

## Linking Factors to Fragmentation of Political Parties The Case of Pakistan Muslim League

Muhammad Ilyas Khan<sup>1</sup>, Husnul Amin<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>PhD Scholar, Department of Politics and International Relations, International Islamic University Islamabad.

<sup>2</sup>Associate Professor, Department of Politics and International Relations, International Islamic University Islamabad.

Received: August 11, 2017

Accepted: October 23, 2017

### ABSTRACT

Democracy thrives in the presence of strong political parties. The essence of a strong democratic system thus depends upon a political system where political parties follow democratic principles in letter and spirit. Political parties are, however, bound to operate within a set of factors both internal and external to their respective parties' organizations. This research is a modest attempt to critically analyze a set of internal and external factors that caused the fragmentation of Pakistan Muslim League (hereinafter PML). A study of the PML is timely and important on the following three accounts. The factors that could be identified with the fragmentation of the PML are the presence of military influence, elitist leadership, lack of intra-party democracy, lust for powers, loose organizational structure, personality clashes among the leaguers, weak roots in the masses, lack of specific ideology, and coercive behavior of office-bearers. This fragmentation generated a faction-ridden political culture that may be one of the reasons of the crisis of democracy in the political history of Pakistan. The paper revolves around the main questions that how PML has historically been fragmentized and what were the factors that could be identified with the fragmentation of the PML and how the PML have been used for personal advantages. We attempt to study the fragmentation of the PML in the light of the factors just mentioned. Methodologically, descriptive-analytical method is being used to analyze the data.

**KEYWORDS:** Pakistan, Fragmentation, Pakistan Muslim League, Democratization

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Political party is "an organized social group that seeks to wholly or partially take over the government of a country, usually by contesting elections"<sup>1</sup>. In other words, political party is a group of people that shares same line of thought striving for political power through specific agenda called manifesto in popular terms. The PML was the successor of All India Muslim League (1906) and came into being when All India Muslim League (hereinafter AIML) had formally bifurcated into the Muslim League (Pakistan) and the Muslim League (India) in a meeting held at Karachi at Khaliq Dina Hall on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1947. It is important to note that except Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan the rest of political parties in Pakistan also have suffered from the process of fragmentation. However, this research paper is confined to the study of the PML. It is a test case and speaks volume about the culture of the political parties in Pakistan. This was a political party that not only achieved freedom for the Muslims of India but also kept them alive throughout Pakistan Movement. This was the sole party that had the credit for adopting the Pakistan Resolution in its historic conference at Lahore on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940. The said resolution finally ended up in the creation of Pakistan in 1947. However, after the death of Quaid-e-Azam, the party became a source of exploitation at the hands of so-called leaders for their personal gains and interests putting aside the spirit and objectivity of the principles of the party. That sort of situation resulted into anarchy, corruption, disorder<sup>2</sup> etc. paving the way for fragmentation. The party since then divided into many factions like Jinnah League, Awami League, Conventional League, Council League, the PML (Qayum Group), the PML (Khawaja Khair din), the PML (Muhammad Hussain), the PML (Pir Pagaro), the PML (J), the PML (N) etc. The concept "fragmentation" is a noun from the verb "fragment" which literally means "a part broken away from a whole, a broken piece, break up, part"<sup>3</sup>. There are many synonyms for fragmentation. Faction, fraction, fission are some of the few. The concept fragmentation means division and re-division of a political party into separate groups called factions in popular terms in this paper.

This paper consists of three sections. The first and second sections discuss in detail the fragmentation of the PML

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Tansey & Nigel Jackson, *Politics: the Basics*, New York: Routledge, 2008, p.191.

<sup>2</sup> Maher Noor Muhammad Thund, *Muslim League Kai Soo Sal: Sadi ki Mukhtasar Tarikh*, Punjab: Loke pub, 2007, p. 31,

<sup>3</sup> Victoria Neufeldt, *Webster's New World College Dictionary*, New York: Simon & Schuster Com, 1970, p.534.

**\*Corresponding Author:** Muhammad Ilyas Khan, PhD Scholar, Department of Politics and International Relations, International Islamic University Islamabad.

before and after Independence respectively. In third section, the fragmentation of the PML is studied critically seeking to pinpoint those factors and reasons responsible for fragmentation. The paper revolves around the main questions that how PML has historically been fragmentized and what were the factors that could be identified with the fragmentation of the PML and how the PML have been used for personal advantages. We attempt to study the fragmentation of the PML in the light of the following factors. The factors consist of the presence of military influence, elitist leadership, lack of intra-party democracy, lust for powers, loose organization, personality clashes among the leaguers, weak roots in the masses, lack of specific ideology, and coercive behavior of office-bearers.

## 2. Fragmentation of the PML: Before Partition (1906-1947)

The PML was the successor of the AIML. The AIML was founded at Dhaka in 1906 for the purpose of safeguarding the rights and interest of the Muslims of India. It was that purpose that finally resulted in the creation of Pakistan on 14<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1947. During all those eventful years, the AIML, sometimes, suffered from internal dissensions and conspiracies but such a situation was defused there and then. In 1907, Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi and Mian Fazal Hussain founded a separate Muslim League in the Punjab on account of some differences with the AIML. However, differences were sorted out in the house of Muhammad Muzamal Allah Khan in a meeting at Aligarh on 19<sup>th</sup> Mar, 1908. Shah Din Hamayun presided over the meeting. Besides him, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Sir Ali Aman, Raja Ghulam Hussain also attended the meeting. In that meeting, Shah Din Hamayun, Mian Muhammad Shafi, and Mian Fazal Hussain were selected as the President, the Secretary, and the Joint Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League respectively. Besides this, a campaign of the Muslim League was launched to convey the message of the AIML to the rest of the cities, whether small or big, of India. In 1927, in the 19<sup>th</sup> meeting of the AIML convened at Calcutta under Sir Abdul Qadir serious differences emerged over the Simon Commission. Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi, the President of the Punjab Muslim League, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, and few others were of the view that we should not boycott the Simon Commission. Rather, they suggested that a delegation of the Muslim League should see the members of the commission. The delegation should suggest appropriate changes to the Royal Commission in the light of the demands of the Muslims. If the Simon Commission failed to uphold those demands, it would then be appropriate to be boycotted. However, prominent leaguers from other provinces had of the opinion that the Simon Commission was a conspiracy to deceive Muslims and Hindus of India. It was, therefore, inevitable to boycott the Commission. Consequently, the AIML was divided virtually into two hostile groups over the matter of the Simon Commission. One was named as Shafi Muslim League whereas the other was Jinnah Muslim League. In the meeting of the AIML (Jinnah Group), Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq (Amratsar) emphasized on the eradication of differences between the two Leagues. He was of the view that unity in the Leagues was the need of the time. His suggestion was given heed and accepted unanimously in the meeting. Although, both the Leagues united but there were still some differences. Muhammad Ali Jinnah went to London disheartened at the disunity among the Muslims of India. In 1933, the AIML was once again suffered from division and two factions emerged in the names of Aziz Group and Hidayat Allah Group. Dr. Iqbal and a few kindhearted Muslims strove hard to unite the Muslims of India under the banner of the united Muslim League. As a result, both the Muslim League held a joint meeting on 4<sup>th</sup> Mar, 1934. In the meeting, differences were allowed to evaporate and Muhammad Ali Jinnah was unanimously elected as the President of the AIML in his absentia. Moreover, Maulana Fazal Haq (Shar-e-Bengal) founded a party in the name of the Progressive Group. He had been expelled from the AIML on the charges while seeking support and cooperation from the Congress in order to make his way to the power in Bengal. Besides, he was accused of to have launched a daily "Nawa Joog" in order to malign the AIML.<sup>4</sup>In a reply to the letter dispatched by the students of Aligarh University, he categorically explained the reason. He remarked that Khawaja Nazimuddin and Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy had contrived a conspiracy against him. They sent a fabricated letter to Jinnah against me. On the basis of the letter, Mr. Jinnah expelled and banned me for life long without any investigation. Moreover, rather writing to me, you should write to Jinnah requesting him to lift the ban on me. So that I might be able to rejoin the AIML in order to work wholeheartedly once again for the interests of the Muslims of India.<sup>5</sup>

## 3. Fragmentation of the PML: After Partition (1947-1999)

The PML, the founding political party of Pakistan, may rightly be called the starfish of politics. Like the starfish, the PML too went through reproduction process soon after the creation of Pakistan and gave birth to an infinite number of Leagues. Hussain Suhrawardy Shaheed founded a new Muslim League after having been disheartened with Liaquat Ali Khan. Afterwards, so many Leagues took their birth that they outnumbered counting. The ML

4Mehir Noor Muhammad Thund, *Muslim League ki Soo Sall: Sadiki Mukhtasar Tharikh*, Pakistan: Loke Publishers, 2001, pp.60-61, 140-141, 144,148, 158,159, 212.

