Pakistan’s Discourse on Democracy, Gender and Religion: A Response of Electoral Manifestoes of Political Parties—1988-1997

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Abstract

To understand the dynamics of political forces and their cross cutting effects on the body politic of Pakistan in the realm of democracy, gender and religion or foreign affairs concerns had not only delineated the stance of political parties on these issues but also defined their strategies to deal with them. The mechanics to approach the public by the political parties through their manifestoes had marked them as liberal or conservative parties. This paper will evaluate the content of electoral manifestoes of political parties in terms of their response to the issues of public concerns to judge their pragmatic strategies and visionary outlook in dealing with those challenges. The electoral manifestoes of five major parties—PML(N)/IJI, PPP/PDA, JUI-F,MQM &ANP— which got their share in the electoral tally from 1988 to 1997 are the main focus of our study. This paper will also reflect the ideological foundation of each party along with their modalities to approach the issues and it will also throw light on the nature of Pakistan’s politics which is being testified that how far it is people’s oriented.

Keywords: Politics, Manifestoes, Religion, Gender and Democracy

Introduction:

Pakistan in the comity of nations is considered the heritage of colonial legacy, which is manifested in the politico-administrative structure of the state. It worked for state construction in the art of west. In Pakistan power holders and seekers implemented the social contract with the same zeal and spirit which they had seen in Britain—The Mother of Democracy. British people after passing through the phase of intellectual and material revolution opted the passion of lassiz-faire and gave the primacy to the utility, propounded by Jeremy Bentham and James Mill.¹ Same had been eulogized in Pakistan when the process of state construction had been set in. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah envisioned a liberal, democratic and modern Pakistan with the same political ethos that held the human liberty supreme. In one of his statement on March 1948 he indicated that ‘it is people’s government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices’². But Pakistan still marooned at the level of formal democracy rather that to touch the standard of social democracy³ because it has not been successful as state to achieve most of the projected goals.

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It is the dilemma of our society that after treading the same path of democracy, military junta perverted it for one or the other excuses that were founded baseless. Pakistan derailed from its democratic path in 1950s, 70s and 90s and delved into authoritarian rule for a period more than its political supremacy in its history. Ayesha Jalal indicated to this state of affairs that ‘institutional shift from elected to non-elected institutions in the first decade, which the military intervention of 1958 sought to confirm, was to endure all variety of experiments of governance, some more desperately authoritarian than others’\textsuperscript{4}. It is also established fact that whatever the regime had been in Pakistan, it has to rely on political forces ultimately to run the state business and legitimate its rule.

So the understanding of the dynamics of political forces and their cross cutting effects will be evaluated by the analysis of the manifestos of the political parties. Manifestoes of the political parties reflect the current themes of Pakistan’s polity along with the generating conflict of traditional setup with the modern one. This paper will evaluate the content of electoral manifestoes of political parties in terms of their response to the issues of public concerns to judge their pragmatic strategies and visionary outlook in dealing with those challenges. It will also highlight the political parties’ ideological attachment and Pakistan’s society cross cutting differences. It will also throw light on the nature of Pakistan’s politics which is being testified that how far it is people’s oriented.

The electoral manifestoes of five major parties—PML(N)/IJI, PPP/PDA, JUI-F,MQM &ANP— which got their share in the electoral tally from 1988 to 1997 are the main focus of our study. The study of electoral manifestoes of political parties will put the zest in the thrust of unveiling the parties’ organizational vigour and strength by which parties galvanize the masses with mainstream politics. Among five of these parties two are the national parties—PML(N)/IJI,PPP/PDA—due to their voting strength in all the four provinces of Pakistan, two are considered as regionalists—MQM/HPG, ANP— due to their influence in particular regions, while one is denominated as Islamic party—JUI-F/IJM—which had had better vote strength as compared to other religious parties and always materialized it into winning seats.

