

Chapter-One

Introduction

Pakistan came into being in pursuance of Islamic ideology. Ideology means the idea which nation strive to bring stability and homogeneity to its nationhood, ideology means the way of thinking of a nation or class or division who has been denied due place in society. Ideology of Pakistan is based on Islamic grounds, principles and implementation of Islam. The Hindus and Muslims were in conflict together according to their religious prevailing system. Hindus and Muslims used to live together before the advent of Islam in India. After the advent of Islam, Muslims realized that they belong to a unique religion in which they believe in oneness of God. Their customs, traditions, religion, culture and the way of life were totally different from Hindus, so Muslims demanded a separate homeland. Islam was the main pillar or anchor-sheet of Pakistan's creation. This means that all policy, action and values laid down according to the Islamic Principal and seek to implement on Islamic grounds. After the successful culmination of Pakistan it became a mega challenge to have constitution that might represent the entire the nation. It took years to complete due to different obstacles.

The 1956 constitution of Pakistan became the first draft constitution. The target of achieving first constitution to the nation was a big victory. Chaudhary Muhammad Ali was Prime Minister; he worked day and night with his team to frame the constitution of Pakistan. The assembly on 9th January, 1956 the constitution was introduced and passed by Assembly on 29th February 1956. The Constitution Assembly came into existence in 1947. Some prominent leaders were busy for many years in preparing the draft constitution for Pakistan. After the sudden demise of Jinnah the responsibility for framing the constitution fell on the shoulders of Liaquat Ali Khan the senior among great leaders and first Prime Minister of the homeland. The principles of Objective Resolution were: Sovereignty belongs to Allah Almighty, supreme authority of the people, democratic government, life according to the teaching of Islam, minority rights, freedom, fundamental needs, development of under developed areas, Independent judiciary.

In order to resolve the constitutional issues, the representation of Objective Resolution provides guideline for future constitution making in Pakistan. The 1956 constitution of Pakistan was lengthy document and provides the federal system. President was the symbolical head of the State and on advice of Prime Minister he will be liable to exercise power. Prime Minister controlled the government. The Prime Minister could call State of emergency in case of internal and external threats in county. According to 1956 Constitution provides uni-cameral legislature, Provincial autonomy, Islamic law, free judiciary, Fundamental rights and the national Languages. A fundamental right has been definite to the citizen of Pakistan in 1956 Constitution.

There were various drawbacks in 1956 constitution. Later on the 1962 constitution was also proved an ineffective document due to all powers in the hands of the President. The 1973 constitution has been explained parliamentary nature. In the first article of the 1973 constitution declared that Pakistan is the Federal Republic known as Islamic republic. According to Article-41 of the constitution, the President will be the head of the State. President has power to appoint the Judges of the Courts as well as CEC (Chief Election Commissioner). It also made Pakistan is a democratic state and paved the path to democracy.

Democracy is the best form of government in which public representative play decisive role in the policy making. The democracy cannot be flourished without the collaboration of the people. Since inception of Pakistan, the political leaders have been struggling for a better form to introduce the selected democracy which is best one. Political parties take the initiative role in the strengthening of democracy to take the control in their own hands to stoppage the hurdle in the wake of democracy. Free and free election is the major component to choose the genuine representative in the parliamentary form of government. Basically the democracy has its roots in Greece civilization. Democracy got its puberty in such ancient civilizations after West Phalli an evolution. It was around 1648 when the democracy roused as the symbol of future peace and prosperity.

In the history of Pakistan, the process of democracy could not be continued for long and derailed by the military rules. Accordingly democracy came up in its nature as a temporal concept. Although it was dictatorial allocation was finalized a destructive blow as well as democracy enweaved with distillate of nationalism initiated flourish in

Europe after 1848. The autocratic rule of Nazi establishment as well as dictatorial exceptions that eventually maintained to overcome in 1945 and the authority, born in abroad areas and nurtured by the developing state, should ultimately flourished across the share. In an artistically and ethnically plural country prefer to Pakistan democracy based on regionalism and political veracity. According to historically look Pakistan was originated as a parliamentary and organization or condition of equal opportunity to all its organs and components with federal shape on the structured of Westminster. Basically, a political unit that has a democratic government could not go through root in the sixty years of history of Pakistan.

At any level, the ideology animates society in communicating the structure of the social systems. The idea similar to state, nationalism and a group of people who share the same history, attributes, values, conditions, traditions, and language and who usually live together in a particular country go through in European political as well as cultural domain. At the time partition, there were so many Muslim shifted from India to newly born country (Pakistan) without solving their core issued belongs to territorially as well as the inviolability.

Statement of Problem

This research has explored some key elements that are answerable for political differences in Pakistan and has further described the process of transition from authoritarianism to democracy. The several stages of struggle for democratic transitions in Pakistan between 1999 and 2008 are the major aspects of this study. It has shed light on the circumstances are played pivotal role to make democracy possible and make it strong and healthy. The indispensable provisions of democracy that constitute well-established democratic setup would be elucidated.

This study has analyzed theoretically and empirically the issues of democratic transition and consolidation in Pakistan from 1999 to 2008. It provides appropriate approaches that are closed to the several methods, changes in progress of terms and conditions of Pakistan as well as it investigate the documentary factors which relate to popular democratic consolidation in the present era. Whereas, the most important reason behind such effort is no other than to conclude policy structure. The congregation, performance, and point of reference of the valid informers who they sustain and carry center of attention on their curiosity of unison of democracy for

governmental parties in Pakistan.

Democracy in Pakistan Perspectives

Undivided India was in great trouble due to multipurpose agenda of the different powers. At the eve of partition Pakistan received a series of worst issues to tackle with.¹ Pakistan faced a challenge to establish a parliamentary democracy in a federal setting. But interethnic strife, social strains, diverse ideological background of elites, praetorian rule and the external influence subverted the process of nation building and parliamentary democracy.

“Pakistan often has been its own worst enemy, precipitated into periodic crisis by both blundering generals and over reaching politicians.”²

The main cause for the failure of democratic system and unhealthy democratic environment in Pakistan are not a day old story rather it roots back in initial days of its inception. Law and the reliance upon military rule its preeminence was inherited by the British.³ That completely subverted the equilibrium of political institutions of the state and paved the ways for authoritarian rule in Pakistan.

During investigating about the democratic transitions in today’s scenario the scholars have illustrated the issues of transitions from controlling rule and troubles of democratic consolidation.⁴ Here the factors are focused that how an authoritarian regime can be suppressed and how democracy can take hold in Pakistan while putting light on the historical background of democratic transition in the World. Indeed this era is the age of democracy. Countries having strong democratic inoculation are leading globally. The authoritarianism is the old tradition and concept. New technology does not accept old traditions.⁵ Through the globe particularly in United State and Europe, after the collapse of the non-democratic systems the liberal democracy flourished a final form of human government. At present time it is considered as safe system of governance in the World.

¹Mahmood Manshipouri and Amjad Samuel, “Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 35, p.11, “<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2645722>” “(Accessed 12/09/2017 at 01:00pm)

² Philip E. Jones, *The Pakistan People’s Party: Rise to Power* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p.1

³ Samuel”, *Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus*, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 35, p. 11, “<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2645722>” [Assessed on date: 22.11. 2017 at 12:00pm]

⁴ Irving Leonard Markovitz, *Constitutions, “The Federalist Papers, and the Transition to Democracy*, edit: Lisa Anderson, *Transitions to Democracy*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 45.

⁵ Robert. B. Talisse, *Democracy After liberalism: Pragmatism and Deliberative Politics*, (New York: Routledge Press, 2005), p. 1.

“Many Asian countries have also gone through a period of developmental dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s. However, most of these dictatorships broke in the 1980s and thereafter a new period of post-dictatorship and post-development opened up. Such a new period has been called that of ‘democratic transition’, ‘democratic consolidation’ or democratization broadly.”⁶ The circumstances have firmly altered and almost, rest of the countries had adopted democratic setups by 1990. Many countries had been facing social and economic problems. Despite social as well as economic chaos, numbers of countries were on the routes of democracy or semi-democracy.⁷

Concept of Democracy

The latest research of American sociologists and political scientists supports different concepts on democracy. The scholar like R.A Dahl Mc Closky have strong opinion about strong democracy they appreciate democratic values for the successful maintenance of democracy in the state and the political organizations develop links among politicians on the basis of mutual causes.⁸ In the entire history of Pakistan at various stages the democratic norms have been violated. It is the democratic order that represents people from all classes. It is the only way by which all majorities as well as minorities do get their rights and are protected in all perspectives of life. The democracy is the name of faith and discipline where people have complete trust in elected representations.⁹

In short a modern age republic is a modern system of ruling which is based on the principles of justice, equality, merit, fair play and regulation of commandment for public at large in a country. The democracy contains three major components when it is in practice:

- (1) A state order where entire decision making of political parties is taken by the public at large in pursuance of the mass rule usually recognized as direct democracy.
- (2) An administration where public function identically by the help of

⁶ Hee-Yeon Cho Andrew Aeria Songwoo Hur, From Unity to Multiplicities, p. 3.

⁷ Frances Hagopian, Third Wave of Democratization, p. 1.

⁸ Dankwart A. Rustow, Transitions to Democracy, Toward a Dynamic Model Lisa Anderson, edit: Lisa Anderson, *Transition to Democracy*, p. 15.

⁹ Saeed Shafqat, “Democracy in Pakistan: Value Change and Challenges of Institution Building”, *The Pakistan Review*, Vol. 37, p. 4, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41261058> [Assessed on date: 22.11. 2017]

elected people is a ‘representative democracy.’

- (3) A rule based on authority of majority and its operation according to constitution and acceptance of positive individual fundamental rights is known as liberal or constitutional democracy.¹⁰

Democratic Setup in Pakistan

Pakistan is one of those Muslim states of the world, where democratic system is liked by every person and shown their public power to reject military dictatorships through mass movements and mobilization. The upsurge of mass movements like ARD (Alliances for the Restoration of Democracy) and Charter of Democracy (COD) are best examples of disapproving the military rule in Pakistan¹¹ and serious effective steps are not taken by the politicians of Pakistan for making democracy deep rooted.

The political leadership in Pakistan belonging to different political school of thoughts is not taking effective steps and not doing well for the promotion of democracy. Analytical and empirical narrative here will seek to explicate behavior of political leadership, their policies and ideology towards democratic setup since 1999 to 2008 by recognizing those variables that are concerned with the development of democracy in Pakistan. Historically it is the very old custom of breaking of coalition among parties.¹² However, coalitions are proved to be weak within the parliament but in rare cases multiparty consensus on particular issues developed. The best example is removing of eighth amendment.

Under developing countries like Pakistan have been facing the problem of political leadership and democracy. The question of democracy in Pakistan remained a complex explanatory frame work. In real sense democracy was never allowed to flourish in political environment of Pakistan. There has always been war between democracy and dictatorship. Throughout, the political history of six decades military dictators ruled almost powerful. The fact of irony is that political culture of Pakistan is dependent on several classes and sub-classes which include fragmented civil society in the form of Bradaries, feudal communities, and fragmented political party system. In

¹⁰ Britannica Online [http:// www.eb.com:180/c](http://www.eb.com:180/c). [Assessed on date: 22.11. 2017]

¹¹ Saeed Shafqat, Democracy in Pakistan Value Change and Challenges of Institution Building, *The Pakistan Review*, Vol. 37, p. 4, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41261058>[Assessed on date: 22.11. 2017 at 12:30pm]

¹² Ibid. p.4.

such political system, when champions of democracy, who struggled and desired to bring the country on the routes of democracy. They are not only suppressed but also overthrown the political arena by several anti-democratic forces.

“In spite of movements and a many resistances to acquire democracy, political parties have been unable to formulate a legal frame, and most eminently neither builds a network of policies nor gave birth to a pro-democratic environment in which contradictions among political elites may be solved”. But they have only developed a frame work on the basis of reconciliation for the consolidation of their own positions.

The promotion and progress of democracy require patience, consensus, political dialogue and deliberation among the powerful groups and political parties. Democracy cannot function vigorously in the absence of elite consensus and harmony. The fact of irony is that after assuming power, political leaders and elites who struggled for democracy, repeatedly applied the frame work of authoritarian tendencies.

