

**POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN PAKISTAN (1971 TO 1984)  
AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY:  
( A CRITICAL ANALYSIS )**

Mohammad Ayoub Shaikh  
Agha Riaz Hassan

Political Instability in Pakistan and its effect on the economy can not be justly dealt without looking back to the activities of Martial Law imposition, the First and Second military coups. The first which was imposed on the 7th of October 1958, the Chief Martial Law Administrator Ayoub Khan immediately abrogated the constitution of 1956.(1)

To facilitate matters Ayoub Khan divided his administrative strategy into two phases, one was the suspension of 1956 constitution which came into force on the 7th October 1958 and the establishment of Martial Law Administrator proper. Now the actual power was transferred to the army forth-with. Ayoub Khan's declaration of military rule was welcomed by the people of Pakistan with enthusiasm.(2)

He banned all political activities, major political leaders who were suspected to being corrupt were confined to their homes, technically known as house arrest. Their political movements were restricted until investigations were completed, this actually marked out the execution of the first phase of the administration to get a full detail that might incriminate the suspects or free them in the circumstances. The masses responded positively to Ayoub's call for unity calmness and co-operation owing to the fact that the population was fed up with corrupt activities of politicians and civil servants which was continuously hindering the progress of the economy of the country.(3)

It also hampered the integrity of the country. But the dependent of the army on the civil servants in stabilizing the economic status of the country was referred to as a hurdle in the quest to eradicate corruptive elements from the community. Due to the fact that many of civil servants who were regarded to be innocent were subsequently found guilty of

some infringement and foul play in the country's politics as well as economic development of the society. But it was not easy to identify them because of their high handling (expert manipulation).(4)

Ayoob's strategy to eliminate corruptive political elements as well as civil servants in the bureaucracy, a Public Office Disqualification Order (PRODO) was adopted or rather promulgated in 1959. This new move worked very successfully at the initial stage in keeping Public Office relatively clean.(5)

The adoption of screening method on the public offices proved partially successful, tentatively but the idea to shift the capital from Karachi to Punjab near N.W.F.P. believed to be the birth place of Ayoob Khan created some economic questions especially from the industrialists in Sindh because it was going to cost them a lot, economically and otherwise. The masses also responded negatively on account of the poor economic position of a newly born Pakistan, which, infact, many people felt that it was even below poverty line. Therefore the question of transferring the capital to a new venue was not proper because of the shattered economy of the country.(6) Again serious constitutional problems arose which created greater setback in the economic sphere of the country. But this question was explained by Ayoob Khan that a critical consideration was given to the phenomenon to avoid any awful mistake occurring there in. A commission was established to give recommendation on this prospects. By virtue of strategic environment recommendations were put forward positively emphasising the need for a prompt transfer of the capital to a destination which was later named Islamabad in the vicinity of Rawalpindi where the Military Head Quarter is located.(7) The economic hazared created by this transfer was referred to by the population in series of the allegations one of which was cited as being discriminatory by virtue of the choice of President for the construction of the new capital was with the intention of creating some job privileges for his people living in Ayoob's home town and surrounding. It was again opposed by many other people of the country due to the fact that it was going to cost more money to reconstruct houses for business purposes or otherwise.(8) The masses demon-

strated their grievances over the construction of new capital; commenting that such fund used on the construction of the capital could have been utilised on the development of Agriculture or other seriously needed economic development sectors of the country.(9)

### ECONOMIC AND OTHER REFORMS

Series of reforms adopted by different governments before Ayoob Khan's regime had presented adverse impact on the political stability of the country, for example. Khwajah Nizamuddin's regime as Prime Minister, faced the question of Quaidani crises in Punjab and food riots in the country forced Ghulam Muhammad as Governor General to dismiss the Prime Minister under the pretext that he had failed to control the situation to which the Prime Minister referred as baseless.(10) This development demonstrated as sharply increased political instability in the country, which further hampered the economic progress of the community. The introduction of a system by Ayoob Khan known as Basic Democracy further threatened political stability of Pakistan.(11)