5S. Iftikhar Murshed, *In Memory of Fazal Haq*, Rawalpindi: the News, 27th April, 2011.

(Convention), the ML (Council), the ML (Quaid-e-Azam), the ML (Functional), the ML (Fida), Chatta League, Junejo League, Nawaz League, and Zia League were some of them.. There would not have been left any alphabet to be prefixed or suffixed to name a Muslim League.<sup>6</sup>

The Father of the Nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, said that there were some fake coins in his pocket. After his death, fake coins in Muslim League started spilling out. There were changes of governments and formation of new Muslim League overnight. Once, the Indian Prime Minister Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru remarked sarcastically that he put off not so many pajamas, the way governments were changed in Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> The Awami Muslim League was the first ever faction of the PML. Its founding father Maulana Hamid Khan Bashani was the President of Assam Muslim League which he left in 1947. The General Secretary, Shamsul Haq and Mujeeb-ur-Rahman were student activists and took part wholeheartedly in Language Movement in 1948. It was the same Awami League which spearheaded the Movement for the creation of Bangladesh.<sup>8</sup>

Jinnah Awami Muslim League was the conglomeration of Frontier Awami League, Awami League of Suhrawardy, Awami League of Bashani and Jinnah Muslim League of Iftikhar Hussain. It was founded in Dec, 1952 at Lahore. Later, it became Awami League when Jinnah Muslim League merged in the PML in 1953. Frontier Awami League was founded in 1949 after the differences between Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan (the Chief Minister), and S.M Aminul Hasanat, the Pir of Manki Sharif came to the surface over the latter's opposition to the Chief Minister's move to abolish the system of Jagirdari and sought to confer the rights of the lands upon tenants. Moreover, he resented him when he ignored his suggestions regarding the process of the organization of the party in the province. As a result, he, along with his supporters, floated their own faction on 15th May, 1949 at Peshawar. Awami Muslim League which was found on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1950 at Lahore under the leadership of Suhrawardy, called a convention of the leaguers at Lahore in which Suhrawardy criticized the Old Muslim League and demanded of the league to organize itself on modern lines and to remain in congenial relationship with the neighbors especially with India and supported neutrality in case of war between the super powers. He held in the end that this all could be achieved through the formation of a new party. This was how All Pakistan Jinnah Awami Muslim League was founded when the four leagues combined under the leadership of Suhrawardy in convention held in Dec, 1952 at Lahore. Jinnah Muslim League was established by Iftikhar Hussain, Khan of Mamdot on 31<sup>st</sup> Sep, 1950 when he was charged and trialed subsequently under PRODA in July 1949. Although, he was relieved of the charges by Governor General in 1950 but he resigned from the league on 31st Oct, 1950 after leveling charges against the leaguers. He was of the opinion that they upheld own interests and ignored the interest of the masses for which it was established. Soon the differences between Khan of Mamdot and Suhrawardy emerged over the report of the Basic Principal Committee that sought an equal representation of both the wings of the state. Khan of Mamdot resented the report and demanded of Suhrawardy a resolution to be moved in the convention of the party but he didn't give any heed to the verdict. Besides, the members of the West Pakistan chapter were also critical of Awami League's stances regarding Bengali to be one of the national languages, complete provincial autonomy, and separate army for the two wings. As a result, Khan of Mamdot was expelled on 21<sup>st</sup> April 1953. This was how he rejoined the PML and was made the governor of Sind and Jinnah Awami League became Awami Muslim League. Similarly, the differences between Bashani and Suhrawardy emerged over former reservations on foreign policy, corruption and the failure of the Suhrawardy's government in realization of 21 points program. He resigned from the party and floated his own party in the name of NAP in July 1957 at Dacca.<sup>9</sup>

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan started his political career from the platform of the Indian National Congress. Later, he changed many political parties from Congress to Tehrik-e-Khilafat, from Tehrik-e-Khilafat to Majlis-e-Ahrar, from Majlis-e-Ahrar to Awami League and from Awami League to Awami League (Nasrullah Group). In the end, he floated his own political party in the name of Peoples Democratic Party in June 1969.<sup>10</sup>

General Iskander Mirza became the first president of the state after the promulgation of the first constitution in 1956. The PML was in coalition with Awami League and Krishak Saramik Party. Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, the then President of the PML, asked the leaguers to form a parliamentary group in the assembly. Thus the leaguers elected Sardar Bahadar Khan as the Head of the group. The President Iskander Mirza wanted Dr. Khan Sahib to be the Head of the group. However, Dr. Khan Sahib in league with the President formed United Group only to get the leaguers on his side. However, they met with defeat in their attempt. As a result, they formed a new political party in the

6 Muhammad Bilal Ghauri, *Muslim League Internet*, Peshawar: the Daily Mashriq, 4th June, 2010.

7 Gharib Ullah Ghazi, *Pakistan ki Khaliq Muslim League kai Jammato mein Taqseem*, Peshawar: Sunday Magazine, the Daily Awsaf, 17th Oct, 2010, P.3.

8 Dr. P. Sharan, *Government and Politics of Pakistan*, New Delhi: Metropolitan, 1983, pp. 64-65.

9 \_\_\_\_\_, Awami League, <http://pr.hec.gov.pk/Chapters/277-4.pdf>, retrieved on 24th March, 2012.

10 \_\_\_\_\_, *Political Parties and Political Development in Punjab (1993-1999)*, <http://pr.hec.gov.pk/Chapters/778s-5.pdf>, retrieved on 24th March 2012.

name of the Republican Party. Dr. Khan Sahib was made its President. Many opportunist leaguers joined the party. It created cracks in the very existence of the PML.<sup>11</sup> After the revival of political parties under the Political Parties Act during General Ayub Khan's Regime, the PML in those circumstances was divided into three distinct factions consisting of the Council Muslim League, the Conventional Muslim League, and a group called Non-Revivalists. Non-Revivalists decided to go against the Revival policy until the complete restoration of democracy. Moreover, the main reason behind the split was the absence of Khan Abdul Qayum Khan-the former President of the PML-who was banned under EBDO (Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance) and later he was exiled on account of his fiery speeches against the Martial Law. The current leadership of the PML had no potential to keep the party intact. It is claimed that General Ayub Khan agreed to the suggestion of the revival of political parties on the condition to support the programme and policies of his government. In the beginning, his supporters known as Ministerialists decided to make entirely a new political party but at the end revive the Pakistan Muslim League. For this purpose, they sought the support of Manzare Alam who along with Maulana Akram Khan, and Abul Qasim had announced the revival of the PML in the near past. After having consultation with the prominent leaguers, Maulana Akram Khan decided to revive the PML both at national and provincial level. General Ayub Khan and his cronies tried their best to make him relinquish the idea but they failed to do so. As a result, they formed a committee consisting of two central ministers, Habib Ullah Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and three Parliamentary Secretaries for the reorganization of the PML through Councils. But soon they acknowledged the futility of their efforts as none of the councilors was ready to provide them support until the restoration of the 1962 constitution, lifting ban on politicians and political parties, and the release of Khan Abdul Qayum Khan. In such state of affairs, the Ministerialists decided to hold the convention of the PML. To make it a total success, they sought the convention to be presided over by such a personality, who may enjoy the respect and confidence of the leaguers. It was, therefore, invitations to renowned personalities like Raja Amir Muhammad Khan of Mahmood Abad, a close companion of the Quaid-e-Azam, Maulana Akram Khan, and Maulana Ihtesham-ul-Haq Thanvi were extended. However, they declined the invitation. As a last resort, Chaudhry Khaliq-al-Zaman was chosen. In order to give real color to the convention not a single minister was included in the conveners. Besides, lists of invitation were minutely scanned with the sole purpose of avoiding any untoward situation at the convention.<sup>12</sup> Thus the convention was held on 4-5<sup>th</sup> Sep, 1962. In the beginning, there was some resistance found among the East Pakistan leaguers who were demanding the release of Khan Abdul Qayum Khan. The demand was met there and then. The convention succeeded in the formation of the Conventional Muslim League. Once it was established. Its leaders left no stone unturned to forge unity between the two Leagues. Even important party positions were offered to the members of the Council Muslim League.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, General Ayub Khan and the President of the ML (Con) corresponded with each other over the flood hit areas of the East Pakistan and collaborated unanimously in passing the first amendment of the constitution. These and other postures adopted by both sides made many think of the unification of the Leagues.<sup>14</sup> However, the efforts and good gestures failed to materialize the objective i.e. the unification of both the Leagues. It is worth mentioning here that the ML (Conv), soon after establishing itself in the National Assembly, fell prey to the intra-party conflicts. The party organizer hailing from Karachi and the organizers of the West Pakistan, supported by the chief organizer Khaliq-Al-Zaman, accused each other of playing dual role putting aside the real task of the reorganization of the party. Nawab Yamin Khan addressed the chief organizers in bad terms. Thus the party branch of Karachi, which was bridged up by a committee comprising of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Mian Amiral Din, and Jam Sahib of Lasbella, stay divided for three months. In the same way, the party was divided into two groups. One was led by Monem Khan, while Abdul Sabur Khan, Waheed Al Zaman and Qazi Qadir stood united behind him, whereas, the other one was led by Hashim who had enjoyed the support of Fazl-al-Qadir Chaudhry. Here, it is noted that Hashim's Group was commonly known as Dhaka group. The two rival groups used to accuse each other in order to prove their loyalty to the central leadership of the party. In this points scoring tussle, Hashim's Group got an edge over the other when Fazl-al-Qadir became the Speaker of the National Assembly. But Hashim's Group met with utter defeat in party provincial elections held in Nov. 1963. In such circumstances, Monem Khan's Group sought to have complete control of the working committee as well as complete exclusion of the Dhaka Group from the working committee which culminated into conflict. Thus Monem Khan's Group was divided on the inclusion of Dhaka Group. As a result, Monem Khan's Group was bifurcated. Thus Monem Khan and Abdul Sabor Khan were heading their respective groups.<sup>15</sup> In short, General Ayub Khan used the Muslim League only to remain in power when he imposed the first Martial Law in 1958. He established Conventional Muslim League under the military umbrella. The

