

Ideological Transformation In Pakistan People's Party: From Z.A Bhutto To Asif Ali Zardari (1970-2013)

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Abstract

The ideological position of the Pakistan People Party (PPP) shifted from the concept of Islamic Socialism to the capitalism from its inception at the time of 1970 elections to its ascent to power in 2008 elections. Z. A Bhutto the founder of the PPP has introduced the principles of socialism because the wealth was concentrated in few hands during the Ayoub regime. It is due to this reason that the appeal of socialist ideas assured the electoral victory to Z.A Bhutto. However, after Z.A Bhutto, the leadership of the party went into the hands of, Benazir Bhutto. She reversed the socialist ideas of her father because no longer the voter wanted the discourse of socialism because the Islamization of Zia-ul-Haq regime and the war against the USSR in Afghanistan has constructed the socialism as something evil, it is due to this reason that Benazir Bhutto brought a shift in ideological position of PPP and promoted the idea of free market economy.. This research study has discussed the Why a socialist political party became popular in Pakistan that had already decided to be in western capitalist bloc? Why has the transformation of PPP transpired from a resistance force against the status quo to a party of reconciliation? To what extent Z. A Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari had attained the unrestrained monopoly over the central government? It is argued in the present research that the PPP changed its ideology of Islamic socialism to capitalism to win the electoral victory.

Keywords: Ideology, Communism, Islamic Socialism, Capitalism.

I. INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

The political party plays an important role in the election. The political parties guide the voters towards political processes. The political parties seek to assume the decision-making process of the state through elections(Ahmed, 2013) In this whole process the ideology of a political party plays an important role. The political parties translate their ideology in elections through their election manifestos. The role of manifesto of a political party has been defined by Syed Akmal Hussain Shah as, "The political parties develop a manifesto that defines their political philosophy and sets out the agenda to be pursued, to attract masses and draw strategy to

get into the power corridors through constitutional process"(Shah, 2018).

In the political history of Pakistan, the ideology did not play an important role in the beginning because the military rule of Ayoub Khan had imposed ban on the political. Although the elections were held during the Ayoub regime in 1965. The freedom of speech and association was also banned. It was only when the anti-Ayoub movement assumed momentum in late 1960s that the conditions became conducive for the political processes(Khan, 2001).

II. CREATION OF PAKISTAN AND POLITICAL PARTIES

When British left South Asia they transferred power to two sovereign states that is Pakistan and India. The experience of Pakistan with bureaucracy and military differs from the India. In the case of India, the power was transferred to Indian National Congress (INC). INC had well established organizational structure and has a mass following among the people. Jawaharlal Nehru, the leader of INC, has brought reforms in the Indian Civil Services and promoted the principle of electoral democracy in India. In the case of Pakistan, the situation was different comparatively to India. The power was transferred to Muslim League (ML) in Pakistan by British. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of ML, acknowledged that ML lacked the organizational structure and lacked support among the masses (P. Jones, 2020)

The western understanding of the political parties in an established democracy could not be taken as a model to understand the functioning of political parties in the developing democracy. (Siddiqui et al., 2020) has argued that,

“Using the experience of parties in well-established democracies to elucidate the role of their counterparts in developing countries today represents “an effort to cram square pegs into round holes” (Siddiqui et al., 2020)

After 1945 there were two global powers that is United States of America (USA) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) when Pakistan won its independence. Pakistan had the option of joining one of the global powers to establish its position both in terms of modern weapons and diplomatically vis-à-vis India. Pakistan decided to join USA that is evident from the statement of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who became the first Governor General of Pakistan. During an interview with Bourke white Muhammad Ali Jinnah said,

“America needs Pakistan more than Pakistan needs America. Pakistan is the pivot of the world, as we are placed on the frontiers on which the future position of the world revolves. Russia is not so far away” (Sehgal, 2013)

