

MINOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN ALLIANCES: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF PAKISTANI PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY (1988- 1999)

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Abstract:

Pakistan was achieved on the basis of democratic and constitutional struggle. However, Pakistan faced lacking in emerging system which led a persistence sea saw of power. In parliamentary system, Minor parties have great extraordinary impact in politics. These are still playing role and also looking to play an increasingly important role. In 1988-99, Benazir and Nawaz Sharif comprehensively failed with causes of misuse of power and lacking of respect for the Constitution. The breakup of democratic rules had been challenged the political ideologies which led to social and governmental corruption. Democracy can never develop without common freedoms, justice, rule of law and equal opportunities.

Political alliances are constituted momentarily in order to achieve particular target through joint endeavors. Literally, political Alliance means the confederation of numerous groups or political parties for the achievement of common objectives. The society factor played a role in the creation of Alliance. During the period of instability, the alliances continued in the Pakistan IJI and PDA play very vital and active role in the politics of Pakistan. COP, NDA and GDA were alliances which arranged a foundation stone of opposition. The role of Minor parties in political alliances re-energized its political activities but these activities contributed

great to its finish. This research in hand highlights the performance of minor political parties and groups in making and breaking of political alliances.

Introduction:

Pakistan as newly created state lacked political and constitutional customs. In parliamentary system, political parties are device in the process of democratization which forward the particular shape and give social frame. Pakistan has a multiparty system with contradictory background included territorial, religious and secular parties. Political parties have been impeded by ethnic and local components. These parties have constrained national intrigue and also have been torn by individual and class conflicts.

The nonappearance of mandatory leadership and lack of trained parties prompted to the political disintegration. Thusly, legislative democracy in Pakistan distorted. The restricting expression of difference of opinion also led to emerge many minor and major parties. Because of the single ballot simple majority system boost the minor parties to cut away a negligible proportion of voters which can change the electoral constituent number in support of or against a party. This element inspires the formation of alliances on religion, regional or national level. As a positive angle, the minor parties are lodged with coalitions and given attention. But as a negative aspect it can make the stress on major parties to act upon of their interests and ideologies. This can hurt national uprightness without care and appropriate vision. The negative viewpoint stayed predominant in the nation of Pakistan.

Political alliances mean the confederation of various ideological groups for the accomplishment of shared objective. In Pakistan, multiple party systems work the rise of coalition and alliance is increasingly normal. It is very hard for political parties to persist in the stress of government or to perform well in polls. Under the dictator regime, the administrative intervention is a cause in the creation of political alliances.

Parliamentary democracy is a number game, and political parties are forced to win it and in case of any number discrepancy they go for political alliances. So the formation of alliances is now one of the popular political practices. Party alliances may be produced either by giving severe contemplations on political chessboard. These alliances provide a constitutional cover against the sitting government which they deem to overthrow through the joint efforts. Some alliances are made to strife for democratization against a totalitarian or dictatorial rule. However; minor parties work for alliance formation to sustain and ensure their presence in the political arena. Pakistan has been run by dominant parties for very prolonged stretch of time, and as a matter of fact their strong stance was challenged and confronted by coalition of minor parties.

Formation of Alliances (1988-1999)

Forming alliance is a practice of political parties in the quest of collective design. This practice is although done on temporal grounds yet its efficacy cannot be undermined. These political alliances provide a great benefit to minor parties which definitely lack the number-game in parliamentary democracy as in Pakistan.¹ They can easily win face-saving before the public of their electoral constituencies. They also aspire to protect the opposition from the pressure of government and to over throw the government.²The alliances of political parties were distinctive in structure and degree. Some are short lived and un-organized while some are firmly composed and enduring. Any well-planned and durable alliance formed by ideological parties sustains for a long time even until the achievement of its partial or full goals while reciprocally speaking any unorganized one may face failure or even goes on dismantle and leads to consequence of disarray and conflict.

1. Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI)

After the sudden death of Zia, politician moved to choose their team for general election of 1988. The ML and their Eight-parties consulted to form an alliance and successes to form of Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI) on 6 November 1988.³ Later on, in a dramatic move Jamaat-e-Islami joined IJI on 10 October 1988. The IJI comprised on following nine parties (including Minor parties)

- 1- Pakistan Muslim League
- 2- Jamaat-e-Mashaikh Pakistan
- 3- Jamait Ulema-e-Islam
- 4- National People’s Party (NPP)
- 5- Azad Group
- 6- Hezbollah Jihad
- 7- Nizam-e-Mustafa Group
- 8- Jamaat-e- Isalmi Pakistan
- 9- Markazi Jamaat-e-Ahl-e-Hadith (Lakhvi Group).⁴

During the long talk with JI, Secretary generalship of alliance was offered which was accepted. The component of alliance agreed on seven-point agenda included equal economic opportunities implementation of Islamic law, non-aligned foreign policy full support of Afghan Jihad development of nuclear energy prediction of women’s right and cooperation with third world countries.⁶ IJI contested in the election of 1988 and 1990 and successes with excellent position.

IJI position in National Assembly of Pakistan:

ELECTION YEAR	VOTES	VOTES%	SEATS No
1988	5,939,088	30	55
1990	7,876,632	37	104

IJI position in Provincial Assemblies:

ELECTION YEAR	PUNJAB - 240	SINDH- 100	KPK-80	BALOCHISTAN -40	TOTAL
1988	108	01	28	08	145
1990	214	06	33	07	260

2. Pakistan People’s Alliance (PPA) /Pakistan Awami Ittehad (PAI)

The politician and spiritual leader Pir Saheb Pagara (PML J) arranged a meeting with the JUP and TI. On the other hand, Muhammad Khan Junejo was in pursuit of alliance elsewhere.⁷ At last, an understanding emerged on a broad base alliance. The leadership of JUP, PML (F) and TI agreed to form PPA. Maulana Shah Muhammad Nourani announced as a convener and Ansari as secretary general. The PPA demanded the party-based election and restoration of democracy.⁸ The leader of TI expected to establish contacts with other politicians of

MRD.⁹After the long negotiation, the chief of PML (F) and PML (J) decided to unite on 14 October. Junejo nominated as Chief of united party and Iqbal Ahmad as secretary general. The leader of Tehreek-Istaqlal arrested and PML(J) resigned from the caretaker government. Ultimately, PML(J) withdrew from PPA on 19 October, and became a part of IJI.¹⁰PPA contested the election and got three seats of national assembly and two of provincial assembly from Punjab.

PPA position in National Assembly

ELECTION YEAR	VOTES	VOTES %	SEAT NO
1988	859713	4	03

PPA position in Provincial Assemblies

ELECTION YEAR	PUNJAB - 240	SINDH- 100	KPK- 80	BALUCHISTAN -40	TOTAL
1988	02	0	0	0	02

The IJI held meeting to distribute the tickets on 23 October 1988. The partners of IJI and the leaders of Minor parties [(JUI- F) HJ, JAH and Nizam-e-Mustafa] held their meeting in Lahore The IJI launched election campaign on 2 November 1988 from Peshawar. Another big public meeting held near Masjid Shuhada Lahore. Nawaz Sharif said that large crowd has given their verdict in the favor of IJI.¹¹

The nation went to poll to elect their representatives for next five years. The PPP won 92 seats and IJI with 55 seats.¹²The elections paved the way for transition to democracy and Benazir became a PM of Pakistan on 2 December 1988. In the provincial assemblies, PPP succeeded in capturing majority in Sindh while Punjab, Baluchistan and NWFP failed to give a decisive verdict. The independent and minor parties played a major role in changing the arithmetic's in Legislatures. But major parties (PPP and IJI) were in need of support of Minor parties. Both PPP and IJI tried to persuade MQM for alliance. PPP won the race and reached an agreement with MQM. By election was a test of government and opposition. PPP conformed as a national party and got majority but IJI made effective in Punjab. However, IJI pronounced and alliance could be succeeded to do more in future, political situation worsened and bitterness creped. PPP and IJI rivalry started in the political field PPP claimed that have won the support of opposition legislators in provincial assembly Punjab to carry a motion of no confidence against Nawaz Sharif.