It is observable that In Pakistan political parties try to develop consensus over the issues of public concerns and mark their relativity according to their ideological linings. They also try to penetrate into the masses through their organizational capacity. It has been found that political parties’ leadership did their best to value the public aspiration in their electoral manifestos according to the environment and circumstances. This feature seemingly lacked in regional parties which stressed more on the agenda of local nature. The result of it was the stagnancy in political bargaining, and let the opportunity to prevail in which parochial forces made the room for their narrow interests.

In contrast to clear cut alternatives presented in the elections, there was marked similarity in the programme of the various parties, although the emphasis on various points differed according to their orientation. It was observed that almost all parties pledged not to make any law repugnant to the injunctions of the Quran and
Sunnah. There was also general consensus for an open foreign policy and normalization of relations with neighbour countries.

It reflected that parties were flexible over the issues, emerged in elections by the interactive process between the community and political parties. The interactive mechanism also provided stimulus in formulating the electoral manifestos which explicitly depicted the nature of political discourse. The issues of good governance, status of women, foreign policy concerns and Islamic social order had helped in understanding the nature of political discourse.

**Good Governance:**

All political parties talked about the parliamentary sovereignty. They wanted to see balance of power between the offices of Prime Minister and the President and the balance of authority between the provinces and the centre. In the election 1988, provincial autonomy was a burning issue and all parties have well defined response to this issue, although there were the areas of deliberate vagueness. After the 8th amendment of 1985, the balance of power tilted in favour of president instead of Prime Minister who had been the executive head of the people’s will. Pakistan Peoples Party in its electoral manifesto of 1988 declared that it will restore the 1973 constitution. It will adopt a new dynamic approach in the centre–province relations for smooth functioning of governments at both levels. It asserted that party believes in the devolution of powers not on transfer of power. Party will adopt an effective system of economic distribution between the provinces on the basis of accepted norms, viz.: needs; tax mobilization effort; population and rural-urban ratios. Abolish the concurrent list of structural adjustment for the devolution of authority and revise the federal legislative list.5

Pakistan Muslim League, the constituent element of IJI had taken the stance of amending the constitution 1973 in its election manifesto of 1988. Once it was the main author of the eighth constitutional amendment bill and this time its spokesman cleared its position by describing that “we favour the Eighth Amendment. Had there been no Eighth Amendment, the Muslim League could not restore civil liberties, nor would the transfer of power have taken place after….‖6 This reflected an apology for past and showed the similar response as PPP in removing the lacunae from the constitution. The stance of MQM was not very explicit and it took the position of least concerning over this issue due to its regional character. So parties of specific position in different areas had not taken up the cause of national issues. Similar was the attitude of MQM over the constitutional amendments. It laid stress on the new amendment in the constitution for the issue of regional importance instead for the balance institutional growth. It aired that only permanent residents of Sindh would be able to cast their votes in the province and not migrants.7

Awami National Party with its regionalist moorings advocated the setting up of a Constituent Assembly with equal members from all the provinces and it should frame the new constitution. So the regionalists had similar views as the national parties but with the difference of their popularity stature to take up the issue.
Their confinement in different regions determined their electoral maneuvering. Jamaat-e-Islami-Fazlur Rehman (JUI-F) unreservedly propagated the repeal of the 1985 constitution and the restoration of the 1973 constitution in its place. It too advocated the restoration of the 1973 constitution, with the proviso that all laws against the Shariah would immediately, after the new constitution comes in, stand repealed.  

Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) pledged in its electoral manifesto of 1990 for the dispensation of social justice to the people of Pakistan. It was reiterated that entire system of justice should be remodeled. Criminal cases should be decided within six months while civil cases will take a year for decision. Promises were made for decentralization of powers to the elected local bodies and municipal corporations. Further manifesto promised to overhaul the police system which will eradicate the corruption and dishonesty. It was explicitly pronounced that jail reforms will be done and ombudsman office will be established at provincial level.  

Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) in its manifesto 1997 again reiterated this pledge that it will support of any move and legislation in which this constitutional lacunae will be removed. Party said that it do not want to have the concentration of power in any office. Power should be devolved to the lower rung of the power ladder.  

Jamaat-e-Islami-Fazlur Rehman (JUI-F) was very brief over this issue because it talked in one way that implementation of Islamic principles is a panacea of all ills in society. In its 1990 manifesto it gave the reference of Quranic verse “those people whom we give the power on earth they will establish prayer and zakat(charity) system and prohibit the evil”. In 1993 manifesto its voice regarding Islamic system was same as in 1990. For the settlement of problems it talked about the establishment of high consensus body and if matters are not solved here then it will be presented in presidential council. Here it seemed that by talking about these institutions JUI-F wanted to create a monopoly body where religious clerics had the cardinal role in deciding the fate of country and people. In 1997 manifesto JUI-F reiterated its pledge that Quran and Sunnah will be the supreme law of land and all aspects of life will be guided by them.  

This kind of approach on the issue of determining the nature of Pakistan’s democracy has exposed the conflict between the doctrinal design of democracy and modern sense of geographical bound people oriented oneness. This way of approaching to run the affairs of state has made it difficult to foresee any hope of reconciliation between the contending forces. So democracy is idealized in rhetoric but lacking any practical agenda in the political program of parties to make it functional as socio-political value.

**Gender Development and Its Representation**

All the political parties of the national stature talked about the status of women by ameliorating their social bondages. The manifesto of above mentioned parties had no differences in getting the rights of women in the society of Pakistan except JUI-F. PML, part of IJI spoke of equal rights for women as guaranteed by Islam. PPP clearly advocated in 1988 the repeal of all laws discriminating against women particularly Hudood Ordinance as an example. The ANP and MQM have
views similar to the PPP but JUI(F) commented on women’s rights with severity ‘freedom not avargi (hooligan)’.\textsuperscript{14}

One such challenge appeared in the lapsing of the reserved seats of the women in the National Assembly which were to be restored after 1988 through the legislation by the political forces representing the people in the National assembly.\textsuperscript{15} Pakistan Peoples Party presented its commitment in its electoral manifesto 1988 that all kinds of discrimination and exploitation against women will be abolished. For this cause Pakistan was a signatory of United Nations convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. Pakistan Peoples Party eulogized international convention over the rights of women to project the image of state as progressive one. It stressed that “discriminatory laws will be repealed, personal law will be reformed and brought in line with the demands of contemporary socio-economic realities; special measures will be taken to promote the literacy of women; dowry laws will be enacted”\textsuperscript{16}. There was seemingly consensus on the equal rights of women, as guaranteed by Islam, between the PPP and the PML, the constituent element of IJI, in 1988. Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) was no eloquent in presenting the cause of women as PPP because Jammat-i-Islami, another constituent element of IJI, has some reservation about the equality of women and men. While ANP on the left has views similar to the PPP. It also demanded the amendment of law of evidence which has relegated the legal status of women in society.\textsuperscript{17}

Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA) in its election manifesto 1990 again addressed the issues of women.\textsuperscript{18} It denoted that most of the national parties have their same agenda to follow except a difference in their modalities in approaching the problems. MQM in her electoral manifesto of 1990 firmly asserted that it will protect the rights of the women because they form the backbone of the society.\textsuperscript{19} Awami National Party in its 1990 manifesto touched this issue minutely. There was explicit diversion of priorities in national and nationalist parties by examining their dealing with the issues. Awami National Party talked about women in the portion of equal rights for all citizen of Pakistan and not allocated separate head for the rights of women. It said that “women will be given equal rights to man in socio-political fields and any citizen has the right to chair any office of the state without any gender and belief discrimination”\textsuperscript{20}. This point also indicated that Awami National Party have not attached any religious importance to chair the office of head of state or other offices and have belief on the openness of society where each individual has a right to question the established view for the better growth and understanding of societal issues. On the other hand resemblance seemed among the partiers on those issues which were important in their view for the electoral activity.