Different military pacts were joined by Pakistan that strengthens the military involvement in the

political system. Apart from the dominance of military in foreign policy the military also played an important role in managing the politics inside Pakistan. Already the military has assumed the position of pivotal importance due to the first Kashmir war. It is evident from the statement of Gen. Ayub Khan in 1952 that the military was not going to allow the political parties to flourish and contest elections. Gen. Ayub Khan while speaking to US diplomat said that military will keep check on the political parties so that they should not act on their own terms. It could also be seen from the fact that the first general elections were held in Pakistan in 1970. The period before the 1970 is marked by the absence of political activity in Pakistan. The constitution making process took almost 9 years. The first constitution of Pakistan came into being in 1956. The parliamentary system was not established due to dominance of the military in the foreign as well as the local policy of Pakistan. Ayoub Khan assumed power in 1958 and subverted the 1956 constitution. Soon after abrogation of the 1956 constitution, Ayoub Khan issued the Elective body disqualification order (EBDO) in 1959. According to this order the politicians who were found engaged in nepotism and corruption were sent to courts for trials. The politicians were given the choice of either facing the trial or voluntarily leave the politics for six years. In this manner, the onset of the military rule also imposed the restrictions on the political activities. Ayoub Khan also banned the formation of the political parties in Pakistan and imposed restrictions on the political activities (Khan, 2001).

Ayoub Khan introduced the system of basic democrats in which the elected members were to be elected for the local government. These basic democrats were to become Electoral College for the election of the members of national assembly and President. Ayoub Khan held referendum in February 1960 in which he was elected as President by the Basic democrats. The Basic democrat order became part of 1962 constitution later. As soon as the national assembly was formed the pressure on Ayoub Khan started to increase to restore the political parties. Ayoub

Khan restored the political parties through political parties' act.

The Muslim league was divided into two parts that is Muslim League convention and Muslim League council. Ayoub Khan was leading Muslim League convention that became the official party of Pakistan also known as King's party at that time. Whereas the Muslim league council was led by Khawaja Nazimuddin, who was a prominent member of Muslim league. In East Pakistan, the Muslim league has lost ground in 1950 and a new party Pakistan Awami Muslim league has been created by Shaheed Hussain Suhrawardy, a prominent member of Muslim league from East Pakistan. Other political parties included Awami national party led by Wali Khan in NWFP and in East Pakistan led by Maulana Bhashani, Moreover, Jamat-i-Islami was led by Maulana Maudoodi at that time.

III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Why a socialist political party became popular in Pakistan that had already decided to be in western capitalist bloc?
- Why has the transformation of PPP transpired from a resistance force against the status quo to a party of reconciliation?
- To what extent Z. A Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari had attained the unrestrained monopoly over the central government?

IV. HYPOTHESIS

The PPP ideology was transformed from the Socialism at the time of its founder Z.A Bhutto to capitalism at the time of his successor daughter, Benazir Bhutto for gaining electoral victory.

V. LITERATURE REVIEW

"The Bhutto Dynasty"(O. B. Jones, 2020), discusses the rise of the Bhutto family in the politics of Pakistan. The author starts the book by tracing the roots of the Bhutto family from the colonial times. He mentioned the role of Sir Shah-Nawaz Bhutto in the pre-partition politics of India. Then the author elaborates the rise of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in the politics of Pakistan at the time of Ayoub Khan. Z.A Bhutto laid the

foundation of the Pakistan People's Party in Pakistan. After the death of Z.A Bhutto his daughter Benazir Bhutto assumes the reign of power.

Ayesha Jalal in her book, "Democracy and authoritarianism in South Asia", discusses the comparative development of politics in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. She has adopted Marxist framework of analysis for the sake giving a historical comparative perspective. She starts the discussion from the colonial legacy when the Pakistan and Bangladesh was part of India under British rule. Then she discusses the differences in the state formation in India and Pakistan from 1947 to 1971. In 1971 Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan. She discusses the populism of Z.A Bhutto in Pakistan, and Indira Gandhi in India during the era 1971 to 1993. The discussion ends with the debate of state and political economy in India and Pakistan during the period 1947 to 1993(Jalal, 1995).