Combine Opposition Parties (COP)

PPP formed government in center while IJI constituted in Punjab province. Soon differences appeared and Bhutto faced pressure mounted from opposition and alliance. ANP and MQM slipped from alliance. Hence; under the given circumstances the opposing parties reached to

the initiation of organized effort under the banner of Combined Opposition Parties (COP) to oppose the ruling PPP.

IJI continued expand its support after the ANP-IJI accord. The Provincial working committee of Awami National Party (ANP) acceded to be part of IJI in provincial politics.¹³

Nawaz Sharif and Jamat-i-Islami were reluctant to include the Awami National Party as the latter had a contradictory stance on Afghan Issue. Nawaz Sharif also said that IJI would not relax its principal standing on Afghan issue.¹⁴ ANP split into two groups after the IJI-ANP accord. The People's Works Program (PWP) launched by government became controversial the opposition leader raised their slogan and said we would not allow to stuff their pocket with money.¹⁵ Nawab Akber Bugti (CM Baluchistan) said that under no circumstances my government will not allow people's programme.¹⁶ Akber Bugti CM of Baluchistan requested the president to intervene because the interference of Federal government and its agencies in the provincial matters.¹⁷ IJI and other determined to resume the power from Benazir Bhutto. According to source, Benazir's government had been launched from one crisis to another which made the fragile PPP government.

Pakistan Democratic Alliance-PDA (or Pakistan Jamhoori Ittehad)

PPP soon recovered itself from the shock of its acquittal from the power corridors and tried to forge a strategy for general election. It worked hard to chalk out an effective political alliance in order to counter IJI. These efforts soon culminated into PDA TI and Tehreek-i-Nifaz-e-Fiqah-Jaffria (Allama Qasim) were part of this alliance.¹⁸ K.M. Qasuri was appointed Secretary General of the Alliance.¹⁹ PDA worked for contesting elections on common grounds so they chalked out a shared program.²⁰ Asghar Khan has criticized the Z.A. Bhutto and welcomed the President order of 6 August 1990 but Benazir never believed and considered it was only the party and nothing else any important.²¹ Another decision was made not to allow the separate flag and platform. It was the best strategy under the circumstance.²² The election held after a period of uncertainty and confusion. The results of national and provincial assemblies show the interesting surprises. IJI won the election with landslide victory as per their expectations. According to the daily Dawn's publication of 26 October 1990, IJI secured a handsome amount of NA seats as compared to PDA while the minor parties which remained away from the alliances showed a poor performance as was expected by the political analysts. IJI got 105 NA seats while PDA secures 45; MQM 15; JUI-F and ANP got 6 each, minor parties like JUP-N got 3 seats, and not to surprise Independent candidates won 21 seats of National Assembly seats.

The surprising element for IJI was victory at national level. IJI got 105 seats while PDA succeeded in getting 45 seats other parties like JUI(F), JWP, ANP, JUP(N), PNP and PMAP did not cross the double figure digit while MQM got 15 and independence 21 seats. The final figure of IJI seats with their allies reached 136. Just nine seats were needed to obtain a two third majority out of other 21 independents members.²³ The IJI and PDA's position in provincial election reflected the trends. IJI ensured a sweeping victory by gaining 214 seats in Punjab; PDA was able to secure only 10 seats in Punjab. In Sindh province which was stronghold of PPP, now part of PDA won 46 seats while IJI won only 6 seats. Minor parties again distressed its following.