11 \_\_\_\_, pmln, <http://www.pmln.org.pk/action> retrieved on 5th Oct, 2010.

12 Muhammad Rafiq Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1958-1969*, Islamabad: NIHCR, 1998, pp.85-91.

13 Habib Ullah Khan's statement, Karachi: Dawn, 22 Oct, 1962.

14 Sir Percival Griffith, *Latest Development in India and Pakistan*, Asian Review, April, 1964, p.14.

15 Muhammad Rafiq Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1958-1969*, Islamabad: NIHCR, 1998, p.96.

leaguers enjoyed powers for ten years under the shade of the Martial Law. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto resigned from Muslim League (Conv) and floated his own party in the name of the Pakistan People Party in Nov 1967.<sup>16</sup>

The other faction of the PML known as the Council Muslim League was founded by the ex-members of the PML on 28<sup>th</sup> Oct, 1962. It was the only opposition party at that time. Khawaja Nazimuddin and Sardar Bahadar were selected as the Chairman, and the General Secretary respectively. Among the other members of the party M.A Koro, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, M.Doultana, and G.A Talpur were worth mentioning. It established its wings in East and West Pakistan. However, it was ill-organized. Moreover, another faction of the PML was founded by Mumtaz Doultana and Khan Abdul Qayum Khan in the same name and joined Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM).<sup>17</sup>The PML (Qayum) was a breakaway splinter of the PML (Con). It was founded as a result of the conflict over the issue of the party leadership when its first President Khawaja Nazimuddin died in 1964. The party in question was initially named as the Quaid-e-Azam Muslim League but later on renamed as the PML (Qayum).<sup>18</sup>Moreover, the PML (Qayum) suffered from rift dividing the party into two groups especially after its withdrawal from coalition with the PPP on 7<sup>th</sup> January, 1977. Qayum Khan was leading his own group, whereas the other was being headed by Sheikh Shaukat Ali-then Deputy in the PML (Qayum). The split was held to be the result of the differences existed between the two leaders. In a way of retribution, Qayum Khan expelled him from the party. Thus Shaukat Ali along with his group decided to contest the elections of provincial assemblies separately.<sup>19</sup>

The Pakistan Muslim League was the logical end of the efforts when the factions of the PML i.e. the PML (Con), the PML (Q), as well as of the PPP and the devotees of Meher Umer Hayat and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan joined hands together just after 1971 Crisis with the sole purpose of striving to wield political powers. The newly established political party had the majority of the landlords, who specifically upheld their own interests leaving behind the stance of the party on the issues i.e. the end of emergency, freedom of speech, acquittal of political prisoners, transparent elections, and freedom of the press etc. Besides it was also accused of its dual role in supporting the policies of the government, if finding them in line to its interests. Later on, conflict cropped up within its ranks over the question of participating in Pakistan National Alliance. However, the party was virtually divided into three factions on the issue of leadership. One group of the party was being led by Pir Sahib Pagaro. The other was being led by Muhammad Hanif Ramay. The third was being led by Malik Muhammad Qasim. Although strenuous efforts were made to keep the party united, but failed to yield any bearing. Thus the party was finally broken in 1978. It was held that Ali Ahmad Talpur was the man behind the defection contrived in the party on account of his enmity with Pir Pagaro-the then PML leader.<sup>20</sup>

The PML (Functional) or Pir Pagaro Group was initially founded in 1973, when Council and Conventional Muslim Leagues united except the Qayum Muslim League. The Qayum Muslim League was in alliance with the government of the PPP. Pir Pagaro was elected its President. However, he separated his own party in 1985 after having felt uneasiness with the Zia-made PML.<sup>21</sup>Moreover, Pir Pagaro named his party as Functional because it was revived after the verdict of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The party was limited only to Sind. He used to claim to be the natural heir of the party. However, his claim became a cry in the wilderness, when he accepted Muhammad Khan Junejo as the President of the Party. Besides, he used to state that the constitution of his party was the carbon copy of the original constitution of the PML of the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.<sup>22</sup> The Jinnah Muslim League was founded by General Muhammad Azam on 29<sup>th</sup> Dec, 1977. He criticized the other factions of the PML alleging that they all had been failed to materialize the Muslim League of the Quaid-e-Azam. Instead, they had been employing their respective Leagues as vehicles exclusively to clinch power. He claimed the JML to be the true representative of the Quaid-e-Azam's ideals. It would provide true democratic and prosperous Pakistan to the people. Another faction of the PML emerged when Hussain Imam founded a political party in the name of the Old Muslim League on 12<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1978. He was chosen as the President of the party and Shujat Ali as the Honorary Secretary General. The party pledged of the establishment of Islamic democracy keeping in view its ideals of equality, unity, and liberty. Besides, it would strive to promote the true culture of politics, integrity among the Muslim Ummah, and achieve the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. It was also in favor of the

16Gharib Ullah Ghazi, *Pakistan Ki Khaliq Muslim League kai Jammato mein Taqseem*, Peshawar: Sunday Magazine, the Daily Awsaf, 17th Oct, 2010, p.3.

17 \_\_, *Democracy and Crisis of Political Parties*, \_\_, <http://kinzuleman.blogspot.com/2011/06/democracy-crisis-of-political-parties-htm/>, retrieved on 5th Dec, 2011.

18Haruhiro Fukui, *Political Parties of Asia and the Pacific*, England: Greenwood Press, 1985, p.923.

19 \_\_, *Democracy and Crisis of Political Parties*, \_\_, <http://kinzuleman.blogspot.com/2011/06/democracy-crisis-of-political-parties-htm/>, retrieved on 5th Dec, 2011.

20Haruhiro Fukui, *Political Parties of Asia and the Pacific*, England: Greenwood Press, 1985, pp.918-920.

21 Amir Nafees, *Muslim League: The Essential Part of Ruling Elite in Pakistan*, the Post, 8th July, 2008, <http://www.opf.blog.com/2996/muslimLeague-%E2> retrieved on 5th Dec, 2010.

22 Ashraf Mumtaz, *Pakistan Muslim League*, in, *The Political Parties in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Books, 2002, p.102.

amendments made to the constitution with the purpose of making it democratic and national. In the same way, Pakistan Muslim League (Forward Bloc) was founded in Dec 1978 by Raja Muhammad Akhtar and his followers after parting their ways with the PML (United). The split was mainly attributed to the disagreement existed over the distribution of party funds and portfolios in the cabinet. The party extended full support to Zia's regime. However, it had no independent policy or programme of its own. The PML (Qasim) emerged out of the PML (United) on account of conflict over the question of party leadership. The leader and the founder of the party Malik Muhammad Qasim challenged Pir Pagaro-the then President of the PML (United). As a result, he was expelled from the party in the middle of 1978. Later on, he submerged his party into another faction of the PML and founded the PML (Chatta). The PML (Chatta) was a breakaway faction of the PML (United). It was founded in August 1978 by Malik Muhammad Qasim. Chaudhry Muhammad Hussain Chatta was its first President. In 1979, he was replaced and Khawaja Khairuddin was given the rein. Malik Muhammad Qasim survived as its General Secretary till its existence. However, the party suffered from internal intrigues which paved the way for its division.<sup>23</sup>