The article, "A Narrative of Pakistan's 10 General Elections: 1970-2013", (Rizvi, 2013) discusses the politics that revolved around the electoral politics in Pakistan. The author has started the debate from the first provincial elections that held in Pakistan in 1950. The author has placed focus on the civil and military relations while discussing the elections. The statistical information of election has also been presented. The political parties that participated in different elections have been elaborated in the article. The author provides reasons for the success and failure of each political party and the role of the military in the general as well provincial elections of Pakistan.

In article, "Political Parties in Pakistan: A case study of Pakistan People's Party"(Dawood & Malik, 2017), discusses the reforms introduced by the Z.A Bhutto in detail and give a brief overview of the Asif Ali Zardari regime. The authors start the discussion from the 1970 manifesto of Pakistan People Party. Then they discuss the land reforms, labor reforms, the defense policy, economic reforms, banking reforms educational reforms, health reforms, and foreign policy of the Z.A Bhutto regime. The

authors concludes the discussion on the Benazir income support program.

The article, "Pakistan's foreign policy: An overview 1947-2004", has discussed the evolution of the foreign policy of Pakistan since its creation to the year 2004. The author has divided the article into different eras with respect to the changing world order. The first phase of Pakistan's foreign policy has been of establishing relations with the world the period starts from 1947 and end on 1953. The next phase starts from 1953 and ends on 1962 in which Pakistan has aligned with the western bloc during the cold war era. The third phase starts from 1962 and ends on 1971 in which Pakistan started to look for multilateral foreign policy instead of just relying on the western alliances (Rizvi, 2004).

The third phase (1972-1979) also marked by the focus of Pakistan foreign policy on establishing relations with other countries of the world. In the fourth phase (1980-1990) of Pakistan foreign policy the USSR invasion of Afghanistan has brought Pakistan again closer to the western alliance. In the fifth phase (1990-200) of Pakistan foreign policy the divergence in took place between Pakistan and US. In the post-2001 period the relations of Pakistan improved with US due to the former involvement in the war on terror with later.

(Shafqat, 1996) in his article, "Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto", discusses the two terms of Benazir Bhutto as prime minister of Pakistan. He starts the discussion from the election results and the politics that revolved around the elections of 1988 (Muhammad Hassan Sadaf Butt & Muhammad Rizwan, 2019). in their article, "General elections of 1993: A Thriving Riposte of Democracy in Pakistan", discusses the concept of democracy from the electoral politics in 1993. The authors start the discussion from the fall of the Nawaz Sharif regime in 1993 and end the discussion on the victory of Pakistan People party in elections of 1993. The authors have given a brief overview of the elections manifesto of different parties who had participated in the elections of 1993 after explaining the role of article 58 2 (b) in fall of Nawaz Sharif

government. The authors have presented the position of the political parties in the national assembly after the election of 1993, and the elections turnaround in the elections of 1993.

Congressional Research Service (2008) in their report, "Pakistan's 2008 Elections: Results and Implications for U.S Policy", has discussed the political scenario in Pakistan in the wake of the 2008 elections with special focus on the implications for U.S Policy. The report presents the prevailing political conditions in Pakistan at the time of the general elections of 2008.

(Ayesha Siddiqua, 2013) in her article, "Discovering Democracy: Five years of Political rule in Pakistan", discusses the civil military relations during the five years of Pakistan People party in government from 2008 to 2013. The author argues that the completion of the five-year term by the Pakistan People party did not mean that Pakistan has transformed into a democratic country. Rather the military still possess the upper hand in politics despite of not staging a coup.

(Ahmed, 2013) in his article, "Electoral Politics of Pakistan People's Party in Punjab with special reference to general elections 2008", discusses the electoral politics of Pakistan People party in Punjab province in the election of 2008. The author justifies the selection of Punjab for the study of electoral politics of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) on the ground that PPP was successful in again getting support from Punjab. The author also argues that the elections of 2008 also mark a transition from the dictatorship to democracy in the similar manner in which it was transitioned in 1988.

(O. B. Jones, 2020) in his essay, "Pakistan People's Party: From Populism to Patronage", discusses the politics of Pakistan People Party from the time of Z.A Bhutto to Asif Ali Zardari. The author starts the essay by giving a brief overview of the political structure of Pakistan before the emergence of Z.A Bhutto in the political scenario Z.A Bhutto rose to the seat of power in the 1970 elections. After mentioning the rise and fall of Z.A Bhutto the author discusses the Benazir Bhutto government and

end the discussion with the defeat of Pakistan people Party in the elections of 2013 and 2018.