In his economic reform Ayoob Khan claimed that it was purposely to improve the standard of living of the people and it was to facilitate economic and industrialisation programme to be more successful, Ayoob Khan raised the status of the board of planning to that of the planning commission treated as a division in the President's Secretariat leaning the President of Pakistan as the unquestioned chairman and deputy to him was selected as operational head given the status of central minister, to him. It was assigned the responsibility of preparing the second five year plan for the period from 1960 to 1965 which was mainly aiming at the maximum mobilization of resources for rapid economic progress in Pakistan.(12) It was further endeavouring to maximise the national income and per capital income of individuals for stability in the standard of living, to implement this proposals Martial Law withdrawal and all its injunctions were necessary. He attempted, on the other hand to create incentives in economic sphere to stimulate more interest in business like atmosphere in the private sector but this effort

could not succeed as it was expected, hence political turmoil was again prompted.

Moreover, the adoption of legal, education and other reforms created another tension in the country which paralysed smooth political development in the country characterised by actual economic hindrances.(13)

#### THE 1962 CONSTITUTION AND THE BASIC DEMOCRACY

When the military regime came to power the Basic Democracy System was adopted by Ayooob Khan. The major task the system under took was the formulation of the 1962 constitution. At the earlier stage the military leaders thought it wise that the parliamentary system practised in the west might be suitable in Pakistan because the basic requirement for this purpose was western democratic system which could not be found any where in Pakistan. The fact was that the western democratic system desired a high degree of social and political awareness and a universally literate atmosphere where the majority of the people were familiar with the utility of civic duty in casting their vote in terms of vast national interest for a better Pakistan.(14)

After carrying out the task of electing the president on the 7th February 1960, who took oath of office on the 8th February 1960, the next step was to establish an atmosphere whereby the position of president and other members of the team of assistants could be well explained, functions, powers and limitations of ministers and other workers, may be defined in clear terms. It was learned that the new President (Ayooob Khan) immediately formed a council to be known as constitution commission which was led by Mr. Justice Shaha-buddin with the full mandate to advise the newly established Government on the drafting of the constitution.(15) The Commission was to examine the continuous failure of parliamentary Government System in Pakistan which led to the suspension of 1956 constitution, evaluating causes and the nature of failure. This was to enable the new regime to identify causes that have constituted to the instability of political development of the country. Also the standard of education and political judgement by the previous regimes were to be

determined carefully. They were to submit proposals in the form of report advising how best things could be handled in the best interest of the country. Democratic measures were to be adopted in accordance with the basic principles of Islamic Justice and quality, tolerance in the view of consolidating unity and firm government in the country.(16)

The Commission rightly submitted its proposals in May 1961, comprising recommendations on the establishment of the Presidential System of Government, adult franchise and the multi parties political system but with a dynamic legislative assembly. But this suggestion put forward by the Basic Democrats were not welcomed by General Ayooob since they could not fulfill most of his desires in the administration of the country.(17)

#### THE ULTIMATE FALL OF GENERAL AYOOB

Series of reforms adopted by Ayooob Khan which were partially successful, as some politicians put in but this development could not act favourably on the political and economic stability of the country as prognosed by many political observer and economic analysts of the country. Even though Ayooob Khan's economic and foreign policy earned him some fame to the extent that he was nick named the 'Muslim de Gaulle of Asia'. Not withstanding, Ayooob Khan's policies could not enjoy any further support from the masses which finally led to his down fall.(18) President Ayooob Khan was removed from office in March 1969 by virtue of serious agitation of the masses that commenced from Rawalpindi resulting from a tribal incident occurring between a couple of students and the police over some alleged goods smuggled in to the country which exploded beyond control. By November 1969 violence got spread all over the country which resulted to the frustration of security in all major cities of Pakistan and later on extended to towns and villages. This situation was exploited by politicians who immediately demanded the removal of Ayooob Khan from office to avoid further deterioration of situation. The call was partially responded, to by the masses, hence there was no alternative but an inevitability of another Martial Law to save Ayooob Khan from enquiry into

his activities during his tenure of office. (19)