In East Pakistan, Awami League (Jinnah) of Hussain Suhrawardy splited and gave birth to Awami League of Mujibur-Rahman. After General Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan, who held elections in 1970 under the Legal Framework Order, imposed another Martial Law in the country. In the elections, all the factions of the Muslim League i.e. the Muslim League (Qayum group), the Muslim League (council) and Muslim League (Conv) took part in their separate capacity. In 1977 elections, the factions of the Muslim League contested the elections from the platform of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). Moreover, General Zia ul-Haq when imposed Martial law in 1977, Muslim League was divided into three factions i.e. Muslim League (Khawaja Khair u Din), Muslim League (Muhammad Hussain) and Muslim League (Pir Pagaro). In 1985, non-partisan elections were held. General Zia ul-Haq established new Muslim League in the National Assembly under the presidency of Muhammad Khan Junejo.<sup>24</sup> After the nomination of Muhammad Khan Junejo as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, General Zia ul-Haq allowed political activities across the polity. It is important to note that the Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo was elevated as the Head of the Public Group. Thus Public Muslim League (the PML) was established inside the Parliament which was afterwards renamed as Pakistan Muslim League (the PML). With the revival of the PML in the National Assembly the Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo directed all the Chief Ministers to revive the PML in their respective provinces. After the so-called lifting of Martial law on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1985, the Prime Minister formally launched the PML on 18<sup>th</sup> January 1986.<sup>25</sup> Thus the PML was revived during General Zia ul-Haq's Regime. However, when Muhammad Khan Junejo's Government was dismissed, the PML once again split into two factions i.e. the Muslim League (Junejo) and the Muslim League (Fida). Later on, the Muslim League (Fida) was renamed as The Muslim League (Nawaz) when Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif became its President.<sup>26</sup> However, the split was bridged up after General Zia ul-Haq death in a plane crash on 17<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1988. The Muslim League stood united in the leadership of Muhammad Khan Junejo in Oct 1988. It was once again broken when Mian Nawaz Sharif founded his own party as the PML (N) in 1993. The PML (Junejo) was renamed as such but later on, the party submerged into the PML (Chatta Group).<sup>27</sup> The PML (Chatta Group) was founded in 1993 by Hamid Nasir Chatta after having had differences with Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif over the election of the President of the party just after the death of Muhammad Khan Junejo. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif sought to be elected the President of the party before the challam of the departed President of the party. However, according to the constitution of the party, the new President could not have been elected before the period of 45 days. This haste on the part of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif disheartened pro-Junejo elements in the party who did not want the successor of his late leader to be elected in such a hasty manner. Besides, it is important to note that like many other members of the party, Hamid Nasir Chatta also parted ways with Mian Nawaz Sharif on the dictations given by the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan who was finding difficulty to work with Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. In such circumstances, Hamid Nasir Chatta held a meeting to which Mir Balakh Sher Mazari (then caretaker Prime Minister), Mian Manzoor Watto (then Chief Minister of the Punjab), Mir Afzal Khan (N.W.F.P) were invited. In the meeting, Abdul Ghafoor Khan Hoti from N.W.F.P was desirous to be elected as the President of the Party. But it was not met. As a result, he left the meeting and floated his own Muslim League in the name of the Muslim League (Hoti). Furthermore, one another faction of the PML emerged in the name of the Muslim League (Jinnah), when Mian Manzoor Watto parted his way with the ML (Chatta). His party was confined only to Okara, and Jehlum

23 Haruhiro Fukui, *Political Parties of Asia and the Pacific*, England: Greenwood Press, 1985, pp.905- 923.

24 Gharib Ullah Ghazi, *Pakistan ki Khaliq Muslim League kai Jammato mein Tagseem*, Peshawar: Sunday Magazine, the Daily Awsaf, 17 Oct, 2010, pp.3.

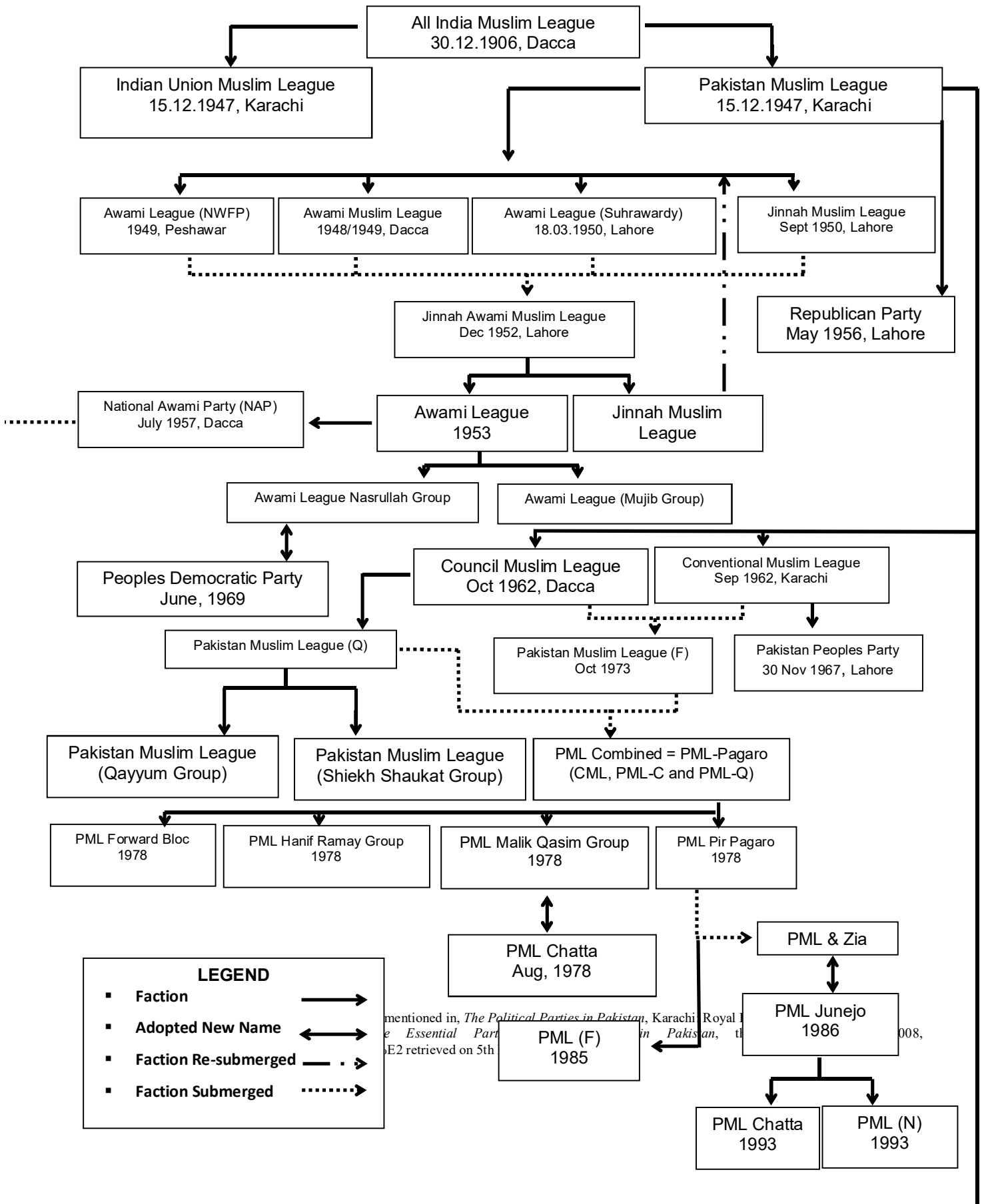
25 M. Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, Karachi: Progressive Publishers, 1989, pp.415-416.

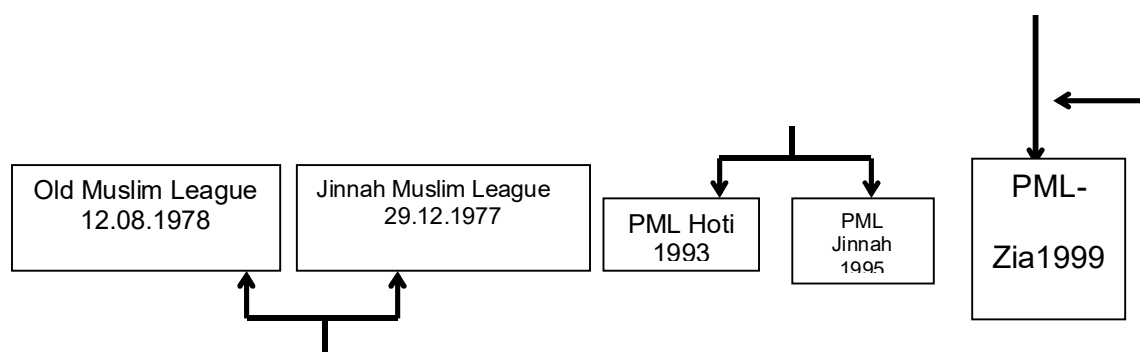
26 \_\_\_\_, *PML History* \_\_\_\_, pml history, <http://www.pml.org.pk/details>, retrieved on 20th Dec, 2010.

27 Dr. Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development*, Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1990, p.101.

districts of the Punjab.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, another faction of the PML was founded in 1999 when Ijaz ul-Haq floated a political party in the name of the PML (Zia).<sup>29</sup>

**Flowchart: Fragmentation of the PML (1947-1999)**





Source: Authors' own contribution.