IJI succeeded in getting a large number of seats by striking alliance with Minor parties in National, Punjab and NWFP assemblies. Resultantly, Nawaz Sharif sworn as Prime Minister of Pakistan on 6th November 1990.²⁴ Ghulam Haider Wyne elected as a CM of Punjab under IJI Punjab Provincial parliament. Mir Afzal Khan became Eleventh CM of NWFP by the

coalition of IJI and ANP. In Sindh, caretaker CM Jam Sadiq succeeded becoming the provincial CM. The wining of PDA was high rated but failed jam Sadiq successfully gathered independent favor and enjoyed supports of MQM, SNA and IJI. He styled his government independent-cum MQM coalition.²⁵In Baluchistan, Mir Taj Muhammad Jamali was sworn as CM by likeminded group of Minor parties and independents. He secured twenty-six seats on the house.²⁶

The first challenge of IJI was to face the Gulf crisis. Qazi Hussain Ahmad of Jamat-e-Islami came out in the support of Saddam Hussain. Benazir Bhutto toured America and said war could turn into “west versus Islam war”. As a leader of PDA, she had supported the America while her party delighted by Nawaz Sharif’s difficulties. Islami Jamhori Ittehad (IJI) wanted to force and implement Shariah bill as their party agenda. Benazir said that shariah bill would be acceptable for PDA but proposed bill would divide the country on sectarian lines. While Qazi Hussain Ahmad considered that the Shariah Bill would divide the nation into sects.²⁷The ruling party faced criticism by the JUI, JUP, ANP and MQM and other. The Ulema walked out during the meeting of IJI under the chairman of Nawaz Sharif. Mutahida Dini Mahaz (MDM) wanted to implement Shariah Bill and warned the government they would not accept any legislation then ensured the supremacy of Shariah.²⁸

After assuming the power, IJI came under constrained and internal difference started to crop out. Jamat-e-Islami and government dropped in gulf due the IJI coalition with the ANP and MQM. The Shariah bill and 12th amendment further increased the gulf which led the resignation of Professor Ghulam Ahmad from Secretary General of IJI. Nawaz Sharif constituted a 2-member committee to reconcile difference and stop of words between MQM and IJI. Therefore, Nawaz Sharif took some steps and breaded his strength by increasing the ten new ministers and seventeen-minister of state. Another factor happened with the inclusion of ANP in cabinet. IJI and ANP love affair now culminated into a strong bond. Even the party loyalist protested the ANP-IJI alliance and failed to deter the leader of ANP from election agreement with IJI in the election of 1990. The Jamat-e-Islami strongly opposed the inclusion of ANP and MQM (which expanded federal cabinet) on the ideology and political ground. IJI and other components head held meeting that agreed to meet every three-month to iron out their difference.²⁹

Jamat-i-Islami’s Political Front—the PIF

In 1993, the political scenario was quite different, religious political stream went on new vistas of liaison and unison. Hence; in May the JI veteran Qazi Hussain Ahmad founded self-led religio-political alliance with the name Pakistan Islamic Front—PIF and bade for the enforcement of Islamic Law in the country. This alliance, contrary to the wishes of its proponents, won mere two NA seats from Punjab though a large number of candidates contested this election. The facts and figures have been as follows:

Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) Position in Election 1993

ELECTIONS	VOTERS	VOTE%	SEATS NO
NATIONAL ELECTION	676,560	3	3
PUNJAB PROVINCIAL ELECTION	331,587	2	-
SINDH PROVINCIAL ELECTION	81,784	3	1

KPK PROVINCIAL ELECTION	258,687	12	2
BALUCHISTAN PROVINCIAL ELECTION	4,502	1	-

Elections 1993, Gallup Survey, Vol.-V

The United Religious Front (Muttahidda Dini Mahaaz—MDM)

In the same elections, MDM experienced extreme failure. It could not cash religious sympathy of the public although there were big religious tycoons like JUI-Sami and Sipah-i-Sahaba Pakistan. It managed to win one seat each from Punjab and NA, even had a fulsome support of 24 different religio-political groups.