They always adopt the network of policies that empowers authoritarian attitude instead promotes governmental norms and exploits the rule of law to facilitate their supporters. The support base of democracy is directly promotional to the acceptance of rules of law among the members of civil society. In Pakistan most of the time rule of law is exploited, broken and defied to gain the personal interests.

Aim and Objective of Study

This study has few objectives as given below:

- To introduce democratic history of Pakistan from 1947 to 1999.
- To analyze the complications of democracy in Pakistan.
- To discuss the role of military dictatorship in Pakistani politics.
- To analyze authoritarian rules during Musharraf regime.

Significance of the Study

The main focus of research is present main factor on democratization process as well as political construction. Even then this subject has not achieved absolute findings and there is gap to articulate the frame work on the specified study. This study provides necessary and in depth information and efforts regarding political parties particularly for the restoration of democracy since 1999 to 2008. The subject of this research imparts a huge amount of information, knowledge and awareness for future scholars, NGOs and the public institutes who are intended to bring their consensus on democracy and democratic transition in Pakistan. This research also provides necessary information in contributing a setup for the consolidation of the democracy in the country.

Research Questions

The central and main questions of the present study are:

- (1) What is the contribution of political parties in the struggle of democracy in present era?
- (2) How can the role of military be evaluated in the implementation of democratic system in Pakistan?
- (3) What are the causes behind the failure of parliamentary/ democratic setup in Pakistan?

A number of books on the military dictatorships, civilian governments and democratic system in Pakistan are found but there are many areas yet to be explored, which are related to democracy. There are a lot of theories presented on the democratic system in Pakistan. Not only this but various academic questions have been raised in this context.

Literature Review

During previous six decades after the establishment of Pakistan various documents kind of literature have been produced in Pakistan, consolidation of democracy, military role, weak political system of parties and mercenaries rule. Although, there has been written a lot of studies but no doctoral level research completed on this subject. Local as well as foreign intellectuals have also strained the attention over the masses on pro-democracy forces that played role for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. This study will build a coherent theoretical frame work in

the light of Huntington's theory of transition to democracy and highlight the importance of transformation from military dictatorship to democracy. The role of political parties since 1999 to 2008 will empirically be evaluated and analyzed in broader sense.

Veena, Kukreja¹³ elaborates in his well elaborated work; "*Contemporary Pakistan Political Process, Conflicts and Crisis*" is a debate on the political process since Pakistan's inception. The book elaborates chronological order of the political events in Pakistan. It is valuable resource in the study. The military interventions and unauthorized rules in Pakistan are well elaborated and provide best picture democratic survival of Pakistan. Author also places an analysis that PPP has never been a strongest political party of Pakistan since its inception. The prominent scholar Veena Kukreja presents a debate on the role of military and democratic system of Pakistan. The book has very deep insight over the contemporary issues of Pakistan. Moreover, it sheds light on the 1999 coup. Musharraf's so-called democracy, agreements of political parties and their pacts in Musharraf era combined with Basic democracy are the major themes of the documents.¹⁴

Another valuable document on the "*Army interventions in political systems of Pakistan and pitiable condition of Punjab*" by Asim Sajjad Akhtar and others is supporting work on this topic. The work spot lights on the involvement of Pakistan army in rural areas of Punjab. Moreover, this manuscript credentials a stop working of the military for their purpose of conventional constitutional responsibility. The vast spectrum of military interests in industry, trade, sponsorship and real estate is highlighted. Furthermore, it delineates a great treaty involvement of militants, that revealing their hands in the spinal cord of Pakistan.

"*The democratic system of Pakistan since 1985-88*" by Masood Akhter Zahid and other prominent scholars is also a valuable description on democracy.¹⁵ The book, further elaborates democracy in Pakistan, India and the Nepal. The democratization of such third world countries is well highlighted in this book. The Nepal and Pakistan are the greater example where people boycotted the authoritarianism and called for democracies. It has remained the great desire of the people of Pakistan to have true

¹³ Veena Kukreja, "*Contemporary Pakistan Political Process, Conflicts and Crisis*",

¹⁴ Veena. K., "*Pakistan: Democracy, Development and Security Issues*. (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005). p.21".

¹⁵ Ghulam Haider and Masood Akhter Zahid(ed), *Transition to Democracy in Pakistan 1985-88* (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies.2005)

democratic injunction in the home land Pakistan. ¹⁶

The dissimilarity stuck between states along with their democratic orders is wandering in all around the world. The book elaborates the job description of President and the Prime Minister in democratic state. This book also elaborates the actions of military in Pakistan in order to legitimate their rule. ¹⁷ “*Prospects for Democracy in Asia*” by Tatu Vanhanen. His work focused on the contemporary state of democracy in Asian countries. He stated that the transition level of resource distribution, the quality of political leadership may affect the fate of democracy in Pakistan. ¹⁸

“*The Historical study of Democracy*” by Iain Hampser-Monk, his work relates to debate between empirical and classical theories of democracy. ¹⁹ Ethno Nationalism and Democracy, is an article of Inayatullah, which attempts to identify the four types of relationships between democracy and ethno nationalism. The central idea of this article is that ethno nationalism is more often going to threaten liberal democracy in developing countries. ²⁰

“*Pakistan Eye of the Strom*”, by Owen Bennett Jones, documents a chapter about democracy, which claims that democracy has few prospects in Pakistan and focuses on the three periods of civilian rule in Pakistan. ²¹ “*Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia*” is best work of Robert W Stern. The document sheds light upon the failure of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. ²² Another book the “*Failure of Democracy in Pakistan*” is well elaborated and defined by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani. This article is well discussed and reputable piece of information on democracy. ²³

On the subject of “*Military and democratic crisis of Pakistan*” the writer N.R.V Prabhu has given various evidences in an article, which defines the praetorian governances since its inception. The author highlights progressive approach how

¹⁶ Maya Chadda, “*Building Democracy in South Asia India, Nepal, Pakistan*” (New Delhi: Vistar Publication, 2000).p.23”.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.107.

¹⁸ Tatu Vanhanen, “*Prospects for Democracy in Asia*” (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1998).p.72.

¹⁹ Grame Duncan (eds), “*Democratic Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).p.25.

²⁰ S. M. Naseem and Khalid Nadvi (ed), *The Post-Colonial State and Social Transformation in India and Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002).p.60.

²¹ Owen Bennett Jones, *Pakistan Eye of the Strom*. (New Delhi: Penguin Books India (P) Ltd, 2000).p.223.

²² Robert W. Stern, *Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia .Dominant Classes and Political Outcomes in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (Preager Publishers, 2004).p.123.

²³ S. M. Naseem, *The Unravelling of The 9/11 U-Turn* (Islamabad: Encore, 2007).p. xi.

military intervened in politics. It also defines the conditions in which military personals take powers in their hand in multiple timings.²⁴

The democracy and democratic transition in Pakistan is also elaborated “*Dysfunctional Democracy a Case for an Alternative Political System*”. This work is written by Iqbal Mustafa and elaborates the power and prestigious status of the constitution in a democratic order.²⁵

Ayesha Jalal well elaborated work “*The State of Martial Rules*” on the economic and political history of Pakistan and also the causes of domination of military and bureaucracy in Pakistan. She also well emphasis the process of political system in Pakistan as well as dialogues about the construction of Pakistan. She also explained the initial problem faced by the Pakistan.

Research Methodology

In this research, historical issues have been evaluated to know the general behavior of certain occurrences. The strategy taken up in this document is historical, analytical and descriptive. It works while using primary as well as secondary sources. The quantitative and qualitative methods have been used to get positive results. The survey was conducted and questioners containing 30 questions have been used to collect public opinion. This study has analyzed the responsibility of political persons for the re-establishment of democracy and it also explain its importance in political institutions of Pakistan in the light of her efforts and policies for the promotion of democratic process as well as political institution-building process.

Among the secondary sources published source materials on democratic transition in Pakistan, democracy and the failure of democracy have been taken into account. In primary data the executive documents, verbal communications, declarations, accounts, records, newspapers, research journals have been consulted to get important facts. A number of well-known politicians are also interviewed and the data have been gathered. Moreover, the survey was conducted through questionnaire and the data has been analyzed through SPSS software for scientific and unbiased

²⁴ N. R. V. Prabhu and K. Banumathy, *The Fragility of Democracy in Pakistan: Military as the Root Cause*. (eds) in Verinder Grover and Ranjana Prora. *Political System in Pakistan Role of Military Dictatorship in Pakistan Politics*. (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1995).p.265.

²⁵Iqbal Mustafa, *Dysfunctional Democracy a Case for an Alternative Political System* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 2003).p.10-11.

result.

Scheme of Study

First Chapter: Introduction;

In this chapter, we will elaborate the perspective of democracy, democratic set up in Pakistan and also to focus the significance of the study. The review literature and research methodology have also been explained in this chapter.

Second Chapter: Historical Back Ground Democratic History of Pakistan (1947-99);

This chapter explained the colonial legacy of irreducible component of the study of both present-day India and Pakistan. Also highlight the initial problem of Pakistan and as well as in constitution making. It has been well defined the military intervention in Pakistan to evaluate the causes of military takeover in the political system of Pakistan.

Third Chapter: Democratic Transition; Myths and Realities;

In this chapter, it has been well explained the role in Pakistan specially decade of Gen. Musharraf and the main agenda of military government. It has been pointed out the various steps taken by the military to justify the Army rule and also highlight the democracy process as well as the role of political parties to consolidate the democracy in Pakistan

Fourth Chapter: Public Opinion;

In order to explain the comprehensive approach to understand the research topic organized a survey based on detailed questionnaire. The data gathered through questioner has been analyzed through modern techniques like IBM SPSS Statistics 22.4 software. The results are shown in tables that contained detailed description like frequency, percent, valid percent, cumulative percentage and final total.

Fifth Chapter: Conclusion.

The conclusion related to outcomes of main research to focus the finite period of 1999-2008 in the background of certain theoretical perspective as well as societal. It

also provides information in the democracy field and the relation of civil military to consolidate democracy. It also reviews the role of political parties and how failed in democracy consolidation and also reasoning of the military intervention in the political system in Pakistan.

Chapter- Two

Democratic History of Pakistan (1947-99)

Colonial legacy is an irreducible component of the study of both present-day India and Pakistan. Various studies discussed in great detail how different colonial masters had different temperament and how their temperament was reflected in their policies towards their colonies. British were aristocratic and non-assimilative. On the other hand, the French were more open to accepting the colonized in the ranks of their intelligentsia if they assimilated to a certain level. Two different arguments stem from this whole debate, some regard British colonial masters more benign because they did not deliberately attempt to harm the indigenous culture. A contending approach however regards French as more benign because they were more accepting and open to interaction with the people from their colonies. A quote of Samora Machel helps us understand the correlation of colonizers' and colonized behavior²⁶.

“Those who are colonized by British can boast of their good administrative practices, those colonized by French may feel a certain pride because French has a great intellectual history. We suffered most because we were colonized by Portuguese, the most undeveloped nation in Europe.”²⁷

This study of colonial legacy and the course of new country is an entirely different field in itself and reasonably plausible because Pakistan adopted a provisional constitution that was an amended form of Govt: of India Act 1935. Moving ahead on the timeline lands us in an entirely dysfunctional setup in which Constituent Assembly was given the task of drafting a constitution and it was only in 1956 that the country got a new-fangled document, this constitution however could not went for a long span of time, neither it became successful due to various flaws and blunders unacceptable to east and west wing of Pakistan. ²⁸

Another problem that Pakistan faced was that it lacked a locus of political power that could promise continuity. Because Pakistan was an entity carved out of another

²⁶ Maya Tudor, “The Promise of Power: The Origins of Democracy in India and Autocracy in Pakistan” Chapter no.5. Cambridge University Press, 2013

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Mubashir Hasan, “*The Mirage of Power*” (Karachi: Oxford University Press),p.10

colonial entity. After the partition what became Pakistan was at the periphery of Pakistan movement, areas of UP and Bengal for instance went to India. In Bengal's case there was no geographical contiguity between Pakistan and what was termed as East Pakistan. The seeds of tragedy were sown which matured in 1971 when Pakistan lost access to East Pakistan after India closed its airspace and access through sea²⁹.