VI. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Constructivism in international relations differs from the traditional concepts of realism and liberalism. As per realism the international relations are shaped by the state interests to gain power. On the other hand, in liberalism the focus is placed on the interdependency of international actors in an institutional setup. But in constructivism the focus is placed on the actor's identities and practices.

In the constructivism the states objectives whether it is economic development, or international recognition is shaped by the fact that how the actors see themselves in relation to others in international community. (Behraves, 2011) has elaborated the role of social constructivism in international relations in the following words,

“Arguing that the international relations structures are “socially constructed” and that “these structures shape actor's identities and interests rather than just behavior,” the constructivist theory- which has different forms and foci thus has been termed by some as an “approach” to the analysis of world politics- challenges the materialist and rationalist underpinnings of the old mainstream IR theory” (Behraves, 2011)

In the present research study, the constructivist approach has been used for the analysis of the ideological transformation of Pakistan People Party. In 1970, Z.A Bhutto in his seminal election manifesto of Pakistan People's party has used the term Islamic Socialism as a policy option for resolving Pakistan's poverty related problems. He has constructed this idea in relation to the USA ideology of capitalism. Hence, he adopted the identity of USSR which was opposed to the USA in cold war. However, as soon as the cold war ended the ideology of Pakistan People Party changed the identity from Islamic socialism to capitalism. Although Pakistan People Party retained the Islam in their manifesto of 1990s and 2008 but they have switched from the socialist ideas to capitalist ideas because the USSR was disintegrated due to

which the socialist ideas did not remain a source of identity in the international relations.

VII. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The qualitative research method has been adopted in the present research study. In this research study the data has been collected both from secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources include the books, journal articles, and research reports. The primary sources include the election manifestos of Pakistan People Party. The election manifestos have been analyzed using the qualitative content analysis methodology. The qualitative content analysis is used for the analysis of the textual material.

VIII. 1965 ELECTIONS

By the year 1964, the pressure was increasing on Ayub Khan to held elections as soon as possible because he was about to complete his term in office in 1965. Awami national party, Jamat-i-Islami, Awami Muslim league, and Muslim league council joined hands to form combined opposition party against Ayub Khan's Muslim League convention. They nominated Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as Presidential candidate against Ayub Khan. But the basic democracies knew that if they voted against Ayub Khan then they would lose their position due to which they voted in favor of Ayub Khan and Fatima Jinnah lost the elections (Khan, 2001)

IX. TASHKENT AGREEMENT AND THE EMERGENCE OF Z. A BHUTTO AS POPULIST LEADER

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto entered the national assembly as soon as Ayub Khan had assumed the reigns of powers in Pakistan. Z.A Bhutto was asked by Iskandar Mirza, President of Pakistan at that time, to represent Pakistan in United Nations in 1957. Z.A Bhutto was appointed to the ministry of commerce as soon as Ayub Khan imposed martial law. In 1960, he was given the ministry of information and national reconstruction. After three months Z.A Bhutto was given additional charges of Kashmir Affairs, and the ministry of fuel, power, and natural resources. Ayub Khan started to rely more on

Z.A Bhutto to give his dictatorship a cover of democracy. It was due to the assistance of Z.A Bhutto that Ayub Khan had introduced the system of indirect elections under the basic democracies setup. When Muslim league was divided into two parts that is convention and council, latter being the party of Ayub Khan, Ayub Khan made Z.A Bhutto the general secretary of the convention Muslim League. In 1963, Ayub Khan made Z.A Bhutto foreign minister to represent Pakistan on international platforms.

Hence, Z.A Bhutto started to strengthen relations with China. In 1963, Pakistan and China signed trade agreement. In addition to the trade agreement, Pakistan also recognized the claims of China in the disputed territory of Indian held Kashmir. Z.A Bhutto thought that incase India and Pakistan war starts in Kashmir, China would intervene and fight to reclaim the territory that Pakistan had just ceded to China. In this case even in the absence of western bloc support, Pakistan could rely on the support of China (Rizvi, 2004).

