



The Third Wave of Democratic Transition in Pakistan: 1988-1990

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Vol. 4. No. 1/2022

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Suggested

APA: Ahmad, I., Ali, Marriam. (2021). Pro-Environment Workforce: Studying Employee Behavior in the Pharmaceutical Companies of at the Sundar Industrial Estate. International Journal of Kashmir Studies, 6.

Citation:

Harvard: Ishtiaq, Ahmad. Marriam Ali. (2021). Pro-Environment Workforce: Studying Employee Behavior in the Pharmaceutical Companies of at the Sundar Industrial Estate International Journal of Kashmir Studies, 6.



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Abstract

This research paper tries to explore that how the third wave of democratic transition took place in Pakistan. How the phenomena of democratic transition and consolidation in Pakistan passed through different phases? It also spotlights on the factors which played eminent and effective role for democratic transition as well as consolidation in the country. Moreover, the study explains the process of transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Pakistan while focusing on the theory and practice of transitology and consolidology. The different modes of democratic transition have been discussed to see how democratic transitions in different modes took place in Pakistan. Main concern is to see how different theoretical approaches such as transitology and consolidology are associated in the process of transition from dictatorship to democracy. Political scientists of the world have discussed the democratic transitions that took place in several countries of the world. However, no scholar of this domain from abroad and Pakistan has still investigated that how the third wave of democratic transition took place in Pakistan. In this study, an attempt is made to analyze

transitional history of Pakistan in general and third wave of democratic transition in particular.

Keywords: Pakistan, Democracy, Transition, History and Wave

Introduction

The development of democracy has become a primary concern of the world in the post-cold war era. Before the end of the twentieth century, it was turned into an age of democratic triumph. The global range and influence of democratic ideas, institutions, and practices made that century far and away from the authoritarianism.¹ It was considered as the flourishing period for democracy in human history. In rest of the world particularly in the United States and Europe, after the collapse of the non-democratic systems, the liberal democracy flourished as the final form of human government. In the present era, public considers democracy as the safe system of governance in the World.² In this research paper, the third wave of democratic transitions in the world has been discussed in general and in Pakistan in particular. Main concern is to see how far democracy was consolidated by political leadership of the country.

Since the partition of Sub-continent in the year 1947, Pakistan has entered turbulent process of nation-building. The country's leadership tried to stabilize as well as organized political institutions. Attempts were also made to create harmony among all state actors for the development of people power. Aim was to establish the parliamentary democracy in a well-organized federal setup.³ However, interethnic

¹ B. Talisse Robert, *Democracy after Liberalism: Pragmatism and Deliberative Politics* (New York: Routledge Press, 2005), 1.

² Lauren M. McLaren, *Constructing Democracy in Southern Europe: A Comparative Analysis of Italy, Spain and Turkey* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 2.

³ Mahmood Manshipouri and Amjad Samuel, "Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 35, No. 11, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2645722> (Accessed: 12/12/13).

strife, social strains, diverse political ideological background of elites, impacts of praetorian rule and external influence created problems in the nation building process. The fragmented political institutions failed the enforcement of parliamentary democracy in the country.⁴ Philip E. Jones explains that Pakistan often has been its own worst enemy, precipitated into periodic crisis by both blundering generals and overreaching politicians.⁵

The political disaster weakened the roots of democratic foundations in the country. Instead of promoting the tradition of civilian supremacy bequeathed by Great Britain, the civilian rulers have often relied on the military to preserve their vested power.⁶ The self-interests and policies of civilian politicians also destroyed the equilibrium of political institutions in Pakistan. It paved the ways for dictators for intervening in the politics of the country.⁷ However, its political culture and civil society remained rich in the creation of many people of integrity, principles and coherent political vision; a few of them like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his daughter Benazir Bhutto have risen to national power.⁸

Despite transitions from dictatorships to democracies from time to time and steps taken by political leadership (Bhutto and Muhammad Khan Junejo) in distancing military from politics of the country could not prevent other military coups in Pakistan.⁹ The reason was dictatorial attitude and anti-democratic behaviour of politicians. In fact, there was dire need of pro-democracy environment. However,

⁴ Veena Kukreja, *Contemporary Pakistan Political Process, Conflicts and Crisis* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003), 16.