Pakistan Peoples Party in its manifesto 1993 asserted the rights of women. To make them equal partner of development it was decided that

...women education core and rural helping centres will be established which will provide modern and technical education to women. All ordinances and laws will be reviewed in the light of Quran and Sunnah, which partially ignore the women status as equal partner of social development. Special quota will be allocated to women in all governments and autonomous organizations. Hudood
ordinances will be amended. United Nation’s protocol will be signed which is against the exploitation of women. A special women police force will be established and a group will be constituted which will consist of parliamentary women of all Islamic countries to share the experiences for the uplifting of women rights. Laws related to family matters will be used equally and without any discrimination. Residential hostels will be established for working ladies in all big cities. Peasant women will be given agri-loaning facilities at their homes.\textsuperscript{21}

Same kind of language was used by PML-N in its 1993 manifesto for the rights of women. It was said that women are the half of Pakistan’s population but they are devoid of basic social, economic and legal rights.\textsuperscript{22} PML-N in its manifesto 1997 declared that it will do utmost for the equal representation of women in every walk of life. Party enumerated that it will do following works: For this purpose in cities residence and security will be provided to job doing women; more resources will be earmarked for the women education; Cooperative societies will be formed for the household industry; law of inheritance will be effectively executed for the protection of women rights.\textsuperscript{23}

Pakistan Peoples Party ensured the participation of women in representative institutions through the reservation of seats at the time of election 1997. It demanded the

Restoration of reserve seats for women in the National Assembly; establishment of permanent commission on the status of women as an autonomous statutory body comprising government representatives, NGOs, human rights organizations; ensure minimum 20\% women’s participation in local government institutions. It was also stressed on the government to formulate a well defined policy for women’s development include the MoWD(Minister of Women Development) as a permanent member of important policy making forum like the National Economic Council(NEC), Executive Committee of NEC and Central Development Working Party.\textsuperscript{24}

Muttahida Qaumi Movement(MQM) was also voiced their concerns about the equal rights for women and to see their representation in every spheres of life for the development of country. They should be enriched educationally and get vocational training to meet their expenses. MQM in its electoral manifesto of 1997 declared that it wants a constitutional amendment to have the special reserved seats for women in senate, national \& provincial assemblies and local bodies’ institutions.\textsuperscript{25} Jammiat Ulama-i-Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman(JUI-F) showed slight concerns over the issues of gender development. It seemed that this party was very much convinced about the biological differences between the man and women and were convinced by the Sharia interpretation of women’s role and status. JUI-F was not convinced of social construction of gender’s role. It stressed on the separate education for man and women in its election manifesto 1990, 1993 and 1997.\textsuperscript{26} It sanctified the role of women which it thought could be damaged by its working equally with men in social spheres of life.
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This explicit and determinate view of political parties on the issues of gender development was not out of Pakistan’s traditional context. Religiosity and traditional set-up subjugated the individuality of women and relegated her as passive agent of the society on the pretext of chastity and sanctity. So political parties like that of PPP, PML-N, ANP and MQM had put the agenda of women amelioration in their manifestoes but seemingly remained weak whenever they got chance to make the government or as the partner of the coalition government.

Religion and Public Morality:

Different smaller parties either they were the Islamic parties, national or regional parties constantly made appeal to the government for the settlement of the issues which they considered sacrosanct for the polity of Pakistan. JUI (F) wanted in her political manifesto 1988 that Sharia be made supreme law of the land and suggestions of the Islamic Advisory Council should be accepted while making the laws.27 IJI secretary general Ghafoor Ahmed stated in the light of IJI manifesto that issue of the 8th amendment can be settled if PPP helped in building up Pakistan into a truly Islamic state.28 IJI gave more stress in her electoral manifesto, 1988, on the implementation of Islamic way of life in the country. It took that position due to the influence of Jammat-i-Islami in IJI. Banking will be free of usury, ‘amar bil marauf wa nahi anil munkr’ (forbidding the vices and directing the virtues), every kind of discrepancies, discrimination and injustice will be eliminated and deprived will be given their due status within the fold of Islam.29