#### YAHYA KHAN'S MARTIAL LAW REGIME

On the 25th March 1969 General Yahya Khan imposed martial law in Pakistan to calm down the chaotic situation which was day by day becoming explosive more and more. For more adequate handling of the situation, General Yahya suspended the 1962 constitution and dismissed the Chief Ministers, Governors and all other Ministers. (20) Yahya Khan's Martial Law was accepted by the two wings of Pakistan, West and East as the situation was calling for this. Because when Yahya Khan took over the administration situation was very much alarming. But it was later alleged that it was Ayoob Khan himself who invited Yahya Khan to impose the second Martial Law over the country so that the evils committed during his regime were not questioned by the opposition but he was quick to deny. In his remarks the outgoing President Ayoob Khan justified the second imposition of military rule in Pakistan by stressing the need for military intervention was due to the severe deteriorating Law and Order situation in the country. (21) Yahya Khan's hold on power was very delicate because he had neither the vision nor the ability to handle the problems Pakistan was confronting at that time in 1969. He adopted some immediate measures to tackle the administrative problems he was facing. In his own words he declared that it was his ardent desire to put things right. He made references to the past administrative defects which were responsible for the chaotic atmosphere, but he stressed the optimism in overcoming all difficulties and stringent measures were to be adopted to prevent future occurrences of such a dismal environment. He went on assuring the nation of having no political ambition to run the country. He indicated in clear terms that he was just endeavouring to create an atmosphere conducive for the restoration of constitutional government. He emphasised further that he was convinced that the only immediate prerequisite for the country was a decent and sincere administrative body to manipulate the affairs of the country in an efficient and constructive manner. (22) Such people must be from a demo-

cratically elected body on the basis of free and fair elections to return such people to the assembly. Consequently, it will be the duty of such elected body to arrange for the provision of workable constitution for the smooth running of the country so that the economic situation might be improved in the shortest possible time for the stability of social and cultural hindrances in the country.

This includes the disturbed minds of the masses who have lost confidence in all the past civilian governments and it had made them to distrust military administration as well. On the other hand the political leaders had also developed mistrust in military leader's promises for immediate return of power to democratically elected government. General Yahya Khan attempted emphatically to pledge his loyalty to the politicians to be convinced that his desire was frankly to hand over the government and retire to barracks. Notwithstanding, the people remarked scepticism in accordance with past experience from previous military leaders.(23) Many political observers maintained the opinion that Yahya Khan's regime was General Ayoob in action, but spiritually. The Ayoob's regime which was earlier referred to as military civilian government was technically known as military bureaucracy. He made both the civil personnel and military generals as partners in the administrative process. Such attitudes in diplomacy adopted by Ayoob Khan was having influence on Yahya Khan's regime, but the fear remains that one of the main causes for the down fall of Ayoob Khan was his total dependence on civil servants in major decision making. Yahya Khan did not learn much lesson from this therefore the people of Pakistan were pessimistic about his promises. But Yahya Khan managed to avoid repetition of mistakes already committed by his predecessors. Subsequently he modified the set up at the presidential house changing the structure of the confidential secretariat, he brought many fresh faces among the personnel under his administration. New Martial Law administration was operating under Yahya Khan. A few days had elapsed before Yahya Khan claimed the title of presidency from then onwards; he was addressed as president in the rest of his short tenure of office.(24)

### GENERAL ELECTION UNDER PRESIDENT GENERAL YAHYA KHAN

The political activities in the country were characterised by profound anxiety for the restoration of democracy under a duly elected civilian government. This desire spread all over the country in both the wings hence president Yahya Khan left with no option but to call for election. In this regard date was announced in the first place, to be commenced in October 1970 but some unfortunate incidents occurred especially in the east wing of Pakistan which forced president Yahya Khan to announce a new election schedule for both national and provincial assemblies to be conducted on the 7th and 17th December 1970 due to increased agitation from the east wing demonstrating against the government. By virtue of the greater demand for a change in the political set up of the country president Yahya Khan hastened to summon all political party leaders to discuss the situation which consequently led to the segregation of west wing of Pakistan and the adoption of Federation based on the system of four provincial governments. Because Yahya Khan wanted to satisfy the demand of the major political parties of the country which were demonstrating through slogans on the streets and voicing it in the assembly meetings and he invited a special meeting with politicians. The election campaign was in progress in the whole country.(25)