Ayesha Jalal identified the reason for tendency of amassing power in the center as a sense of insecurity prevailed and Centre as a result asserted itself on provinces. The backlashes to this power centralization since then were constantly there. Pakistan was stripped of administrative structure and faced a tradeoff between strengthening political parties and administrative power; premium was put on the later one. Pakistan's case was also different in the sense that it was not a monolithic whole that got independence from its colonial masters but an entity that was carved out of a colony. In early days the personal charisma of Jinnah proved to be a cohesive force binding a heterogeneous polity.³⁰

Jinnah's charisma also induced centralization of power. Jinnah held three different positions simultaneously and for this very same reason some political historians quoted the political environment system as 'vice regal system' on the premise that Jinnah had at his disposal a constitutional armor before which the powers of many British viceroys would look modest. He was not responsible to the Constituent Assembly and could change any part of 1935 India Act (Pakistan's provisional constitution) till March 1949. Jinnah could also overrule Prime Minister's order regarding cabinet related issues and declare emergency in the country. He held three positions of Governor General of Pakistan. The second title was the President of Pakistan Muslim League. Not only had this but he also occupied another designation as President of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly.

Hamza Alvi however took a contending position that Jinnah as an old man was actually a hostage of all the powers he had at his disposal and gradually the power started slipping to bureaucracy. The causes had a cumulative impact on the future course of politics in the country and it adversely affected political parties and legislature. Jinnah set a bad precedent by holding three offices simultaneously and quest

²⁹ Anatol Lieven, *"Pakistan a Hard Country"* (1st Ed.).(New York: Public Affairs, 2000), pp. 12-15

³⁰ Ayesha Jalal, *"The sole spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League, and the demand for Pakistan"*. (Cambridge shire New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.118

for amassing power after his demise left country to face one crisis after another. Military soon would appear on the political scene after protests against Ahmadiya community intensified in 1953 and military was ordered to come for civil aid. The requisition of military became an issue when civil administration insisted that a magistrate's order was enough to call troops for handling law and order situation. Military kept insisting for a requisition through provincial government and eventually a requisition form was routed through provincial government.³¹

This point of inflection in Pakistani politics would determine the fate of political system and democracy in the country for decades to come. Military would encroach upon political arena and country would experience brief democratic interludes interrupted by military coups. After first military dictator stepped down the nation was more fragmented. A popular leader in the form of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged on the political scene only to be arrested and killed through a pseudo judicial trial in a military led country.

Phase-I (1947-1964)

Two independent states emerged at the time of partition of British India i.e Pakistan and Indian. Pakistan came into being on 14th August, 1947. India recognized as democratic institution as well as Pakistan. Muslims were in majority in Western parts as well as in the Eastern sides of India created the new Islamic state of Pakistan. The main purpose to establish Muslim democratic state but it was very difficult for them to establish a democratic institution. In first period of the independence, Pakistan faced enormous problems in provincialism as well as in factionalism. At the time of partition, many threats and communal killings have been received to Pakistan from Indian side. The partition came into being through geographical base in Pakistan and the country divided into two wings eastern part dominated by the Muslim and western part dominated by the Hindus. Both were submerged into the center of the stage. They were dominated by civil & military services and mostly in the highest places in government controlled by Bengali Muslims in East Pakistan. The political leadership in western wing of Pakistan belongs to feudal class and in the eastern wing of Pakistan consisted the middle class of the people who educated in the profession of lawyer, teacher and official

³¹ Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical perspective* (Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000) p.47

in government offices. Many factors were involved between the two wings of Pakistan, differences in constitution making, language problem, cultural issues and other political grievances were involved. Political shock came in 1947, when Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi was not given permission to take charge as leadership in the Parliamentary system in the Assembly of East Pakistan.

Jinnah was capable to present his dream into the actuality. At the time of independence, he assumed charges effortlessly in the key level position in Pakistan. Being as founder of Pakistan and the father of the nation, he had great authority in personnel that few risked to challenge him, even if they did, a temporary stare was enough to appease his most strong-minded enemy. At this time, a country needed a powerful control. When Quaid-i-Azam died in 13-months after Pakistan was established. There were no capable man to fill the gap after him. The unexpected power had been bestowed in the Governor General which critically supported official hands who simply by passed the power of the cabinet really the parliament. The provinces will remain under the control of the Centre.

After the death of Quaid-i-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. At that time, Khwaja Nazimuddin was the Governor General and he remained his position till 1953. The position of Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister was challenged by the Khwaja Nazimuddin. Liaquat Ali Khan was killed in Rawalpindi on 17th October, 1951. After getting success, Nazimuddin became the Prime Minister after stepping-down as Governor General. After two years, Nazimuddin was removed by Ghulam Muhammad the then Governor General and in his place Bogra was appointed. After dismissing Nazimuddin, he started struggle that democratic state became convicted to non-democratic force. The authoritarian atmosphere starts in state affairs. At this time, Nazimuddin position was so critical because the Bengali leader was not in position to put resistance and give favored to him. On the other hand, the members belong to Punjab well known that two men like Ch. M. Ali and Mushtaq A. Gurmani took placed in their own attention above democratic settlements in effort of constitutional disasters. In the same situation, the Governor General moving out of his constitutional boundary to promote the authoritarian system in Pakistan provided opportunity to the military elite to accumulate power in own the hands. The action taken by the Governor General “destroyed and weakened” three major resolutions of the cabinet. To destroy the 3-major convention of the cabinet by the Governor General promoted army to interfere

as the non-democratic institution and to interfere in the political affairs dominate the policy making process. At this time, Muhammad Ali Bogra was a civil servant and also Pakistan's Ambassador in USA. He hoisted Prime Minister. His appointment was entirely against Law of Parliament. In the Parliamentary system, majority party have a right to form a government and choose the representative for the post of Prime Minister. However, in this situation, Prime Minister was appointed through non-parliamentary practices. The Prime Minister was not answerable because he was not elected Prime Minister from his cabinet. The Prime Minister could enjoy without any command support behind him. This, the appointment of Prime Minister no more than a nominated Governor General. He hold office as the head of the State. Such practices were created trouble in wake of democratic setup and for the failure of parliamentary system. To dissolve the Constituent Assembly by Governor General was challenged in the Chief Court of Sindh by President of Constituent Assembly, Maulvi Tamazuddin Khan through a writ petitions filed under government of India Act 1973. A full bench passed order in favour of Maulvi Tamazuddin. Later on challenged it in the court and passed decision against him.

In 1955, Iskandar Mirza succeeded Ghulam Muhammad. He proposed Controlled Democracy for Pakistan. He tried to dominate over the political system of Pakistan. There was Suharwardy, Leader of National stature from East Pakistan. He was very capable having experienced as well qualified person to become Prime Minister. Iskandar Mirza agreed to appoint Suharwardy as Prime Minister but presented three conditions before Suharwardy. First, No change will be made in the pro-western policy. Secondly, the Army would be as institution left in act. Thirdly, he will defection in favoring of Maulana Bhashani, leader of Awami League. Suharwardy accepted three conditions before to become as Prime Minister. Immediately thereafter, Suharwardy was in difficulty in the issue demanded separated electorate by the West Pakistan Assembly who passed a resolution for separate electorate. On the other hand, East Pakistan was in favor of joint electorate. It has been decided in the National Assembly, joint electorate will be done for East Pakistan and separate electorate will be provided to West Pakistan. Suharwardy was in difficulties in East Pakistan because a resolution passed by the West Pakistan in 1957 to abolish one unit system. I.I Chundrigar was replaced by Suharwardy as Prime Minister. After this, Martial Law was imposed with immediate effect and dissolved central and provincial assemblies and also

banned all political parties within the country. The reason behind the imposition of martial law in the country, corruption and the mis-use of Islam.

The presentation of the working people did not maintain the parliamentary system. There was a seriously setback during consequent election at the level or provincial. During the period, no majority party claimed to form the government.

Phase-II (1965-1977)

India and Pakistan became independent state from the Britain but remains conflicts between two countries on the issues of Kashmir, border dispute as well as water dispute. In 1965, India launched attack on Pakistani territory. As Indian administrators were happy to work hard and straightforwardly, they were not open in front of this state. Bhutto's announcement worsened the emotional conflicts as the Foreign Minister in the National Assembly and said that East Pakistan rescued the war between China. Sheikh Mujib was in close touch with Indian Associations. Despite Bhutto's show, 'In the middle of 1965, the eastern Pakistan governor, Momin Khan, called for East Pakistan's pioneers to find their support for the efforts of fighters. After the war, in response to President Ayub Khan's reply, Momin Khan admitted that in this meeting, Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, Momin Khan announced himself to announce himself to the president of independent Bangladeshi and visit West Pakistan³².

The climate of vacuum in East Pakistan was 60-60 meters. Sabarwadi and Fazal ul Haq died. They need a pearl that can protect their abusive rights by taking their patriot's mistake.³³ The 1965 war emphasized differences in east-west Pakistan and especially much hostility in East Pakistan. Though, there was not war on the board of India-East Pakistan and cut off East Pakistan from the West Pakistan. The start of election campaign was the question for provincial autonomy in East Pakistan and main criticism for political elite in West Pakistan and unsympathetic attitude toward them. The first 6 point formulas declared in 1966 changed in 1970 and he spoke in the election league's election statement.³⁴ Indian media has given full degree to this and their program. The Bengalis have expanded its full support as they were playing publicly in

³² Shahid Rahman, "A Man in a Hurry for the Bomb" (In Rahman, Shahid. *Long Road to Chagai*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Print wise publication,1999) pp. 62-67

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Iqbal Akhund , "Memories of a Bystander: A Life in Diplomacy" (Karachi: Oxford Publication, 1997) p.111

the interests of their own people. After the opposition to government campaigns, the feet were excluded, the situation was spoiled, apart from shops and automobiles besides Bengali signals and number plate were resolved to bear. Everyone who was not comfortable with Bengali was angry. The situation of peace had worsened³⁵.

The Round Table Conference (RTC), 26 February and March 10, 1972 was tightened with Ayub Khan. As a result of real differences between 6 centers on promotion and demand of immune, RSC failed. If the national priests of the sad nation hold hands to deal with the differences, it cannot be separated. The events between the generations and later (December, 1970) show that extremism was likely to improve the immigrants starting from the beginning. They did not focus yet, but it was not in any event division. 6 worked as a mask to the harmful design of the UN enemies. Prior to the General Election (December 1970) in matters of second, Sheikh Mujib said that he is fighting against 'all regional autonomy', however, it was emphasized that if the voting process is over they will take their family to the streets. The struggle for freedom with the aim that we can live as free people.³⁶

All interpretations seemed to create problems. It was Jehovah's inside, the condition of which was near to control. Mujib refused to accommodate the military Junta. Someone got the opportunity to do what were Yahya Khan doing in West Pakistan till March 15, then the situation in the Middle East deteriorated. Why could not he reach because of the need for studying and controlling the political situation in Calcutta? What is the dislike for achieving peace talks between Mujib and Bhutto? Yahya Khan, the application of each of them, reveals a latitude and incredible show. To make sure, even on his arrival, Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, while discussing news, 'Pakistan's things end up today, there is no desire for settlement.'³⁷ With the movement of time, the crisis was increased and there were all events occurring inevitable. On March 14, Bhutto demanded mutual trade, with the demand for business of big parties in the party and the major part of the Middle East in the Middle East.

