# **Review of Political Instability and Its Impact on Economic Growth of Pakistan**

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#### Abstract.

The study was carried out in Pakistan since July, 2018. The major objective of the study was to review the political instability in Pakistan and its impact on Pakistan Economic Growth. Eighteen studies were downloaded from the net and reviewed in proper way and analyzed the situation and found the results. The results indicate that political instability is a very important factor which creates a great problem for the development of Pakistan Economy. When Pakistan came into being, the political turmoil's and disturbances were more which had declined the economic growth of Pakistan and affect the Pakistan economy badly. Pakistan is still in the traditional stage and majority population depends on agriculture. The Pakistan economy is consisted of different ethnic and regional groups and every group take interest in their community while do not care the whole Pakistan. In the same way East Pakistan was separated since 1971 which is now called Bangladash. Till today no one have unity while they attacked on one another and four Marshal Laws were imposed by unavoidable circumstance. Liqat Ali became Prime Minister of Pakistan while he was killed in 1951. Instability was high in the Period of 1951-58 and at last .Ayub Khan lodged the Martial Law in 1958 due to unavoidable circumstances and governed for 10 years. Then in the Ayub government disturbance was increased and Martial Law was imposed by General Yaha Ya Khan in 1968 and in 1971 election was held. In this election Mujubur Rahman won the election in east Pakistan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in west Pakistan. Disturbance was created in both wing of the country and east Pakistan was separated which is called now Bangladesh. After General Yaha Ya, Zulfiqar Ali Bhuto became Prime Minister of the west wing of Pakistan and governed for 7 years. In his era agitation was started by opposition parties in the country and made disturbance. Ziaul Haq seeing to the situation lodged the Martial Law in 1977 and he took some changes in the law and as a President governed over 11 years. In his era, he lodged the election on non party basis in the country and Junejo became Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1985 and General Zia took some changes by assembly in the national constitution by Assembly and strengthen his position in the country. He exercised his power and dismissed Junejo in 1988 when he was on the foreign tour. However in 1988 Zia was killed in the Plane by blast. Then election was held and Benazir became Prime Minister of Pakistan. She worked as a Prime Minister for few years and dismissed by then president. Re-election was held and Nawaz became Prime Minister of Pakistan for few years while dismissed by President and reelection was held and Nawaz became Prime minister of Pakistan for the second time while he was dismissed by General Peravaz Musharif and lodged the Martial Law on 12 October 1999 and governed over 9 years. On 2008 election was held and Zardari became President of Pakistan along with Yusaf Raza Gilani as a Prime Minister of Pakistan while he was charged in corruption by judiciary and then Raja Pervaiz Ashraaf of People Party took oath as the Prime Minister of Pakistan . Zardari as a president spent full tenure of the government while economic growth was not improved according to objective of the Pakistan five year plan. In 2013, election was held and Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan third time. In the beginning of Nawaz government PTI has started agitation for 126 days in Islamabad for the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif government. He spent four year as a Prime Minister of Pakistan and CEPC project was approved. The beginning of his government was best and economic growth was interesting while dismissed by Judiciary in Panama case in 2016 and Abass Haqani became Prime Minister of Pakistan spent one year. General Election was held on 25th July 2018 and Imran Khan won the election and became 22th Prime Minister of Pakistan on 17th August 2018. Opposition parties started agitation against Imran Khan. Now the situation is not seeing very good and strike have been started on road while PTI claimed that very soon positive change will be occurred in the country. The author think that if the situation of Pakistan government is instable how the country will be developed and positive change in economic growth will be occurred in Pakistan and the economy will be boost up because for development favorable environment in the country is required. The all story shows that economic growth in the army dictator ship was better than the Civilian Government. Not only political instability has decreased the economic growth but also flood, high interest rate by bank, earthquake, oil price increasing, disturbance of the European currency, coalition with US led terrorism, lack of coordination among center and provinces, military interference in the Judiciaries and other institution have affected the economic growth negatively. On the basis of mentioned problems the author of the paper recommend that political stability is required for the development of Pakistan; Unity in the country is requested; Peace and security are necessary for uplifting the country; Good investment

environment is required for development of industries; High education and skill is required; Saving by government and Pakistani community is compulsory for reduction of foreign debt and Fair election process should be adopted in Pakistani culture; Research based Universities should be made in the country for solution of problem; Interest rate should be kept only 4%; Poverty should be controlled at grass root level; Environment should be cleaned for foreign investor; investment should be stopped outside the country; Police department and Judiciary should be strengthen in Pakistan for control of crimes in the country; Regional disparity and ethnicity should be controlled in the country. Through this way political stability will be occurred which boost up economic growth and the country will become prosperous in the future.

Keywords:-Review, Political Instability, Impact, Pakistan, Economy

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Political instability started when Pakistan came into being on 14 August, 1947. Geographically Pakistan is situated on different altitude which keep different climate and different languages. This ethnicity and differences have created instability in Pakistan.. At the beginning the National language of Pakistan was Urdu while in east Pakistan Bangali, in Punjab Panjabi, in Baluchistan Baluchi, in KPK Pashto and in Sindh Sindhi were spoken by the majority population. When Urdu was proposed the National language of Pakistan. The East Pakistan majority people agitated against Urdu and told that Bangali will be proposed the National language of Pakistan. The agitation started which ended into Pakistan Separation due to unavoidable circumstance and at last Bangladash was appeared on the map of the world. There were also other reason which have speed up this agitation such as 1000 miles distance from west Pakistan; The area of east Pakistan was seventh time of the west Pakistan while the population strength was more than the west Pakistan. When in 1971 the election was held in Pakistan. Mujabur Rehman won the election in east Pakistan while in west Pakistan Zulfigar Ali has won the election. The seats of Mujabur Rehman in national assembly was more than Zul Figar Ali Bhuto, so it was the right of the Mujabur Rehman to run the government and became Prime Minister of Pakistan while Zulfigar Ali Bhuto hesitated that and not gave the power to Mujabur Rehman, so the fighting started and India intercepted and attacked on East wing of the Pakistan and 1 lak Army soldiers also encircled by Indian Army and east Pakistan was separated from Pakistan. Such type activities in Baluchistan, KPK and Sindh are also started. The enemy of Pakistan tried to create problems and divide the Pakistan into many section like east Pakistan. In these parts the natural resources are more which play important role in the development of our economy. In the beginning Ayub Khan imposed the Martial Law in the Country and for 10 years governed over the country. The economic growth in his period was interesting and land reform 1959 were launched and abolished the Jagirdar in Pakistan and handed over the land to land less people. Through this way the number of owners in the country was increased and the tenant number decreased. The interest of the farmer increased which boost up the productivity of agriculture in the country. In his era green revolution was started and agriculture production increased in the country. While latter on crises was started in 1968 and again Martial Law was imposed by General Yaha Ya Khan which was continued till the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhuto. He governed still 1977. He has also governed for seven years. Different developmental programs were launched for the development of country. He became two times Prime Minster of Pakistan while agitation started by opposition parties in 1977. All parties alliances were made against Bhutto. Seeing to disturbance General Ziaul Haq lodged Martial Law in the country. He also governed for 11 years and launched many programs for development of Pakistan. The economic growth was also better in his era. They stressed on Purda and applied Islamic rule in the country and started Zakat and Ushar Programs in the countries for the development of Pakistan. In his era Mr.Zul Figar Ali Bhutto was hanged in the murder case. Junijo became prime minister of Pakistan while he was terminated in 1985 by General Ziaul Haq but latter on General Ziaul Haq was killed in the airplane in 1988. Then Benazir Bhuto became Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1989. She has worked for the development of a country while due to strong opposition his government was dismissed by President in 1992. Election was held in 1993 and Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan. After three years due to unavoidable circumstance his government in 1996 was dismissed. Again election was held and Nawaz became Prime Minister of Pakistan. Then Pevaz Musharaf Chief Army Staff dismissed the Government of Nawaz Sharif forcefully on 12<sup>th</sup> October 1999 and lodged Marshal law in the country and governed over 9 years. The economic growth due to instability of the government did not achieved according to target in mentioned government while the economic growth in the era of Pervaze Musharaf was found better than the other government. He arranged different programs for the development of a country and enhanced the productivity while his government was ended in 2008. Election was held in 2008 and Zardari became President of Pakistan while Yousaf Raza Galani became Prime Minister of Pakistan while his government was dismissed by judiciary in some corruption and Parvaz Ashraf was appointed Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2012. The PPP government was succeeded in his tenure and spent five consecutive years. They worked for the development of Pakistan while in his era the economic growth was not satisfactory. Election was held in 2013 and Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan while dismissed in Panama Case and Abbas Haqani was appointed as Prime Minister of Pakistan. He also worked for one year for the development of a