Yahya Khan formulated conducive conditions of elections which were accepted by the politicians hence things were under way according to plans. Yahya Khan endeavouring with all within his powers to avoid repeating mistakes committed by his predecessor in 1962 National Assembly election's and 1965 Presidential election on partyless bases which encouraged agitation and ultimate political instability in the country which hampered the economic prosperity of Pakistan. The result of the election as declared by Election Commission were unfortunately against the wishes of the religious and political leaders of the country in 1970 as they claimed. As the Awami League of the east wing won 160 seats out of 162 for the east wing of Pakistan. The Pakistan People Party won 82 seats out of 138 of west wing of Pakistan.

Unfortunately the PPP did not contest election in the east wing; hence there was over-whelming victory for Mujeeb's Awami League party. Although Pakistan People Party was the second largest political party, emerging out of 1970 election yet it was inserted to form government. The other political parties which participated under the banner of religion such as Jamiat Islami got four seats only while as Jamiat Ulama Islam and Jamiat Ulama Pakistan got seven seats each.

The Nizami Islami Party, Jamiat Ahly Hadith and Khaksar Party miserably failed to gain even a single seat. The Awami League which got most of the seats was not invited to form government. Mujeeb Rehman claimed. Owing to this, compromise was not reached among the three main political parties of the day: the Awami League, the PPP and the Yahya Khan's military government. The first session of the National Assembly was scheduled to be held on March 03, 1971 in Dhaka but Z. Ali Bhutto requested that the meeting be postponed. Mr. Bhutto even went to the extent of advising his elected members not to proceed for such meeting with Awami League. By virtue of this demand Yahya Khan postponed the session which was announced on March 01, 1971.(26) The next possible date of the commencement of the session was fixed for 25th March in the same year. But this action angered Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman, the Awami League leader, he demanded the authority which stated that the National Assembly should be transferred forth-with as a pre condition in the attendance of the National Assembly. As indisputedly, the Awami League was the majority in accordance with the election result. At this juncture president Yahya Khan saw explosive situation hence he invited both leaders, Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman and Z.A. Bhutto for discussion on the situation but to no avail. The demands of Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman were not accepted therefore situation was not improved rather it continuously remained deteriorating which created the tendency for war.(27)

## PARTITION OF PAKISTAN

After independence in 1947 Pakistan retained the federal system of government with two main wings known as

west wing and east wing of Pakistan. When it came to the point that the centre could no longer hold together consequently; things fell apart. Following the election crisis in 1971 after the Awami League claimed as the largest single party with the highest number of votes. The running affairs of the country was in turmoil, while negotiations were going on among the political leaders of the country; but they arrived to no compromise. Notwithstanding, the Martial Law Administrator, president Yahya Khan subsequently invited Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the leader of the political party (PPP) which earned the second largest votes to form government which irritated the Awami League, Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman. The leader of this party remained with no option but to respond to the challenge which was confronting him. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the new Prime Minister attempted to negotiate only for the prosperity of the country as he claimed but situation did not abate.(28)

#### **MUJEEB REHMAN DEMANDS - SIX POINTS**

During the discussion over the political crisis in the country, Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman, the Awami League leader, put forward six points as requisite for any compromise. But this demand was no more to be met due to the inability of the west wing leaders to fulfill all the demands and Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman was not willing to withdraw from any of the six points. The atmosphere demonstrated unlimited suspension as regards motive. It was allged that India and U.K. were instigating the east wing not to give in to any of his demands under what ever circumstances and stressed their full support in case of any unwarrented incidents arising from the west wing. The situation was then all for war in 1971 that led to the separation of the east wing from the west.(29)

