



# Project Report

National Democratic Institute  
for International Affairs

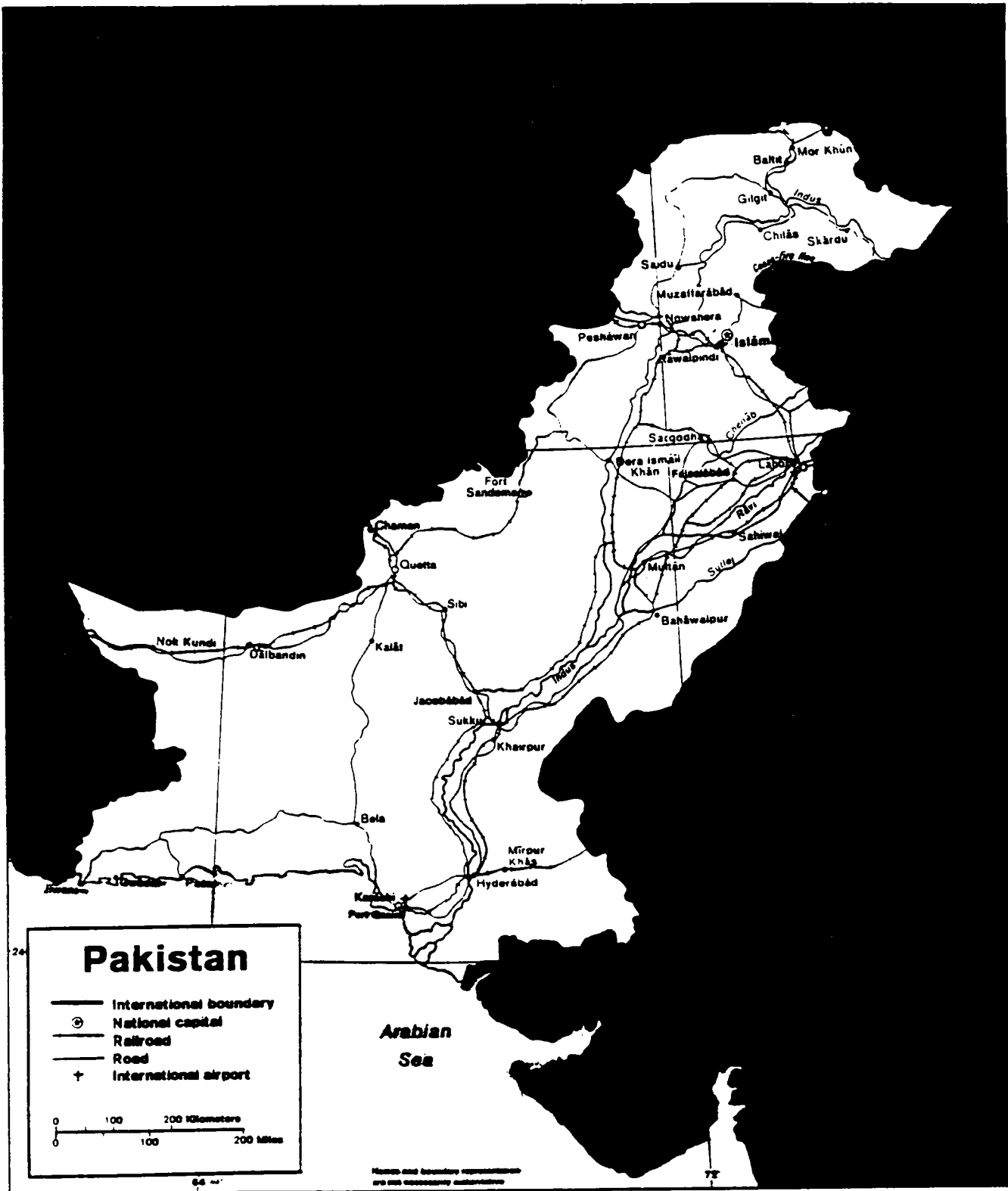
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## PAKISTAN IN TRANSITION

Preliminary Report

March 1988





# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducts nonpartisan political development programs overseas. By working with political parties and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain, and strengthen democratic institutions and pluralistic values in new and emerging democracies.