#### 4. Factors and the Fragmentation of the PML: A Critical Analysis

##### 4.1. The PML and the Military

The PML, the creator of Pakistan, has been playing in the hands of the military since partition. Many of the leaguers by one pretext or the other became a part of the military regime. This is one of the causes of its fragmentation. It is, therefore, today one can see a number of PMLs with the tags of the founder's name. It is appropriate to be noted here that political parties which fail to perform their fundamental functions i.e. interest articulation, interest aggregation, and policy formation, frequently fall prey to the exploitation of the military bureaucracy.<sup>30</sup> In Pakistan, military dictators launched and helped grow the fragmentation of the political parties for their own needs and vested interests. In return, the factions had been rewarded with bounties and kickbacks. It is, therefore, held that a political party, which strives to uphold the interests of the individual or a group, is not a party by any definition at all. Such a faction or cadre party looks down upon the national interest as valueless and insignificant. Such is the features of the political parties of Pakistan where the military dictators funded political parties exclusively for the purpose of serving their interests.<sup>31</sup> The PML, which is often labeled as the Martial League, is no exception to this kind of the background of the political parties. In the words of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, the PML had been remained the handmaiden and slave of the military dictators in the political history of Pakistan and it is an accepted reality that slaves and handmaidens are not free in their opinions and actions.<sup>32</sup> The PML has been remained as an instrument at the hands of all military dictators during their respective regimes. The PML (Convention) during General Ayub regime, the PML (Junejo) during General Zia rule, and the PML (Q) during Musharruf regime provided strength and support to their respective masters. It has been observed that all the leaguers, who had been united under the banner of the PML, suffered from split when their so-called demigods faltered or their bounties upon them no longer showered.<sup>33</sup>

It is not a matter of surprise that the PML has been remained intact when in power and disintegrated when out of power. The PML (Convention) became almost dead in politics during 1970s after the resignation of General Ayub Khan. It subsequently assimilated into the PML (United) in the early 1970s. Similarly, the splitting up of the PML into the PML (Junejo) and the PML (Fida), later on, renamed as the PML (N) in 1993, were founded during General Zia regime, speaks volumes about the argument.<sup>34</sup> Most of the leaders of the PML have the support of the military behind their political career. Muhammad Khan Junejo came to the power with the help of General Zia ul-Haq who thought of him to be the best option to provide the required support to his government. It was, therefore, he was nominated the President of the PML founded during General Zia regime and the Chief Ministers of the four provinces were nominated as the Vice Presidents of the party. It is important to note that being the Chief Minister of the Punjab, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was made the President of the Punjab Muslim League. After having enjoyed the power as the Vice President of the PML of the Punjab chapter, he sought to become the President of the party. When the differences between General Zia ul-Haq and Muhammad Khan Junejo cropped up, the way for his ardent desire was paved. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, who had been a Finance Minister in the government of

30Grail Baxter, Yojendra. K. Malik, Charles H. Kennedy, and Robert. C. Oberst, *Government and Politics in South Asia*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, 1988, p.188.

31Zaiba Hussain, *Siyasi Jamthain aur Jamoohriath*, Rawalpindi: The daily Nawa-i-Waqt, 1st Jan, 2011.

32 Muhammad Bilal Ghauri, *Muslim League Internet*, Peshawar: The Daily Mashriq, 4th June, 2010.

33 \_\_\_\_\_, <http://www.pmln.org.pk/action>, retrieved on 28th Dec, 2010.

34Hussain Zaidi, *Why Muslim League is Prone to Breaks up*, \_\_\_\_\_, <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/cmnl/dawn.content-library>, retrieved on 24th Dec, 2010.



the Punjab in 1981, had the blessings of General Zia ul-Haq who brought him into politics. Later on, he was made the Chief Minister of the Punjab by then-Governor of the Punjab, General Ghulam Gilani Khan. He told the members that he wanted to see Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif as the Chief Minister of the Punjab. It is said that it was Nawaz Sharif who welcomed the dismissal of Junejo's Government. This act made him the favorite of the military rulers. This was how he was made the Caretaker Chief Minister of the Punjab. Besides, the establishment also tried hard to remove Junejo from the Presidentship of the PML and wanted to place Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in his place. In this connection, a meeting of the PML was arranged in Islamabad Hotel on 13<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1988 to remove Junejo. In the meeting, the participants quarreled with one another. The supporters of Junejo and of Mian Nawaz Sharif beat one another ruthlessly. This sort of circumstances gave way to emerge factions in the PML. One faction of the party was being headed by Fida Muhammad with Mian Nawaz Sharif as the General Secretary, whereas, the other one by Muhammad Khan Junejo with Iqbal Ahmad as Secretary General. It is worth mentioning that even the sudden death of General Zia ul-Haq on 17<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1988 did not change the plan hatched out by his successor Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and the Chief of Army Staff General Mirza Aslam Baig. They were adamant to execute the plan of the Ex-President Zia i.e. placing Mian Nawaz Sharif on the top of the PML. This was how he became more powerful than Muhammad Khan Junejo even though being the President of the party. In such a scenario, Muhammad Khan Junejo made an alliance with Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani and the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal of Air Martial Muhammad Asghar Khan (Retired). However, the establishment did not want the vote bank of the PML to be divided. Consequently, Muhammad Khan Junejo was pressurized to join the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI). Therefore, reconciliation was made between Mian Nawaz Sharif and Mian Muhammad Khan Junejo. As a result, Muhammad Khan Junejo was allowed to continue as the President of the PML. The establishment sought to defeat the PPP in the elections of 1988. However, after the death of Muhammad Khan Junejo, the PML split into the PML (Fida) and the PML (Junejo) over the differences emerged on the selection of the President of the party. Mian Nawaz Sharif became the President of the PML (Fida) and named it as the PML (N). He became the Chief Minister of the Punjab with all-out efforts of the establishment. Thus the period of confrontational politics between the PML (N) and the PPP commenced.<sup>35</sup>

If the history of the PML is analyzed, this becomes clear that the leaguers themselves were engaged in the fragmentation of the League. They pursued their personal interests even at the cost of joining hands with the military. It is often questioned that it was the PML (Convention) which supported General Ayub regime. Besides, it is also debated that it was the PML during 1980s which supported General Zia ul-Haq.<sup>36</sup>In a nutshell, how the factions of the PML were made and had been in support of the military in their respective regimes. This was how the PML was one of the reasons to provide room to the political instability in the political history of the state.

#### **4.2. The PML and its Elitist Leadership:**

Despite the fact, the PML worked for the interests of the common Muslims of India, however, it had been remained the organization of the Muslims' elites after the independence.<sup>37</sup>Thus the PML failed to transform itself into a national party on account of its elitist leadership who was mainly divided and devoid of organizational skills. It was, therefore, they were unable to perform dual duties i.e. nation-building and state-building. It could be assumed that the political instability in the state was caused chiefly on account of the lack of devoted leadership and well-organized and disciplined political parties.<sup>38</sup> Thus the PML is a case in point in this regard. The elitist orientation among the leaguers caused rifts and dissensions. When Chaudhry Khaliquz Zaman was chosen as the chief organizer of the PML in Feb 1948, the League was organized at city, district and provincial levels. He nominated office-bearers to the various chapters of the party. It was with the assistance of those office-bearers, he became the president of the League. His favors, extended only to his own cronies, gave way to conspiratorial politics. As a result, protests, in the various chapters of the League, were destined to emerge. As the President of the party, he had to face the criticism of the leaguers. As he had no capability of the leader in true sense, it was, therefore, he abandoned the Presidentship of the League after protest by some refugees in front of his house in Karachi. In the same way, when Liaqat Ali Khan sworn in as the Chairman of the PML on 8<sup>th</sup> Oct, 1948, he assumed the charge of the President of the League as well as the Head of the government.<sup>39</sup>This is indicative of the behavior of the elitist leadership who used to combine in its person all the authority. This was how ill feelings were allowed to grow among the party members.

In Oct 19, 1948, Liaqat Ali Khan amended the constitution and made his way level to the Presidentship of the

35 Prof. Khalid Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Scene: 1984-1990*, Lahore: Rohtas Books Publishers, 1990, p.92.

36 Dr. Inayat Ullah, *Pakistani Generals aur Seyasi Jamathain*, Peshawar: The Daily Mashriq, 30th Oct, 2010.

37 Ponsmurev Yuri, *The Muslim League of Pakistan: 1947-1977*, Lahore: People Publishing House, 1986, p.23.

38 Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military and Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1986*, Lahore: Progressive Pub, 1974, p. 255.