#### **ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO REGIME**

In brief as a result of the general election Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was invited to form government in 1971 through which the constitution of 1973 was formulated and approved. Democratic process was made possible after a long struggle. The regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was characterised by a lot

of crisis. Nevertheless, he managed to handle the affairs of the country relatively successful. He adopted the policy of both centralization and decentralization in the country which proved encouraging. Academic Institution under his reforms were brought under the control of the government to reduce the cost of education so as to enable the poorest in the society to be educated. It was said that his initial desire was to eradicate illiteracy from the country, but even though this action was welcomed, he did not go without some defects. This situation created some economic embarrassment to the country. This regime further adopted more reforms such as land reforms, law reforms etc. The other main administrative prosperity of this government was the foreign policy which was given priority, the Muslim countries were all in good relation with Pakistan. Pakistan also established good relations with neighbouring countries especially with China and the whole of the western world.(30)

#### **THE FALL OF ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO**

Following the general elections of 1977 which were held on March 7th and 10th for both Provincial Assemblies and National Assembly. The result of this election was not very satisfactory to the opposition parties. The ruling PPP party claimed victory but this was not accepted by the opposition leaders hence rampant agitation were observed in major part of the country. Continuously deteriorating law and order were under serious threat which according to the explanation given by General Zia-ul-Haque Martial Law was the only alternative to calm down the tense situation prevailing in the country. Zia-ul-Haque hence imposed martial law, the longest ever in the political history of Pakistan. The Martial Law administration under Zia-ul-Haque suspended all political activities indefinitely. He placed many political leaders suspected of creating disturbances under detention and were brought to justice under judicial process. He managed to rule up to 1984 when he amended the 1973 constitution and he was himself made civilian president after a country wide referendum which mandated him as president of the country for the period of five years. General elections were held on non party

basis. Many political parties did not participate in these elections claiming that it was not democratic, consequently a movement emerged for the restoration of democracy in the country under the name MRD (Movement for the Restoration of Democracy) adopted agitation against Zia's Regime.

This call was responded by major political parties of the country, infact many other private patries joined the agitation nation wide. On the other hand, the MRD agitation continued to dominate the activities of the country. The whole administrative set up of the country was destabilized, economic wise. Zia-ul-Haque/Junejo administration was bound to getting broken due to repeated call by the president for total cultural improvement heading for a complete observation of Islamic code of life, in the shape of the imposition of Sharia (Islamic Law) on the country as a whole. Some misunderstanding between USA Administration and Pakistan, as many political observers put it, it was partly due to his Islami-sation programme. Also the unclear programme pioneered by Z. A. Bhutto regime was continued which was a threat to US Military interest in South Asia in general. The United States and its western allies raised objections, questioning Zia's administration to explain this project. Reported in local and India Newspaper. India exploited the situation by condemning the attitude of Pakistan for creating instability in the region which was a threat for war. While situation was going out of control of Zia-ul-Haque, he dismissed his Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo blaming him for sluggishness in the adoption of complete Islamic Order and the implementation of the Sharia b... included in the 8th amendment of 1973 constitution. According to many political observences, Mr.Junejo condemned this attitude referring to it as being undemocratic. He challenged his dismissal in the court of law but to no avail. Situation continued deteriorating until the time when Bahawalpur plane crashed. Zia-ul-Haque was among the victims of the crash which left no survival. This sudden incident changed the political atmosphere of the country. Constitutionally, Ghulam Ishaque Khan who was the chairman of the Senate was sworn in as caretaker president until elections were held. From the 17th of August 1988

when the accident occurred Ghulam Ishaque declared ten days of mourning for the demise of Zia-ul-Haque as the country's last respect to the departed sages notwithstanding, the president announced the date for both Provincial and National Assemblies elections within ninety days; in accordance with the 1973 constitution. The whole country welcomed this development. Elections campaigns in an organized manner for the 1988 elections that were to be conducted under democratic political system were to be seen for more than a decade in Pakistan.(31)

### GENERAL ELECTION OF 1988

The General Election of 1988 was held in a very peaceful atmosphere because all political parties were longing for civilian government. With a little or no untoward incidents only a few people were reported injured or dead. The most significant aspect of this election was that, all political parties and independent candidates participated enthusiastically in a friendly spirit to some extent as compared to previous elections. Using democratic slogans back to civilian democratic political system in the country giving damn to martial law. During the election campaign new parties emerged with strong determination to win overwhelming majority, PPP led by Nusrat Bhutto the widow of Z. A. Bhutto Co-Chaired by her daughter Benazir Bhutto a British trained historian and political leader came out as the single party with the highest votes in both the Provincial and National Assemblies, but with only a simple majority. Benazir was invited to form government after a brief discussion on the fate of the country consequently Benazir was sworn in as the first woman Prime Minister ever in the whole of the Muslim world.(32)