Round Table Conference (RTC) of durable pioneers hanged with Job Khan on February 26, and March 10, 1969. The real dispute between resistance pioneers and due to true contradictions on the 6 debate, the RSC threw. If the national priests of the

³⁵ ibid

³⁶ Mubashir Hasan, "*The Mirage of Power*" (Karachi: Oxford University Press), p.47

³⁷ Gulati, Col. M.N., *Military Plight of Pakistan* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2000), p 19-20

disastrous country put hands on the development of the dependent development, it will not be broken. During the tours and then (December, 1970) demonstrated that extremism was likely to begin.³⁸

However, a maximum provincial power in East Pakistan remained under the control of autocracy. It works as it hides unfortunate Pakistan's unfortunate plans. In an eye shock before the General Election (December 1970), Sheikh Mujib said that he was fighting for 'all regional autonomy', however, it was emphasized that if the voting process was over so, they would be taken to their lane. Opportunity for self-determination with the aim that we can live as like independent people.³⁹

The inner man was Yahya Khan, the condition of which he had to overcome. On March 7, Mujib announced the government to run parallel against the Middle East. President Yahya Khan used to visit Dhaka on March 15 for arrangements with Mujib-ur-Rahman. Someone should also ask what was Yahya Khan in West Pakistan on March 15, when the lack of immediate law enforcement in the Middle East was weak. Why did he not reach because of the need for studying and controlling political conditions in Calcutta? Why did he ignore the arm between Mujib and Bhutto? Each of these investigations reflects Yahya Khan Lahari and Zulav ruler. Of course, even on his landing, Mujeeb-ur-Rehman, while talking to reporters, 'Pakistan's things are done today. No settlement is expected there'⁴⁰.

With the passage of time, emergency-generated and show display cannot be displayed. Bhutto wins 88 seats in the Western Pakistan and appeared second largest party. The whole situation was as much as a powder magazine and an opening was expected to fire. In the early 1970s, the Indian military started intervention by the Bengalis as a cause of general revolt. The emergency was in its length and it had changed an unusual problem. Extraordinary issues require extraordinary arrangements. Pakistan was moving near the destruction.⁴¹ On one side, they were restricted beyond the condition of our mind that more work was done, and on the other hand they were more delicate, making it impossible for us to share shameful situations in Pakistan's

³⁸ Aziz, c Mazhar (2009). *Military control in Pakistan: The Parallel State* (Transferred to digital printing. ed.). London: Routledge

³⁹ *ibid*

⁴⁰ Reference 12

⁴¹ Owen Bennett, "*Pakistan Eye of the Storm*" (2nd ed.). (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003)

own part. Indeed, before affecting the unbearable trouble, East Pakistan was oppressed and its offer was not offered in the country's social political status, nor the efforts of donations between two fairies. The great financial differences were to reduce. At the same time, it is not the right to decide that there was no attempt to resolve the instability between the two areas, and there was no mechanism to ignore Middle East's financial criticism⁴².

In particular, the eastern wing broke away from Pakistan in 1971. Misappropriate nations have all the ideas of fair reconciliation and welfare state. This is because the assets are assigned in such areas where extreme and fast returns are common. The fast popcorn has maintained that there are differences in some nations, but it is important to keep it important in tourism, market analyst artist Harvard Artists Lewis and Henry Johnson have made flexibility of infection advocacy. Bengali language was approved as official language and language of Urdu will be for East Pakistan.

Ayub Khan's controversial presidential election was an important cause. It was widely acknowledged that the decisions were largely fixed and the people of East Pakistan used to think about it as a western perspective. To maintain the power, puts a question similarly too seamlessly and seal the people's strength. Ayub Khan did not lose pressure from East Pakistan. Contrary to the Bangladesh's prime ministers, who were extraordinarily linked to Pakistan, like Khawaja Nazim uddin and Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy, and the people of Bengal realized that they were not allowed to administer, East Indians so this was become the problem to handle the situation.

Phase-III (1977-1988)

Democracy is a process in which public representatives assume public offices and make decisions on the behalf of the “masses”. The office holders are elected by the vote of the majority. However, the democracy has different definitions. In Pakistan, democracy has been an issue and matter of debate. Two schools of thought, one in favor of democracy and the other against it argue and propagate their beliefs about the relevance and applicability of democratic principles with Pakistan.

These power centers are namely the establishment of Pakistan comprising of the military and the civil bureaucracy as the primarily important one. The second power

⁴² ibid

center would be the religious section in the country that has a very large population and following and can influence the decisions of the state. The political groups are of a much weaker state and strength among these other power centers in the country. However, it is needless to say that all these power centers play vital role in assuming and practicing power in the country. During the era between 1965 and 1988, the larger part of the country's politics was ruled by the military regime.

After the war of 1965, the military regime changed hands from one general (Ayub Khan) soon to another (Yahya Khan) under whose presidency the country witnessed yet another war and a severe crisis of 1971 when Bangladesh got separated from Pakistan. Zia ul Haq's take over in the late 1970s was yet another part of dark history of the country. The hanging of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto that is viewed as one of the worse abuse of power by a dictator in the history of Pakistan also ignites the debate between the advocates and critics of democracy in Pakistan. In short, Pakistan saw rather eventful years in terms of its politics.

Another important point here is that the international interventions in the political affairs of Pakistan have been on the high. United States has been the most influential country of all in terms of dictating Pakistan into fabricating international relations and policies. A key example would be that of the inclusion of Pakistan in the Afghan war in the 1980s. President Zia ul Haq according to some historians was backed by the United States to take over the government from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. This is so because president Zia had an inclination towards the Islamization reforms that were to follow soon after.

The idea of Islamization was to make reforms in the country that promoted patriotism and religiosity in the citizens of Pakistan so that they could effectively be used and deployed in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. United States required a strong ally in the region where safe havens from Taliban. Pakistan was always the ideal country for this purpose because of the location, population characteristics and religious inclination of the people.

However, the decision taken by the military dictator to enter the war in Afghanistan led Pakistan paying a price till date. The militant groups that were formed in those times are now threatening the safety and the existence of the country. Terrorism in Pakistan is believed to have been caused by the country's own mistake to promote

militancy and Taliban culture in the Western frontier. However, critics of democracy believe that the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the highly famous Pakistan Peoples' Party was not in the favor of Pakistan entering the war with the Soviet Union. Therefore, the United States had to take the leadership out of the equation and to bring leadership in the form of military.

The failure of the politicians to address the issues of the general public is also believed to be one of the reasons why democracy has never really been able to get a grip in the country. When the aspirations of the general public are not met by the representatives then they choose authoritarian rule. The military is only institution in the country to effectively control the country in times whether the crisis is of a political nature. Therefore, the critics of democracy in the country believe that the military has had to make “compulsive interventions” every time that it took control.

Another variable in the equation of democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan is that of the nuclear capability of the country. After India acquired the capability of nuclear detonations, Pakistani political and military setup agreed that Pakistan has to acquire the capacity as well. As discussed by historians, the United States agreed to act ignorant towards the Pakistani progress in making nuclear weapons if Pakistan would facilitate the United States backed fighters in Afghanistan. Otherwise, the United States could stop the country from getting the capability hence putting the region off balance.

Another notable point to raise here is that the political parties and their leaderships formed in dictatorial regimes are the ones that continued to rule the country as democratic political powers. These so-called political powers can hence be believed to have emerged as an outcome of military regimes and interventions. The several terms serving, Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif is particularly regarded as the outcome of the military rule of Zia-ul-Haq. In the same manner, several other political heads and ministers who served with the dictators also continued to serve in the democratic setups.

This establishes a clear link between the military and the civilian governments. The same government officials and ministers that served with the military dictators also happened to serve with the democratic setups leaving no difference between the two setups in essence. The politics in Pakistan on the grass root is also deeply influenced by feudalism and local power groups that influence the vote of the people. Other than

that, the election rigging has always been an issue with Pakistan.

This means that the electoral system of the country is significantly affected by corrupt practices and weak administrative control by the government and state institutions. This leads to an undeniable fact that the elections, regardless of whether they are supervised by a democratic setup or a dictatorial one are vulnerable to not represent the true aspirations and expectations of the people. Rather it can be expected that the participants of elections who can buy the vote of their constituency or who can threaten the safety of the people in exchange of their votes would win the elections.

This promotes the criminal elements to find their way conveniently into the assemblies and parliament of the country and secure them from the grasp of the law effectively. The idea is to reassure that the power is always kept in the hands of the same families and feuds. There is hence a fault in the election system of the country that handicaps the country from being able to accurately elect the best suited representatives of the people anyway. A need of institutional reforms and eradication of corruption from the bureaucracy would hence be the most important.

Because democracy and democratic practices are evolutionary processes, it takes time to get established. Therefore, in Pakistan, the future prospects of democracy may not be disregarded as being too poor. This is so because at present, the respect and regard of the national institutions like the military and the judiciary towards the constitution of the country is exemplary. The democratic process continues and the institutions continue to perform their assigned tasks and duties signaling that the democratic process in the country might just be getting more mature.

Pakistan has witnessed several long years with and without democracy as the official setup of ruling the state. However, the issues of the people have always remained rather consistent regardless of whether there is military government or a civilian one. This indicates that the preference of no matter what type of government there is always centered towards itself. The general public's insensitivity towards the democratic or non-democratic government is hence bound to happen and take effect. The more the institutions are able to develop themselves in the country and allow them to grow larger than personalities, the more convenient it would be for democracy to settle in the country.

To conclude all debate from this period it is concluded that the East Pakistan disintegrated due to the political unrest and instability between both wings. Firstly, power struggle between two leaders Mujeeb-ur-rehman and Zulfikar Bhutto. Secondly, there was lack of democracy in the country. Thirdly, there was international and domestic actors' involvement. Fourthly, the physical distance between both wings also becomes the major reason of separation of East Pakistan. Fifthly, one of the major reasons is discrimination attitude of West Pakistan administration towards East Pakistan. So these are the sole reasons of separation of East Pakistan and political instability in Pakistan

Phase-IV (1988-1999)

In August, 1988 an incident took place which snatched lives of Pakistan's high commanding officials like General Zia and others in a plane crash. As a result, Chairman Senate took oath president to fill the power vacuum and control the situation. He proclaimed general election on party basis taking the verdict of Supreme Court in context. Later on, the general elections were conducted 1988 in which PPP succeeded to make government in the center. Which was formed on the eve of the elections by PML got 60 seats. The results were very shocking as the some well-known figures such as Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, and others lost to their rivals who were novice in politics.⁴³

By-elections were held to the seats vacated by the successful candidates on more than one seats or where the elections could not be held due to the deaths of the candidates. Both PPP and IJI's concern was to win the election and for the purpose hectic campaign was launched. The main concern of PPP was to stop Mustafa Jatoi from entering the National Assembly who could not win in the general elections. IJI won 7 NA and 3 PA seats while the ruling PPP got 5 seats in NA and 3 seats in PA. No party could secure an exclusive position in the NWFP. IJI was the only alliance that emerged as the largest parliamentary group in the NWFP. PPP was the other party that was second in the NWFP province⁴⁴.

Benazir Bhutto got good assistance from eight parliamentarians of MQM and

⁴³ Sayed Abdul Muneem Pasha, "*Islam in Pakistan's Foreign Policy*". (Global Media Publications, 1988). p. 226

⁴⁴ Long, Roger D.; Singh, Gurharpal; Samad, Yunas; Talbot, Ian (2015). *State and Nation-Building in Pakistan: Beyond Islam and Security*

around thirteen parliamentarians of FATA for declaration of apparent preponderance. By such coalition Mahatarma was chosen first lady PM of Islamic republic of Pakistan. She took oath on 1st of December 1988. Politically she was very much intelligent lady having blood of a great leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. She was also the first woman prime minister to govern an Islamic State.⁴⁵

After the induction of the party governments in the provinces, the presidential elections were held. The candidates for the presidential seat were Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan. Backed by both IJI and PPP, Ghulam Ishaq Khan won the election with a big margin. He secured 348 votes while Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan succeeded in getting just 91 votes. Benazir Bhutto ascended the power at a time of enigma for the country because of the longest martial law of its history the political climate of the country was marred⁴⁶. In a very short span of time PM allowed working of Trade and student Unions. Ms. Bhutto successfully signed three major peace accords with enemy country India in 4th SAARC meeting. By this step PPP government appeared strong opposition of political parties and other units.

The first significant event double was too test the acumen of Benazir Bhutto in the termination of provincial assemblage of Baluchistan. Governor of Baluchistan, Muhammad Musa, broke up the house on directions of CM within two weeks of the new government's coming into power. The dissolution was taken as an attack on the IJI, the opposition party's government in the province. The PPP denied any involvement in the dissolution and offered to help restore the assembly by resolving the issues. The Baluchistan High Court declared the dissolution as illegal and restored the assembly in January 1990⁴⁷.