⁵ Philip E. Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party: Rise to Power* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.

⁶ Manshipouri and Samuel, "Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?"

⁷ Kukreja, *Contemporary Pakistan Political Process*, 17.

⁸ Jones, *The Pakistan People's Party*, 5.

⁹ Kukreja, *Contemporary Pakistan Political Process*, 18.

vested-political interests and anti-democratic policies of political parties consolidated authoritarian political culture in the country.¹⁰ The vision followed by political leadership was complicated. Thus, it provided space to generals to intervene the political institution of the country.

A Brief Transitional History of Pakistan

General Ayub imposed first martial law in Pakistan on October 7, 1958 in Pakistan. However, no organized movement was launched against unconstitutional government of Ayub Khan's martial law.¹¹ After almost a decade, in the year 1967, political parties such as Awami Muslim League, Council Muslim League, Nizam-i-Islami Party and Jamat-i-Islami established Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM).¹² The struggle of political parties resulted in transition from dictatorship to democracy in Pakistan.¹³ During this era, the first wave of democratic transition was in progress in the world.

After a half decade, Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) opposed Bhutto government and they launched movement for the removal of Bhutto in the year 1977.¹⁴ Moreover, it was a union of heterogeneous political parties (i) Tehrik-i-Istaqlal (TI) (ii) Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) (iii) Jamiatul-Ulma-e-Islam (JUI) (iv) Jamiatul Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) (v) Muslim League Pagaro Group (PML Pagaro) (vi) National Democratic Party (NDP) (vii) Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP) (viii) Khaksar Tahreek (KT) (ix) Azad Kashmir Muslim Conference

¹⁰ Saeed Shafqat, "Democracy in Pakistan: Value Change and Challenges of Institution Building", *The Pakistan Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41261058> (Accessed: 11/12/2013 02:32).

¹¹ Stanley Wolpert, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His life and Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 209.

¹² *The Pakistan Times*, May 2, 1967.

¹³ Wolpert, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan*.

¹⁴ *The Dawn*, January 12, 1977.

(AKMC).¹⁵ The PNA launched a movement against elections of 1977 and demanded fresh elections. The movement against mal-practices in the elections resulted in chaos which resulted in imposition of Martial Law by the then army chief, General Zia Ul Haq.¹⁶

The Pakistan Peoples' Party formed an alliance with Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Tehrik-i-Istiqlal (TI), Pakistan Muslim League (Khawaja Khariuddin Qasim group), Quami Mahaz-i-Azadi (QMA), Mazdoor Kisan Party, Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam and Kashmir Muslim Conference (KMC) launched opposition movement for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan on February 6, 1981.¹⁷ They name it MRD (Movement for the Restoration of Democracy). They desired transition from dictatorship to democracy in Pakistan.¹⁸ During this period, the era of third wave of democratic transition had already taken place in the world.

In analyzing democratic transitions in recent years, social and political scientists have distinguished between problems of "transitions from authoritarian rule" and problems of "democratic consolidation."¹⁹ In this research paper, the factors are focused that how an authoritarian regime can be suppressed and how democracy can flourish in Pakistan. The paper has briefly spotlighted the historical background of democratic transition in the World to develop comparative thoughts on the democratic transition in case of Pakistan. It has also tried to bring theories of democratic transition

¹⁵ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000), 223.

¹⁶ *The Dawn*, July 06, 1977.

¹⁷ Farkhanda Bukhari, *Ye Bazi Ishq ki Bazi hai (It is the Matter of Intense Love)* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2012), 65-66.

¹⁸ Faiz Khoso, *Kare Kakkar Heth Mu Jharrendea Chaddiya: Tarikhee Halchal MRD (Fighting Sprit under Dark Cloud: Historical Movement MRD)* (Hyderabad: My Publications, 2013), 11.

¹⁹ Irving Leonard Markowitz, *Constitutions, the Federalist Papers, and the Transition to Democracy*, ed: Lisa Anderson, *Transitions to Democracy*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 45.

and consolidation. Main concern is to see a connection of theory and practice of democratic transition and consolidation in case of Pakistan.

