotes public participation also. The working of Parliamentarian processes always becomes dysfunctional if there is no justice, no equality, and only corruption in the state. It can be cured by the justice and correction of establishment, individuals, public institutions, opposition, governments, etc and it needs time. It is not an overnight process.

Civil-Military relations are also one of the challenges for the political development in Pakistan as we have seen in the time of separation of Pakistan and then in the second tenure of the Nawaz Sharif government. Ultimately it deteriorated and resulted in Martial law and the family of Nawaz was affected and exiled. Musharraf was supported by the institution of the military and he also get favorable support from the external factors. The Musharraf rule is a result of hindrances due to unstable civil-military relations in the state. We faced issues like Laal Masjid, the challenges of the Taliban, and later the murder of Benazir Bhutto was a great incident of loss for the whole of Pakistan. Musharraf gradually started losing its credibility. So, civil-

military relations are an important catalyst in changing the political system of any state.

Political Instability within the state with a lack of **accountability** of individuals and state also failed in political development in any state. These other challenges should be addressed for the effective functioning of parliaments with the relevance of political development.

CHAPTER 06

CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusion

The history of Pakistan is littered with the failures of political development and these failures affect the political stability of the country a lot. Since 1947, Pakistan had three constitutions and witnessed four military coups by 'General Ayub Khan', 'Gen. Yahya Khan', 'Gen. Zia ul Haq' and 'Gen. Pervaiz Musharaf' shows that there was not such a continuous parliamentary system as it should be. The country has experienced regular alternations of civilians and military governments also which shows that not a single representative has yet served for the full term in its office. These all are the factors that have to disturb the political and economical growth of Pakistan. As result, Pakistan had to face a trial of corrosive consequences till today. But it is perceived by many that the chief cause of Pakistan's instability of political development is not only the control of military regimes again and again over the government but also the bureaucratic domination in the country which means the most of the officials of the state belongs to the status of the elite class. They all are fighting for power, status, capital, and their interest or protection. No one is ready to serve for nation's interest instead of their own.

The interventions of military and bureaucracy in governmental affairs have destroyed the political system of Pakistan and this depicts that Pakistan is badly affected due to weak institutionalization. Therefore, now after seventy-five years of Pakistan, these all weaknesses and flaws regarding the political development of Pakistan cannot be remembered overnight or in a month or a year. There must be a check and balance between all the institutes of the country and each had to play their roles in the stability and development of the country without intervening in each other's dominion. Despite this, democracy must be considered as the key to the political development in the country. The parliament must play a part and parcel role for the long-lasting stability of the state. It's not only necessary for political growth only but also for economic growth because they both are interlinked to each other. In an unstable environment in any political system, the economic development and investments may reduce which is very important. If it continues in this way, then as a result it is a must that Pakistan had to face a lot of crisis in the country. The condition of economic stability, trade, businesses, markets, and the whole monetary sector is questionable and not guaranteed by any means. It will also undermine the agricultural growth of Pakistan and will create hurdles in countering other challenges like corruption, poverty, unemployment, extremism, etc. And when these challenges become uncontrollable in the hands of government then military intervention, bureaucratic interventions will affect the system again and again which also weakened the democratic system.

There are many reasons which directly or indirectly got involved in the weak political development in Pakistan. The decay of political institutions, failed democratic system, a weak judiciary, delay in the constitutional making, weak parliamentary system, challenges with the electoral system, increasing feudalism or the intervention of the military in politics, etc. It is not vigilant to blame any of the single reasons for the decay of political development.

6.2 Findings

- ❖ It has been noted that the people of Pakistan are also not enough aware of the political systems and how they work. A kind of ignorant behavior has been observed in the public participation in comparison to the level of public participation in the other developing and developed states.
- ❖ The incompetency of Parliamentarians is a cause of concern for the reason that majority of the Parliamentarians aren't familiar with the legislative process which hinders them from performing their duties in the legislative. Their focus is basically on achieving power.
- ❖ The majority of Parliamentarians are not able to perform the legislative functions such as passing bills, signing contracts, etc due to the inadequate expertise, shortage of resources, and shortcoming in relevant competencies which indicates a weak point of a gadget that end up a massive challenge for the destiny of Parliament of Pakistan.
- ❖ The huge number of interference in each other departments is one of the reasons for the lack of political development in Pakistan. Each institution is specialized for its work and duties rather than playing other roles.
- ❖ Despite the fact that after every military regime, political parties tried to bring the reforms and changes to the system by constitutional reforms like 18th amendment but the mutual antipathy between the political parties and their disrespect for the democratic norms is the reason that parliament could not be strengthened as an institution.
- ❖ A trust deficit is visible amongst all of the stakeholders. Government officers and CSOs 'Civil Servant Officers' blamed each other while ignoring the general public choices. Not only that but it has also been located from outcomes that interference from elite classes and political parties have gradually paralyzed the functioning of elected government officials and the bureaucratic offices also. The study's findings tend to show that for the improvement of a democratic development of governance in Pakistan, Bureaucrats have not shown their position in enhancing positive bonds among stakeholders.