The hostility between the IJI and PPP was fully effect in the center and provinces especially in Punjab. The Punjab government was not seeing the federal government eye to eye in various important issues. The PPP government wrongly believed that they could win the favor of few independent MPAs in the Punjab to topple the Punjab government. This unique strategy to lure the vulnerable legislators with

⁴⁵ Jamal Malik, , *Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 1998)

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.27

⁴⁷ Ayesha Jalal, "*The state of martial rule: the origins of Pakistan's political economy of defense*". (Cambridge England New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) p.81-82

incentives of lavish benefits, loans and jobs for the friends and relatives was later named as “Horse Trading”. The ‘Operation Punjab’ proved a futile exercise on Nawaz Sharif. There were moves and counter-moves from both sides. Soon the people were fed up of the tug of war between the federal and provincial governments⁴⁸.

MQM too broke the alliance with People’s Party and started creating troubles in Sindh. The MQM feeling betrayed by the PPP unleashed a wave of terror in Sindh province. Ms. Bhutto and establishment came to serious contradictions encompassing national as well as international issues. In August 1990, Ishaq Khan dissolved Benazir Bhutto government of Benazir Bhutto. The reasons of dissolution of the Assemblies were the misappropriation of funds, embezzlement and nepotism. Later on Ishaq Khan appointed caretaker PM for further proceedings.

It had introduced the principle of ‘Selective Accountability’ by placing the prime minister under the thumb of the president⁴⁹. Benazir Bhutto was not in favor of the amendment that was a hurdle in the way of the execution of her powers. Her denunciation of Eighth Amendment roused Mr. Khan to occur danger of the limitation of authority. Benazir Bhutto, in open disregard to the constitutional provisions, announced the retirement of Iftikhar Sarohi who was the Chairman Joint Chief of Staff Committee (CJSC). This action got a strong reaction from the president. The relationship between the prime minister and the president became so strained that they came to a point of no return.⁵⁰ Mr. Khan scheduled general elections and Mr. Ghulam Mustafa the newly chosen Prime Minister successfully conducted elections.⁵¹

After the dissolution of the Benazir government, the general elections to 217 NA seats was held on 24 October 1990 while on PA seats the elections were held on 27 October 1990. In these elections two big alliances were contesting, IJI that was formed in the 1988 general elections and the other was a newly created alliance Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA). The IJI had in its fold the PML, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Islam, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan, Jamiat al Mushaikh and some other groups. The PDA

⁴⁸ A. Jalal, “*The state of martial rule: the origins of Pakistan's political economy of defense*”. (Cambridge England New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) p.81-82

⁴⁹ Jamal Malik, , *Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 1998)

⁵⁰ A. Jalal, “*Democracy and authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*” (Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications), p. 129

⁵¹ *ibid*

consisted of PPP, Tehrik-e-Istaqlal and Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiq-e-Jafria.

The results of the elections were shocking for the PPP and allied parties, while the IJI under leadership of Nawaz Sharif got a major success in National and Provincial Elections. The PPP was able to secure only 46 seats of National Assembly while they won only 13 seats in Punjab assembly and its allied parties failed to win. The IJI won 105 seats in the National Assembly while in the Punjab they secured 208 seats. They also performed well in the smaller provinces. The PPP leveled allegations of rigging of elections and claimed that the elections were stolen.

The IJI had the majority to form the government alone but it decided to take along other non-IJI groups and included them in the federal cabinet. Mian Nawaz Sharif was elected as Prime Minister by the IJI parliamentary group on 6 November 1990. He defeated the rival candidate with a majority of 153 votes and 39 against.

Due to the curtailment of the economic aid from the foreign countries the country was facing a very drastic economic situation. More particularly the US hostility to the nuclear technology created insurmountable difficulties for the government. The prime minister accelerated the economic growth in order to arrest the maladies befallen the nation due to the unwise policies of the previous government. A privatization program was embarked upon to accomplish the objective of economic development. The prominent features of this program were privatization, deregulation, decontrol and liberalization. Initially 115 industrial units were earmarked for privatization.

In 1991-92, 35 units were privatized and another 28 were privatized during 1992-93 which included two commercial banks, the MCB and the Allied Bank. Yellow cab scheme was introduced by the prime minister. The scheme had dual objectives, first to provide jobs to unemployed and second was to meet the dire need of the public transport. The construction of motor way was also announced.

The tenure of Nawaz Sharif in Punjab province as chief minister helped him establish cordial relationship with the president. The president exercising his power appointed Gen. Asif Nawaz as the new COAS which infuriated Prime Minister. As a reaction, he challenged the eighth amendment and declared that it was an impediment in exercising the power of the Prime Minister.

The defiant rhetoric of Prime Minister extremely infuriated the president.

Nawaz Sharif addressed the nation on 17th of April 1993 to clear the allegation against him about the death of Gen. Asif Nawaz. The very next day the president Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed the Prime Minister, while dismissing the president levelled the charges of corruption, harassment of opponents and absence of transparency in the privatization process. The president announced that fresh elections will be held on 14 July 1993.

Eventually the Prime Minister was ready to resign. The Prime Minister also dissolved the assembly. The President was also in position to resign by agreement supervised by the COAS. Wasim Sajjad, Chairman Senate took over as president. Moeen Qureshi, a former vice-president of the World Bank was imported to become the care-taker prime minister of Pakistan and to hold the mid-term elections.

The elections of 1993 put the PPP into power for the second time. The PPP formed a coalition in the center with the help of PML (J). Benazir Bhutto took oath of the PM for the second time on 19 October 1993. After the formation of the governments in the center and the provinces, the presidential elections were held. Farooq Ahmed Khan Laghari (PPP) and Wasim Sajjad (PML) competed for the presidential seat. Farooq Ahmed Laghari defeated Wasim Sajjad by 274 to 168 votes⁵².

The general elections for National Assembly were held on 6 October, 1993 while the provincial assembly elections were held on 9 October 1993. PMLN and PPP emerged as two major parties. The PPP got 72 seats while PMLN secured 86 seats in NA. The PPP once again began with its rivalry against the PMLN and the body politic fell prey to the confrontational politics between the both parties. False cases were instituted against Nawaz Sharif and his family members.

The style of government was not in accordance with the established norms of good management. Benazir could not keep a strict control on her party workers. They got involved in massive corruption by amassing of wealth by illegal means, nepotism and other illegal activities. The law and order situation got deteriorated. The alarming slide of the law and order situation completely paralyzed the administrative setup of the government.⁵³

The public indignation about the judges of the Supreme Court was also the

⁵² Parliament of Pakistan, "Parliament of Pakistan". *na.gov.pk*. Parliament of Pakistan press. [accessed on date: 19.11. 2017 at 12:00pm]

⁵³ Parliament of Pakistan, "Parliament of Pakistan", *na.gov.pk*. Parliament of Pakistan press. [accessed on date: 20.11. 2017 at 12:00pm]

reason of the downfall of Benazir government. The Supreme Court delivered the judgment in the case popularly known as the appointment of judges. The prime minister ridiculed the judgment in a speech before the National Assembly. The government continuously resisted the implementation of the judgment in sheer violation of the constitutional mandate. The situation was slipping out of hand as the legislature and bureaucracy had become powerless. It brought tremendous pressure on the president Farooq Ahmed Laghari to dissolve the parliament. The Jamat-e-Islami gave a 'sit-in' in front of the national assembly to press the government to resign as it had failed to fulfil its oath.

Eventually the President to save the nation's fast dwindling wealth decided to act. The president using his powers under the Article 58(2B) of the Constitution dissolved the national assembly and dismissed Benazir's government on 5 November 1996. The fresh elections were announced to be held on 2 February 1997.⁵⁴

In Pakistan, the disappointment of vote based system can be considered in charge of the multi-social financial and political difficulties that contend with the state. A large number of these issues have been observed in election rigging in Pakistan. Election Rigging can effect to destabilize the country but in developing countries free and fair election process promote the political stability. A solid power of individuals cannot be developed without giving a fair opportunity to elect their representatives but it has excluded from the natural product in the short history of the nation to keep appropriate and feasible frameworks. Rather, it has debilitated the Republic more than the risk of extra constitution. To this extent, Pakistan is worried about the disappointment of majority rules system, it has many reasons of disappointment of vote based system in Pakistan.

Why majority rule government in Pakistan fizzled? It has been observed in making the majority rule, government's lead on the rulers with prevalent power, organization government, and assent. The ability to build up the administration and change the administration lies with the residents who pick their delegates to set up the legislature. Such an administration is in charge of the general population through their agents who have the last energy to transform it. Vote based system additionally requests the correspondence of chances without position, district and religion and law

⁵⁴ Ibid.

requirement for all nationals.

It enables the flexibility to express opportunity of articulation as for the law structure and the privilege to embrace political and different associations. As a choice of majority rule government, individuals from general society are essential for government as well as in political administration. This definition implies that the state ought to oversee them or their delegates by serving them. Such a legislature can't mirror the desires and open wishes of the majority, cannot characterize the arrangement of vote based system through an organization and discretionary process, for example, the significant constitution. The constitution of a fair state depends on the general agreement of individuals and it is said that they speak to their joint regard for what's to come. Such a constitution, to the point that flopped in such a way can function as the premise of popularity based framework. An equitable government stays in control as long as they appreciate the certainty and certainty of Parliament and voters.

The standard of the last obligation of the administration of the general population is the element of a popularity based legislative issues. Be that as it may, these standards have solid shape in the nation's extraordinary social and monetary and political condition. Thusly, the Republican presentation of the Republic may fluctuate from nation to nation, however it ought to mirror the crucial standard and the soul of majority rule government.

Inability to build up astounding is devastation of a country. Many have guaranteed that the vote based system has failed and it isn't experienced for the general population of Pakistan. Many creators drove the "self-sufficient, defilement, and unsuitable" administration in which the Republican obligation is capable. A few authors, particularly those from the west, said that Islam was passing the sheet of Pakistani political framework, and did not advance popularity based esteems. Islam has not empowered framework producers, composes Keith Collard, who has additionally kept up that the great administration of numerous Muslims display by the Muslims was sure that a solid stance of certain reality there were joined individuals under the initiative and trust.

The main contention is available to the rationale that majority rule government isn't identified with individuals' untruths. Obviously, there is no genuine drawback of those individuals who make it unlawful for majority rules system. Before, individuals

were totally engaged with political developments, these objectives demonstrated their desires. In spite of the fact that amid the British visit, if the voters were restricted, Muslims partook in the race procedure, particularly in the 1945-46 decisions, the Muslim League battled against the outsider to shape a different Muslim territory of Pakistan. Be that as it may, after the making of Pakistan, politically individuals were avoided from the dynamic investment in political process in light of the fact that political gatherings fused their desires and wants in their projects. His conclusion was seldom known on national issues.

The political scene of the nation was either commanded by official or government officials who were not prepared to avoid popular government. Afterward, the fighters showed up as capable power. Military organization rehashes the disservices of political and frequently chose government and in this manner, the just procedure has finished. These pioneers of the decision held the races for some reason. Supports and occasions have been done in states' issues, in the way; the fair republic can be clarified.

The vast majority of the general population of Pakistan doesn't have the perfect inquiry of vote based system. It is acknowledged as the coveted and last fate of the nation. Pakistan's philosophy in light of the premise of government's equitable framework, in view of Islam-based fairness, social equity, administering issues, discussion of individuals and responsibility of the rulers. It is trusted that majority rule government in Pakistan is unsuccessful, thusly, not substantial. Truth be told, in the genuine feeling of majority rule government, cooperation in the legislature. National enactment was not held until the general decisions of 1970. Individuals purposely go out of the administration government, which had turned into an extraordinary space of outstanding first class. After the lawmakers' workplaces, there was simply the power battle between the pioneers who got themselves. In these circumstances, by what means can individuals' spring be checked?

The truth of the matter is that the government officials, with a couple of noteworthy special cases, were degenerate and political gatherings confronted issues with genuine associations. They did not execute the general population. The pioneers of their conduct diminished the Persian Parliament establishments. At last, altering their opinions, faithfulness, and intersection the floor made circumstances that were because of the finish of the parliamentary government in Pakistan. In the event that the general

racism were hung all the time, most political pioneers will be wiped out from political endorsement and there will be no contrasting option to their own particular specialist, however will revise their strategies. For a leader of the nation, popular government plays certain standards like fairness, responsibility, equity, opportunity and obligation. By any type of government, regardless of whether parliamentary or presidential pioneers, individuals cannot be viewed as unlawful for majority rules system. "We will gain from history that we gain from history".