NDI received bipartisan acclaim for organizing the international observer delegation to the "snap" presidential elections in the Philippines. NDI has also conducted a series of democratic development programs in nearly 30 countries, including Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, Chile, Haiti, Nicaragua, Northern Ireland, Senegal, South Korea, Taiwan, and Uruguay.

This report is a compendium of information compiled and presented by three NDI missions to Pakistan in the period from April 1987 to January 1988. Since the assimilation of this data a number of events have taken place which will undoubtedly affect the democratic development of Pakistan:

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| May 1988    | President Zia dismissed Prime Minister Junejo and dissolved the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies;  |
| June 1988   | The Supreme Court ruled that the sections of the Political Parties Act requiring political parties to register with the government were unconstitutional; |
| June 1988   | President Zia decreed that the Islamic legal code, Sharia, is the supreme law in Pakistan;  |
| July 1988   | President Zia announced that November 16 would be the date for non-party based elections for the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies;         |
| August 1988 | The PPP brought a court suit challenging the constitutionality of Zia's order on non-party based elections;   |
| August 1988 | President Zia and U.S. Ambassador Raphael were killed in a plane crash;   |
| August 1988 | Ghulam Ishaq Khan, member of the Senate, assumed the presidency and General Baig became Army Chief of Staff;  |
| August 1988 | President Ishaq Khan made the terms of the judges on the Supreme Court for life.  |

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## I. SUMMARY

Martial law in Pakistan ended in 1985 and the movement toward the restoration of civilian democratic government began.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), which has a mandate to encourage the development of democratic institutions in countries in transition to democracy, was urged by interests within Pakistan who wanted to facilitate the transition to democracy to undertake a project there.

Prior to embarking on this program, NDI prepared a review of developments in Pakistan since independence. This study included a review of relevant literature and periodicals, briefings by past and current U.S. ambassadors and foreign service personnel assigned to Pakistan, meetings with members of Congress and their staffs, and conferences with representatives of the Pakistan government in the U.S. The result of this process was a written background briefing (Attachment A).

With this background, NDI sent three missions to Pakistan (Itineraries, Attachment B). The first took place in April 1987. NDI sent a five-person survey delegation led by Leon Billings, former executive assistant to Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, and included NDI Board members and consultants.

They met with President Zia, Prime Minister Junejo, government ministers, members of the National Assembly, a wide spectrum of political parties, jurists, academics and journalists. The objective of the mission was to determine the commitment of the major political participants to establishing a democratically-elected constitutional government. The viability of political parties and the role they would play in contesting free and fair open elections was closely examined.

NDI determined that to complete its understanding of the political evolution in Pakistan it would be desirable to observe the non-party Local Bodies (L.B.) Elections. A two-person delegation -- Bob Carroll, Assistant Program Director, and Mark Siegel, Board Member -- went to Pakistan for the November 30, 1987 election in Lahore in the Punjab Province, to study administrative electoral procedures, the campaign practices of candidates, and the participation of voters in the first election since the lifting of martial law (Attachment C).

A subsequent delegation was sent on December 26 to determine the interest in a future NDI program and to secure the participation of Pakistanis in the design of such a program. That four-person delegation was led by Patricia Keefer, NDI Senior Consultant. The product of the mission was to recommend a series of symposiums from which Pakistanis could

draw on the experience of others as they proceed through the transitional phase of the democratization process. The first symposium would address the role of political parties, the government bureaucracy, the press, the military, and the legal framework in guaranteeing a civilian democratic government.

NDI concluded from this intensive examination that none of the major political practitioners want a return to martial law; that irrespective of its origins, the current government is a practical mechanism to secure democracy; that free and fair elections are the means by which order can be restored and maintained in Pakistan; and that this transition to democracy should be encouraged. However, it was also clear that the transition to democracy is impeded by the inadequacy of institutions and the role they should play in the transition, as well as a diminished institutional capacity, especially on the part of the Pakistan Muslim League and the Pakistan People's Party as to their understanding of their role in the transition process and their ability to respond to events. Accordingly, NDI proposes a series of symposiums to explore the roles of various institutions in the democratization process. The first is proposed for September 1988.

The following report addresses the observations and accumulated data from NDI's 1987 activities.

## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

The idea of establishing Pakistan as a separate Muslim nation by a partition of India developed in the 1930s and was formally endorsed by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League in 1940. At the end of World War II, Britain took the final steps to give India independence. However, the Congress Party and the Muslim League could not agree on the terms for drafting a constitution or establishing an interim government. In June 1947, the British government declared it would grant full dominion status to two successor states - India and Pakistan. Pakistan would consist of the contiguous Muslim majority districts of British India. Bengal and the Punjab would be partitioned, and the various princely states could accede freely to either India or Pakistan. This resulted in a bifurcated Pakistan, with West Pakistan and East Pakistan (currently Bangladesh) separated by a distance of more than 1,000 miles. Pakistan became a self-governing dominion within the Commonwealth on 14 August 1947. Massive population movement and great violence accompanied the partition of the Indian subcontinent. Some six million Muslims fled to Pakistan and about as many Hindus and Sikhs fled to India. Pakistan, therefore, came into existence not because of any indigenous Pakistani nationalism, but because of Muslim fears of domination by Hindus in an independent India.



Although Pakistan created itself to be a state for Muslims, the political traditions of its leadership lay in British models: representative government along Westminster lines and a viceregal bureaucratic style which the British had brought to a fine art in their rule of India. Much of the country's first years, however, were occupied with regional and linguistic squabbles. It would be nearly a quarter of a century until Pakistan's first national election was held, and the interim parliaments that governed Pakistan through the first decade of its existence were, at best, ineffective. Leaders changed rapidly, political parties lacked programs and performance, and there was little basis within the population on which to build an allegiance to democracy. As a result, the other side of the British heritage asserted itself even more strongly. The small but effective bureaucracy, in cooperation with the army, assumed increasing responsibility and power.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah died in September 1948, 13 months after independence. The instability which followed his death brought frequent partisan realignments and cabinet changes in the central government and in the provinces. The leaders of the new Pakistan were mainly lawyers, with a strong commitment to parliamentary government. They had supported Jinnah in his struggle against Congress not so much because they desired an Islamic state, but because they had come to regard the Congress

as synonymous with Hindu domination.

The task of framing a Constitution was entrusted to a Constituent Assembly (first elected in 1945 and thereafter replenished ad hoc). The Assembly also functioned as the country's interim government. The governmental structure was federal in form with a Constituent Assembly and a Governor-General at the center and with provincial assemblies with governors of the provinces at the regional level. Pakistan's first constitution was enacted by the Constituent Assembly in 1956.

The Constitution of 1956 declared Pakistan to be an Islamic Republic. The national parliament was to comprise one house of 300 members equally representing East and West. Representation in the National Assembly was on a parity basis rather than on a population basis. (A major factor in the 1970-71 crisis was abandonment of the parity principle. East Pakistan, under the proposed new set-up, would have had an absolute majority in the new National Assembly.) Ten seats were reserved for women. In October 1958, the military intervened. President Mirza, supported by Army Chief of Staff Ayub Khan and other officers, banned political parties, abrogated the Constitution, and placed the country under martial law, with General Mohammed Ayub Khan as chief martial law administrator. Shortly thereafter, he assumed the presidency. Martial law, which, at

first, was widely hailed, lasted 44 months.

Ayub Khan, 1959-1969

Ayub came forward with a plan for "basic democracies," directly elected by the people, as local units of development to foster Islamic ideals and foster national development. Election for the Islamic democracies took place in January 1960. Of the 80,000 Basic Democrats, as they became known, 75,000 voted for Ayub in a further election in February 1960 which Ayub called to legitimize his presidency and to give him a mandate to draft a new constitution. That constitution, promulgated in 1962, provided for the election of a president and national and provincial assemblies by an electoral college of the 80,000 Basic Democrats. Although a federal form of government was retained, the assemblies had little power: in reality, power was centralized through the authority of provincial governors, acting under the president. The general elections under the 1962 constitution took place in January 1965. Ayub was re-elected to a five-year term.

Ayub brought substantial economic growth to Pakistan, but the rewards of that growth were unevenly distributed between East and West, and among classes. He built a modern military force but allowed Pakistan to drift into a war with India over Kashmir in 1965, which was unsuccessful and costly.