country. On 25th July 2018 election was held and PTI won the election and Imran Khan became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He claim that he would brought positive change in the country. Seeing to this situation a study was arranged to review the political instability impact on the economic growth of Pakistan.

#### 2. METHODS AND MATERALS

The study was carried out since July 2018 in Pakistan. The major objective of the study was that to review political instability impact on Pakistan economy. Total 18 articles were downloaded and reviewed in depth again and again to fully analyze the situation to know that how political instability affect the Pakistan economy

#### **3. REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Political instability in any country or state occurs due to the discord between different institutions; lack of pluralistic norms and resentments among different apparatus of the society. Pakistan, since its inception, has been consistently remained the pivot of political crisis. This political ordeal could be traced back in history when the embryonic state was tousled in the issue of forming a constitution and language controversies. Pakistan which attained its independence in 1947 was confronted with the task of framing a constitution. According to renowned historian G.W.Chaudhary, framing constitution of Pakistan was a highly multifarious matter; delay in making it had endangered national unity and erupted a discord between the federation and federating units. Certain features of the country's geography, population-distance of 1000 miles between West and East Pakistan and ethnicity respectively, which have no parallel in any country, had made the task even more difficult. A final draft was accepted in September 1955, at which the head of the state, Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the constitutional assembly on the ground that it had lost the confidence of the people. The question of the character of the state had made this task even more problematic. The vast majority of the people of Pakistan were Muslims. Their aspirations to preserve the values of Islam were the main reason behind the partition of India. It may be said that implicit in the demand of an independent state was the demand for an Islamic state. Some speeches of important leaders who were striving for Pakistan lend themselves to this interpretation. The first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, while introducing the objective resolution in the constituent assembly stated: "Pakistan was founded because Muslims of this sub-continent wanted to build up their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity". It was generally agreed that the aim should be an Islamic state; there was no agreement as to the meaning of the term "Islamic State". Soon conflict arose between the two factions: Ulema that wanted the country to become a complete Islamic state. Ulema's were against the non-Muslims minorities. They had a perception that there should be no citizenship, no right to raise voice on making laws and no right to hold public offices for minorities. On the other hand, Pakistan's intelligences were in favor of a pluralistic state fostered on the norms of democracy wherein the citizens irrespective of their religion or dogma would enjoy equal rights. This scrimmage had remained with both factions which delayed a production of legal document on which the future of Pakistan was based. Moreover, the issue of representation between Eastern and Western wings in the federal legislature played havoc with the dream of unity. That was the problem more than any other which delayed the framing of a constitution of newly born state. East Pakistan was one-seventh of the whole in area but its population exceeded the total population of all the provinces and state in the West Pakistan. Both wings were different in the term of economy, culture and language. West Pakistan was predominately Muslim; East Pakistan had non-Muslim minority. To find a common parliament for a state whose territory and population were so uniquely distributed proved to be a complex task. The constituent assembly made a number of proposals to solve the problem of representation but none of proposals could satisfy the demands of East and West Pakistan. Such as Basic Principles Committee which was set up by the constituent assembly to frame the federal structure of the government, released reports in 1950 and 1952 which increased tension between both wings. Furthermore, one unit formula had lead towards serious conflict on both sides. Another issue was the distribution of powers between the federal and the provincial governments. Since 1935, the provinces which constitute Pakistan had enjoyed autonomy under the 1935 Government of India Act. So due to this practice, provincial spirit became deep rooted. But there was an agreement over federal form of government; it was need of that time because of the geographical differences between both wings. A strong central government was an important feature to unite both wings at that time. But conflicts developed between central and provincial governments caused delay in framing a single constitution. Language became another major hurdle in the formation of constitution. Pakistan was a multi-lingual state. The East spoke Bengali and in the West there were number of different languages such as Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto and Balochi. Urdu however regarded as a common tongue of the region. Urdu was declared as a national language but East wing started agitations on that. They argued that Bengali should be the national language; thus proved to be a hurdle in framing constitution. These historical reasons became the major causes of political instability in the form of praetorian's intervention, political deinstitutionalization, displaced leadership, dynastical politics; crisis of identity, culture of militancy, secessionist hues, sectarian cleavages and many more.

(https://classroom.synonym.com/political-instability-pakistan-its-effect-trade-9270.html 11/

Economic growth and political stability are deeply interconnected. If, on one hand, the uncertainty associated with unstable political environment reduces investment and the speed of economic development on the other, the poor economic performance may lead to government collapse and further political unrest. Economists consider political instability as a serious problems that impedes economic growth because it not only shortens policymakers' horizons leading to sub-optimal short-term macroeconomic policies, it may also lead to a more frequent switch of policies, creating volatility; thus, negatively affecting macroeconomic performance. The uncertainty that has engulfed Pakistan because of intermittent instances of political instability has taken a heavy toll on Pakistan's economic development. In theoretical and empirical literature, the fact that political factors impact economic performance is well established. It is also true that there are many channels of political impact on the economy. Political instability hampers economic growth as it attracts lower investment which leads to low-key economic activities. In the modern-day world, there are many instances where the political volatility phenomenon led to shortened government tenures which, in turn, jeopardized the prospects of implementation of sound economic policies. Fragile political systems in many countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, the Western Europe and the Middle East have been a major constraint for economic development. The experience of these countries reinforces that political factors be accorded an important place in the discussion of economic progress of countries. There are at least four essential prerequisites to achieving the goal of a sustained economic growth. First, is a long-term vision that the country's leadership provides to set the direction of the country's economy as well as the goals to be achieved. It is the leadership that also formulates the execution strategy through which this vision is to be translated into reality. Today, all countries of the world are faced with changing environments and uncertainty is besetting them. This requires a continuous adjustment and fine-tuning is required by the policymakers. For instance, China laid down its 25-year plan in 1980 under the visionary leadership of Deng Xiaoping. Every succeeding leader followed that plan after some modifications to suit the contemporary circumstances. One of the explanations for China's stellar achievements in infrastructure and energy is the disciplined pursuit of this long-term plan. Second, political stability is another sine quo non for economic growth. If the investors are constantly told that the government's days have been numbered and that it is going to be removed or toppled any time soon, they would never put their money at risk. Honestly, if they are not sure about the returns they will get on their investments, they would never invest. As investment remains shy, growth will remain a dream. This leads to high unemployment and acute poverty. Political stability can be cultivated only if there is an orderly and predictable transition of power at regular intervals. Premature and abrupt dismissal of elected governments — which Pakistan has witnessed many times — is highly inimical for sustained economic growth. Third, almost every new government in Pakistan reverses the policies, suspends or abandons the programs and projects initiated by the previous government without any solid justification. So, the private investors shy away from committing their money in the country. Although a broad political consensus does exist in Pakistan on the direction of economic policies, yet every government tends to condemn whatever has been done during the tenure of the previous government. This causes serious handicaps for economic development. Continuity, consistency and predictability, thus, are the things which foreign investors like. Fourth, overall governance structure and the strength of institutions determine whether can achieve the goals and set for ourselves. If the enforcement agencies are saddled with corruption, incompetence, indifference and lack of skill, there will, surely, be a lot of leakages and waste. A rupee, if properly invested, can bring 10 percent returns but if only half rupee is invested and the other half is pocketed for personal use, then we will end up with negative returns and, ultimately, a uncertain economy. At present, there are at least six factors which serve as good omens for the future of Pakistan's economy. First is the size of domestic market. With a population of more than 180 million people, Pakistan offers a huge and attractive market for goods and services. Pakistan's ever-growing middle class with its rising purchasing power creates demand for goods and services. Expansion of this demand helps the industry in achieving economies of scale and lowers per unit cost of production. Second factor is the favorable demographics. While the rest of the world, particularly the advanced countries, would have rising dependence ratios due to increase in ageing population, Pakistan has relatively a younger population — 63 percent of Pakistan's population is below the age of 25 years while almost 50 percent is below the age of 19. If properly educated and skilled, this youth would serve as the workforce for the labour-deficient countries. Third, Pakistan enjoys a highly favorable geostrategic location. Two giant economies of the world — India and China - are immediate neighbors to the country. With India, a peaceful relationship can spawn benefits to our country's economy through trade, economic cooperation and scientific and investment collaboration. On the other side, linking western China with Gwadar Port through railways, highways, pipelines, etc., can be mutually profitable for both the countries. Some important Central Asian Republics as well as Afghanistan are landlocked countries. If Gwadar serves as the most economical transit route for their international trade, the hydropower and gas resources of the CARs can help resolve Pakistan's acute energy crisis. Fourth, the Indus Basin of Pakistan is one of the largest and well-developed irrigation systems in the world and it has boosted Pakistan's agricultural productivity over time. Although both the share of labor force employed in agriculture sector and the