The above articulation depicts the condition of our political organizations. From history think about we realized that powerless political organizations dependably have the reason for majority rules system in Pakistan. Did the Parliament prompt when Khawaja Nazim Uddin Qayyad had taken Governor General and Liaqat Ali Khan as head administrator or when he was ousted from office? Majority rule government was over and again tossed into the main portion of 1950 when decisions were possessed by the West and in 1954 observation in East Bengal was inconclusively dismissed.

A reasonable decision isn't conceivable on that day. Self-enthusiasm for the dull, Ghulam Mohammad went to the degree to affirm the freedom of the state and afterward the Parliament goes independent from anyone else. The state's law based columns were pushed and the contamination in political support was not superior to anything the legal and political powers. In such a way, Ghulam Mohammad ought to be perceived as an important victor of Pakistan's essential establishment - he over lined the Parliament, cortically ousted its entries, and decimated the armed forces political part. , And debilitated the Federation by the president on this misstep. Was a unit Independent Swords who attempted to discover new foundations were not able perused reality.

Chapter-Three

Democratic Transition: Myths and Realities

On 12 October, 1999 Army Chief General Pervez Musharraf acquire the government rule and moved army hurriedly to lock and be in command over the state and place of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif arrest them with his close colleagues under house. On the basis of past inventory, at that time martial law was not obligatory in the country. After two days, he proclaimed urgent and serious situation with declaration of himself as 'Chief Executive of Pakistan.' The term "emergency" is present in the 1973 Constitution, and proclamation of emergency was used to make the military intervention acceptable in the changing circumstances and give it to begin political appearance to the outside world.

The constitution was suspended, a state of emergency was declared, the parliament and all provincial assemblies were dissolved, state level governors were dismissed, and within a matter of three days Gen. Musharraf had publicize the government establishment which was showed the way by the 'National Security Council' consisting of a Chief Executive (himself) and six other members chosen for their expertise and competence. There was no indication as to when martial law would end, the constitution restored, or an election held. In a nationally televised address, General Pervez Musharraf accused that Sharif's government was 'systematically destroying the state' the conventions and the other actions moving the financial system towards disintegration. He further stated, "You are aware of the kind of turmoil and uncertainty that our country has gone through in recent times. Not only have all the institutions been played around with and systematically destroyed, the economy too is in a state of collapse."⁵⁵

Gen. Musharraf had little to worry on the political front because Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was in jail and the opposition PPP's leader Benazir Bhutto was out of country. By military administration some necessary strides taken to make changes in the 'Anti-Terrorism Court' that would give decision by hearing related additional cases according to the Pakistan Penal Code. The Court was also made possible to give fatality

⁵⁵ Asian Recorder1999:28552

judgment. An important improvement took place in order of formation of fifteen parties' alliances namely the ARD. Under the headship of 'Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan' the two former archway opponent in the shape of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif came jointly under one roof association, for political and democratic stride against the military interference. On 12th May 2000, Supreme Court declared that by seeing the 'doctrine of necessity' military occupation in October 1999 was necessary step at all, that further strengthen the military's position. The Court gave three-year's time period to army for re-establishment of democracy. On 22nd July 2000, in the corruption case, the Accountability Court announced 14 years imprisonment to Nawaz Sharif and also banned on him for 21 years from democracy and political involvement.

Supreme Court of Pakistan issued judgement and passed order to General Musharraf for holding the election within next 3-years. In this regards, Musharraf give assurance for restoration of "good democracy" within specific period given by the Supreme Court. On '17th October 1999' in an address by television, General Pervez Musharraf announced, "the seven point's agenda to be achieved by his government":

- i. Rebuilding national confidence and morale
- ii. Strengthening the federation with the removal of inter-provincial disharmony and Restoration of national cohesion.
- iii. Revival of the economy and restoration of the investors' confidence.
- iv. Ensuring law and order and dispensing speedy justice.
- v. DE politicization of state institutions
- vi. Devolution of influence to the grassroots level.
- vii. Ensuring the swift and across the broad accountability." (Zulfiqar Khalid Maluka2004:55-56)

He carry out referendum on 30 April 2002 to establish authenticity for his rule and "seeking the people's democratic mandate to serve the nation" as President of Pakistan. It would direct him to be seen as abiding to democratic ideals. Whereas, the opposition parties opposed the referendum. ARD was set up, including two democratic political parties, PPP and the PML (N). The coalition announced peaceful rallies to oppose him as well as considered his settlement and policy as unconstitutional. Also they were further call showed the way for voting boycott.

The Election Commission call showed the way-out its results up to 98 percent

of voters supporting it, and that too, by independent observers i.e. 'Human Rights Commission of Pakistan' (HRCP) and the voluntary participation was 2 to 3 present. Another action of Musharraf was introduction of 29 sweeping constitutional amendments under the heading of the L.F.O. announced National and provincial based common elections for the Assemblies were held in October 2002. The smacks on those actions smells as dominancy of military role in the nation likely to Turkish-way 'National Security Council' (NSC) in the politics. In that superior military officers analysis on the national government. Another revived amendment allowed the president, acting in conjunction with the NSC, to dismiss an elected government was dissolved.

The military's plan had been to bootstrap its own favored political faction-a rump of the Muslim League known as the PML(Q) to distinguish it from the PML-N faction affiliated with Nawaz Sharif into a majority in the house 342-seats lower house of the National Assembly. In the event, on the other hand, on the other hand, the PML (Q) managed to win 77 seats. This left it with more seats than any other single party did, but still far short of a majority. Ex-showed the way former premier Benazir Bhutto's PPP traditionally the main center-left contender came in second with 60 seats, though it also managed to win the largest share of the popular vote. In November 2002, a coalition government showed the way by the PML-Q's Zafar ullah Khan Jamali took office with a razor-thin majority. Therefore one can proclaim that full executive influence s are being transferred when an elected prime minister has been selected and restored according to the Constitution 1973 law, even as the general was arranging for Senate elections to be delayed until February 2003 so that the military could do more horse-trading and arm- twisting in order to ensure a PML (Q) victory in the upper – house races.

The reconstituted Parliament, on the other hand, found itself deeply divided over the appropriate approach to take regarding the validity of Musharraf's system and constitutionality of the LFO. For the thirteen months (November2002-January 2004), the activities of the Senate and National Assembly were beset by chronic and frequent protest, walkouts, planned disturbances by the opposition and demanded that LFO had no constitutional standing until and if, the Parliament passed relevant legislation. The combined opposition protest over the LFO resulted in a stormy budget debate on 7 June 2003. The opposition subsequently introduced that there should be no voice against the

Speaker of National Assembly, Chaudhry Amir Hussain, on 20 June. After he had overhauled the way that the LFO belonged to the part of Constitution. The deadlock continued after a further round of talks between the government and its opponents fashioned the way to make progress. The MMA balked at splitting with the ARD. Only late in December 2003 was the deadlock broken when the MMA voted with the government ensuring the necessary two-thirds parliamentary majorities for the 17th Constitutional Amendment to pass into act.

The situations were being changing swiftly upto November of 2007. On 3rd November 2007, improbability the country finally reached at the obligation of emergency by the Army Chief, General Pervez Musharraf in addition with this the constitution was apprehended in suspension. The judges of Supreme Court scratched off their documental files and in under the PCO new judges affirmed disseminated by the President. While initially all private news channels broadcasting was strictly prohibited, but some of them have been reinstated. The lawyers and media continue remonstrating for restoration and to remove ban against them in addition with judiciary under ex-Chief Justice Iftikhar Ahmed Chaudhary.

On 28th of November General Ashfaq Kiani sat as new army chief and President Musharraf eradicate his uniform. On the second day, Musharraf then implicit his presidential office as a civilian and on 8th January 2008 he declare general elections date. After 8 days later as the emergency do away, on the meanwhile ex- PM Nawaz Sharif was also allowed to return to the home land and revive political activities in his party & prepare for the elections, while some under field of 'APDM' had also given chance to insert in the elections. Proceedings were rising and falling.

Rising and falling of proceedings were crossing from critical and dreadful situations. And the year ended with the heartrending event of death of Benazir Bhutto on 27th December 2007. When she was leaving by attending of her political speech at Liaquat Park and at that time she appeared from the outlet of her car and simultaneously a suicide bomb attack happens and gun fired upon her. So many reasons of death causes appeared and so far stayed behind wearing a veil in obscurity and argument on the statement of the event were change many times. Finally characteristic of the death met that it was not occur by the gunfire or the blast but her head hit to the latch of the bullet-proof cover in the pressure of blast. The assert was prove wrong by the PPP and

meaningless exposition was seen there for the true cause of her death. Though, at that time the country was pushed into the brandish of brutality and multitude burn down about 1000 motor vehicles with respect to ambulances and police vans, 18 railway train engines and its 80 compartments, 13 Junction so many banks and other government buildings including hospitals and other places. A rough estimate about the loss was round about five billion rupees.

Situations were going towards its betterment and finally elections came on 18th February 2008. Without any disturbance, elections were generally be fair and resulted better, as so many feudal, orthodox and selfish persons were exhausted - like 'Chaudhary Shujaat Hussain (PML-Q's boss), Sheikh Rashid of Lal Haveli fame and many others like Ijaz-ul-Haq, Humayoun Akhter, Sher Afghan Niazi'. On the basis of quantity PPP and PML (N) came out as the top victorious among all political parties. Total MMA were worn out and JUI gotten only one seat. In the flesh back, Asif Ali Zardari, 'the co-chairperson of PPP' came out as the most influenced person to take along with PML (N) in the construction of new government at the same time as he had shown expelled and dishonored tendency to work with PML-Q. President Pervez Musharraf showed his view to work with innovative arrangements. But on the philosophical perception in view of the fact that his support to PML (Q) had a stunning defeat, that would be taken against as his referendum.

Both PPP and PML (N) have given promise to each other to reinstate the unseated Chief Justice including other judges of Supreme Court. If that happens, then the seat of the President would be under camel walk influence happens further in the history of Pakistan.

President General Pervez Musharraf boarded the democratic train derail showed the way by a miscalculating prime minister in the engine driver's seat. Musharraf sought to put the train back on the rails and correct the course through a control showed the way electoral process. He proceeded with his own vigilant gaze. He has been an ingeniously crafted combination of democracy and authoritarianism. While the primary and ultimate source of his General's uniform, he draws his legitimacy from constitutional engineering. The coup of October 1999 plunged the country into an increasingly Claus trophic and anachronistic spiral of military dictatorships. Like his predecessors 'Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Zia-ul-Haq' the put schist General Pervez

Musharraf put himself forward as someone who would be capable of restoring order and dignity in his country. In his first public speech, he announced that his aim was simply one more trail towards democratic state and not to put military government into action. Whereas the military government had no intention to stay in charge any longer than is absolutely necessary pave the way for true democracy to flourish in Pakistan.

After removing elected government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif by Army Chief Musharraf, he justified Army rule and defined it as new path to lead state affairs. It was main agenda of Military government to resolve internal as well as external issues. Although, Gen. Musharraf suspended the Constitution 1973, the military government of the Gen. Musharraf had showed it's willing to work remain under the constitution and abound rules of law.⁵⁶

A National Accountability Bureau (NAB) had been established during reform agenda introduced by the Musharraf. To expel politicians from contributing in October polls, the NAB process were being launched. The Accountability Court stated the investigation against the political leaders involved in corruption and pressurized the politicians who joined pro-government parties.

The military government had declared its pledge to handover the political power, fiscal power by introducing the basic democracy in the shape of District election held in 2001. The main purpose by holding the district election to supported the Centre's control and created leading power according to the military's favor for survival. During the process of election, it was also asked by the district official to assist the government's allies.⁵⁷

In 1999, Gen. Musharraf also committed to provide the fair justice but the system of the judiciary had become the powerless. The Judges also pressurized by the military government to take oath under PCO Act issued by the Musharraf. There was no rule of law without the independence of the judiciary and corruption, refusal of the tax is widespread in the public and private sector.