39 Dr. Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development*, Lahore: Vanguard Pub, 1990, pp.94 - 109.

League after succeeding Chaudhry Khaliq Zaman. Liaqat Ali Khan even did not able to deliver the place to the League that once it used to enjoy in the eyes of the masses. Besides, his dual charges made the League virtually the handmaiden of the government. In addition to, he was also supporting factionalism while favouring his cronies against their opponents. He supported Daultana in the Punjab, and Qayum in N.W.F.P. His very act maligned the hearts of sincere and devoted workers who left the League in protest and floated their own political parties. The Khan of Mamdot, and Pir of Manki Sharif were worth to name among such disheartened workers. Furthermore, when Khawaja Nazimuddin became the President of the League after the assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan, it is reported to have said that he was the weakest of the Presidents the League ever had. He did not use to take any interest in the affairs of the party. Whenever he wanted to take any decision, he never used to take the party into confidence. When Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed his government and installed Muhammad Ali Bogra, the League had to accept the later as its President without any hue and cry. This was how his irresponsible attitude made the League the butt of ridicule.<sup>40</sup> Thus the leaguers used to feel no dejection if they changed their loyalties to the League. In the same way, the elitist leaderships' unbearable ways and actions made many think of dissensions. The PML remained in power for seven years both at national and provincial level while indoctrinating in the people that the League had been founded to rule forever. Moreover, Liaqat Ali Khan tagged all its opponents as traitors and enemies of Pakistan. In July, 1954, the League moved a resolution in the Assembly in which ban on all other political parties was sought for the next twenty years. Moreover, Liaqat Ali Khan said about the Constituent Assembly that the League had more weight than any parliament. It was the strength of Pakistan. I often used to say and even now reinforce my verdict that I am the Prime Minister of the League, I am not the Prime Minister chosen by the members of the Constituent Assembly.<sup>41</sup>

The PML (Con) was another faction of the PML founded in Oct 1962. The party was mainly consisted of feudals, landlords, merchants, and professionals. The entire work of the party was in control of the few chosen ones. The rest of the members of the party had no role at all in the affairs of the party. This gave birth to intra-party conflicts and defections which finally divided the party. The conflict was mainly revolving around the issue of succession after the death of Khawaja Nazimuddin, the president of the party. Thus the party was finally divided into M.A Daultana Group and Qayum Khan Group. Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, later on, transformed its group into a full-pledge party and named it as the PML (Q). Similarly, many members of the party joined Ayub bloc and accepted government appointments. This all could be attributed to the elitist behavior of the party leadership. In the same way, the PML (Conv) was a party of landlords and industrialists who not only provided leadership to the party but also supported it financially. Although the party was heavily funded, yet it failed to implant itself in the masses. Those, who sponsored it, withdrew their support when its heydays came to an end in 1969.<sup>42</sup> It was difficult for the party to remain intact and allowed itself to submerge into the PML (United). Thus it could be easily inferred that all the factions of the PML used to have elitist leaderships and their mutual conflicts and feuds rendered them with division and re-division. The PML (United), and the PML revived during General Zia regime are examples in this regard.

### 4.3. The PML and its Ideology

Ideology plays an important role in keeping a political party intact and provides guidance to its members. In the absence of ideology, the members of the party go astray and do not respect the norms and rules. They do not feel shy while switching over their loyalties against their own party. In the absence of ideology, the PML had been suffered from dissensions and disloyalties on the part of its members whenever they found an outlet for the completion of their vested interests. They even did not hesitate either to join the opposite party or float their own one. After the existence of Pakistan, it was the PML which wielded powers in the center as well as in the provinces. It was unchallenging during its long rule from 1947 to 1954. Despite, having had such circumstances, it had no programme for the welfare of the people. Its leaders used to give importance to their personal interests and put aside the national interest. Most of their time used to consume in hatching out conspiracies against one another. This sort of attitude on the part of the leaguers put the party and democracy at stake which finally paved the way for the formation of many political parties in the days to come.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, it had been suffered from two major weaknesses i.e. lack of clear cut socio-economic programme and party organization. Since 1906, the AIML had no well-defined socio-economic programme for the Muslims of India except the demand of separate electorate. This demand even was not based on any socio-economic philosophy. In the same manner, the PML also did not chalk out a plan of socio-economic after

<sup>40</sup>Ibid, p.94.

<sup>41</sup> Dr. P. Sharan, *Government and Politics of Pakistan*, New Delhi: Metropolitan, 1983, pp.61-62.

<sup>42</sup>Haruhiro Fukui, *Political Parties of Asia and the Pacific*, England: Greenwood Press, 1985, pp.920-923.

<sup>43</sup>Dr. Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, 1990, p.93.

the independence i.e. would Pakistan be an Islamic state, would it be based on sharia, what kind of economic system would be implemented here? These and many other questions were not dilated upon by the leaders of the PML. It was always, therefore, exploited by non-democratic forces in the absence of vibrant ideology. During General Zia regime the Muslim League was a staunch believer in the Islam that he was supporting.<sup>44</sup> Consequently, binding and losing practice had been at work in the PML in order to extend support to the regimes in their respective periods and in return, the leaguers were rewarded with bounties and blessings.

It was easy to pinpoint why the PML (Conv) failed to take its base in the masses. It was exclusively on account of having no ideology or a specific programme of its own. Rather it was created to support the programme and policies of the regime concerned i.e. General Ayub regime.<sup>45</sup> Although, it believed in the ideology of Islam sporadically yet it also allowed the inclusion of non-Muslims in its fold. Besides, it upheld nationalism, opposed provincial autonomy, and strongly supported central government under presidential system. It also made the part of its ideology those policies and programme which the military government upheld. In the same way, the faction of the PML (Chatta) had different ideological orientation. It was basically believed in the ideology of communalism. It opposed vehemently the introduction of progressive social and economic institutions.<sup>46</sup> Thus it could be admitted at all hands that ideology performs a vital role in welding up a political party cohesively. If there is no ideology, the party concerned is likely more prone to factionalism. The various factions of the PML emerged as a result of the absence of concrete ideology. Consequently, they had been exploited by the regime concerned. This also provided an opportunity to the leaguers to switch their loyalties to the man on the spot and made new political parties exclusively for his support inheriting the name of the PML.

#### 4.4. The PML and its Organizational Structure

It is noted that organized political parties are inevitable for smooth working of democracy. If they are ill-organized, they could not perform their due role in the political system. It is said that the AIML had the tradition of launching primary membership. However, it abandoned this tradition when became the All Pakistan Muslim League. Besides, it set a precedent for its various factions. The AIML presented a scene of disorganization till 1936. There was no well-established coordination between its provincial and central command. The situation at provincial level was totally bleak. The leaders of the League had monopoly over the provincial wings of the League. In such circumstances, Muhammad Ali Jinnah tried hard to organize it with the help of Allama Muhammad Iqbal. He arranged the Bombay Session in 1936 due to this purpose. In this connection, he toured across the country and requested the local leaders of the Muslim League to forget their personal differences, and think only in terms of the Muslim League. As a result, the Muslim League was organized and transformed into a mass organization due to the charismatic leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. That was how it was made the sole organization of the Muslims of India.<sup>47</sup> Its loose organization was another major weakness of the PML. The PML became the victim of intra-party intrigues and conspiracies especially after the death of Quaid-e-Azam. The party leaders used to conspire against one another in order to have the leadership of the party in their own hands. Pakistan, being a multi-ethnic polity, needed a party which had roots in the masses so that it could be kept integrated. But the PML, after Jinnah, lost the popularity and respect among the masses that it previously used to enjoy. Most of the time, the leaguers had to seek the support of the establishment in order to wield power. It had to surrender before the Governor General when he dissolved the central government in 1953 and appointed Muhammad Ali Bogra as the Prime Minister. In the same way, when Governor General again dissolved the Central Assembly in 1954, the PML was not even apprehensive over his action. Thus it created an impression among the masses that the PML was pro-establishment and anti-masses. This break up between the PML and the masses was the result of the poor and weak relation which finally gave way to fragmentation of the party in the years to come. During Ayub regime, the PML was in league with the military in the name of the PML (Conv). It broke the moment the regime concerned came to an end. It merged into the PML (United) after 1970. Organizationally, the PML (Conv) was weak and loose. The all-powerful President of the League was unchallenging while making appointments to the important slots in the party. It is important to note that such appointments used to be made not selected. The situation of the party in East and West Pakistan was not different as well. Moreover, the party organization suffered from further deterioration in the presence of inter-regional factionalism. The intra-party factionalism undermined the party in the local elections.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, the PML revived during General Zia regime, due to weak and loose organization, also suffered from fragmentation after the

44Hussain Zaidi, *Why Muslim League is Prone to Breaks up*, \_\_\_\_\_, <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/cmnu/dawn.content-library>, retrieved on 24th Dec, 2010.

45Rounaq Jahan, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*, Dacca: Dacca OUP, 1973, p.131.

46Haruhiro Fukui, *Political Parties of Asia and the Pacific*, England: Greenwood Press, 1985, p.920.