Ayub Khan has been convinced that Z.A Bhutto plan for taking back Kashmir could work. This was also corroborated by the fact that Pakistan has won victory in the south eastern border with India in Rann of Kutch. Moreover, the India and China war also encouraged Pakistan to act against India and take the Indian occupied Kashmir. Two plans were designed to take back Kashmir that is Gibraltar and Grand slam. In the first plan it was decided that the irregular army of mercenaries, Mujahedeen, would be send to Kashmir who would provoke rebellion in Kashmir. Z.A Bhutto was the main architect of the plan because he was convinced that the political condition in Indian held Kashmir is conducive to take actions.

The hair of Prophet Muhammad was stolen from the shrine near Srinagar due to which social unrest was increasingly in Indian held Kashmir. The operation Gibraltar was to follow with the operation Grand slam in which the regular army of Pakistan would launch attacks. Z.A Bhutto has suggested that India had already fought a war with China and incase Pakistan launch these

operations India would not extend the war outside the Kashmir. But the prognosis of Z.A Bhutto proved invalid as first the Indian army encircled the irregular mercenaries send by Pakistan in Srinagar and then launched full scale attack on Pakistan from Lahore, and Sialkot. Ayub Khan and Z.A Bhutto visited China to ask for help, but China only offered moral support due to which Ayub Khan was convinced to sign a ceasefire agreement with India.

The amity between Z.A Bhutto and Ayub Khan did not last longer and the divergences between them started to surface on the eve of the 1965 war of Pakistan with India. Z.A Bhutto wanted to keep on fighting while Ayub Khan agreed to ceasefire with India. In 1966, Ayub Khan signed Tashkent agreement because of which both the countries Pakistan and India retained the territories in Kashmir which they held before.

Z.A Bhutto launched a campaign against Ayub Khan in which he started to say that Ayub Khan has lost the territories in Tashkent agreement that the army has won during the 1965 war. Ayub Khan has agreed in the Tashkent agreement that Pakistan would never try to resolve the Kashmir dispute using force, rather Pakistan would adopt peaceful means to settle the Kashmir dispute. Z.A Bhutto was not convinced to use these words he did not want to reach a compromise with India(O. B. Jones, 2020)

Soon after the signing of the Tashkent agreement, Z.A Bhutto initiated anti-Ayoub campaign across Pakistan. He blamed Ayoub Khan for losing the achievements of the 1965 war in Tashkent agreement. During Ayoub Khan Regime the economic inequality has increased, and the wealth was concentrated in few hands including the family of Ayoub Khan.

There was a general discontentment against the Ayoub rule in Pakistan. The urban middle classes, students, university and college faculty, labor, Ulema, and even government servants who suffered due to Ayoub reforms joined hands with Z.A Bhutto. Ayoub Khan retaliated by defaming the public image of Z.A Bhutto. The public meetings of Z.A Bhutto were also disturbed by Ayoub Khan. But Z.A Bhutto did not stop due to the political restrictions imposed

by Ayoub Khan and continued to stage protests, demonstrations, and strikes (Shah, 2018).

X. CREATION OF PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

Z.A Bhutto needed a political party to initiate his political career in Pakistan. He established Pakistan People's party (PPP) on November 30, 1967, in Lahore. However, Z.A Bhutto was not alone in establishing a political party. He was aided by the leftist bureaucrat turned politician J.A Rahim who had connections with the British leftist circles. Z.A Bhutto also had connection with the British Leftist circles. After establishing the political party Z.A Bhutto had the political platform through which he could now stage anti-Ayoub movement. He started the mass movement against the Ayoub regime on November 7, 1968. The mass movement assumed momentum and the urban areas of Punjab and capital city of Karachi were engulfed in the anti-Ayoub demonstrations, protests, and strikes that resulted the resign of Ayoub khan and powers were handed over to Yahya khan.