share of agriculture in the GDP have declined over time, the physical output has multiplied eight to ten times. Fifth, Pakistan's enterprising Diaspora, which has ventured out to almost all parts of the world, accounts for more than 3 million people. This migration has been a consistent and upward inclining source of foreign exchange in form of remittances. In many instances investment has flown into Pakistan from the relatively well off overseas Pakistanis. Sixth, Pakistan is capable of performing well if the economy is managed properly. However, the record is not too good compared to other countries in Asia which have overtaken us and have done much better than us. There are nearly six negative factors that are pulling Pakistan's economy down. However, all these factors are very much in our own control and can be rectified with little but sincere efforts. Our domestic savings rate is dismally low. So, we have to depend on foreign savings to boost our investment rate. To grow by 6 percent per annum, a country needs at least 24-25 percent of GDP. Thus the effect of low domestic savings rate is either have inadequate investment rate and consequently a much lower growth rate or have to seek assistance from foreign sources to fill this void. Pakistan's fiscal imbalances are a source of macroeconomic stress. Financing fiscal deficit by heavy borrowings from the Central Bank and rising public debt have created inflationary pressures, giving rise to high interest rates and crowded out private sector credit. Public debt servicing now eats up one-third of government budgetary expenditure and leaves very little degree of maneuverability in fiscal management. Unless tax evasion is curbed, tax net is widened and tax collection machinery is improved, fiscal imbalances are likely to persist. M Public sector enterprises and corporations have become a major burden on the country's exchequer. The enormous waste, corruption, leakages and losses are adding pressures on the budget. Government should have a strong regulatory framework and an enabling environment to facilitate private sector to run these businesses. Weak social indicators and lack of attention to human capital formation over last sixty-seven years has done more damage to the country's economic potential than any other single factor. However, investment in social services and human capital formation does not impose a great burden on the finances but requires improvement in the organization and delivery of services. In recent years, the energy crisis has wreaked havoc on economy. The benefits of rupee depreciation could not be availed by our exporters as they were not able to deliver the orders on time due to load-shedding and gas shutdowns. Overdue reforms in the energy sector as well as new investment in non-fossil oil energy sources are urgently needed to overcome these problems. The poor governance and dysfunctional civilian institutions are the main culprits for most of the economic woes of the country. Civil service, police, judiciary were all well functioning institutions but with the passage of time they have gone through a decay. The writ of the state has eroded and the capacity to implement projects and programs has weakened. But, economic welfare is closely linked with good governance and sound institutions and the reforms for revamping them would make a huge difference to the lives of the ordinary citizens. Pakistan has suffered at least four major external shocks during the recent years: The first shock was precipitated by Pakistan's participation in the US-led war on terror which has caused colossal losses to the economy that far exceed \$100 billion along with the unaccounted for losses of human lives and a state of anarchy permeating throughout Pakistan by the unending suicide bomb attacks. A country in dire economic conditions like Pakistan can hardly afford to tolerate such a heavy financial burden. The second shock occurred in 2007-08 when the global food and fuel prices went through an abnormal and abrupt hike. Oil prices went up from \$55 per barrel to \$150 per barrel in a period of twelve months and so did the prices of commodities such as palm oil that Pakistan imports. These price hikes put enormous pressures on the current account as the import bill jumped by almost 20-25 percent in one year. The third shock was the Global Financial Crisis of 2008-09 that resulted in a worldwide recession of the magnitude not witnessed since 1930s. As the incomes slumped in the US and Europe, the demand for Pakistani goods and services also slackened. The fourth and most severe shock has been the floods that time and again devastated a large chunk of arable lands, displaced countless people, destroyed or damaged millions of houses, roads, bridges, power grids, embankments, spurs, railway tracks, etc. To sum up, the challenges faced by Pakistan's economy are quite formidable but the salvation lies in resumption of growth that will result in decline in both unemployment and the incidence of poverty and preserve the living standards of the middle class. The reprioritization of development expenditures, savings on recurrent expenditure, reduction in across-the-board subsidies to PSEs and corporations and improvement in tax collection can provide the stimulus for growth. Governance reforms are the growth kev to economic stability and in Pakistan and those should be relentlessly pursued.(http://jworldtimes.com/jwt2015/css-exclusive/css-special/political-instability-economic-growth/)

Pakistan became an independent Muslim country in 1947 when it was partitioned from India. Since that time, Pakistan has struggled to create a unified national identity or agree on a constitution due to competing regional interests within its diverse population. In turn, Pakistan's lack of political unity has negatively affected its trade, due to the government's inability to reform domestic trade policies or form bilateral relationships with regional neighbors( Ethan Lazuk).