Muttahidda Dini Mahaaz (MDM) Position in Election 1993

ELECTIONS	VOTERS	VOTE%	SEATS NO
NATIONAL ELECTION	216,825	1	2
PUNJAB PROVINCIAL ELECTION	152,769	1	1
SINDH PROVINCIAL ELECTION	3,157	1	-
KPK PROVINCIAL ELECTION	25,096	0.01	-
BALUCHISTAN PROVINCIAL ELECTION	35,803	5	1

The Elections 1993, Ibid.

Islami Jamhuri Mahaaz (IJM)

The Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam is a religious political party. It was the first time in 1993 election that JUI (F) and JUP (Noorani) agreed to cooperate each other under the name of Islami Jamhuri Mahaz (IJM). Both parties contested election under the symbol of “Book”. The overall performance in election is given under table.

Islami Jamhuri Mahaz (IJM) Position of Provinces in Election 1993

ELECTIONS	VOTERS	VOTE%	SEATS NO
NATIONAL ELECTION	482,208	2	4
PUNJAB	60,241	0.41	-
SINDH	68,907	2	-
KPK	226,551	11	2
BALUCHISTAN	126,509	18	2

Ibid

National Democratic Alliance–NDA (or Qaumi Jamhoori Ittehad)

IJI adopted an authoritarian style to run the affairs of state. Nawabzada Nusrullah Khan met with the heads of political parties on 3 October 1991 and convinced them to constitute a national level political alliance. His efforts were soon materialized into the formation of Qaumi Jamhoori Ittehad (National Democratic Alliance-NDA) whose offices were to be established at Karachi. This Alliance comprised Ghulam Mustafa Khar (NPP), Nawab Akhter Bugti (JWP) Abdul Hafeez Pirzada (PNP), Miraj Muhammad Khan (AJP), Fatheyab Ali Khan (MKD) and Nawab Zada Nusrullah Khan (NPP).³⁰ Maulana Kouser Niazi and Ghulam Mustafa Khar supported the alliance. Nawabzada Nusrullah Khan was made its convener.³¹ Later on, Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) joined the NDA with the view of restoration of democracy, democratic norms and to enforce islamization.³²

IJI was a Nawaz Sharif show and has a lack of unity of its component reflected by the strong opposition of JI and NPP to the regime.³³ NDA reiterated his aim to get rid of the leadership of IJI.³⁴ NPP made already an alliance with Benazir Bhutto and joined hands with PDA in Sindh Assembly. Nawaz Sharif sent a message to Ejaz-ul- Haqq to fall in line or else it was clearly signaling the end of IJI and analysis called it the beginning of the end.³⁵

JI was unhappy over the performance of government in national and international issue. JI parliamentary group declared IJI dead. Consequently, IJI trouble down by HJ, JUI(S), NPP and JI the alliance broke down to go a new political revamp. IJI government had an open front by starting operation clean up in the province Sindh. The movement of the army affected the MQM.³⁶ However MQM abandon the government after resignation by its calls anti-MQM.³⁷ The IJI had been cut to size and Muslim League was only prominent party. All Minor parties had deserted the alliance. To fill this vacuum, Benazir Bhutto announced public mobilization program with all opposition force including NDA on 14 October 1992. Its aim was to oust the Nawaz Sharif government.

Most of the leaders of NDA had good term with president Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The opposition made a gesture to create the impression of the president’s support. The pro-Ishaq lobby was working too which provoked several resignations, after Sharif’s attempt to control the party. The political analysts pointed out that Anti-Nawaz Sharif forces were working on two levels. First, Hamid Nasir Chaththa [(PNL-J) resigned as planning minister] wanted to take over as PM without dissolving the assembly. Second, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi (NPP) and Balakh Sher Mazari were working for dissolution of parliament so that one of them becomes a caretaker Prime Minister. Consequently, the Nawaz Government was dismissed on 18 April 1993 by President Ishaq Khan under the Constitutional Article 58-2(B). This sacking showed that the real power of the country tied with the Army and president. Through the NDA had fallen a part in the general election of 1993. The electoral performance in general elections is given under.