The Third Wave of Democratic Transition in the World

The term transition is defined as the change from one state to another state (From democracy to dictatorship or authoritarianism to people's rule and from civilian government to military regime). Transition may occur due to crisis and it may also take place without any crisis.²⁰ The six crisis transitions include Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, the Philippines, Brazil and Peru. In Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, and the Philippines, regime transitions took place during deep recessions and crisis. In four countries such as Chile, Korea, Thailand and Turkey transition occurred without crisis.²¹ In these countries authoritarian rulers left the offices due to pressure from international and domestic forces.²²

In the recent years, transition has taken place in the number of countries where political institutions were occupied by unelected regimes including military, one-party or non-party and personalist dictatorships. This political occupation took place before the emergence of democracy. A sea of change has taken place in Latin American politics. In most of the region, until the waves of democratization that started in 1974, authoritarian regimes were pervasive.²³ As far as wave of democracy is concerned, it is said to have started in Southern Europe in the mid-1970s, before spreading to Asia. Eventually the result was that, whereas in the early 1970s,

²⁰ Talisse, Democracy after liberalism, 1.

²¹ Dankwart A. Rustow, Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model Lisa Anderson, ed: Lisa Anderson, *Transition to Democracy*, 79.

²² Jon Elster, *Retribution and Reparation in the Transition to Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3.

²³ Sylvia Chan, *Liberalism, Democracy and Development* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 14.

only a quarter of countries had democratically elected governments, two decades later more than 50 percent had adopted this system. By the end of the 1990s, about 75 percent of governments around the world were elected.²⁴

Many Asian countries have also gone through a period of developmental dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s such as Pakistan, Burma and Philippines. However, most of these dictatorships broke up in the 1980s and thereafter a new period of post-dictatorship era opened. This post-dictatorship era was known as period of 'democratic transition', 'democratic consolidation' or democratization broadly.²⁵ The political circumstances have firmly altered.²⁶ Many countries were facing social and economic problems during that era.²⁷ In Argentina and Brazil, democratic government withstood annual inflation rates that went far into quadruple digits. In El Salvador and Guatemala, countries with histories of brutal authoritarianisms, consistent repression of the indigenous populations, and horrendous civil wars, warring factions signed peace treaties and established elected regimes.²⁸

Theoretical Framework: The Modes of Transition

The term transition covers different modes and stages. The parameters and standards of transition depend on the political culture which varies from country to country. Apart from this, the nature of transition also varies from country to country. Transitions include gradual change, as the authoritarian regime and the opposition engage

²⁴ Jeff Haynes, *Democracy and Political Change in the Third World* (New York: Routledge Press, 2001), 1.

²⁵ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 13.

²⁶ Haynes, *Democracy and Political Change in the Third World*.

²⁷ Talisse, *Democracy after Liberalism*, 6.

²⁸ Chan, *Liberalism, Democracy and Development*, 15.

in a long bargaining process.²⁹ Or transitions can be the outcome of rapid dramatic ruptures in the balance of power between the regime and the opposition.³⁰ Samuel P. Huntington developed three major modes of transition with substantial examples such as Transformation, Trans placement and Replacement.³¹

(a)Transformation

In the phenomenon of transformation, when transition from dictatorship to democracy is supposed to begin, the authoritarian ruler acts alone more actively or less actively to defend his unconstitutional rule. The stakeholders of dictatorial rule play main role in the conversion of authoritarianism into democratization.³² This mode of transition is enduring and longtime taking phenomenon that takes place when an authoritarian rule, except reasonable pressure generated by opponents of authoritarianism or political forces and other social elements of the society does not leave the office. The political pressure generated by pro-democracy may be supportive for political change and national interest.³³

Transformation usually takes place in well-established military regimes, where ultimate means of coercion are under the control of economically successful governments.³⁴ This mode of transition is slow and gradual. It also gives better outcomes to ouster military out of the political arena.³⁵ In simple words, the result of transformation

²⁹ Chan, *Liberalism, Democracy and Development*, 17.

³⁰ Gretchen Casper and Michelle M. Taylor, *Negotiating Democracy: Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 5.

³¹ Huntington, *The Third Wave*, 124.

³² Jeff Haynes, *Democracy in the developing World: Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East* (USA: Polity Press, 2001), 24.

³³ Gerardo L. Munk, *Measuring Democracy: A Bridge between Scholarship and Politics*. (America: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), xi.