James Freeman believes, "A politicians thinks of the next election, a statesman, of next generation." 63 years of political instability, military coup, religious exploitation, economic deprivation, social injustice but successful survival of the West Pakistan. Rulers in sub-continent introduced art, music, but not democracy. The

British introduced controlled democracy. Politics of Conflict since 1947, 11 dissolved assemblies, 3 Martial Laws; making, amending and abrogating 3 constitutions; frequent LFOs and Ordinances. Security threat, economic need and political incompetency have always made Pakistan subservient to US- which supported the dictators, worked for personal interests instead of national interest Not manifestoes but personalities, family politics, No party elections. Sick of dirty politics, they want decent just, and prosperous life. Illiteracy, corrupt politicians and bureaucracy, weak judiciary, Generals, controlled Media, True democracy, strong Judiciary, free media, people's participation, Literacy, Development."The essence of democracy is its assurance that every human being should so respect himself and should be so respected in his own personality that he should have opportunity equal to that of every other human being to show what he was meant to become."Anna Garlin Spencer Since the demise of the Quaid and the murder of Liaqat Ali, our motherland has been experiencing recurring military coups, instable democracy, crippled economy, fragile judiciary and social stagnation due to brain dead politicians, ear jammed bureaucracy, egoistical feudal, religious war lords, profit oriented industrialists power hunger generals, and illiterate masses. The list of failures surpasses the achievements. Rule of law, an independent judiciary, respect for fundamental rights, free media, merit-based procedures, and questioning masses are some of the essential features of democracy. Unfortunately, these basic rules have openly violate since independence. Muslim Rulers and Hindu Rajas flourished art, literature, and music but not democracy. The British introduced controlled democracy and strengthened chosen people of elite class. Hamza Amir in his book "Pakistan-an overdeveloped state" has revealed the fact that after independence, the governing class was highly educated, on the pattern of the British mind set, while on the contrary the masses were miserably illiterate. This huge gap created management crisis. 1947-56 absence of constitution, rise of regionalism in Bengal, no strong political party, first 9 years and 11 prime ministers, 1955 dissolution of constitution assembly and Black Doctrine of Necessity.1956-58: First parliamentary constitution, abrogation of constitution and Martial Law.1958-69: Ayub's Martial Law, Presidential System and 1962 constitution, making of Muslim League (Conventional) system of basic democracies, media censorship, but also better economic growth. 1970-77: Fascist civilian rule under Bhutto, agreed 73 constitutions, Bhutto tried to oust military from politics but failed, the poor friendly regime but negative effects of nationalization, Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) and movement against Bhutto derailed democracy. Opposition invited Zia to take over.1977-88: Zia's martial law and ban on political activities, making of Majlase Shoora (1982), 8th amendments with Powerful President non party based election 1985, making of pressure groups like MQM, Anjuman Sipahe Sahaba. Restricted women participation in politics. 1988-99: The most corrupt regime of Benezir and dictatorial regime of Nawaz Sharif, dissolution of assembly, rising poverty and decreasing people's interest in politics. The Oath now prescribed for the Members of the Armed Forces as given in the Second Schedule (Article 244) of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan is as follows:-" I-----, do solemnly swear that I will ear true faith and allegiance to Pakistan and uphold the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan which embodies the will of the people, that I will not engage myself in any political activities whatsoever and I will honestly and faithfully serve Pakistan in the Pakistan Army (or Navy or Air Force) as required by and under the law."The generals maneuvered the circumstances in their favor and implemented such policies which strengthened their illegal hold. Surprisingly, the dictators got 'cooperative' Judges and 'friendly' politicians to prolong their rule. The army, for all practical purposes, has been and remains in charge. It has steadily increased its power since the first military coup in 1958. The military has a veto over most critical decisions affecting both foreign and security policies, and during the Zia era, it expanded its reach into some areas of domestic politics as well, fomenting, and then containing, ethnic discord in the Sindh and pandering to religious zealots in social policy. Civilian governments in Pakistan are of transient significance. The military, the higher echelons of the civil service, and the intelligence services are the permanent features of the state. There is little or no evidence that the civilian government has any meaningful autonomy. Ayub had a political party, the Convention Muslim League, just as Zia enjoyed the support of Majlase Shoora and Musharraf has his Quaid-i-Azam MuslimLeague. The system of basic democracy and local government created a new supporting class for the generals. Ironically, geo strategic situations always benefitted the dictators. General Ayub got US assistance due to cold war, General Zia was favored due to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979), lastly General Mushraf was bestowed due to front line state. So, US backed military rules did not care about people's will. The economy grew in Ayub's time. GDP growth rates were high under Zia and Mushraf. But what is Ayub's legacy? The fall of Dhaka-after Zia sectarian and Ethnic madness and Mushraf left fragile economy, destruction of state institutions and horror of US Intervention. On the three occasions since independence when military coups have ended democratic rule in Pakistan the judiciary not only failed to check extra-constitutional regime change, but also endorsed and abetted the consolidation of illegally gained power." Numerous judges have been removed by force, Justice Ramday lamented. Objectives Resolution (1949) explained, "The independence of judiciary shall be fully secured." Despite every insurance in subsequent constitutions, independence of judiciary was mocked at by the all powerful Executive not only in military rule but also in so called democratic regimes. On 25th Oct. 1954, Governor General Ghulam Mohammad dissolved the first Constituent Assembly, the president of Assembly

Molvi Tameezuding challenged the action, and won before the Sindh High Court. On the contrary, the Chief Justice of Federal Court, Justice Munir declared that the Sindh high Court judgment limited the powers of governor General, thus validated the action of dissolution under 'Doctrine of Necessity.' On 8th October, 1958, General Ayub imposed Martial Law and ended the 1956 constitution. For the second time, Justice Munir favored Executive supremacy over the Legislative. Only after the fall of Yahya Khan, the court repudiated this doctrine of necessity in Asma Jeelani case. On July 4th, 1977, General Zia ul Haq ended civilian rule, again the Supreme Court, in the Nusrat Bhutto case, validated the military coup on the bases of necessity. More surprising, the court explained that Zia had the powers to pass all necessary laws, including amendments in the constitution 1973.on October 12th 1999 General Mushraf, seized power, issued 'Provisional Constitutional Order No. 1 of 1999' barring any court making any order against the Chief Executive's Authority. In Pakistan, the struggle for an independent judiciary is as long as struggle for democracy. Persecution of Justice Sajjad during Ms Bhutto's tenure and then his sacking at the behest of former prime minister Nawaz Sharif and now the suspension of CJ Iftikhar under General Musharraf. No civilian or military ruler has ever respected the independence of judiciary in Pakistan which, in turn, become an instrument in the hands of every military dictator in the name of the "doctrine of necessity." Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated on Oct. 16th, 1951. Senior bureaucrats persuaded Nazimuddin to be a powerful prime minister on the lines of Liaquat Ali Khan. This manipulation was engineered by, Iskander Mirza, to make Ghulam Mohammad, a member of the Accounts Service as GG. He was finally removed as PM by Ghulam Mohammad. Mohammad Ali Bogra was handpicked to replace Nazimuddin. With his close friend Gen Mohammad Ayub Khan (who remained C-in-C) he joined the Bogra cabinet as interior minister and defense minister respectively. For challenging GG's despotic authority, Bogra was replaced by Ch. Mohammad Ali. Making Ghulam Mohammad into a mental case, Mirza became acting GG and removed Ghulam Mohammad to become GG, Promoting himself from major to the rank of major general. In 1956, Pakistan became a Republic and Iskandar Murza its first president. By 1958, he had installed and removed four PM,s Choudhry Mohd. Ali, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, II Chundrigar and Feroz Khan Noon. Since there was no way he was ever going to be elected in his own right, in the face of deteriorating political and economic conditions he declared marital law on Oct. 7, 1958 and made the C-in-C of the Pakistan Army, Gen. Ayub. Conspiring to oust the very armed forces officers who had supported him, Mirza was himself removed by the army on Oct. 27, 1958. Between 1960 and 1968, the bureaucracy was the dominant partner with the technocrats and politicians. A popular democratic movement brought Ayub down in 1968. he handed over power to Gen. Yahya Khan, the C-in-C.Yahya Khan's military rule ended three and a half years later on Dec 20, 1971 after a violent civil war and the war with India and Pakistan got dismembered Zulfikar Ali Bhuto became Pakistan's president and its civilian chief martial law (CMLA) administrator on Dec 20, 1971. He remained president Aug 1973, under the 1973 Constitution he assumed the office of a powerful PM and Fazal Elahi Chaudhry became president. Bhutto must be given great credit for exhuming democracy from its grave and resuscitating it after 20 years. Democracy's downfall was nationalization on Jan 1, 1974. this made bureaucrats all – powerful again by proxy, heading most of the state-owned enterprises and the nationalized ones. On July 5, 1977 Gen Ziaul Haq seized power and became CMLA, relieving Fazal Elahi Chaudhry as president on 16 Sep 1978 and remaining so till his death in the aircraft crash on Aug 17, 1988. an appointed Majlis in 1982 gave way to party-less elections in 1985, Mohammad Ali Khan Junejo becoming PM. Zia removed Junejo in May 1988 and assumed day-to day control. During the Zia period, Ghulam Ishaq Khan. On Zia's death, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who was made chairman of the Senate by Zia, became acting president. He was elected president by the assemblies on Dec. 13, 1988. From Dec 2, 1988. As President till July 18, 1993, this bureaucrat sent two elected PMs home on flimsy grounds. Farooq Laghari, another bureaucrat-turned-politician, was elected President on No. 14, 1993. before being made to resign on Dec. 2, 1997, he ousted his own party PM Ms Benzir, and was planning to send home another PM, Mian Nawaz Sharif who had become all-powerful. Mohammad Rafiq Tarar was elected president on Jan 1 1998, remaining so till Jan 20, 2002. instead of making democracy work, Mian Nawaz Sharif went on binge of sacking all those he did not like. When he tried this with the COAS, Musharraf and his close aides threw him out on Oct 8, 1999. Great powers have great designs Pakistan has resource rich area in the north-west, people rich in the north-east. Pakistan is junction of South Asia, West Asia and Central Asia. US interests in the regions to contain the Growing China, nuclear Iran, terrorist Afghanistan, and to benefit from the market of India. Security and Business are two main US interests in the region while Pakistan is playing a from line role against terrorism. Therefore Pakistani governments, either military or civilian, always sought green signal from Washington which supported dictators. Opposition parties less worked for democracy and more for getting into power-even with the support of undemocratic forces and illegal actions Unfortunately, political parties always managed to reduce the objectives of political movements downs to one a point agenda-toppling of the civil/military government. Instead of challenging the status quo, the oppositional forces were more interested in the capturing state power to reap the benefits for themselves. Consequently, every political movement that took the sacrifices of many people turns out to no more than a change of faces at the top level with continuity in social, economic and foreign policies of the country. The civilian and military dictators curbed media which snubbed