47 Keith Collard, *A political Study of Pakistan*, London: Oxford University press, 1957, p.26.

48 Dr. P. Sharan, *Government and Politics of Pakistan*, New Delhi: Metropolitan Publishers, 1983, p.63.

death of its founder giving birth to the PML (J) and the PML (N). It was all due to the loose organizational structure and no roots in the masses.<sup>49</sup>

After the achievement of Pakistan, the PML faced with crises and conflicts during 1947-1958. In this span of time, it was oblivious to its responsibility of guiding the newly born state through anarchy and problems. It did not have any strategy to combat lingual, social, economic, and political problems. Besides, the PML was to organize itself into mass party but it was oblivious to all these state of affairs. It had to do dual work i.e. running the state as well as organizing itself as a mass party. But with the passage of time, it failed to materialize all these in the presence of intrigues and feuds.<sup>50</sup> Here, it is appropriate to note that Muhammad Khan Junejo was not a politician of national stature before his nomination as the Prime Minister who could steer his way through odd circumstances. So it was difficult for him to organize the party which otherwise needed a time to grow. He depended heavily for this purpose on the Chief Ministers of the respective provinces who failed to organize the party properly due to their hectic official routine.<sup>51</sup> It lacked in discipline and organization due to the presence of disheartened members of the party who did not see any chance of their elections to the assemblies.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, Muhammad Khan Junejo tried his best to unite the wings of the party i.e. the PML (Junejo) and the PML (Functional of Pagaro). However, the party was faced with potential fragmentation at any point in the time.

#### 4.5. The PML and its Power Struggle

The political history of Pakistan stands witness to the various factions of the PML. The people who had been attached with its factions always used to prefer their personal interest to that of the faction. They welcomed military dictators and supporting their governments. General Ayub Khan called a meeting at the house of Akram Khan, a seasoned politician, in which many former leaders of the PML participated and established a party in the name of Conventional Muslim League in 1962. Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman and Khan Abdul Waheed Khan were chosen as the Chairman and the General Secretary respectively only to attract the general public and the old leaguers. Later on, General Ayub Khan became its chairman on 24<sup>th</sup> Dec, 1963. Many big landlords and leaguers joined the party and held important slots. It is noted that the Qayum League supported the central government only that it would help ban NAP in Balochistan and resultantly, it would enjoy power in alliance with the PPP and JUI in Balochistan during 1973. Similarly, the United Muslim League had weak position in the corridors of power having three members in the National Assembly and in the Senate respectively. Except in the Punjab Assembly, it had extremely weak position in the rest of the provinces. Majority of its members were desirous to join the ruling party. As a result, a group of leaguers headed by Khawaja Nazimuddin joined the PPP in 1973 and named this change of loyalties as their likeness for the revolutionary programme. In the same manner, on Sep, 1974, ten members of the Council Muslim League and one from the Qayum League joined the PPP. After the disintegration of the state in 1971, the factions of the League were divided. The Qayum League was supporting the government of the PPP whereas the Conventional and Council Muslim Leagues united under the presidentship of Pir Pagaro and formed an alliance with other opposition parties known as United Democratic Front (UDF). Later on, the alliance transformed into the PNA, which protested against the policies of the PPP, and especially against rigging in the 1977 elections. Thus finally a way was paved for another coup d'état in 1977. However, a faction of the Muslim League of Khawaja Khairuddin opposed it.<sup>53</sup> This shows that how Muslim League conspired against one another while making way for power. Moreover, when General Zia decided to form the national government, all other political parties consisting of the JUI, the PPP, and the MUP (Majlis-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan) opposed this move but majority of the Muslim leaguers joined his government.<sup>54</sup> In 1993, in order to destabilize Nawaz Sharif's Government, some members were separated from the Muslim League. It was those who had Ministries in the centers as well as in the provinces. Hamid Nasir Chatta, Sardar Asif Ahmed Ali, Manzoor Watto, and Mir Afzal Khan were prominent among the dissidents of the League. They conspired against the government. Besides, they were in league with the PPP and contested the elections held in 1993 from a joint platform. The group was named as the ML (Junejo) afterwards.<sup>55</sup> This all is indicative of how much leaguers had been interest oriented and disloyal towards their respective Leagues. In the same way, the Muslim League Qaid-e-Azam during Pervez Musharraf's regime was a breakaway faction of the PML (N). It supported Pervez Musharraf's regime

49 Hussain Zaidi, *Why Muslim League is Prone to Breaks up*, <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/cmnl/dawn.content-library>, retrieved on 24th Dec, 2010.

50 G.W Chaudhry, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Lahore: United Publishers, 1988, p.374.

51 G.W Chaudhry, *Pakistan: Transition from Military to Civilian Rule*, England: Scorpion Pub Ltd, 1988, p.63.

52 Dr. Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development*, Lahore: Vanguard Pub, 1990, p.240.

53 \_\_\_\_\_, *Pml*, <http://www.pmln.org.pk/action> retrieved on 5th Oct, 2010.

54 \_\_\_\_\_, *Democracy and Crisis of Political Parties*, \_\_\_\_\_, <http://kinzuleman.blogspot.com/2011/06/democracy-crisis-of-political-parties-htm/>, retrieved on 5th Dec, 2011.

55 Hafiz Taqiuddin, *Pakistan ki Siyasi Jamaatain aur Tehrikain*, Lahore: Classical Pub, 2003, pp.400-401.

throughout its rule.

#### 4.6. The PML and Intra-Party Democracy

There is observed no intra-party elections in any political party of the polity including the various factions of the PML except the JI. In majority of the parties, systems of inheritance are in practice and are in the grip of certain individuals and families. The mode of elections is not short of royal enthronement. It is due to the undemocratic and coercive orientation of the party leadership and of the office-bearers. However, democracy does not mean holding and casting of votes only but in truth, it abounds in transfer of power and authority. It has been observed that party elections are conducted under the supervision of the Election Commission in civilized society. Besides, party workers do choose candidates for general elections. In the USA, real hustle and bustle, one could see at the time of the primary elections in which decisions regarding the distribution of the party tickets are carried out. But in the case of Pakistan, the trend is totally different. It is the party leader, who decides about the distribution of tickets. Thus tickets are granted on the basis of personal relationship with the leader of the party. Lack of intra-party democracy and presence of dictatorship virtually divide the office-bearers and the workers of the party. This sort of affairs gives way to dissention that paves the way for floating of a new party.<sup>56</sup>

Political parties in Pakistan possess no specific mode for the election of their office-bearers. Richness and family background are the only qualifications to be reckoned.<sup>57</sup> After independence, Hussain Suhrawardy did not agree to naming the AIML for Pakistan as the PML on the basis that the name 'Muslim' had no more validity. Therefore, it might be dropped, and suggested that the AIML be named as Pakistan League. Thus differences were set to crop up between the leaguers and him. Finally a stage was set for partition. As a result, he floated his own party Awami League.<sup>58</sup> The leaguers, after the demise of the Quaid-e-Azam, were divided on issues like the form of federalism, place of Islam in the constitution, and the question of language. Thus the PML was prone to factionalism. Consequently, intra-party conflict created serious problems for the PML and its unity. In 1954, it was defeated in East Pakistan by the United Front, an alliance of breakaway splinters. Similarly, the Republican Party was founded by some leaguers on account of differences existed among the leaguers. After revival of political parties during General Ayub regime, however, some efforts were made to unite the factions of the PML but no leader was prepared to leave his own party leadership. Such craze for leadership created distress among the workers and low office-bearers of the PML. As a result, they either joined other political parties or became inactive in politics.<sup>59</sup>

A cleavage set to appear in the ML (Conv) when differences between Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Gen Secretary of the ML (Conv), and General Ayub Khan surfaced mainly on account of the former displeasure over the policies of the latter especially on his foreign policy. Consequently, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto formed a Forward Bloc in the party. He resigned from the cabinet and the party on 8<sup>th</sup> June, 1966. Afterwards, he formed his own party in the name of the PPP in Nov 1967.<sup>60</sup> Similarly, when differences between General Zia ul-Haq and Muhammad Khan Junejo cropped up on certain issues i.e. promotions in military upper brass, investigation of the Ojhri Camp incident, the former dismissed the government of the latter on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 1988. The General's undemocratic act was not resented by the members of the party. Rather they were divided into groups. One was pro-government which was blessed with ministries whereas the other one was pro-Junejo. The ML was further disintegrated when the Chief Ministers conspired to form the ML of their own in the name of Official Muslim League in their respective provinces.<sup>61</sup> On one hand, the Chief Ministers tried their best to remove Muhammad Khan Junejo from the presidentship of the PML, while, on the other hand, Pir Pagaro announced to revive his own Muslim League once again as the ML (Functional). This was how the PML was drawn into tug of war. Pir Pagaro settled permanently in Lahore criticizing leaguers as well as Junejo and Nawaz Sharif. Nawaz Sharif tried his best to make agree Junejo for meeting with General Zia ul-Haq so that anarchy within the PML might be ended but Junejo had been considering the meeting as a political suicide. The General Council of the PML unanimously held the verdict that Nawaz Sharif and Junejo should work together. The joint meeting of the PML, sometime later, was held on 13<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1988, at Islamabad Hotel. In that meeting the supporters of Junejo and of Nawaz Sharif fought as a result of the differences. Begum Nusrat Bhutto was reported to have said that those who threw chairs upon each other in the meeting of their party hope for free and fair elections could not be held from them.<sup>62</sup> Thus politics of authoritarianism, confrontation were given air within the PML while promoting undemocratic culture within which was finally dramatized into political instability and the failure of

56 Masood Abdali, *Partiyaon main Jamhooriath kuan nahi*, Rawalpindi: the Daily Nawai Waqat, 2nd Jan, 2011.

57 \_\_\_\_\_, *Challenges to Democracy in Pakistan*, \_\_\_\_\_, <http://www.bukisa.com/articles> retrieved on 5th Dec, 2010.