10.1 Elections of 1970

Z.A Bhutto was asking for the establishment of the parliamentary form of government through elections in Pakistan. Yahya Khan after assuming the reins of power announced to hold general elections in Pakistan for the first time in 1970 (P. Jones, 2020) Z.A Bhutto announced to establish Socialist system along with the Islamic system in Pakistan. Before the elections of 1970, PPP has published their manifesto in which the concept of Islamic socialism was elaborated. It is written on the beginning of the manifesto that, "Islam is our faith, Democracy is our policy, Socialism is our economy, all power to people" (Manifesto of Pakistan People's Party 1970, 3). Socialism is a modern concept in which the private ownership is not allowed. Socialism is opposed to the capitalist system where the individuals can retain private property. To bring equality, socialism brings all the institutions in the country under the governmental regulation. The government distribute the resources to the people in the country in a way that no people feel left out in the country (Shah, 2018). It is

interesting to note that the concept of Socialism is about bringing equality among the people, but it does not mention the role of religion. But the manifesto of PPP strictly demands the imposition of Socialism along with the Islamic system. It is stated in the manifesto,

"The substance and spirit of the Party's program demands, and activities obey the teachings of Islam. The Party will countenance no laws repugnant to Islam and Qur'an....The Party's positive proposals derive from the spirit and principles which are contained in the injunctions of the Faith. 'The equality of Muslims enjoined by Islam can be possible only in an economic and social structure so built as to realize it in practice. That can be a better manifestation of Muslim fraternity than institutions based on mutual co-operation. The Party aims to introduce real democracy in the political field, for which the first condition is the abolition of privileges and the transfer of power to the people. Political privileges are inseparably related to economic privileges and inequalities. In calling for a socialistic solution to the country's problems the Party manifesto proclaims the only correct way to deal with them" (Manifesto of Pakistan People Party 1970, 3).

The concept of Islamic socialism was not uncontested among the religious groups in Pakistan at that time. The right wing started to equate the concept of Socialism with Atheism and declared it un-Islamic. The main opposition of the Islamic socialism was coming from the members of Jamat-i-Islami (JI).

The Naib Ameer of JI, Mian Tufail Muhammad, argued that the concept of Islamic Socialism would lead to the breakup of Pakistan. Other religious parties like the Jamiat-i-Ulema-Islam (Thanvi group), and Jamiat-i-Ulema Pakistan also joined the opposition of the Islamic Socialism proposed by PPP. The right wing parties went up to the extent of issuing a Fatwa against the concept of Islamic Socialism. On February 26, 1970, almost 113 Ulema joined hands to issue fatwa against the concept of Islamic Socialism. They suggested that the Islamic Socialism is an existential threat to the security and integrity of Pakistan.

But not all religious parties were against the concept of Islamic Socialism. The Jamiat-i-Ulema Islam (Hazarvi Group) was in favor of the concept of Islamic Socialism. They defended the concept of Islamic Socialism on the ground that it is more suitable system for bringing economic inequality compared to the capitalist system. PPP also convinced other religious parties to support the concept of Islamic socialism. In this way PPP was successful in gathering the support of the people in West Pakistan (Khan, 2001)

The catch phrase of PPP *roti, kapra, makan* (bread, cloth, and housing) became popular among the people in Pakistan. Many organized interest groups like engineers, teachers, governmental unions, and labor unions extended their support to PPP from Punjab and Karachi. From rural Sindh mostly the landed elites joined the movement of PPP. The tenant who was affected from the farm mechanization during Ayoub regime, the poor class joined the movement of PPP.

The elections results of 1970 are evidence of the support that PPP had gathered during the course of their election campaign. PPP won 62 seats of National Assembly out of 82 from Punjab and 18 seats of national assembly out of 27 from Sindh. In East Pakistan, Awami league emerged as the victorious party (P. Jones, 2020)

Yahya Khan was averse to transfer power to the victorious Awami League in East Pakistan and delayed the session of the national assembly. There existed a sense of deprivation among the East wing of Pakistan against the West wing of Pakistan. The reluctance of Yahya Khan to transfer the power and the intransigence Z.A Bhutto led to the bloody civil war in East Pakistan. As a result of which the East Pakistan separated from West Pakistan and all power was transferred to Z.A Bhutto in West Pakistan who have secured more seats in West Pakistan (Dawood & Malik, 2017).