people's voice, nourished every type of corruption, kept the people ignorant and the judges weak. The balance of power between the executive, judiciary and parliament is the most fundamental prerequisite for a liberal democratic state. However, the post-colonial state Pakistan was never able to achieve this balance due to the political role of the military, which we inherited as the most organized institution in the post independence period. Furthermore, the willingness of the mainstream political parties to work as the 'B' team of military and civil bureaucracy and the Superior judiciary to compromise its independence by invoking the doctrine of necessity compounded the situation.

Personalization of Politics: The military is more powerful and resourceful than all other civilian institutions and organs of the state put together. This enables the military to control civilian institutions, political processes and democracy either directly or from behind the curtain. When one institution of the state retains such unbridled power, it becomes extremely tempting for other political forces to seek its assistance in acquiring political office or dislodging others from political office. To create physical asset, by educating the masses, proper allocating the land, credit, Zakat and Usher ensuring cost effective provisions of basic needs. Improved efficiency in the public and Corporate sectors to provide rule of Law. Independence of Judiciary will strengthen democracy, restore trust between Center and Provinces, and facilitate quick dispensation of justice. Depoliticizing of public departments, to avoid unjust political pressures. Peace inside and outside the borders will provide sufficient resources, skills and opportunities to focus on the national prosperity. Media will its magical power can unite the warring factions by minimizing the differences through open debates. Stable democratic system to work for welfare state: Patriot intellectuals writing to bring harmony. Accountability at all levels. Autonomy to the Provinces. Awakening of Islamic ideology. It becomes the social responsibility of the educated middle class and the civil society to protect. All politicians must be on board as Pakistan steers itself towards genuine democracy and away from terrorism and violence that has begun to take roots in society. There is an urgent need for better networking and coordination among various sections of society such as lawyers, journalists, human rights activist and students. Unless the Pakistani state craft is conducted within constitutional parameters, Pakistan will remain vulnerable to external threats. To create a moderate system of values, that accommodates different points of view, not just religious but also ethnic linguistic and regional. It must develop strategy for economic growth, poverty alleviation, and reduction of interpersonal and interregional income disparities. It must allow the development of institutions that would work independently of those who control politics. The judiciary and the Election Commission are the two most important institutional devices that need to be free of political influence. But institutions such as the SECP and the State Bank also need to be set free. We need to strengthen our political system and institutions, develop a dynamic and sustainable growth, eradicate corruption, provide timely justice, enhance employment, undertake steps for population control, seek consensus based political solutions, and resolve ethnic, sectarian and religious fault lines(MIRZA MOHAMMAD SALEEM LAHORE)

Aziz (2001) wrote about the political trends in Pakistan that "The political history of Pakistan and the way the game of politics has been played so far have ensured a weakening of the democratic spirit and a corresponding strengthening of the dictatorial ghost." (2001:129). Next contributing factor to the instable political conditions of Pakistan is weak political organization of political parties of Pakistan. Political parties of Pakistan are not properly organized from their inside structure, absence of party elections, domination of any family or group or ethnicity on the party and which limits the scope of party in terms of its voters and specially aims and objects which shrink as well and loses the national character. The weak organization and improper working of political parties paves the way for coalition governments, which has become a very common set for every government and they exert their whole energy for maintaining the coalition set up and remain in continuous pressure from partner groups. It also affects the policy making both internal or external arenas. The successful implementation of domestic and foreign policies requires strong support from people, but improper functioning of political parties do not provide people a plat form rather it splits and exploit the public opinion for their own interest. The mushroom growth of religious and ethnic parties and groupings with in the parties has made the political scenario a disorganized play ground where ever one is playing the game according to his own rules and preferring own interests. Leaders use religion, sect or ethnicity to raise the emotions of people then exploit them for their own purposes. Since religion has remained a sensitive issue in the society so most of the leaders involve religion in political matters. People do not have any clear choice amongst these same parties, since because of lack of education they cannot use their political rights and make a party of their own rather than depending on old parties and conventional politics. The present political trend in Pakistan is forming coalitions amongst different political parties, which is the reason of current instable conditions. Coalition set up is considered temporary arrangement in political scenario everywhere in the world; since it is based on interests of various groups and when they are not served it is broken and leads to more instable conditions. Lack of clear majority of anyone political party also shows that people do not trust any of these partners that is why all enjoy less support. It is the clear will of people which is the expression of their choice and establishes a stable political system strongly supported by the common masses. Another significant factor which has contributed and worsened the problem of political instability is the dysfunction of federal system. The people of various cultures

exerted to obtain a separate home land where they can prosper shattered because of faults in maintaining a just federal system. This led to the increase in mistrust on national leaders and more trust on ethnic leadership who exploited the emotions of people for their selfish interests. The unjustified acts and emotion provoking acts of the leaders made people question their identity and legitimacy again after the independence; the best example of Bangladesh can be referred here. A federation cannot exist or survive without a spirit of partnership and cooperation between the provinces and centre. Equitable treatment and mutual respect are the basic requirement for the success of any federal structure. Considering the geo-political and socio-economic structure of Pakistan, the diverse cultural, tradition and distance of one wing from the other, Pakistan could only survive through democratic institutions. Where power, could be shared by the people of the two wings on an equitable basis. In Pakistan the politicians who advocated for centralized administration, only served their own interests and the class interests of the ruling elite. In the process it was only east Pakistan but the other smaller provinces like Sindh, North West Frontier and Balochistan also went through the same process of neglect and exploitation. Because of the geographical situation Moreover, the indirectly contributing factor towards the worsening political situation is external interference of other powers for their selfish interests. In the already disturbed conditions their interference made the scenario worst. Pakistan is a rich country in terms of important minerals, gas and important coasts the quest of resources and being a gate way towards the hot waters has made Pakistan an attractive country for external powers. It has been observed that the "developing countries of Asia and Africa have shown more concern in consolidation the problem of national unity and' authority than in the development of the economics of the nation" .