### Yahya Khan, 1969-1972

In March 1969, after several months of political agitation, Ayub gave up the presidency. General Yahya Khan, commander-in-chief of the army, imposed martial law, suspended the constitution of 1962, and assumed the presidency. The government promised, however, to hold general elections on the basis of direct universal adult franchise and to convene a constitutional assembly. The popular demand to dissolve the One Unit -- the consolidation of the four provinces of West Pakistan into a single administrative unit which had been in effect since 1956 -- and to reconstitute the provinces of the region was also conceded. The four existing provinces were re-established in 1970 and elections were held. In West Pakistan, Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which called for Islamic socialism but enjoyed the support of powerful land-owning groups, secured 87 seats, mainly from the two main provinces of Punjab and Sind, in the new 300-seat Assembly.

In East Pakistan, the Awami League was led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Mujib, who was committed to a program of regional autonomy, won 167 seats, thereby obtaining a majority in the National Assembly. This position exacerbated the already deep divisions existing within Pakistan's government. There was

considerable imbalance between East and West. East Pakistan was becoming poorer, while the West was achieving growth. A continuing grievance was the contribution made by East Pakistan to foreign exchange by the export of jute and tea, from which it was felt the West reaped more advantage; the West was also the major beneficiary of foreign aid.

Yahya's plan provided that when the new assembly met, it had to produce a constitution within 100 days. Sheikh Mujib, however, now stood for complete independence for East Pakistan except in matters relating to foreign policy, although even here the East wanted to make its own trade, aid, and defense agreements. Bhutto rejected these terms and would not go to Dacca to participate in the assembly. Negotiations between Yahya and Mujib broke down and Yahya launched a drive to "reoccupy" the East with West Pakistani troops. Warfare broke out between government troops and supporters of the Awami League in March 1971. Mujib and many of his colleagues were arrested, while others escaped to India proclaiming East Pakistan an independent state. As fighting continued, the number of refugees crossing the border into India grew into the millions. In December 1971, India carried out a successful invasion of East Pakistan and the establishment of a Bangladesh government with Mujib as Prime Minister followed in January 1972. In West Pakistan, Yahya resigned and Bhutto was

installed as President.

Ali Bhutto, 1972-1977

Bhutto's greatest achievements were holding Pakistan together at a critical time, giving it a new sense of national purpose, and bringing the masses into the processes of power for the first time. He set about repairing Pakistan's international position, and within a few years, memories of Pakistan's defeat were gone. At home, he started decisively. He dismissed a large number of officers holding senior command posts and also the military governors of the provinces, in whose place he installed his own men. The PPP platform had been populist in tone and some of Bhutto's closest advisers were on the left. They moved rapidly to socialize key parts of the economy and gave the lower classes their first sense of participation in Pakistan's economic development. Bhutto's declared policy of Islamic socialism, however, brought few tangible changes although his populism was undeniably successful.

After a few years, Bhutto jettisoned his leftist advisers and turned to the landlords who had dominated Pakistan politics -- to its detriment -- since the early 1950s. He never permitted a strong party organization to emerge within the PPP, and he failed to build national institutions that would have

meaning beyond his personal role. He became increasingly autocratic, suppressing criticism, jailing opponents, and employing militant methods against the restive Pashtuns and Baluchs. A new constitution -- the third in 25 years -- was adopted in April '73 and Bhutto became Prime Minister.

Unexpectedly, in January '77, he announced new elections. Nine opposition parties put together the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) and launched a demand for the Islamic way of life. The campaign was marked by violence with opposition candidates complaining of brutal discrimination. The results revealed what appeared to be a sweeping victory for Bhutto's Pakistan's People Party (PPP) which obtained 155 of the 200 seats in the legislature. The PNA won 36 seats being strong only in the Northwest Frontier Province and Karachi.

Evidence of systematic fraud began to emerge, however, and the results were denounced as fraudulent by the PNA. Mounting protest soon brought chaos to Karachi and other major cities. Bhutto was compelled to call out the army and proclaim martial law. He tried to buy peace by offering concessions to the PNA leaders (most of whom were under arrest), but they would accept nothing short of a new election. To avoid total chaos, the Army Chief of Staff General, Zia ul-Haq, took over as chief administrator of martial law on July 5, 1977. At first, he announced that elections would be held within 90 days, but it

was clear that Bhutto remained the only politician with mass appeal. In September, Bhutto was arrested and charged with attempted murder. On March 18, 1978, he was sentenced to death, and, after Supreme Court review, he was hanged on April 4, 1979.