58 \_\_\_\_\_, *PMLN*, <http://www.pmln.org.pak/action/membership.pmln>, retrieved on 6th Dec, 2010.

59 \_\_\_\_\_, *PML History*, <http://www.pml.org.pk>, retrieved on 6th Dec, 2010.

60 <http://kinzuleman.blogspot.com/2011/06/democracy-crisis-of-political-parties-html>, retrieved on 3rd Feb, 2011.

61 Shahid Javid Barki, Carriage Baxter, *Pakistan under Military Rule*, London: Vanguard Pub, 1991, pp. 43-44.

62 Salim Younus, *Siyasi Ithehad aur Pakistani Siyasath per unke Asarat: 1947-1990*, Lahore: Jang Publ, 1993, p.197.

democracy at the cost of its own division and re-division.

#### 4.7. The PML and its Popular Base

The basic problem with the political parties of Pakistan is that after coming into power, they become dysfunctional both at organizational and public level and contacts between the party and the general public seem a cry in wilderness. When they become unpopular, the non-democratic forces exploit their weaknesses and keep them out of the power corridors. It is impossible a political party could be able to take roots in the masses without having strong ideology, organizational structure, and popular but virtuous leadership. In Pakistan, all political parties are devoid of the given prerequisites.<sup>63</sup> The various break away factions of the PML could not be commonly referred to as catch-all-parties<sup>64</sup> as none of them enjoys full mass back up. As the time went on, the PML lost its prestige and honor among the masses. The political scene in the Punjab was bleak. As a result, M.A Jinnah dismissed the Punjab Assembly in 1949 on the ground that the Chief Minister Iftikhar Hussain Khan did not use to take any interest in the affairs of the government as well as of the party and appointed Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar as the Governor of the province. Similarly, the political situation in Sind was also worth mentioning as the people of the province started raising the slogan 'Sind for Sindhis'. Although the people of the province actively participated in the Freedom Movement but on account of the policies of the PML, they wanted a separate existence. The status of the PML in Balochistan was not also concrete. The party, although, promised to develop the province politically, economically, and socially yet it could not deliver the pledges made. It did have branches across the province but they all were ill-organized. In 1950, Qazi Isa and Qazi Musa with the permission of the central government did their best to revive the PML. But realistically speaking, they were not sincere towards the revival of the party. They wanted only to consolidate their own position across the province. The PML also did not enjoy the support of the people of the East Pakistan. It was mainly due to its policies. As a result, in Jan 1949, the members of the Muslim League floated their own party in the name of Awami Muslim League under the leadership of Maulana Abdul Hamid Bashani. In 1955, it dropped the word Muslim from its former name and became Awami League. It is worth mentioning that the former leader of the PML Hussain Suhrawardy played an important role in the formation of the Awami League. In early 1950s, the PML was faced with deepening crises of disintegration. Thus the PML was bent upon losing its popularity due to its undemocratic policies which paved the way for its formal cleavage. The cleavage was formally surfaced in 1958, when Ayub Khan introduced his own party, Conventional Muslim League dividing the PML into the ML (Conv) and the ML (Con).<sup>65</sup> After making necessary changes to the constitution of the PML (Conv) in Dec 1963, General Ayub Khan announced that ministers would not be allowed to enjoy dual positions both as a minister as well as an office-bearer. His words failed to exert any bearing on the ministers because they not only used to enjoy their ministries but also hold important party positions. Such state of affairs gave birth to despondency among the party workers who wielded no powers and influence in the party. It was one of the reasons that the party failed to hold footing in the masses. Moreover, a large number of elites joined the PML (Conv) after the removal of EBDO on 31<sup>st</sup> Dec, 1966. They joined it chiefly on the ground that it belonged to the ruling junta as well as to avoid the suppression of the regime. Those who joined the PML (Conv) were Qazi Muhammad Isa, Sahibzada Hasan Mahmud, Maula Bakhsh Soomro, Alamdar Hussain Gilani, Qazi Muhammad Wassan, Syed Khair Shah, and Arbab Noor Muhammad. Many among them had been awarded with ministries at national and provincial levels. It was, however, said that the inclusion of the elite in the party did not help it take roots among the masses. Besides, the feudal generous funding to the party also disheartened the workers of the party because they did not see any future for themselves in the party. They not only exploited the ruling regime for their vested interests but also acquired important positions in the party. Moreover, the party lavish spending on publicity and invention of novel kind of enrollment did not save it from intra-party conflicts. According to the new scheme of enrollment, anyone who enrolls fifty members would become automatically a councilor. So the leaguers filled the membership forms of the party with fake names only for the purpose of becoming a councilor. Thus this created a gap between the haves and the have-nots. Several steps were taken to organize the party but intra-party conflicts kept on to rise. As a result, it was seriously suffered from faction both in West and East Pakistan. In such state of affairs, when the workers of the party asked General Ayub Khan to lead the party, he showed cold shoulder and said that he was not a politician and politics was not in his veins.<sup>66</sup> Similarly, the PML revived during General Zia regime mainly consisted of those whose positions in the masses were weak. Its main function was to provide strength and support to the ruling regime.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, it was said that the PML (Junejo) was the handiwork of the bureaucracy without having any

<sup>63</sup> Aqeel Yousufzai, *Siyasi Partian, Media aur Bacha Khan ka khath*, Peshawar: The daily Mashriq, 16th Nov, 2010.

<sup>64</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Catch-all+party>, retrieved on 2nd Dec, 2010.

<sup>65</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, <http://kinzuleman.blogspot.com/2011/06/democracy-crisis-of-political-parties.html>, retrieved on 3rd Jan, 2011.

<sup>66</sup> Muhammad Rafiq Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1958-1969*, Islamabad: NIHCR, 1998, pp.100-116.

<sup>67</sup> Muhammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1989, p.417.

roots in the masses. Besides, it was often used to be called as the test tube baby of bureaucracy.<sup>68</sup> As the factions of the PML had no roots in the masses, it was, therefore, prone to fragmentation the moment the hand behind their very existence was drawn. In the 1990s, the PML (N) and PML (Q) during Pervez Musharraf's regime too had no mass support in the real sense.

## 5. Conclusion

The PML was the offshoot of the AIML. It was the only representative organization of the Muslims of India. It spearheaded the Freedom Movement in order to achieve a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. It succeeded to achieve Pakistan on 14<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1947 after a long struggle. But unfortunately, the PML, soon after the demise of the Quaid-e-Azam, suffered from internal conflicts and feuds and divided into many factions. For this state of affairs, the leadership of the PML was responsible. They failed to transform it into a vibrant and organized political party. The failure was mainly centered on personal interest, lack of democratic norms within the party, lust for power, role of military, and its feudal leadership. The first ever break up the party experienced in 1949 when Maulana Bashani floated a new Muslim League in the name of Awami Muslim League on account of certain differences with the League. During 1950s, most of the leaguers due to their personal interests as well as the policies of the League gave birth to United Front (UF) and the Republican Party. The clear cut cleavage in the PML surfaced when it was formally divided into the PML (Conv) and the PML (Con). The PML (Conv) extended full support to the military regime and received bounties and rewards in return. When the regime came to an end, the leaguers started giving up their loyalties. In 1970s, some factions of the League were united but they suffered from fragmentation on account of their personal interests. Besides, one could see many factions of the League during 1970s. Similarly, the PML during General Zia regime was founded out of sheer purpose of providing strength to the regime. It also suffered from fragmentation after the death of the founder. It divided into the PML (Jinnah) and the PML (N). In a nutshell, the bottom line of the paper is that the PML remained intact till independence but it fragmented afterwards giving birth to many Leagues. Moreover, being the handmaiden of the military, its elitist leadership, lack of intra-party democracy, its lust for powers, its loose organization, personality clashes among the leaguers, its weak roots in the masses, lack of specific ideology, and coercive behavior of its office-bearers are the reasons reckoned with the fragmentation of the PML and its factions.

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<sup>68</sup>Mazhar Ali Khan, *Pakistan: The Barren Years*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998, p.596.

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