In all its manifestos, JUI-F in this domain seemed very sensitive as compared to other parties and it segregated the society on the basis of Muslims and non Muslims. It categorically took the position over the form of government and the in charge of state affairs. It stated that for ideal Islamic state reins of government should be in the hands of righteous, pious and intelligent Muslims. Supreme law of the land will be Quran and Sunnah.30 It seemed that how contrary it was in the approach of dealing the issue of state-society formation as compared to other national and regional parties. It relied upon Islamic ideals which it deemed can encompass all life and remedy lies in treading the path of prophet and his companions. It seemed that it always had a wishful thinking to revive the past structure of Islamic society without realizing the challenges of socio-political and economic system.

Pakistan Peoples Party in its 1988 manifesto declared that it upholds the high ideals of Islam base on the concept of brotherhood, harmony, tolerance and egalitarianism.31 In 1990, 1993 and 1997 Pakistan Peoples Party/PDA talked about some principles which guided the life of people according to Quran and Sunnah but powers of legislation was to lay with the elected representatives of people. It was marked contrast of approach of national and secular parties and religious party. Religious party stated that Quran and Sunnah are the supreme law of land and there is requiring interpretation which is the right of specific people. Pakistan Peoples Party did not stress strongly over the Islamic mode of life as the Islamic /religious parties has had in their manifestos. It took soft stand over the issue of Islamization by knowing the social contours of life and decided to leave its formation over the
institutions of state and society. It showed that how the national party—PPP—was lenient in its view of Islamic social order but it laid stress on its practical approach of creating an egalitarian society based on justice. This way of approaching the issue had made it more acceptable party to public, contrary to religious parties or their alliance which had taken hard stance over the issue of Islamic social order. The results of elections showed that how more it was responded by voters as compared to religious parties over these issues.\(^\text{32}\)

The stance over these issues also put the parties in the category of left and right. Awami National Party was declared a leftist party due to its policy stance over the issue of Islamic social order. It advocated the abolition of symbolic Islamization and stressed on the role of Islam to be “a personal matter” unconnected with the business of polity.\(^\text{33}\) It was the reflection of its pre-partition heritage.

PML-N in the manifesto of 1997 declared that Pakistan is an Islamic state and it is an important pillar of state. It will try to implement Islamic way of life and eradicate every kind of exploitation.\(^\text{34}\) The brief indication and description about the Islamic system by PML-N showed that party was not involving itself in theoretical abstraction and have stressed on practical aspects of social life. That is why PML-N had no policy formula to expose its Islamic ideology and its practical execution. On the other hand Awami National Party, a left oriented organization due to its secular agenda, stressed for state society construction without any religious leanings in all of its electoral manifestos. It always talked about equal rights for all citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination. It talked about the rejection of exploitative social order and evolved the new one according to the wishes of the people of Pakistan.\(^\text{35}\) This perception of ANP for Islamic mood of state and society was not religiously motivated but it left this work on the social forces which were to be represented in the assemblies by the public representatives. Here it was a clear divide between the ANP and religious party JUI-F in constructing the state and society while ANP was more near to national parties in the completion of this agenda.