Zia ul-Haq, 1977-

Zia scheduled elections for November '79. The PNA had fallen into disarray leaving the PPP the strongest party. After failing to devise electoral rules satisfactory to all parties and himself, and apparently fearful of a PPP victory, Zia postponed the elections and banned political parties in October '79. New non-party elections were held for local bodies, however. In 1980, 11 center and left-of-center parties, led by the PPP, founded the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). The MRD demanded Zia's resignation, an end to martial law, new elections, and a restoration of the 1973 constitution. In August 1983, Zia announced his intention to end martial law and hold elections by March '85. He also set new local elections on a non-party basis for August and September '83. The MRD denounced the non-party elections and began a campaign of civil disobedience. Violence followed. About 300 lives were lost in three months, but the violence was confined to the Sind. Zia's



position was strengthened by the fact that MRD agitation failed to bring the masses to the streets in the key province of the Punjab.

In December '84, Zia held a referendum to approve his program of Islamization. He also declared that if the voters passed the referendum, he would continue in office for five years from the first meeting of the next National Assembly. Zia's opponents called for a boycott. In the subsequent election, the government's claim of a 65% turnout and a 90% approval for the referendum changes were disputed by many outside the government. Zia, however, now announced national and provincial assembly elections for February 1985. Once again, candidates were required to run on a non-party basis. Although the MRD again called for a boycott, many politicians left their parties to run, in addition to independents and to partisans of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) and Jamaat-i-Islami. The turnout, most independent observers agreed, was about 53%, and the election appeared to be generally free of fraud. The results accentuated MRD divisions.

The new Assembly (217 members elected by universal adult suffrage -- 207 Muslims and 10 non-Muslims, plus 20 seats reserved for women) met in March 1985. For Prime Minister, Zia selected veteran Sindi Muslim League politician Muhammad Khan

Junejo. In the course of debate on Zia's proposed Eighth Amendment to the constitution, which, among other things, set out the limits to the powers of the President and the Prime Minister, and absolved the military from legal liability for its actions during the eight years of martial law, the Assembly divided into a pro-administration Official Parliamentary Group (OPG), which was predominately composed of members of Junejo's Pakistan Muslim League (PML) and roughly comprised two-thirds of the members, and the Independent Parliamentary Group (IPG), which played the role of Parliamentary opposition.

The martial law regime was abolished on December 30, 1985, and a civilian government was established. During the first months of 1986 there was a rebirth of political activity. Zia remained as president, but he no longer had the position of chief martial law administrator. Civil liberties, suspended under the system of military courts, were established, and the civilian courts became available for suits challenging the legitimacy of government.

The parliament displayed some independence when it first came into being by choosing its own speaker, who was not the man Zia wanted. Fakr Imam, a young Punjabi Shia, was sacked a year later for questioning the legality of the prime minister's Muslim League party. The episode exposed the prime minister's dependence on the president. According to one of the

president's ordinances banning political parties, the Muslim League appeared to be illegal. The president had to bail out the prime minister by changing the law retrospectively without referring it to parliament. Since then, the government often finds it difficult to muster the quorum of 59 required for a vote, even though there are 54 ministers, ministers of state, and parliamentary secretaries.

Zia's success in retaining power is not necessarily based on his personal charisma or popularity. Circumstances have been kind to him. The economy has performed exceedingly well (a 6% growth rate over the last several years), millions of Pakistani workers continue to earn foreign exchange in the Gulf states and remit a substantial portion of their earnings, his political opposition has been in disarray, and the Russian occupation of Afghanistan has meant substantial economic and military financial support from the United States. On the other hand, while the urban classes may not support him enthusiastically, they do not strenuously oppose him.

The rapid growth of the economy after 1977 has played a role in dampening political unrest. Compared to the Ayub Khan era, growth is widespread across sectors and across the population. If nothing else, the Bhutto period expanded the role of the public sector in investment, production, and welfare. Despite Bhutto's overt socialism, Zia has actually

been more successful in appeasing mass groups, in part, because he has not raised expectations. Although his is not a democratic government, it is a government holding precariously to power. Since it cannot rely on strong political roots in mass and elite interests, it must avoid alienating groups by foolish economic measures.