Before the global recession took place, there was considerable amount of investment in Pakistan as it had a liberal investment policy. However, nowadays the investment scenario has drastically changed with Pakistan losing its attraction to foreign, as well as domestic investors, due to the rising costs of doing business. There are a number of factors due to which investors hesitate to invest in Pakistan, global recession being one of them. The other main reasons consist of political instability, deteriorating law and order situation, high interest rates, and frequent power and gas outages. The recent increase in power and gas tariffs is likely to put an additional burden on the country's industrial sector and squeeze the gross margins of industries. The local manufacturers forecast more job losses over the next one year. In Pakistan lack of capital is a major obstacle in the way of establishment of heavy industries. The Pakistani society is mostly consumer oriented so the savings rate is hardly 13 to 14 per cent, which is very low. On the other hand, banks follow stern conditions and tiresome procedures while advancing loans to consumers. Mostly bank loans are granted to affluent persons while the smaller businessmen are dejected in a number of ways, for example, by charging higher interest rates. Pakistan is perhaps one of the few countries in the Asian region where the interest rates are very high. The country lags behind its neighbors in economic development and exports due to high interest rates and energy crisis. As compared to the 12.5 per cent interest rate in Pakistan, India's current interest rate is at 4.7 per cent, Japan 0.1 per cent and China 5.31 per cent, thus one can clearly see the difference. The State Bank of Pakistan (SBP)'s high policy rate has not only added to the rising business costs, but has also enlarged the size of non- performing loans (NPS) to almost Rs13,448 million (as recorded on 30th October 2009). The effect of the high interest rates resulted in losses for a number of industrial units. Terrorism is yet another reason causing huge losses to the industrialized and trading sectors. The army is attacking the northwestern strongholds of the militants, who have responded with suicide bombings in towns and cities. The marble industry in the Frontier province and the tribal areas is severely hit by the ongoing militancy. All Pakistan Marble Mining Processing Industry and Exporters Association (APMMPIEA) revealed that 300 marble units have closed down and 250 more are on the verge of closure. The industry is said to have shed over 50,000 jobs already. The rising political obstacles in the country are having a negative impact on the economy and stock business. President Asif Ali Zardari is under criticism from opposition parties after the Supreme Court struck down a reprieve that had protected the increasingly unpopular leader and several of his political allies from corruption charges. The ambiguity regarding corruption cases against some sitting ministers, advisors and members of parliament has created uncertainty among the businessmen. Pakistan witnessed many obstacles since the February 18th polls that took place in the year 2008, including restoration of deposed Supreme Court judges and the frequent clashes that occurred between the coalition government and former President Pervez Musharraf. After Musharraf's exit in August 2008, the differences between Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), the two major political parties of the nation widened. Under the IMF demand, the government decided to increase the power tariff by 18 per cent in two phases this year, i.e. 12 per cent in January and six per cent in April. The move will bring the already poor performing industries to suffer more. The high tariff and excessive power shortages have enhanced the cost of doing business and badly affected the industrial production and trading activities in the country. The country's export oriented industry is unable to ensure timely deliveries to its foreign buyers. The loss of export orders has now become a routine, and a large number of importers from US and European Union countries have switched their orders to other regional countries. Cost of doing business in Pakistan has been increased further by poor infrastructure. Transport depends on CNG and oil; both prices have recently risen to a higher level. Pakistan is

producing about 20 per cent of its oil requirement. But due to failing efforts to find new reserves and its lavish consumption, this percentage seems to fall in the coming years. The trivial viewpoint that a higher tax rate will generate more tax revenue holds not much logic in the age of diversified business environment. Prevailing business tax rate of 35 per cent is excessively high. A high tax rate essentially gives a way to tax evasion and contracts business activities in the country. Tax exemption provided to the elite section of the society is unfair and needs to be removed or scaled down. In Pakistan, practices such as red tapism and the long awaited departmental procedures are big barriers in doing business. Licenses, NICs, gas, electricity and water connections etc cannot be achieved easily. The investors have to face the insulting behavior of the bureaucrats. Red-Tapism, corruption and malpractices have been successful in preventing easy entry of foreign investors, and those succeeding, their effective participation in economic activities. In fact, retaining investors has never been observed as an area deserving attention of the concerned departments' officials. Many hurdles have been linked with five broad groups ranging from purchasing of land and site development to financial and executive regulations, along with taxation related matters. Investors, who are able to start up their businesses in less than eighteen months time period are considered 'lucky' and termed as 'enterprising' or having the 'right' connections. But, in any case they also have to live up with administrative procedures taking up about fifteen per cent of their revenues. Our country is being governed for the last 10 years by bankers with supreme authority and they take measures which are only beneficial to the banking industry. The banking spread in the country (highest in the world) is 7.8 per cent and needs to be cut down by two per cent at least. This will save us from the control of financial institutions like the IMF, World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). The interest rate should be brought down to a single digit. The gross domestic product (GDP) growth has declined due to an economic slowdown following the tight monetary policy. The high interest rates is the main reason behind the fall in the country's industrial output. The downfall in auto, textile, electronic, petroleum, and other key sectors adversely affected the performance of large scale manufacturing (LSM) in the country. We have no competitive edge, as our exporters are facing a lot of difficulties due to high cost of production. Cutting interest rates to a single digit will produce multiple benefits for the economy, as it will lower the cost of doing business, give a strong boost to business and industrial activities, provide easy credit and loaning facilities to trade and industry, promote better investment and exports, and generate more tax revenue for the government. Sadly, studies highlighting the major problems and suggesting corrective measures have been falling on deaf ears Courtesy. The problem of political instability generates more serious for a society which is multi ethnic, having people of diverse cultural attributes. In a politically stable state all sections of society get their due shares and are satisfied being a part of a multi ethnic society which ultimately leads towards the nation-building. In stable conditions people are empowered and exert their energies for the development of nation. In case of instability the case is vice versa, people feel unsatisfied and powerless, lose their trust on institutions and they prefer their own interest in front of state and ultimately society leads to split. Political stability is vitally important for the attainment of nation building, such as political development and national integration, which has direct influence on formation of political parties. The development in states-modern or modernizing, takes place due to the varying degree of political" stability. "It can be regarded as important to maintain peace, harmony, enduring constitutional contentment's, maintenance of government institutions and possession of civic order".(https://pakbizjournal.wordpress.com/tag/impacts-of-political-instability-in-pakistan/).

Tahir February 9, 2011 told that Pakistan has failed to establish a political stability due to constitutional conflict, absence of stable democratic government, economic problems and lack of social growth. Even after 63 years, the country could not rid itself from feudal, tribal system and sectarian segregation. In this grim situation the public has been left untutored in the kind of vigilance usually needed to hold political leaders accountable. The territorial issues and border conflicts with India, the socio-economic differences within the country, the struggle for a share of power between the provinces and the early death of the founder of Pakistan Mohammad Ali Jinnah, are some of those realities which not only politicized the policy making elites and their willingness in introducing fair democratic procedures but also encouraged the non-democratic elements including the army. The root cause of Pakistan political woes lies in its feudal and the winner-take-all approach to governing that has been practiced by successive civilian and military leaders. The Muslim League that brought independence to Pakistan, lacked internal democracy. The constitution-less 10-year-history from 1947 to 1956 was an ill exercise of the political actors which invoked the military to interfere in the politics. The third pillar of the state, the judiciary, has also had dual strategies all over the history. Mostly the role of the judiciary has been vulnerable. It has always provided a so-called legal way to the dictators to assume the power.