Mua'hjir Qaumi Movement was also very much like that of national and regional parties in the approach of building state-society on the basis of social determinants. It talked about the elimination of all kinds of discrimination and stressed on the creation of equal opportunities where all nationalities and people could utilize their energies for the development of their life and cultural values.\(^\text{36}\)

Islamic appeal served better in the electoral politics of Pakistan in those provinces where society is traditional and process of social transformation has not made any inroads to change the basic structure of society. Frederic Grare in his book *Political Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* has described the position of Maulana Moudadi in eulogizing the appeal of Islam:

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\text{…the ideological significance of the notion of the unity and the invisibility of divine sovereignty [sic] gives to the world its meaning. The value of every human action resides in its degree of rectitude and goodness in the light of highest values. The implementation of this value in concrete human action enables divine will to penetrate into the socio-political world. Maudadi invited Muslims to turn away from}\]

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nationalism in all its forms and to accept the sole guidance of Islam which prohibits all sectarian interests, thus remaining faithful to a much more traditional notion of the unitary Muslim community, irrespective of country, language, nation or race.  

During the 1978-1987 decade, the deliberate denigration of the democratic system by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq and the tricks he employed to turn the referendum of 1984 and the election of 1985 into a vulgar face severely undermined the public interest in elections. Dissatisfaction with the performance of the government formed after the 1988 polls, especially the exposure of the democratic façade as a tool to be used and discarded by the Establishment at its convenience, have driven the common citizens away from politics.

This appeal has stroked fiercely in election 2002 when the alliance of six religious parties in the name of Muttahida Majlis Ammal(MMA) got the 45 general seats in Pakistan but tally of NWFP is 29 in these total seats. The people of the NWFP posed their trust on the religious leadership due to the involvement of Pakistan’s establishment in the war of terrorism as an ally of western powers which has no justification in the eyes of the people of this area particular and the Muslim world in general. Due to the association of this area with the neighboring country Afghanistan where this war is being fought to eradicate and root out the forces of fundamentalism, took up the cause at cross purpose with the establishment. At stake people for the right of their sovereignty and security compromised the claim of establishment and voted for MMA which consensually poised this cause and got the public confidence. MMA in Karachi and the urban of Sindh did well where it converted its programme which had local appeal and centered mostly on issues of education, health and other civic concerns. It was clear separateness from its postures of foreign policies issues and anti American stance in Balochistan and NWFP. The result of this policy was visible that it secured 6 seats in 2002 in Sindh. It gave the tough competition to the candidates of MQM(Muttahida Qaumi Movement) in N.A-246 where MQM candidate in 2002 election received 53,000 votes, compared to 111,000 and 93,00 votes in 1988 and 1990 respectively. In this constituency MQM had its headquarter nine zero and under its shadow the polling stations 36,37 and 40 located, registered 292, 276 and 190 votes for MQM’s Azizullah Brohi against his rival Rashid Naseem who polled 293, 355 and 291 votes respectively.

Conclusion:
This displayed considerable interest of political parties by mentioning the concerns of social change in their manifestoes. All this is possible in liberal democracies which have different sociological bases from others on behalf of competitive environment in which parties and associations have freedom to vent their voices. This tradition has been in practice from the very beginning of the political process. It has been found that in the polity of Pakistan, people and different interests group try to ascertain facts on the bases of the performance and presentation of the different political parties. The one of the encouraging aspect of this kind of political process provides the litmus test that in spite of institutional constraints
Pakistan’s political system is capable to engage the public and political parties in the agenda of national and local development. It has been found that political parties are performing their role in define the urgency of political necessity and sharpen the public view over those necessities by displaying their ideological strength. It also indicates that political parties of national stature keep the agenda of social and economic change as their priority.

It has also been found that some of the religious parties viz., Jammat Islami and Jammiat Ulamm-i-Isalm Fazal-ur-Rehman group have religious overtone in their agenda stressed more on the Islamic context of Pakistan’s origin and assertive on the solutions of the problems between the India and Pakistan with force if solutions are not available in negotiations. Their diehard position certainly depicted the wishes of Pakistan’s people who not want the solution in the way as religious parties wanted. Religious parties wanted to enforce the Islamic agenda without creating consensus over the issues of national importance. Public support to their agenda has been measured through electoral strength which remained abysmally very poor and oscillated between 2 to 3 percent in national elections.