6.3 Recommendations

- ❖ For the political development in Pakistan, there is a need of effective working of the political institutions of Pakistan. It is a need to get rid of corruption, especially amongst politicians. The best outcome that can be achieved is that in this way proficient people can become part of the Parliament.
- ❖ The function of government establishments along with the legislature, government, and judiciary is crucial in improving the political development in Pakistan. Parliament should be used for the welfare of its residents. Free, honest, and timely elections are also very important for the non-violent transition of strength.
- ❖ Legislative training institutes should encourage bringing a positive change in the working of Parliament. Policy study think tanks should also be promoted to bring institutional reforms in the interest of the people of the state. In this way, the intellectuals may engage in the working of drafts for legislating laws.

- ❖ Education is important to create cognizance amongst citizens about their due rights and to pick honest leaders in elections. Only schooling can convey true trade-in society and is also beneficial for the fulfillment of democracy. Through awareness of political behaviors and systems in the state, the overall public might be able to learn about actual norms, values, and tolerance.
- ❖ There should be a proper check and balance on each member of the Parliament and especially on the ministers who have certain ministers and departments. Meeting and discussions should be regularized to activate each member's participation.
- ❖ Interference of other institutions should be discouraged in law-making activities or processes just to attain their interests.
- ❖ The sovereignty and supremacy of the Parliament should be restored as it was mentioned in the constitution of 1973 of Pakistan.
- ❖ A system should be organized in which a committee should be formed which will be responsible for the public meetings or public hearings on their issues and demands. In this way, the input and demands can easily be addressed by the members of Parliament.
- ❖ Authorities or any government that comes in subsequent after being elected would be accountable to mandate the policy in line with strategies. As if there is any important policy made for the development of infrastructure, human rights, demands of masses could be highlighted by them in the constitution.
- ❖ A proper set up of libraries should be made in which members of Senate and National Assembly collectively can research, analyze, discuss or have a debate on the pros and cons of any matter for better working of Parliament.
- ❖ For effective working of Parliamentary system, there is a need to bring transparency, accountability as well as responsiveness in the Parliament.
- ❖ For political development in the state, the experiment should be done with new ways of engaging with the public, including civil society, and enabling them to contribute to the legislative process. There should be implications to recover public confidence in the integrity of parliamentarians to be more inclusive in their composition and manner of working.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX: A1

Thesis Title: Role of Parliament in Political Development of Pakistan (2002 to 2018)

Name of the Respondent: M. Usman Farooq
Lecturer at FCCU

Interview Date: November 25, 2021

Physical Interview

Name of the Researcher: Mehar Gull
Mphil-2019
Department of Political Science
GC University, Lahore.

Themes	Sub-Themes	Verbatim
1) Concept of Political Development	a. In Pakistan	<p>i. Political development is differently identified as per the nature of any state. The question is to what end you are defining it in Pakistan. Is Pakistan being an advanced democracy or having stable democratic norms. Various factors are involved in any country's development like economics, political culture, political advancement, modernization, industrialization, etc.</p> <p>ii. If any political culture is more advanced then it will be more politically developed also e.g. if western states have a good parliamentary system then it will grow in the same way.</p>