³⁴ Huntington, *The Third Wave*, 125.

³⁵ Chan, *Liberalism, Democracy and Development*, 15.

is likely to be, at best, a limited democracy notable for the continued political dominance of relatively small number of elite apparatus.³⁶

(b) Transplacement

In the process of transplacement, transition from dictatorship to democracy occurs through the mutual actions of the opposition and government. The transition is possible through the negotiations among the elites both in the power and beyond the power.³⁷ The commitment among elites for democratization is necessary provision for political change.³⁸ Moreover, Linz and Stephan explain that commitment of political leadership and elites is of the vital significance.³⁹ In other words, the conceptual framework of this mode of transition depends on the harmony among the political leadership and elites.

Approximately, eleven of thirty-five liberalizations and democratizations occurred in the 1970s and 1980s by the process of transplacement.⁴⁰ Initially, both the forces such as government and opposition try to suppress each other's strength and unity. With the passage of time, both government and opposition realize that the workable plan only be chalked out through negotiations and both the forces decide to forget the past and begin negotiations to settle the turmoil what Huntington calls trans placement.⁴¹

In this whole phenomenon, stakeholders in power such as older military officials, elites within opposition as well as government and large-scale feudal lords are not disturbed. Their power is not jeopardized in the new order (political setup). Haynes notes how

³⁶ Haynes, *Democracy in the developing World*, 25.

³⁷ Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*.

³⁸ Haynes, *Democracy in the Developing World*, 27.

³⁹ Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*.

⁴⁰ Haynes, *Democracy in the Developing World*, 151.

⁴¹ Huntington, *The Third Wave*, 152.

imperative it is for political stability after the transition to integrate elite into stable political democratic setup that does not destroy their interests. However, elites do not judge that their interests are protected in the new stable democratic setup.⁴²

(c) Replacement

Replacement is the major mode of transition which differs from transformation and transplacement. Replacement needs imperatives such as severe national crisis and inability of government. It also takes place when government faces problems and opposition become more power than government.⁴³ The former opposition groups replace government and they come to power. Moreover, they often enter a new phase as groups in the new government covers three distinct phases: the struggle to produce the fall, the fall, and the struggle after the fall.⁴⁴ The phenomenon of replacement does not require the elite settlement and their dominance. However, this phenomenon increases pressure against elites to leave the office and accept the will of public.

In this mode of transition, authoritarian rule is mostly ousted out of the power structure by mass mobilization. However, it does necessarily not replace authoritarian regime with democratic regime. In the replacement process, it is also possible that authoritarian regime may be occupied by another type of authoritarian rule.⁴⁵ As was the case in Pakistan, after prolonging protests, demonstrations, marches, strikes, rallies and processions, General Ayub Khan's enduring dictatorial rule was replaced by another military dictator General Yahya Khan. This happened due to absence of harmony and mutual understanding among the leadership of democratic forces. It also results in the creation of hindrance to the emergence of the necessary

⁴² Haynes, *Democracy in the Developing World*, 23-25.

⁴³ Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*.

⁴⁴ Huntington, *The Third Wave*, 142.

⁴⁵ Haynes, *Democracy and Political Change in the Third World*.

climate of moderation and compromise characterizing democratic consolidation.⁴⁶ In transformations and transplacements, the stakeholders in the authoritarian regime usually leave the politics and return to the barracks or private life quietly and with some honour and dignity. At times, authoritarian regimes are ousted out of power through replacement mode of transition.⁴⁷

Transition is an interesting and an excited phenomenon particularly in context to the countries whose political system is weak, ideologically fragmented, and nationally disintegrated.⁴⁸ Dank Wart A. Rustow's article 'Transition to Democracy' is appeared to be a dynamic model which explains important problems of transition at the time.⁴⁹ In the light of problems in political cultures of different countries, he explains that the consolidation of democracy passes through different stages. In this research article, it is to discuss how democratic transition and consolidation crossed these five stages in the case of Pakistan.

Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Pakistan

The first stage of democratic consolidation requires national unity and stability. The development of national unity is necessary to consolidate democracy in political system of polity.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, national unity could not be achieved in Pakistan since partition. Incomplete partition of United India into two countries Pakistan and India by British created international problems in the region such as Kashmir dispute and water problem.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Haynes, *Democracy in the Developing World*, 27.