Memon et. al studied that the political system stability has direct effect on the economic development of a country. Without stable government the development of a country is impossible. This study explained the political stability of Pakistan. They told that political stability keeping the society integrated and in maintaining its legitimacy within the state. For stable economic growth political stability play key role. The nation never found success without firm and organized system of politics and without political stability government becomes only tag of war among various interest and ethnic groups of the country. In Pakistan this type of problem is sever.

The instability of government, inefficiency of political parties, and a weak political culture create the scenario for a politically instable state. Political instability has become a serious problem especially for the developing and underdeveloped countries. This problem is associated with a series of problems in various fields.

Seher (October, 2016) told that there exists overwhelming empirical evidence across countries and across time that political instability is negatively related to economic growth and performance. Political instability lowers private investment, slows economic growth and gives rise to unemployment and poverty. Political instability breeds corruption, mis-governance, limits policy-makers' vision and creates volatility in economic performance. Pakistan is witnessing a prolonged period of political instability and as such its adverse consequences for the economy are quite visible. The present Government has failed to find its foot on the ground and continued to lurch from one crisis to another. Political instability persisted throughout taking a heavy toll on the economy. The Government found itself helpless in addressing socio-economic problems in general and external shocks in particular. It gave the impression of having little sense of direction and purpose. It is strange that the incumbent Government, claiming to have a strong majority in Parliament, has failed to create political stability in the country. People within and outside the country had a lot of expectations about political stability, strengthening of democracy, rule of law and respect for judiciary. The present coalition Government completely disappointed the friends of democracy within and outside the country. Print and electronic media continues to highlight the stories of corruption and bad governance that certainly have weakened the Government and the writ of the State. A series of events over the last one year and their hopeless handling contributed to acceleration of political instability in the country. The confrontation of Imran Khan and his party PTI to Nawaz Government, the incident of Army Public School, suicide attacks in parts of Pakistan, and many more have continued to weaken the Government and bred political instability. Political instability weakens governance as the Government continues to strive for its survival with economy getting the least attention. Pakistan's current state of the economy is the mirror image of the adverse consequences of political instability. Pakistan is witnessing its investment declining, economic growth slowing, unemployment rising, millions slipping below poverty line, women and children dying in stampedes for a few kgs of Ata, exchange rate depreciating and fuelling inflation and contributing to the surge in public debt. Pakistan also saw its relations with international financial institutions deteriorating, the Friends of Pakistan showing unwillingness in providing financial support and hence overall balance of payment turning negative, foreign investors losing confidence in Pakistan's economy and economic managers with consequent nose-diving of foreign investment. In short, a relatively stable and resurgent economy has been destroyed in the last few years owing mainly to mis-governance bred by political instability.

Samual (1971) implied that the congruence between mass demand for participation and a positive elite response to those unlimited expectation of the society are not met, ultimately creating sharp differences and. some times leading to a state of virtual civil war. The consequences of the undue play on some seats in 1977 elections during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's period and mass agitation against General Ayub Khan's rule can be referred to this problem. It is under those conditions the military often intervenes to control the authority of the federation. This implies that a balance between demands and concessions, supports and restraints, expectations and satisfactions may inculcate the sense of consensus among various communities for national unification. Generally, the legality crisis is regarded along with the forms of the governmental institutions and the authority of the leadership. it can also be referred to as "a break down in the constitutional structure and the performance of the government that arises out of the differences over the proper nature of the authority for political system. In Pakistan, the induction of one unit in 1956, introduction of 1962 constitution by Ayub Khan, frequent constitutional amendments by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and mal-treatment of General Zia-ul -Haq under 1973 constitution are closely related events in this context. The legitimacy can also be shaken by misinterpretation of history and promises of political elite with the masses. This crisis occurs when people reject the leader's claim based on historical precedence and his promises for the accomplishment of his actions. The leaders are thrown out when they fail to accomplish the promises made for the development of society. In the developing societies, this type of projection is quite common. The leaders try to bring to mind the emotions of the masses by promising them a better future for the legitimization of their authority. When these promises are not realized, that ultimately leads towards a crisis of authority. Ayub Khan introduced "guided democracy" in the same fashion, which finally became one of the reasons for his downfall. The institution of leadership in Pakistan has remained so weak and its structure is always from top to bottom. The leadership in Pakistan is based on heredity/ family patterns. In actual the process of becoming a leader starts from bottom to top, in which the first step is social welfare service then entering in political arena. Trends in Pakistan have always been people are considered leaders because they are the daughters or sons of leaders and possess leadership in heredity. The charm of family leadership is popular amongst the people because of lack of education. The lowest literacy rate in people of Pakistan has played an important role in deciding the right choice for them; since their choice is made on the basis of their emotions and charisma of the personality of leaders. The lack of education and decompose of leadership are the two most important contributing factors to the political instability in Pakistan. Pakistan's

experience is evident that quality and stability of political system, and leadership is not possible without quality education. As it has been discussed that pluralistic societies there are sensitive issues of language, religion and ethnicities, here the role of leader becomes more important than any other factor. Specially incase of the state and society like Pakistan where various ethnicities and sects are residing and all these different people became one nation on the basis of religious commonness and same aspirations which they could not have in united India where other religions were not letting them live in peace. When the institution of leadership in Pakistan split into the levels of sub-national/ ethnic, provincial and religious/ sectarian by then the problems of legitimacy and identity started and by the passage of time gained momentum. The theme of a national leadership lost in these various levels of leadership. This fragmentation in the leadership gave birth to the crisis of identity and legitimacy and worsened it by the passage of time. Since people are not satisfied with the actions of political parties and government then they start thinking about their existence and identity which generate negative feelings amongst people for government and all system. The other form of leadership existed in Pakistan for a long time has been dictatorship. The army rule spawns about almost on three decades, and these decades did not let the democratic politics take roots in a newly established state. The experience of an army rule for a newly established state is worst as compare to the state which is politically stable. Here in Pakistan with the establishment of a new state every sphere was to be set up and directed including politics that was misdirected through recurring military intervention.

Aziz defines the difference between political leadership and dictatorship that political leadership works through compromise, give and take and consultation on the other hand dictator does not work accountability system and he considers leaders of other parties as rivals. The most affected of this military rule has had been the society, means the common people who took part and sacrificed in order to attain freedom from foreign rule and Hindus. The Muslims of India aspired to establish a society of their own. The political culture was corrupted in these decades and its impact continued even after this because a true democratic system could not be evolved. The dictatorial political set up had split the political parties, and splitting of political parties led to the inclusion of various political alliances and groups in the main stream of national politics and obviously all these groups were not aimed at revival of democracy their motive was just to share power.

Michael (1971) argued that there are other kinds of regimes which have relatively stable political set-ups such as in China, Egypt, Zchecoslvac and so on. The extent of the political stability can be measured by the adaptability of two institutions: State and Society. The variation occurring in one area will affect the other. In spite of the change in the social system, it has the capacity to allow change in such a way which can easily meet the varying challenges of political development. Many underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa including Pakistan have been confounded as how to overcome the problems of centralization of authority, national integration, economic development, political participation and social welfare of the modernizing societies which have grown simultaneously in the political order of these states.

Lucian, (1971) studied that the political stability can be understood more by defining the causes of the instability in developing states. There are five issue areas as described by Leonard Binder, which many states are facing while trying to maintain the stability needed in their political system. These areas are: "Identity crises, legitimacy Crisis, diffusion crisis, Participation crisis and distribution crisis".