This new development left many Islamic fanatics puzzling of the authenticity of a woman becoming a Prime Minister in an Islamic Republican State. Questions were raised making Quranic references indirectly and unofficially, but since the constitution of Pakistan did not make any declaration against such act therefore the president withheld the decision. But unfortunately the government of PPP under Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister could not peacefully rule to the

end of her term. Many agitation were observed in many cities of Pakistan especially in Sindh the home province of the Prime Minister. This chaotic situation continued to exploding day by day even when tight security was administered through military and different security agencies yet situation could not improve. Many lives and properties were destroyed. Under this pretext the president exercised his constitutional power by the sudden dismissal of democratically elected Prime Minister and her executive. The atmosphere of the country presented a mixed response from different political parties, and pressure groups in the country; in this regard the PPP party leaders appealed to the masses for calmness.(33) This peaceful democratic process was adopted when the dismissed Prime Minister challenged her dismissal in the court of law in the main Provincial High Courts; but this did not change the situation. A new care taker Prime Minister was invited in the person of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. The date was fixed for fresh general elections.

The PPP and a few other parties proposed that the election must be held under a neutral care taker government to avoid rigging in the election but the president did not give in to this demand. Preparations went on schedule. Again the PPP leadership appealed for calmness and cooperation in the election process. The process of accountability was adopted by the care taker government. President Ghulam Ishaque Khan filed cases against Benazir for actions unconstitutionally administered during her tenure of office. She claimed that she was innocent and that fabricated allegation were made against her only to malign her family and party. Ghulam Ishaque Khan insisted to carry out accountability process. Asif Zardari, the husband of Benazir, was arrested and detained for series of charges. Other PPP political leaders were arrested for fabricated allegations, she claimed. Benazir's proposal that if accountability process is to continue then it should be extended back to the regimes of her predecessors. Similar suggestions were put forward by USA Ambassador in Islamabad. But this action was condemned by both the care taker Prime Minister and President Ghulam Ishaque referring to the ambassador's remarks as interference into the internal affairs of

**GENERAL ELECTION 1990**

President Ghulam Ishaque Khan announced the dismissal of the democratically elected Prime Minister and the dissolution of the National Assembly and then declared the dates; 24th and 27th of October for both National and Provincial Assembly elections. Campaigns started in full force while the party leaders of the PPP were attending court for accountability for action taken by them while they were in office. Benazir Bhutto as dismissed Prime Minister claimed that the caretaker government and President Ghulam Ishaque Khan were endeavouring to eliminate her and her party members from the political scene of Pakistan as well as the ruin of her party for good. But Benazir formed alliance to face any eventuality, while facing the pro Zia's alliance known as IJI (Islami Jamhori Ithad) which included Muslim League NPP (National Peoples Party) led by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and some other minor parties.

The election result came as a surprise to the PDA with a marginal success of IJI over PDA. Consequently the PDA party leadership referred to the electoral process as fraud and accused the IJI of rigging during elections. Benazir the ex-Prime Minister further expressed her opinion that there were an expert rigging to force them out of politics. A faction of foreign observers team stated that there were no serious corruption enough to have changed the result of the elections. But another faction of the foreign observers team which included France gave their view that experts rigging and other corruptive practice were carried out in the election which is responsible for the result of the election. The caretaker Prime Minister and President Ghulam Ishaque Khan in collaboration with the Chief Election Commissioner ruled out the possibilities of any fraud or corruptive practices during election. He claimed beyond doubt that the security measures taken were quite satisfactory which did not leave any chance for irregularities. But this assertion was challenged in the court of law by the PDA party leaderships through petitions, but to no avail. But Benazir and her alliance continued their struggle

for democratic justice even at the darkest hours of the country.(35)