⁴⁷ Huntington, *The Third Wave*, 152.

⁴⁸ Munk, *Measuring Democracy*.

⁴⁹ Dankwart A. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model Lisa Anderson," ed: Lisa Anderson, *Transition to Democracy*, 79.

⁵⁰ Haynes, *Democracy in the Developing World*, 25.

⁵¹ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Company, 1988).

In the second stage, mass movements and public unity are necessary provisions for the development of democracy. In this phase of democratic consolidation, polity goes through a prolonged and inclusive political struggle. After transition from dictatorship to democracy, the democratic consolidation may be the result of long lasted mass movement.⁵² In simple words, this stage is dependent on the intense political struggles and movements. In the case of Pakistan, MRD's (Movement for the Restoration of Democracy) ⁵³ struggle to bring Pakistan on the road of democracy was not successful but it developed pressure on dictator Zia for democratic transition in the country.⁵⁴ Post MRD era, the democratic transition took place in Pakistan through regime rupture. Resultantly, people's rule was established in 1988 and steps were taken to consolidate democracy in the country.⁵⁵ Due to lack of political harmony as well as diverse political ideologies resulted in transition from democracy to dictatorship for the third time in Pakistan on October 12, 1999.⁵⁶

The third stage of transition is signifier of compromises among competitors such as dictators versus dictators and democrats versus democrats; therefore, this stage is called as the inception of transition⁵⁷ because leading political players decide to compromise, to adopt democratic rules and create unity. In this phase, political leaders usually work according to democratic rules for the consolidation of democracy.⁵⁸ Moreover, this stage is mainly associated with the politics of reconciliation.⁵⁹ During Musharraf era,

⁵² Haynes, *Democracy and Political Change in the Third World*

⁵³ Muhammad Waseem, *Pakistan Under Martial Law 1977-1985* (Lahore: Vanguard Book (Pvt) ltd., 1987).

⁵⁴ Talbot, *Pakistan*.

⁵⁵ Mushahid Husain, *Pakistan's Politics: The Zia Years* (Lahore Progressive Publishers, 1990).

⁵⁶ Aqil Shah, *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan* (London: Harvard University Press, 2014).

⁵⁷ Munk, *Measuring Democracy*.

⁵⁸ Haynes, *Democracy in the Developing World*, 2 9.

⁵⁹ Husain, *Pakistan's Politics*.

the and the then Co-chairman of PPP, Asif Ali Zardari reconciled politically with opposition for the consolidation democracy in the country.⁶⁰

The fourth stage is called as the second transition in which democratic construction and consolidation begin to become mature.⁶¹ the contemporary phase of the history of Pakistan can be called the era of consolidation of democracy with certain complexities and uncertainty. In countries like Pakistan, the development and empowerment of democracy remain non-permanent. As a result, authoritarianism easily finds its roots to flourish in the political system of the countries like Pakistan.⁶² The history reveals in Pakistan that democratic transition and consolidation processes have been passing these all stages since the inception of the partition era. However, no pro-democracy atmosphere has yet been created in Pakistan.⁶³

Dynamics of Democratic Consolidation in Pakistan

The circumstances and factors that are concerned with democratic consolidation are spotlighted here including vastly consensual, political attitude, social structures and political institutions.⁶⁴ There are other eminent factors regarding democratic consolidation such as level of national prosperity; a robust relatively well-organized civil society; and an institutionalization, relatively undivided as well as political party system.⁶⁵ There are also converse factors that prevent

⁶⁰ Faiz Khoso, *Kare Kakkar Heth Mu Jharrendea Chaddiya: Tarikhee Halchal MRD (Fighting Sprit under Dark Cloud: Historical Movement MRD)* (Hyderabad: My Publications, 2013), 11.

⁶¹ Haynes, *Democracy in the Developing World*, 30.

⁶² Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan at Cross Currents of History* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2004).

⁶³ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Company, 1988).

⁶⁴ Robert. B. Talisse, *Democracy After liberalism: Pragmatism and Deliberative Politics*, 102.