NDA in General Election 1993

Election Year	Votes	Votes %	Seats No
1993	64,713	32	01

Gallup Pakistan; Vol. 5

NDA in Provincial Elections 1993

Election Year	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP (Now KPK)	Balochistan	Total
1993	01	---	---	---	01

Ibid

The National Democratic Alliance offered seat reallocation to Pakistan People’s Party and this liaison later absorbed NDA and this merger was actually doomed its political existence.

Conclusion:

Politics of alliances is a common feature of political culture in politics. In the perspective of Pakistani politics, here alliances are associated with phenomenon of multiplicity of political parties. Pakistani politics has also a viewed of political arrangement. One is due to multiplicity of political parties and other is due to long authoritarian regime. All major and minor parties faced difficulties to manage their electoral objective without alliances. Most of the political parties orbit round the personalities as an alternative of ideologies or gorgeous political programs. Without ideological heredity, political parties resulted in mushroom growth of political organization. The nation confronted trouble in creating stable political framework because of extensive stretches of military laws and nonappearance of solid ideological groups. With few exemptions, there are no intra-party democratic practices and political parties have turned into titular dictatorships, designed to revolve around the personal gains of party head. Some parties revolve in religious, ethnic, linguistic and regional orbits, leading to further deterioration of the parliamentary democracy.

In Post-Zia era, politicians got an occasion to play a role in political system but they gave a little concern to the will of masses. The political alliances emerged after Zia-ul-Haq regime. Political onlooker trusts that opposition and ruling parties would cooperate with each other. However, the old form of politics emerged and ruling party and opposition dragged out their sword of political conflicts based on personality interests. The PPP was countered by an alliance of IJI in 1988. Although, this alliance stayed successful to check the majority and the exercising authority of PPP with single handedly but it also funded in introducing suspicion political culture in Pakistan. The no confidence motion against Benazir and return the opening of similar move against the Nawaz in Punjab drove the destabilizing the democratic process in Pakistan.

IJI successfully survived as opposition from PPP. It figured out how to secure certain of cooperation rather than breakdown as widely expected in National Assembly. IJI enjoyed fulsome support from another alliance of opposition parties—the COP. Moreover the flock of other minor parties too came in unison with variant manifestoes and party programs. This ultimately strengthened the IJI and helped in grabbing power in both Centre and Punjab. It effectively used this strength in winning support of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan who, in turn, removed PPP from the power corridors. Pakistani politics also witnessed the forceful political clash between IJI and PPP. The PPP also entered into an alliance i.e. Pakistan Democracy Alliance (PDA), one of the strongest leftist alliance against the rightist IJI.

In the general election of 1993, furthestmost of all major and minor political parties and groups stayed away from the leftists—both liberal and secular divergent streams. They wanted to test their nerve and mettle against the latter. These alliances showed an insinuated

coordination to work out joint seat adjustment. Overall performance of these religious alliances was not sufficient.

IJI adopted an authoritarian style to run the business of state and the opposition parties criticized it which was against name of democracy. To face the regime, opposition created to bring the scatter forces on one platform named NDA. The alliance partner of IJI was unhappy performance of government in national and international issue. Soon, IJI confronted with severe difference among its component parties. The alliance progressively lost its reliability as well as allying partner. Subsequently, IJI trouble down by HJ, JUI(S) and JI. Primarily, NDA was seized that it was essentially posed as second in command to the sitting government, popularly termed as 'B-Team'. However; these alliances although created to depose the rule off failed badly. The government faced failures and subsequent acquittal from the power corridors due to their own mistakes and flaws. The overall analysis of the formation of alliances was to dispose off a rule and for this reason they play the 'game' of making and breaking alliances.

Abbreviations Used:

AJP	Awami Jamhoori Party
ANP	Awami National Party
COP	Combined Opposition Parties
GDA	Grand Democratic Alliance
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad
JUI-F	Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Islam (Fazalur Rehman Group)
JUI-S	Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Islam (Maualna Samiullah Group)
JUP	Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan
JWP	Jamhoori Watan Party
MQM	Mutahidda Qaumi Movement
NPP	National People's Party

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