	<p>b. Economic aspect</p>	<p>i. The concept of political development is considered as a confusing aspect in political science because some origins of the political sciences called political development based on the economic condition of the state, while other origins called it as it is based on the political aspects of the state. There are tiers in this World and first tier is to be strong domestically that every state needs to develop their own infrastructure, but the most important and first tier is the position of your state in your region as it will shape your global position also.</p>
<p>2) Parameters</p>	<p>a. Increasing Factors</p>	<p>i. Whereas if we look towards the economic aspects of political development, then it is defined as there must be political participation. While if we look at the economical dimensions of political development, then it is defined as that there must be the unification of institutions politically, national welfare, industrialization, and influence in the country for the growth of politics in the state. There are some of the parameters that must be considered as important in any state. There must be equal and popular participation in politics.</p> <p>ii. It also required an increase in the political structures and institutes of the state. The unity among the nation and the leaders is</p>

		<p>also considered as the basic parameter of political development in the state. The sense of integration, the dimensional process of equality, the capacity to work hard, and differentiation are also called the factors of political development.</p>
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		extension of influence may continue there but issues will sort out by dialogues, dealings and peace processes.
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APPENDIX: A2

Thesis Title: Role of Parliament in Political Development of Pakistan (2002 to 2018)

Name of the Respondent: Ahsan Iqbal,
Former Parliamentarian of Pakistan.

Interview Date: November 23, 2021

Telephonic Interview

Name of the Researcher: Mehar Gull
Mphil-2019

Department of Political Science

GC University, Lahore.

Themes	Sub-Themes	Verbatim
1) Political Development and Public Participation	a. Increasing Factor	i. Few parameters are very important to access any political system and one of them is how the public of any state is participating in its system. In 2008, the popular demand was to get rid of load shedding, terrorism, and inflation. At that time supply of sugar and wheat was in high demand. In the year 2013, the popular demand was to end load shedding and terrorism, in 2018 it was unemployment and to some extent justice and fight against corruption. On one side we have political demise and on the other side, we have a parliament. Any theoretical framework that analyzes it in a way that if any laws are being made then the proponents of Comparative politics will say it is a positive and good political development.

APPENDIX: A3

Thesis Title: Role of Parliament in Political Development of Pakistan (2002 to 2018)

Name of the Respondent: Dr Taimur ur Rehman,
Educationist, Lecturer at Lums

Interview Date: December 04, 2020

Name of the Researcher: Mehar Gull
Mphil-2019

Department of Political Science
GC University, Lahore.

Telephonic Interview

Themes	Sub-Themes	Verbatim
1) Role of Parliament	a. Political Culture	i A Parliament of the state played some basic roles as an institution. First, as the representatives of community or society, and secondly, they make the law which

means it is a law-making body. Thirdly, it is accountable to the executive and fourthly the transparency of elections must be held by it. As per the implications towards the role of parliament in the political development of Pakistan, it can be seen very less in the past and present both.

- ii. As in the parliamentary system, citizens elected their representatives, and the majority of those representatives became part of the legislative branch. So, they will represent citizens and the voices of the public in the parliament which positively affects the political development of the country.

APPENDIX: A4

Thesis Title: Role of Parliament in Political Development of Pakistan (2002 to 2018)

Name of the Respondent: Hassan Raza,
Special Correspondent at Dunya Media
Group.

Interview Date: October 25, 2021

Telephonic Interview

Name of the Researcher: Mehar Gull
Mphil-2019
Department of Political Science
GC University, Lahore.

Superordinate Themes	Themes	Verbatim
1) Failures of Parliamentary System	a. Military Intervention	i. According to my opinion if I would say that the whole parliamentary system failed due to military involvement or martial laws in the state are a very populist kind of opinion. As a student of political science, we studied that there is no ultimate power in politics and as per our analysis of establishment; we assume that establishment is all-powerful but we didn't perceive that power in what context. That power is not in absolute terms, it is to be focusing that in what relevance the power can be justified or can be implemented.

<p>2) Challenge</p>	<p>a. Political and Strategic</p>	<p>i. To say that the military is all-powerful or able to do what they decide to do is questionable still. If they are to be blamed for everything then in some parts, yes and in some parts maybe it depends. As students of social scientists, we also know that nothing is absolute or there may be other dimensions as well.</p>
<p>3) Civil Society Organizations</p>	<p>a. Political and Economic Prospects</p>	<p>i. It is obvious that in Pakistan, the bureaucratic institution is highly vigilant and very important in changing the patterns of the systems governing the state. If we look upon the challenges then disagreements have been a part of Civil Society as well. While the citizens of Pakistan are not well aware of what this institution is supposed to do or what is their role in governance is. They have a larger capacity and capability in bringing alternative changes in the system and policies.</p>

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