In the eyes of the grievances demonstrated by the PDA leadership the president Ghulam Ishaque Khan invited Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and appointed him as Prime Minister, which mandated him to head the Government in the National Assembly. Nawaz Sharif now as Prime Minister bolstered accountability process to continue but at limited dimension on his most recent predecessors in the Government led by Benazir as Chief Executive. The dismissed Prime Minister announced that they will continue boycotting the National and Provincial Assemblies session until the harassment on her husband and other PDA political leaders are stopped immediately. The situation remained unchanged hence the boycott continued. But recently Nawaz Sharif and his government entered into negotiations with the opposition leadership to find ways and means to resolve their difficulties. Consequently a combined team of both the government and opposition was established to visit Sindh to observe the irregularity cited by the opposition party leadership against her party members, which is the main cause of their boycott.(36)

## CONCLUSION

Before conclusion it is worth to mention that the political instability in Pakistan is never to be analysed without making reference to its economic setup; taking a look to different regimes and their strategies to conquer the economic crisis from time to time. Many political observers have suggested several times that the sluggishness in the growth of Pakistan economy is a consequence of the continuous political tension in the country; which are very often characterised by law and order situation. On the other hand, the economic stagnation in the country is also attributed to a lot of hindrances facing Pakistan, socially, culturally, academically etc. In the agricultural sphere farmers are also facing great hurdles in carrying out their activities in maximising production. The above account elaborately scrutinized the causes and events in the political instability in Pakistan and its im-

pact on the economy.

#### REFERENCES

1. G.W. Choudhury, "The last days of United Pakistan", C.Hurst and Company, London, 1974, pp.5, 7.
2. Ibid., pp.13-16.
3. Ibid., pp.48-51.
4. Pandav Nayak, "Political Economy of a Developing State", India Patriot Publishers, New Delhi, 1988, pp.72-75.
5. Ibid., pp.78-81.
6. Afzal Iqbal, "Islamisation of Pakistan", Vanguard Book Limited, Lahore, 1986, pp.81-82.
7. Ibid., p.83.
8. Hassan Askari Rizvi, "The Military and Politics in Pakistan", P.Publishers, Lahore, 1976, pp.121-122.
9. Ibid., pp.123-125.
10. Ibid., pp.62-63.
11. Professor Rafiullah Shaikh, "50 Years of Pakistan", M.Academy, Lahore, 1990, pp.135-136.
12. Ibid., pp.137-138.
13. Mustafa Choudhury, "Pakistan its Politics and Bureaucracy", A. Publishing House, New Delhi, 1988, pp.193-195.
14. Ibid., pp.197-198.
15. Ibid., pp.200-204.
16. A. Qayum Sher, "Pakistan Studies", Book Trader, Lahore, 1990, pp.165-166.
17. Ibid., pp.168-169.
18. Veena Kukereja, "Military Intervention in Pakistan", NBO Publisher Distributers, New Delhi, 1985, pp.68-71.
19. Ibid., pp.73-75.
20. Professor Rafiullah Shehab, "History of Pakistan", S.E.Meel Publication, Lahore, pp.222-223.
21. Ibid., pp.24-25.
22. Lawrence Ziring, "Pakistan the Enigma of Political Development", Great Britain, 1980, pp.99-100.
23. Ibid., pp.101-102.
24. Ibid., pp.104-106.
25. Kaleem Siddiqui, "Conflict and Crisis in Pakistan", Praegei Publisher, 1977, pp.145-146.

26. Ibid., pp.147-148.
27. Shahid Javed Burki, "Pakistan under Bhutto 1971-77", MCA Millan Press, 1980, pp.58-59.
28. Ibid., pp.61-62.
29. Ibid., pp.71-82.
30. K.Arif, "China Pakistan Relations Documents", Vanguard Publisher, Lahore, 1984, pp.157-158.
31. Ibid., pp.159-162.
32. "Time International, New York", 1988, pp.5-7.
33. Ibid., pp.15-17.
34. Herald Karachi, 1990, pp.7-9.
35. Ibid., pp.10-12.