10.2 Elections of 1977

With the end of Ayoub rule Yahya Khan assumed power. Awami league has won majority seats in East Pakistan, and neither Yahya Khan nor Z.A Bhutto wanted to share power with East

Pakistan. As a result of which East Pakistan was dismembered Pakistan (Dawood & Malik, 2017). The term of the PPP in office was to expire in 1977, and the elections was to be held in 1977. The elections manifesto of 1977 of PPP had put the blame of the failures of unfulfilled promises of elections manifesto of 1970 of PPP on the disintegration of Pakistan. However, the achievements that have been mentioned in the election manifesto of 1977 were different from the empirical reality. The election manifesto of 1977 has mentioned that the country has achieved progress throughout the rule of PPP, "With the support of the people, we have re-forged the nation and given it a constitutional framework. We have revived and restructured the economy by striking off the shackles of feudal and capitalist exploitation. We have given a fresh impetus and new direction to industry. In agriculture, we have attained a level of self-sufficiency in food production which had long eluded the country. In pursuit of our goal of an egalitarian society, we have improved the lot of the common man, both peasant and worker" (Manifesto of Pakistan People's Party 1977, 39) As soon as the elections were announced the opposition parties forged alliance against the PPP with the name Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). JI was the chief political party that assumed the leadership of PNA. Mufti Mahmood of JI assumed the leadership of the PNA alliance and demanded the imposition of the Nizam-i-Mustafa (system of Prophet) (P. Jones, 2020) Those industrial and commercial classes who were affected due to the nationalization policies of Z.A Bhutto joined the religious classes in opposing the rule of the PPP (Jalal, 1995). PPP won four-fifths of seats of national assembly.

PNA accused PPP of rigging and demanded that re-elections and boycotted provincial elections. The situation started to get worse when the Islami-Jamiat-Tuleba (IJT), student wing of JI, started to demonstrate in Quetta, Karachi, Peshawar, and urban Punjab. The protests took the shape of mass movement against the PPP government. The situation deteriorated in Lahore up to the extent that the army was called

in. The negotiations were failed between PPP and PNA and the violence started to increase. Under this context the third martial law was imposed in Pakistan. Zia-ul-Haq imposed military rule in Pakistan and banned the political processes and hanged Z.A Bhutto on murder charges of political opponent. Zia-ul-Haq was successful in delaying election due to two reasons firstly; he initiated the process of Islamization. Secondly, the penetration of USSR forces in Afghanistan won him the support of USA on international level (Gilles, 2002). After the death of Zia-ul-Haq.

Benazir Bhutto had gone on exile to London in 1979 where she was organizing PPP as its chairperson. She returned to Pakistan in 1986 and assumed the charge of PPP in Pakistan. She became Prime minister after winning majority seats in national assembly (P. Jones, 2020)

In this way she left the Socialist ideas of her father and strengthened the relations with USA. This change in the ideology of PPP was due to the disintegration of USSR. The world was no longer bi-polar rather it became uni-polar which means that there was only super power in the world that is USA. So, she strengthened relations with USA (Shafqat, 1996). The era of 1990s was marked by the political instability, because not a single party was successful in completing the five-year term in government. Zia-ul-Haq has empowered the President to dissolve the assembly under the article 58 2 (b) because of which whenever an opposition came between the prime minister and president the latter dissolved the assembly (Khan, 2001). The President continued to dissolve the assembly until in 1999 the fourth military rule was started by Gen. Musharraf. He held elections in 2002 but it was highly manipulated by the army due to which it was not free and fair. Benazir went to exile in Dubai when Musharraf launched his military rule (Rizvi, 2013).

In 2007, when Gen. Musharraf wanted to sack the chief justice of Supreme Court, the latter declined to resign from his position. But Musharraf removed him from his position due to which lawyer's movement started against Gen. Musharraf. He was compelled to reinstate the

chief justice and announce the elections to be held on 2008 (Kronstadt, 2008). Musharraf also gave National Reconciliation Order (NRO) to Benazir Bhutto due to the interventions of USA. The corruption charges were lifted from Benazir Bhutto. However, when she came back to Pakistan, she was assassinated in December 2007.