Samuel, 1971 told that without any doubt these all play a significant role in creating the political instability, but here in this short paper, researcher will only discuss and stress upon the first two discussed issues, the identity crisis and the legitimacy crisis, keeping in view the case of Pakistan. The identity crisis can be interpreted in many ways into the political process. Its generally reflects the sentiments of nationalism, and the desire of the people to live together in a common place. It implies that the identity crisis is the feeling of individual's association with the political system. In the process of political change, an identity crises occurs "when a community guides that it had once unquestionably accepted as physical and psychological definitions of its collective self are no longer acceptable under new territorial conditions".

Samuel, (1968) told that the dismemberment of East Pakistan and present alarming situation in Sindh and Balochistan are good examples in this regard. The vast diffusion of communication have also generated this problem, as the isolated communities have awakened, and eventually helped in rebuilding the sense of unification of the political system must inevitably experience when ever its basic forms are substantially changed". Samuel (1971) studied that the nature of federal crisis depends largely on "the rate, volume as well as the content of the regional demands. Lucian (1971) told that "regionalism is always potential source of danger which may ultimately undermine the federal system's maintenance capability". Laghari, (1991) told that centralization of authority, national integration, social mobilization, economic development, political participating and social 'welfare has created a disturbance in the political order". Macridis, and Brown, (1912) studied that the problem of identity and legitimacy are closely related to each other. In political socialization process, people generally get more sense of national identity in stable system, which also provide the legitimacy of authority. The sense of identity may also be developed by accepting the legitimacy of the authority. The legitimacy, in fact, is associated with 'the performance capacity of the system and the feelings of the people

towards the authority" .David, (1965) claimed that economic growth is possible if there is a stable institution in the country.

Akram discussed the era of Pakistan economy. The first era was the initial stage for the development of Pakistan Economy. Wind fall gain made by the mercantile class after the Koraean War since 1952. The state sector was in the embryo stage. Management were processed with little industry, few services and no manufacture. The trial of bureaucracy was that to keep Pakistan on its feet(1947-58). Second era of Pakistan started. In this era 5 million people were below the poverty line. Capitalist and Private sector economy played significant role in the development of Pakistan. Growth rate in 1960 was high. It was the interesting era as a best performance of economic growth and the economic growth was 20% per year. It was the era of Ayub Khan and considered the decade of development. It was the first military government in Pakistan started in 1958 and ended in 1968. The east Pakistan was separated in 1971. The inflation, decentralization, economic policy were more illiberal and it was the major root cause of low economic growth in this era. It was the era of Zulfiqal Ali Bhutto which started in 1971 and ended in 1977. Mr.Ziaul Haq came in 1977. He applied strict Islamic rule in the country and election held without party basis and Junijo became Prime Minister of Pakistan since 1985 and then dismissed by General Ziaul Haq in 1988 without any cause. It was the second military rule in the country. In his era the Afghan war was started till Russian defeat. He helped the Afghan Mujahideen and USA have also provide fund to Pakistan. The economic growth performance was better. In his era the Kalshan Cope culture was developed. He strengthened the Taliban in the region. On one side he brought money from the foreign while destroyed the whole universe of the region. He was killed along with some Generals in the plane since 1988 and his eleven year period was ended. Then two parties democratic governments were run while ended in 1999. In this era Pakistan became seventh nuclear power in the world and first Muslim powered in the world. Banzir and Nawaz carried out six nuclear testis. Nawaz Sharif announced the test on May 30,1998 and it was the third democratic era. (1988-1999). General Musarif took control on 12 October 1999 and imposed Matial Law in the country. It was the third Military Government of the Era. Terrorism in his era was on the Peak; Malnourished children percentage 38%; without sanitation access was 39%, without safe drinking water was 12%; without health service access was 45%; Population below poverty line was 34%; Illiterate adult female was 72% and adult both male and female literacy was 57%; economic growth was 7% in 2006-7 and it was 4% in 2009-10. In his era higher education commission of Pakistan established; through this way majority poor people got the admission in the foreign universities through scholarship; Pakistan external debts was \$56 Billion as of June, 2010. It was 38.86 Billion at the end of March 2007. Election was held in 2008 and Asif Ali Zardari became president of Pakistan and Yousaf Raza Galani became Prime Minister of Pakistan. He was charged in corruption in 2012 by Judiciary and Raja Pervaiz Ashraaf of People Party took oath as the Prime Minister of Pakistan.( https://www.slideshare.net/1184iqra/pakistan-economy-eras).

.Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan while he was dismissed by the court in Panama Corruption case and Abas Haqani became Prime Minister of Pakistan and election was held on 25<sup>th</sup> July 2018 in Pakistan and Imran Khan became Prime Minister of Pakistan( Author of the Paper Dr.Naushad Khan)



PAKISTAN GDP GROWTH RATE

SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | PAKISTAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS

The graph indicates that the GDP growth rate in 2008 was 4.99 percent, In 2009 the growth rate of GDP was 0.36 while in 2010 the growth rate was 2.58 percent. Similarly the growth rate in 2011 was 3.62, in 2012 was 3.84 percent while in 2013 was 3.68. Subsequently in 2014 the growth rate was 4.05 and in 2015 the growth rate was 4.04 percent while in 2016 the growth rate was 4.71. GDP Growth Rate in Pakistan averaged was 4.91

percent from 1952 until 2016, reaching an all time high of 10.22 percent in 1954 and a record low of -1.80 percent in 1952(https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/gdp-growth).

# 4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The review finally concluded that when Pakistan came into being on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1947. Political instability was started from that time. After one year of the Pakistan Quaid Azam was died then Ligat Ali Khan was killed in 1951. Ayub Khan lodged the Martial Law due to unavoidable circumstances in 1958. He governed over 10 vears while in 1968 again Martial Law was lodged by Yahaya Khan and east part Pakistan was separated in the same era while India interpreted and attacked on east Pakistan and East Pakistan was separated in 1971 which is now called Bangladash. Then Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became Prime Minister and governed over 7 years while the opposition parties started agitation against Bhutto Government. Due to disturbance Martial Law was imposed third time by Ziaul Haq. He governed for 11 years while he was killed in the airplane in 1988. In 1989 Benazir Bhutto won the election and governed for three years due to disturbance by opposition his government was dismissed by president and re-election was held in 1993 and Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan. He also governed for three years and due to disturbance the government was dismissed by President and again re-election was held and election was held and Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan while his government was dismissed by General Pervaz Musharaf in 1999. He governed for 9 years and his period was ended while election was held in 2008. During campaign Benzir Bhutto was killed by some un known person and PPP won the election. Asif Ali Zardari governed for 5 years as a President. Then Nawaz Sharif again became Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2013 while he did not completed his tenure and dismissed by court in Panama Case and on his place. Haqan Abassi became Prime Minister of Pakistan and governed for one vear. On 25<sup>th</sup> July election was held and Imran Khan became Prime Minister of Pakistan. The mentioned disturbance has declined the economic growth of Pakistan and according to objective the targeted economic growth was not gained. The review further explained that the economic growth in the army period was more than the civilian government. The political instability, terrorism, language, ethnicity, regional differences have made all government of Pakistan instable while political instability brought Martial Law four times in the country. The investment decreased, unemployment problem raised, inflation ratio raised, export decreased and rupee devalued. So the author of the paper recommend that political stability is required for the development of Pakistan; Unity in the country is requested; Peace and security are necessary for uplifting the country; Good investment environment is required for development of industries; High education and skill is required; Saving by government and Pakistani community is compulsory for reduction of foreign debt and Fair election process should be adopted in Pakistani culture; Research based Universities should be made in the country for solution of problem; Poverty should be controlled at grass root level; Environment should be cleaned for foreign investor; Outside investment should be stopped by Pakistan community outside the country; Police department and Judiciary should be strengthen in Pakistan for control of crimes in the country; Regional disparity and ethnicity should be controlled in the country. Through this way political stability will be occurred and the country economic growth will be boost up and the country will become prosperous in the future.

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