In October, 1999 Gen. Musharraf declared that federation would be strengthened by solving the internal tensions. The internal and external references had

⁵⁶ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan at the Crosscurrent of History* (Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd, 2004).p.216.

⁵⁷ Christophe Jaffre lot (ed), *A History of Pakistan and its origin* (London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2002).p.84.

been contributed by the military to traditional tension and religious violence. A policy had been launched against the ethnic minorities and resented the centralized rule which a Punjabi-dominated army.⁵⁸

Musharraf had restructured the organization through Legal Framework Orders in 2002 and to reject the domestic criticism policy. By introducing LFO, Musharraf violated the constitutional of 1973. Musharraf defined it his action was in the favor of country, and he took the decision to dethrone Nawaz was the absolute and timely action on his part.

On the other hand, the political parties condemned the military's Legal Framework Orders and opposing the restructuring the system in the shape of new laws. On the other hand, military show his confidence that it can cover the domestic conflict. Musharraf was in hope to get the US approval in particularly domestic agenda for the continuing cooperation and jointly campaign launched against the international terrorism. To introduce the domestic policies, the external support was the essential for the regime existence and the military government got benefits from the US in the shapes its domestic policies.

In this regard, military government had shown their mechanisms for the survival of the regime and also effect on the civil-military affairs and also studies Musharraf's policies for electoral and democracy as well as constitutional changes. The US and EU played a critical role in searching a way for the restoration of democracy and to assist the democratic process.

In Pakistan since its inception, Military ruled and played a role as a dominated government on the civilian rules. The process of the democratic transition had failed because of the military intervention. Every military dictator had showed their justification for reasoning behind the intervention of the military into democracy to defend the state and to rescue the country from the corrupt civilian leadership. Every military dictator had echoed with these justifications.

In 1958, General Ayub khan had showed the justification to impose his authority under the repeated slogan of saving country from plundering and looting by

⁵⁸ Veena Kukreja, "*Contemporary Pakistan Political Process*", *Conflicts and Crises* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2003).p.236.

the leaders. During 1969, Chief Law Administrator, Gen. Muhammad Yaya Khan had stressed that the military intervened reluctantly because it wanted to protect state from great disaster as the political parties were unable to run the state affairs smoothly. General Zia ul Haq in 1977 also declared it that politics in Pakistan failed to achieve harmony in the state and in such condition forces could not be silent spectator. It is the primary duty of the defenders to protect state from every internal as well as external danger. During 1999, Musharraf took action under same slogan of saving the country from the corrupt political leader.

The top political parties blamed to military government to strengthen his position on civil rules in Pakistan. On the other hand, military flouted democratic norms to the civilian government, involvement in corruption and working as poor managers. Every military man had justified military rule which was time honored tradition in Pakistan. On the other hand, civilian leaders also argued that military rule fail the validity needed for regime consolidation.

If it has been observed in the first decade of the independence, there was parliamentary democracy and civilian bureaucracy rules on the state. On the other hand, military was the junior partner. The first constitution of Pakistan of 1956 was approved by the Gen. Iskander Mirza, he enforced to constitutional assembly of Pakistan for his appointment as President. The constitutions 1956 provided and declared one man show. The President had fully authority to remove Prime Minister and he used it freely. The Iskander Mirza enjoyed power as President with General Ayub Khan. In October, 1958, Ayub overthrew the Mirza and imposed martial law in the country. The military government had given the justification that the main objective to provide the “a sound democratic system” and stable the future of Pakistan. Every military ruler justified their intervention in the democracy to save the country from the corrupt politician.⁵⁹

General Musharraf removed Nawaz Sharif government from his power in October, 1999 and invented in the civil bureaucracy rules. Musharraf and his army commander followed a traditional decorum of sharing of authority with newly empowered so called democratic governance. Although, Sharif first efforts to replace Musharraf but the military takeover the step much earlier. Sharif’s contempt of

⁵⁹ Mushaid Hussain, “Important Gains for Pakistani Democracy”, *the Times of India*. 9 November 1990.

democratic rules and attacked on judiciary as well as on legislation. Sharif's passed the 14th Amendment through 2/3 majority in the parliament. Nawaz Sharif used his power removed the parliamentarians for ignoring the party instructions. Mr. Sajjad Ali Shah when he was the chief Justice, he took strong notice and suspended the 14th Amendment. The Supreme Court had given the clear verdict that 14th Amendment is undermined in the sovereignty of the parliament. Sharif removed the Chief Justice of Pakistan Mr. Sajjad Ali Shah.

In the past history of military intervention, Nawaz Sharif away far more concerned another military involvement. At first, Sharif tried to get the incentives with the approval of the military. The military budget was the front line item in the parliament. On the other hand, military also welcomed the government activity. The Nawaz Sharif government also forcibly destroy the political opposition and Nawaz Sharif also free hand to paramilitary groups to destroy racial violence in Sindh. In consequence of the military violation in the civil affairs and appointment was made incompetent, corrupt official in the civil affairs. The military was in confidence that they could well perform better job from the civilian government in running country. The government depended on military to restrain its political opposition. Nawaz Sharif government fully depended on the military and wanted to control its political opposition. On the hand, the generals were more impatient to intervene. When Nawaz Sharif had tried to lead military establishment and to stop it's ambitious.⁶⁰

After passing over a number of senior generals, Sharif appointed the Musharraf as army Chief and to dismiss the General Karamat. If Nawaz Sharif did not take steps and run military on his own wishes, his hope was baseless. Sharif had given the instruction about the internal affairs under the guidance of the army. He had also proved loyalties of his parent organizations and promised for work jointly. On the other hand, Pervez Musharraf had also given assurance and proved himself more prepared than General Karamat to take any task in civilian government. The international economic agreements going to the halt then Prime Minister, Mian Nawaz Sharif started peaceful negotiation with Vajpayee and hosted Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee at Lahore in the month of May, 1999.

The high command of the Pakistan military had showed their dis-pleasure on

⁶⁰ V.K. Dethé, Pakistan: Power Play: Of Leaders and the President's Prime Ministers.' *The Times of India*. 20 April, 1993.

the issues of restarting artillery and exchanges on the Line of Control (LOC) in Kashmir. A confidential agreement was wet between Nawaz Sharif and Atal Bihari Vajpayee on the building measure, Gen. Musharraf posted militants backed to home. On the other hand, Vajpayee government again moved the troop to take the control on the Line of Control as well as international border and also threatening to Pakistan. When, the Pakistan withdraws its militants and forces along the LOC. And Pakistan suffered in Kargil as well as faced war with the military greater foe. Sharif's government had become a loss of the Kargil disaster.

Most of the controlled channel by the government had showed the fighting and got a major victory in Kargil. To maintain the domestic attention, Nawaz Sharif blamed to Gen. Musharraf and desired that the Army Chief had not informed him. Nawaz Sharif's attached on Pervez Musharraf to unrest his ranks but the major command decided to exile Sharif.⁶¹ Musharraf blamed Sharif government of corruption, poor economic manager, Attacked on military, interference in the affairs of judiciary as well as attached on Supreme Court of Pakistan and also responsible both operational issues. The military had clear justification for intervention in civilian rules to obey the primary duty and the protection of national security of the Pakistan.

Pervez Musharraf released the PCO (Provisional Constitutional Order) No.1 on 14th October, 1999. He suspended the constitution and other ordinance would override, and any action taken by military would not be change in any court of law. The PCO would be the basic law of the land and it can be used for legal protection. The main rights were also ignored by introducing the new law. Pervez Musharraf had taken over the charge and become the "Chief Executive". As before, Mr. Rafique Tarrar was the President of Pakistan when Pervez Musharraf dissolved the parliament and dismissed him from the Presidential. Pervez Musharraf also issued another order and become the President of Pakistan. Pervez Musharraf wanted through extra constitutional amendment did not confer legitimacy on his movements. Musharraf and his predecessors had faced to face a basic dilemma. No doubt, Pervez Musharraf had complete power but needed for his government to get legitimate and constitutional authorization. Violation in the judiciary's independence and interference in judiciary

⁶¹ Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism. Allah, the Army and America's War on Terror* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2005).

appointment was the main cause to single out the Nawaz Sharif government by the military. It was the main agenda of Pervez Musharraf agenda to provide the true justice and democratic reform.

The military government had given assurance legal sanction would be provided to the judges for omission of their acts as well as in commission. When the first steps were taken by the military, The President of the Association of Supreme Court Bar remarked it as pathetic and breach of the judiciary. Soon after, Syed Zafar Ali Shah, a leader of Muslim League had faced its legality there at ‘Supreme Court of Pakistan’. Whereas, the Chief justice of Pakistan Mr. Siddiqui accepted their petition. The military government adopted the way on the footsteps of General Zia’s polices. It was desired severely to the High Court and Supreme judges to take oath under PCO Act. The ‘Chief justice of the Supreme Court’ and others unprofessional conduct to refuse to do and resigned. Remaining judges had taken oath under new rules under PCO.⁶²

The Supreme Court Judges had taken oath under PCO declared validity of military rules in the judgment issued in the case of Zafar Ali Shah on 30th May, 2000. The new Chief Justice of Pakistan, Irshad Hasan Khan had given the decision in legality of the army rules and their decision on a part of “state necessity”. It was also conditional allow to the military coup to hold national elections within 3-years from 12th October-1999 and also given right to Musharraf to amend the constitution 1973 within the democratic, federal and the parliamentary frame work. Orders issued by the judiciary, it was clear confirm that the decision in the favor of military coup. However, it was great hurdle for Pervez Musharraf in regime consolidation. Pervez Musharraf enjoyed 3-years military rule, he was still in searching of an effective way to consolidate his power but his strategies look like General Ayub, General Yahay and Gen. Zia to fairly modified to meet the challenged in domestic as well as in external imperative.

An accountability court was instituted to take severe action against the politicians. Nawaz Sharif was targeted on the charges and sentenced to hijacking the Pervez Musharraf’s aero plane as well as to attempt murder of Pervez Musharraf. A mutual agreement was made through international guarantor to exiled Nawaz Sharif to Saudi Arabia along with twenty family members. On the other hand, the exiled Benazir

⁶² Zulfiqar Khalid Maluka, “Reconstructing the Constitution for a COAS President”, in Craig Baxter (ed), *Pakistan on the Brink Politics, Economics, and Society* (New York: Oxford University press, 2004).p.55-56.

Bhutto faced various charges of corruption in the accountability court. The process of accountability court was not go through due to little support of the well-organized political parties.

The opposing group of the government argued that a process of special court (NAB) is no need to tackle the cases of corruption against the political leaders. Very few cases registered against the According to the official figures 1.47 % registered against the ex-military officers. While, as per official figures recorded 27.72% cases were registered in the NAB against the politicians. Although, the army officer involved in such cases were released on bail through bargaining agreement to refund certain proceeds of fraud. The Muslim League (Q) has been released on bail and dropped the charges against them and their main imprisonment to pressurize to away from the parent party.⁶³

The military government adopted the tactics of “divide and rule” and to motivate the political opponents group of the Pervez Musharraf’s by desiring that the Pervez Musharraf’s legality depends on their support. Most political parties willing to support the government including PML (N) either of hostility toward Nawaz Sharif and was in hope for political rewards. After soon, the Muslim League divided into factions. The Punjab governor, Mian Azhar had started the faction “Pakistan Muslim League (Q)” and then most of political parties members have to join PML (Q) including PPP. The military government also wanted to give favor to marginal political structures for associations like PDA, SDA and the Pakistan Muslim League (Q) was the civilian partner.

On the other hand, the military government was troubled by refusing to share power with well-organized political party. The Pervez Musharraf government finally decided with allowing to all major political parties for its survival. Resultantly, the Pakistan People Party including Pakistan Muslim League (N) joined hand by rejecting the Pervez Musharraf policies and opposing the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy.

On October, 1999, Pervez Musharraf initiates to decentralizing power through a national consensus. The Local government plan-2000 was introduced district, tehsil

⁶³ Abbas, Pakistan’s *Drift into Extremism. Allah, the Army and America’s War on Terror*.p.186.

and union council. All the major political parties were also criticizing including human rights and lawyers. The government had decided to hold election in August, 2001 on non-party basis. Political parties partake participation in the large number, in the election including PPP and the PPP candidates got vast number of seats at tehsil and district level. All Nazim and Naib Nazim were pressurized by the government to want to be extra ordinary favor during Musharraf presidential referendum held on 30th April, 2002.