⁶⁵ Munk, *Measuring Democracy*.

democratic consolidation enduring economic crisis, lack of societal toleration among ethnically and or religiously divided groups; a weak civil society; a highly fragmented party system; factional party politics.⁶⁶

Among the Muslim states and developing world, Pakistan is one of those a few states, where people prefer parliamentary democratic system and have shown their strength to reject military dictatorships through mass movements and mobilization.⁶⁷ The upsurge of mass movements for the revival of democracy such as PDM (Pakistan Democratic Movement, Anti-Ayub Movement, MRD and ARD (Alliances for the restoration of Democracy) showed the disapproval of military rule in Pakistan.⁶⁸ Non-serious attitude of politicians could not produce healthy atmosphere for the promotion of stable democracy in the country.⁶⁹

Democracy in Pakistan, rather emerged by default once the ruling regime voluntarily stepped aside after the sudden death of General Zia and his top brass in plane crash on August 17, 1988.⁷⁰ From 1988 to 1999 Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif emerged to represent new generation. Both the political leaders from different political parties took steps in their own patterns to consolidate democracy and uphold rule of law. They began political retaliation rather than following democratic rules. But both applied conceptual framework of autocratic tendencies that gave birth to the politics of retaliation. The challenges for the party leadership in Pakistan are to transform the

⁶⁶ Huntington, *The Third Wave*, 155.

⁶⁷ Rasool B. Rais, "Elections in Pakistan: is Democracy Winning?," *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 03, (Spring, 1988): 78-97.

⁶⁸ Tarique Ali, "Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in Pakistan," *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 01, (March 1984): 57-79.

⁶⁹ Shafqat, "Democracy in Pakistan: Value Change and Challenges of Institution Building".

⁷⁰ C.G.P. Rakisits, "Centre-Province Relations in Pakistan Under President Zia: The Government's and Opposition's Approaches," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 61, No. 1, (Spring, 1988): 78-97.

character of political party from an instrument of mass mobilization to interest representation and advocacy in the parliament. In the political history of Pakistan an outstanding feature in party politics has been the construction and tearing of alliances and coalitions.⁷¹ However coalitions are proved to be weak within the parliament but in rare cases multiparty consensus on issues developed. The best example is the removal of the eighth amendment.

In fact, democracy was never allowed to flourish in political atmosphere of Pakistan. The fact of irony is that political culture of Pakistan is dependent on several classes and sub-classes which include fragmented civil society in the form of bridaries, feudal communities, and fragmented political party system. In such political system, when champions of democracy, who struggled and desired to bring the country on the routes of democracy. They are not only suppressed but also ousted out of the political arena by several anti-democratic forces.⁷²

In spite of movements and a huge struggle for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan, the political leadership of Pakistan People's Party has been unable to formulate a legal frame and most eminently neither built a network of policies nor gave birth to a pro-democratic environment in which contradictions among political elites may be solved. But they have only developed a framework on the basis of reconciliation for the consolidation of their own positions. The promotion and progress of democracy require patience, consensus, political dialogue and deliberation among the powerful groups and political parties. Democracy cannot function vigorously in the absence of elite consensus and harmony.

⁷¹ Shafqat, "Democracy in Pakistan: Value Change and Challenges of Institution Building".

⁷² Khalid Bin Saeed, "Pakistan in 1983: Internal Stresses More Serious than External Problem," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 24, No. 02, (February 1984): 219-28.

Conclusion

This research article concludes in the light of theoretical framework that transitions from democracy to dictatorship take place either by regime rupture, elite settlement, social, economic and political crisis as well as mass mobilization. Ayub Khan left office due to political crisis and mass mobilization against his regime. Yahya Khan transferred powers to civilians after election process (elite settlement). General Zia's downfall became by disaster (his death in plane crash). However, crisis did not remain the main cause of democratic transition in Pakistan. Despite restoration of democracy, political leadership faced failure to consolidate democracy and develop healthy atmosphere for democracy in Pakistan. Their vested interests and dictatorial autocratic attitude weakened democracy in the country. Therefore, the process of democratic consolidation remained slow and democracy did not lay its foundation roots to nourish in Pakistani state. Finally, this research paper concludes that democracy could be promoted in future. If political leadership could either change their autocratic attitude or follow the principles of democracy. By doing this, healthy democratic atmosphere could be developed in Pakistan.