10.3 Elections of 2008 & 2013

The election manifesto of PPP for the election of 2008 represents a transformation in the ideology of PPP. The PPP socialist ideas had been replaced with the capitalist ideas in 2008. Previously, in 2008 election manifesto was democracy is the best revenge, and due to the sympathy factor after the assassination of Benazir Bhutto PPP won elections at the center and the Sindh. A new era of leadership of Asif Ali Zardari, After the 2008 election new elections were held on 11 May, 2013 due to weak policies of PPP could not won the majority seats in the national assembly only 42 seats were secured by PPP and the ongoing war on terror also effected political campaign of the PPP. On other hand PPP leadership tried to focus on the political manifesto of early 1970's and later 1960's and the progress done by previous; leadership of PPP.

XI. CONCLUSION

In 1970 the first ever general elections were held in Pakistan. The Pakistan People Party (PPP) came into being just before the first general elections. It was first time in the history of Pakistan that the democratically elected government risen to power. Before the 1970 election Pakistan was under the dictatorial rule of Ayoub Khan.

When Pakistan got independent it faced existential threat due to the war with India on the Kashmir front. Since, then Pakistan has joined the western alliance. At that time, the cold war was going on in which the world was divided into two power that is United State of America (USA) and United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). Pakistan has also entered defense alliance with USA that is South East Asian

Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

Ayoub handed over powers to Yahya Khan and Yahya conducted fair elections. Z.A Bhutto created PPP with an ideology of Islamic Socialism. On this basis PPP contested 1970 elections and won the majority of seats in West Pakistan and Awami League in East Pakistan, after dismemberment of East Pakistan, Bhutto became PM of Pakistan.

As PM Bhutto introduced the Socialist economic system by nationalizing the industries, schools, and banks. But the nationalization did not help the poor people. The PPP extended patronage to their own supporters. Due to nationalization policy political opposition increased against him. Those people who lost their businesses during Bhutto regime joined hands with religious parties on the eve of 1977 elections. The opposition parties joined hands to form Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). Due to which situation changed and Martial Law was imposed and Bhutto was hanged later. Zia-ul-Haq was successful in delaying election due to two reasons firstly; he initiated the process of Islamization. Secondly, the penetration of USSR forces in Afghanistan that became support for him and he remained in power till his death.

Benazir Bhutto had gone on exile to London in 1979 where she was organizing PPP as its chairperson. She returned to Pakistan in 1986 and won majority seats in 1988 and became PM of Pakistan. It was during the Benazir Bhutto regime that change in the ideological position of PPP was surfaced. She allowed the capitalism by welcoming the US companies' investment in Pakistan. In this way she left the Socialist ideas and strengthened the relations with USA. The world was no longer bi-polar rather it became Uni-polar which means that there was only super power in the world that is USA and Pakistan became more near to USA.

The era of 1990s was marked by the political instability, because not a single party was successful in completing the five-year term in government. Zia-ul-Haq has empowered the President to dissolve the assembly under the article 58 2 (b) because of which whenever an

opposition came between the prime minister and president the later dissolved the assembly till amendment. Musharraf announced political amnesty through National Reconciliation Order (NRO). The corruption charges were lifted and Benazir Bhutto was also benefited. However, when she came back to Pakistan, she was assassinated in Rawalpindi.

The election manifesto of PPP for the election of 2008 represents a transformation in the ideology of PPP. In 2008 election manifesto PPP was it will improve the conditions of the people by countering extremism. Moreover, previously in 1970 and 1977 election manifesto PPP has just said to bring the existing laws in accordance with Islam but in 2008 election manifesto PPP also said that it would promote tolerance towards other religions and sects of Islam. Even in 2013 elections PPP focused to counter extremism from the country. PPP is the victim of extremism and terrorism and tried to attract the people on these grounds but their manifesto of roti, kapra and makan is still their leading manifesto.

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