### III. POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties have legally functioned only intermittently since Pakistan became independent. In spite of the dissolution of political parties following the coup on July 5, 1977, they remained active. With the lifting of martial law in 1985, new legislation legalizing parties under highly controlled circumstances was promulgated. In 1987, approximately 83 parties, registered and unregistered, existed. The prime minister's Pakistan Muslim League registered in February 1986, thus becoming the de facto ruling party. Opposition parties, though numerous, are essentially sectional in character and largely ineffectual. The most influential opposition party is the Pakistan People's Party, the party of the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and led by his daughter Benazir Bhutto. The PPP has refused to register with the Elections Commission because of potential harassment to party members and the limitations of the law prohibiting any

party from "propagating any opinion or acting in any manner prejudicial to the Islamic ideology, or the sovereignty, integrity, or security of Pakistan."

Despite restrictions, political parties in Pakistan continue to flourish as does the public's participation in the activities of these parties. The major political organizations offer both strengths and weaknesses.

#### Pakistan Muslim League (PML)

The party was one of three factions of the original Muslim League which achieved Pakistan independence in 1947. After a succession of splits in the party base, the group led by Pir Pagaro participated in the 1985 non-party elections, winning 27 seats, and then urged President Zia to select Mohammad Khan Junejo as prime minister. The PML was the first to register as a legal party following the lifting of martial law. The prime minister and 48 members of the assembly were charged with acting illegally by joining the PML before it was registered.

The PML has served as the core of the government-backed Official Parliamentary Group. It is criticized for having little grassroots strength, a party of office holders who previously had no party affiliation or were members of other parties. They are charged with being opportunists who are dependent on the largess of public works projects in their

constituencies for reelection, thus failing to build a strong political operation.

#### Pakistan People's Party (PPP)

Founded by Zulifkar Ali Bhutto in 1967, the Islamic-socialist party held a majority of seats in the National Assembly following the independence of Bangladesh. With numerous allegations of fraud, the PPP won 155 of 200 seats in the 1977 assembly elections. Since the military coup of 1977, the leaders and members of the party have been the target of harassment, intimidation, imprisonment, torture, and execution under the decree that banned all groups whose ideology could be construed as prejudicial to national security. His widow, Begum Bhutto, and daughter, Benazir Bhutto, assumed the leadership of the party when Ali Bhutto was executed in 1979.

Benazir Bhutto's return from exile in early 1986 touched off massive rallies of support throughout Pakistan but especially in her native Sind. She demanded that new elections be held in the fall of 1986. However, after her arrest and brief detention for refusing to obey a government ban on demonstrations on August 14, Pakistan's National Day, and the subsequent violence that resulted in 37 deaths, the situation returned to a sullen normalcy.

Bhutto has miscalculated the extent of her support in the Punjab, especially the willingness of other opposition parties to risk confrontation with the government forces on her behalf. She has encouraged a gradual disengagement of her party from the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). The problems of the PPP were evident in the 1987 Local Bodies Elections with the failure to evidence an effective vote-getting machine for the candidates they supported. Many of the PPP's most influential leaders were unenthusiastic about having to accede to renewed domination by the Bhutto family. The party has had no internal elections since its founding in 1967, and Bhutto has rejected demands for intraparty democracy.

#### National People's Party (NPP)

Several important moderate leaders left the PPP after the failure of the August 1986 demonstrations and formed the National People's Party (NPP) under the leadership of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, who was considered the most influential member of the PPP while Bhutto was in exile. Jatoi's withdrawal from the PPP has been viewed as indicative of Bhutto's inability to deal successfully with factional politics. Many observers believe that Zia and the army are "grooming" the NPP, led by Jatoi, as an alternative. Jatoi was at least twice offered the prime ministership by Zia during martial law, and the Sindi

leader has often been viewed as the only close confidant of Ali Bhutto acceptable to the military.

Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD)

Leaders of several of the original member parties of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) joined with Begum Bhutto, leader of the PPP in 1981, to form the anti-government MRD. The declaration of the original nine signatory parties called for the resignation of President Zia, the lifting of martial law, national and provincial elections, and the restoration of the 1973 constitution. By 1985 the MRD (now 11 parties) was in disarray with disagreements over participation in Zia-sponsored elections and the appropriate opposition tactics following the end of martial law. Several groups have resisted the domination of the alliance by the PPP, particularly on the return of Benazir Bhutto. Several members have withdrawn from the alignment, while Bhutto has disengaged the party from active participation.