All parties stood for liquidating the inter-regional disparities by ensuing the sense of social justice and suggested in their electoral plank for greater measure of egalitarian system. Political parties have seemingly showed in their program the sense of equality to all without any kind of discrimination. This kind of thinking indeed developed a sense of belonging within the community by discarding the all kinds of biases on the bases of sex, cast, creed and religion. It is highly politicised agenda which is presented to the people at the time of electioneering and engage the community in a political dialogue by which they can be able to discern the nature and direction of political process in Pakistan. Manifestos were more charming in their contents to entice the public but there remained a gap in its implementation due to resource constraints and a short period of government functioning. Financial constraints, law and order situation in the country and mid-term polls resultantly checked the implementation of political program which the parties projected during elections. It also checked political process and hindered the growth of political institutions.

Party and public opinion, along with interest groups, are potential vehicles for power and are all largely capacitated by the electoral and representative medium – or roadway – of political democracy. The study of this political orientation and exposure of parties reflected that at the level of policy there is value necessitated debate in the drama of politics. It is also valuable the role of parties which are sensitive enough towards the challenges and problems of community.

References:

1 Peter G. Richards, *The Local Government System*, G. Allen & Unwin, London,1983, p.24; Glorious Revolution in England democratized the society with a highly restricted franchise to universal suffrage. The different tendencies in British Protestantism and the economic and social forces with which they were linked were more or less evenly matched. There had been a lot of costly fighting and, certainly
after Cromwell, no one had the power to defeat all of the others. The restored Stuart kings might have been able to do this, but their many mistakes and the choices that ultimately united almost all of the normally conflicting protestant and other political tendencies against them finally led to their total defeat. people in England in due course came to have a relatively high degree of confidence that any contract they entered into would be impartially enforced and that private people rights to property and contract enforcement were probably more secure in Britian after 1689 than anywhere else. Mancur Olson, Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development, The American Political Science Review, Vol.87,No.3,Sep.,1993,p.574,pp.567-576.


3 Formal democracy means regular free and fair elections, universal suffrage, accountability of the state’s organs to the elected representatives and freedom of expression and association while social democracy had two additional dimensions: high level of participation without systematic differences across social categories like class, gender, ethnicity and increasing equality in social and economic outcomes. Evelyne Huber,Dietrich Rueschemeyer and John D.Stephens, The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory and Social Dimensions, Comparative Politics,Vol.29,No.3, April.,1997, pp.323-24, pp.323-342.


6 The Herald, Election Special, 1988,p. 31.

7 Ibid.,p.31.

8 Ibid., p.31.

9 The Nation, October 21, 1990.

10 Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, opcit., p.482.


14 The Herald, Election Special, November,1988,p.29.

15 Election to the 20 seats reserved of women in article 51(4) of the 1973 constitution, stipulates that it will be in operation from the day of the commencing of this constitution until the expiration of the period of ten years or the holding of the third general election to the National Assembly. See The Nation, November 24,1988.


17 The Herald, Election Special, 1988, p. 29.

18 The Nation, November 8,1990.

19 Altaf Hussain leader of the MQM after election in one of his speech referred to the manifesto of her party in which he said that “we stood firmly to the rights of the women”, The Nation, November 2,1990.

It was demanded that for the introduction of reserve seats in Assembly there is need of amendment in Article 51-A of the constitution. For the protection of women against the oppression there will be “Saiban Houses”. Women police force will be increased and legal centres will be established for the free advice to jailed ladies.


22 Ibid., pp.674-75.


24 Ibid., pp.485-86.


27 *The Nation*, February 11, 1989. IJI stands for the Islami Jamoori Ittehad (Islamic Democratic Alliance). It is the alliance of nine parties which are ideologically different with each other but political considerations put them together. See *The Nation*, October 17, 1988.


31 See Annexure 1,2,3,4.

32 *The Herald*, Election Special, 1988, p.28.


38 *Ibid*, p.49.