Confusion and inertia continue to prevail in the now nine-party opposition alliance. In 1987, the MRD advanced a proposal for an all-parties, round-table conference (RTC). Consideration was being given to involving organizations representing students, women, lawyers, journalists, peasants, labor, etc. The purpose of such a deliberation was a formal



expression of the consensus of all political parties for holding new elections at the earliest possible time, on a party basis, as provided by the 1973 constitution.

#### National Awami Party (NAP)

The NAP, with pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese wings, is a remnant of the Bangladesh National Awami Party. Its constituent strengths are in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). Its leader, Abdul Wali Khan, who had been arrested when the party was banned in 1975 on grounds that the party had never reconciled itself to the existence and ideology of Pakistan, was released after the military coup and pardoned by President Zia. In 1982, Wali Khan had talks with President Karmal of Afghanistan and expressed his support for the communist regime. The presence of millions of Afghan refugees in the NWFP has intensified Wali Khan's popularity.

#### National Democratic Party (NDP)

The NDP was organized in 1976 when the National Awami Party was banned. A founder of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), it withdrew from the coalition in 1978 when the PNA general secretary, Ghafoor Mufti Ahmad, announced its decision to join the government of General Zia. When a portion of the party decided to join several other leftist parties in forming the

Awami National Party in 1986, Sindar Sherbaz Khan Mazari reconstituted the NDP. Mazari, who had been active in the anti-Bhutto campaign of the PNA, later joined with his former PPP opponents to form the MRD. He was arrested by President Zia and later put under house arrest, which was lifted in March 1985.

#### Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM)

The MQM, the mohajir (Indian refugees) Political Party, is predominant in the urban Sind, particularly urban Hyderabad and Karachi. It is funded by rich mohajirs, who feel edged out by Punjabis, but it is manned by the young, poorer ones, whose quarrel is with the Pathans. It has recently been in the forefront of violent feuding. The MQM has an alliance with Sindi nationalists against the most recent immigrants. The main cause of the violence is the abundance of weapons which have flowed into Pakistan for the Afghan resistance.

The MQM has eroded the base of two fundamental groups -- the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) and Jamaat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP) in urban Sind. The basic demand of the party is that Mohajirs be considered a separate nationality. While the religious parties accuse the MQM of working to break up the country, the party chief, Altaf Hussain, maintains "the MQM stands for the rights of Mohajirs but does not want to divide the province of Sind."

He says that there is no demand for the withdrawal of the quota system.

The PPP formed an alliance with the MQM for the local body elections. The MQM demonstrated its political strength when the candidates it supported won a majority of the positions in Karachi and Hyderabad.

#### Jamaat-i-Islami (JI)

The JI is a right-of-center, ultra-orthodox, Islamic fundamentalist party. It has 10 members of the National Assembly who dominate the Independent Parliamentary Group (IPG).

During the Bhutto period, it spearheaded the movement to topple the government. It welcomed the imposition of martial law and lent its full support to the regime by opposing the holding of free elections.

The Shariat Bill is the cornerstone of the Jamaat manifesto. The bill would establish a theocratic political system in which the federal Shariat Court would be a supra-legislative body with power to call into question or annul any law passed by parliament, on the ground that it stands in unholy conflict with the Koran. The court is appointed by President Zia. His interest in this enterprise is part of his Islamization program. However, it is assumed that

the public debate on this measure is a diffusion to the opposition campaign for the restoration of democratic order.

The Jamaat insists that future elections be held on the basis of proportional representation and preceded by the reorganization of all political parties. The emergence of the MQM has weakened the JI in urban Sind.

#### Jamaat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP)

The JUP, established by left-wing mullahs, subscribes to a progressive version of Islamic fundamentalism. It had been an off-and-on member of the MRD. The JUP is purely a religious organization intended to reform society according to religious principles. Its interpretation of the Koran places more emphasis on humans and less on God. Therefore, its party manifesto stresses a social order advocating fundamental rights for all citizens of Pakistan.

#### Tehrik-i-Istigal (TIP)

A democratic Islamic party, it was a founding member of the PNA and the MRD, and carries on its campaign for parliamentary democracy. One of its leaders, Mohammad Asghar Khan, was a leading proponent of election boycotts. After the lifting of martial law, the party broke ranks with its coalition partners and registered as a legal party. In 1986,