Pervez Musharraf wanted to retain the power for further five years in the term of presidential by holding the referendum in April, 2002 and also given the justification on the basis of “constitutional clause”. It was important for Pervez Musharraf to get the public opinion through referendum on national importance issues. There was a specific procedure lay down in Constitutional-1973 for presidential elections. It was jointly compromised by the all provincial assemblies, Senate and National Assembly for holding the presidential elections. Like other military rulers like General Ayub and General Zia, Pervez Musharraf bypassed the parliament and extended his tenure as President for further five years. Pervez Musharraf give justification for his tenure in the best national interest. Pervez Musharraf took his own way to rule the state. It was a bit different from the General Ayub and General Zia. As before, there was totally banned for political rallies but Pervez Musharraf hold more than 30 meetings with army corps as well as with other official and Rs. 3 billion were expensed in public meeting.⁶⁴

The Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. Irshad issued order for restoration of Hasan Khan announced the election result. Pervez Musharraf got 97.5 per cent vote and total turnout of 71%. On the hand, the major political parties boycotted the referendum.⁶⁵ The opposition and other international observers had given estimate more than 10 % voters cast their vote. In television speech to the nation, Pervez Musharraf admitted about “certain irregularities”. Pervez Musharraf assured them that national election would be free and fair also give assurance it will be not allow to any to interfere in the process of election in future. However, the damage has been prepared.

The Legal Framework Order issued by the government on 21st August, 2002, validated all acts by the Pervez Musharraf, including his 5-years extension in his term

⁶⁴ Matloob Ahmed Wararic, *Twenty Dictators of the 20th Century* (Lahore: Book Home .2004).

⁶⁵ Aqil Shah, “Pakistan’s Armed Democracy”, *Journal of Democracy*.

of presidential and also retain the position of Army Chief. After achieving himself power, Gen. Musharraf have a right to dismiss the National Assembly and had a authority to give approval for the appointment of the Justices, establishment of the National Security Council (NSC) and also appointment of service chiefs.⁶⁶

The Supreme Court of Pakistan also issued judgment and given the authority to Musharraf for the amendment of the Constitution. According to Musharraf, These steps were taken by him essential for the introduction of real democracy in Pakistan. The coup validating the judgment issued in March, 2000, the Supreme Court of Pakistan had allowed to Pervez Musharraf to make amendment in the constitution 1973 but not to alteration in its basic character. The Legal Frame Work Order by amendment of 29 Article has misleading the constitution. The political opposition criticized about the new orders issued by the government and the civil governments remain subordinate under the military authoritarian rules.

According to Legal Frame Work Order, President had a right to disperse National Assembly and also to appoint care-taker government in his discretion. Pervez Musharraf used his power and order issued for restoration of the power of president Chairman of Joints Chief was appointment. He had also the power of controlling the ability of the Prime Minister and right in restructuring the civil military relationship. The President can veto the power of the Prime Minister's to High Court Judges appointment. The President had power to abolish government with the discussion with military dominated authority namely National Security Council (NDC).

General Pervez Musharraf had power in accordance with the amendment of the constitution and attacked on parliament. Other the other hand, according to the Constitution 1973, it is the right of the parliament to amend the constitution and also right to the two third majority of the cabinet but Pervez Musharraf rejected the right of the parliament to ratify his Legal Frame Work Order. Pervez Musharraf says, "I am hereby making it [the legal frame work order] a part of the constitution. Pervez Musharraf also said, it is not need to get its validation or rectification form the parliament.

⁶⁶ Musharraf: New Cabinet, Old Agenda. Stratfor.com, Sep. 1, 2004; Owais Tohid, Musharraf's Hand Stronger after Prime Minister Quits. *Christian Science Monitor*, June 28, 2004, Puppet Prime Minister? , Economist Intelligence Unit, Aug. 31, 2004.

In order to establish the National Security Council made by Pervez Musharraf violated the principal of the federalism. The National Security Council had authority to advise the President in various vital issues and also the suspension of the provincial assemblies. The Provincial government also hostage to military orders. The leader of the Awami National Party had also opposing such system introduced by the military government and refuses to accept this change. The National Security Council had issued statement that the main object of the NSC to strengthen the democracy and to search the real power brokers.⁶⁷

No doubt, the intervention of the military has continuously been challenged in superior court. By getting the constitutional shelter under National Security Council, the military government was in hope to get the legality. As before, General Zia also tried to legitimize himself and to establish a military domination through National Security Council but did not get success and the parliament had to refuse to accept it. Mr. Jehangir Karamat, Chief of the Army Staff pointed out issued before the NSC in 1998, only to be removed by Prime Minister, Mian Nawaz Sharif.

General Pervez Musharraf established a body and given the constitutional status by establishing the Legal Framework Order. The National Security Council will chair by the President and also included army chiefs, PM, Speaker of National Assembly, Chairman Senate and leader of the opposition party.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan issued the judgment in the favor of the military for his legality and also ruling in the favor of Pervez Musharraf's referendum. According to the Legal Framework Order, it deals strategic matters, sovereignty, security as well as matters of democracy. The Military government heeded on the matters against qualification requirement for the candidates of the parliament. The judiciary agreed to accept junior judges for appointment in the High Court and Supreme Court of Pakistan which is violation of the proven rules of seniority.

The judiciaries who take the oath under PCO were in the coordination of Pervez Musharraf for such appointment. The judiciary refrained to grant the constitutional permission to military on Pervez Musharraf's referendum. However, the Supreme Court of Pakistan terminated appeals with the remarks "proper forum" will decide the

⁶⁷ Pakistan from.1999 to 2007, http://www.pakistanpaedia.com/hist/pak_years/pak_hist6.htm. Retrieved date.19, August 2017.

referendum's constitutionality. When the appeal was rejected by the Court, it does not remain important to translate into independence for the judiciary. Most of the senior judges stated that the government has destabilized this.⁶⁸

The main political parties were opposing the Supreme Court ruling in the favour of the Pervez Musharraf's amendment. The largest political parties including PPL, the Mutahida Quami Movement, PPP and other regional parties in KPK including Baluchistan reject the military government self-assumed right for the changing of Pakistani institution. Mr. Hamid Khan, the President of Supreme Court Bar Council said that armed forces have no any legally enshrined power to direct the state beyond limitations. On the other hand, General Musharraf pressurized the parliament for the acceptance of the LFO and also threatening for their dismissal. The government opposition had rejecting LFO also denying Pervez Musharraf presidency.

A Chief Executive Order No. 19 issued by the General Pervez Musharraf on 6th July, 2002, the "Qualification to Hold Public Officers Order, 2002". According to such order, anyone disqualified who served twice as Prime Minister. The degree can affect the Benazir Bhutto and Mian Nawaz Sharif because both availed the opportunity. Another executive order 2002 in its amendment Article 63 for the political parties specific Benazir Bhutto and expels person sentenced of corruption and who failed to appear before the court. According to Executive order, Benazir Bhutto disqualified in future from standing the election and head of her political parties. On the other hand, military govern is also patching alliance jointly with political parties to counter the PML (N) and the PPP in the forthcoming national election.⁶⁹

The government has facilitated to bring all political leasers into electoral alliances as well as the SDA and especially toward the PNA. Though, it was very little popular support by the parties, the government wanted to focus on it's as key civilian partner. The establishment of ARD, It was accused on military government for gerrymandering of voters and to assist it PML (Q). The government had advised to ARD leader to use administrative resource in assisting its civilian partner including large scale of transfer of the bureaucrats in sensitive constituencies. The political

⁶⁸ Zafar Abbas, Full Circle, *the Herald*, November 1999.

⁶⁹ Muhammad Waseem, The 2002 Elections: A Study of Transition from Military to Civilian Rule in Saeed Safqat (ed.) *New Perspectives on Pakistan Visions for the Future* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.260

leaders blame that establishment and the sensitive institutes of Pakistan behind the curtain in elections. On other hand the military government denies all these allegations and giving the preference for Pakistan Muslim League (Q).

The GNA (Grand National Alliance) made in July, 2002 under the one umbrella, the opposition remarks, the government searching to use the mutual strength against the PML-N and also against the PPP candidates. The intelligence agencies tour districts, asking the Nazims and other official to support for pro-government candidates. Non-accepting the ARD allegations, Mr. Irshad Hassan Khah, chief election commoner has totally banned on the transfers of any government officials till and after the poll. Although, it is was admitted by the commission about the hurdles in free and fair votes but also denied to accept the involvement of governmental agencies and also involvement of the National Reconstruction Bureau in the process of election.

The political opposition and other civilian group including lawyers were also criticizing about the commissioner's neutrality. The Bar Council of Pakistan has condemned on the issues of the Chief Justice appointment, Supreme Court, Mr. Irshad that validated General Musharraf's law. The political parties argued about the involvement of National Accountability Bureau and in the intelligences, are pressurizing to all to switch political reliability to the Pakistan Muslim League (Q). On the other hand, the Election Commission's did not show displeasure to this matter.⁷⁰

In October pools, political parties showed their willingness in participation of election and electoral settlement. The largest political parties including PPP, PML (N), MQM and Muslim League (Q) well-ordered for contesting the election in all provinces. The performance depends on the main actors, PML (N), PPP, and MQM on the basis of fairness of pools. The military government banned speeches for campaign in public places without any prior approval. The major political parties were blaming to government for the extra ordinary favoring of the PML (Q).The official media discredit the PML (N) and PPP leadership.

Mian Azhar was governor of the Punjab during the last government of Mian Nawaz Sharif. He founded Pakistan Muslim League (Q) in March 2001 consisting of prominent leader of anti PML (N) leader in the Muslim League. Due to setup of new

⁷⁰ Veena Kukreja Pakistan since the 1999 Coup: Prospects of Democracy Kukreja and M.P. Singh, eds. *Pakistan Democracy, Development and Security Issues*.

party, most of defectors member from other political parties have joined to PML (Q). The newly organized party PML (Q) was not in position serious challenge to PM (N) without government support. The Pakistan Muslim League (N) is internally divided into groups. The governments play a very active role to damage the electoral chance of the opponent group.

On the other hand, Pakistan People Party remain united despite the PPP leader Benazir Bhutto prohibiting from the electoral process. Benazir Bhutto continuously remained as the Chairperson and Mr. Makdoom Amin Faheem was the heads of electoral body. To stop the military government to disqualify the Pakistan People Party from the forthcoming polls, nomenclature has also been adopted as Pakistan People Party Parliamentarian. Most prominent leaders of the PPP well in form include Mr. Raza Rabbani, Secretary General and Mr. Aitzaz Ehsan, the then Law Minister. Bhutto regularly contacted for the party work at local bases, regional and as well as state levels and managed the party members and punished abroad. The PPP have faced challenges and lost to main political competitor Main Nawaz Sharif in the fundamental province of the Punjab.⁷¹

Although, the Pakistan People Party spreading the extensive network in the local as well as regional level and the separation of women including lawyers wing. The PPP replaced party officials who did not play active and fail to meet their beliefs. Due to sufficient changes in internal level of the PPP, the party work could not mobilize against the government. On the other hand, due to dissatisfaction of the Musharraf, it was not essay for the military to support Pakistan people party for its lost reputation in the political atmosphere. The rigorous attacked of the establishment to pressurize to PPP candidates and deficiency could affect it performance in the forthcoming polls.⁷²

The exiled Nawaz Sharif in Saudi Arabia had adversely affected the party morality. It was the alarming condition for the PML (N) due to the defection of the PML (Q) which was the political ally of the Gen. Musharraf. Although, Muslim League play very active role for the creation of Pakistan and their party's leader mostly migrated from the India. Due to lack of popularity in the regions, they trusted on the

⁷¹ Mary Anne Weaver, *Pakistan: In the Shadows of Jihad and Afghanistan*, (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2002), pp.20-21.

⁷² Rizwan Hussain, *Pakistan and Emergence of Islamic Militancy in Afghanistan* (London: Ash-gate Publishing Ltd, 2005).

civilian and military government to stand their governments. When they came in force, the ML stood helpless in talks. The dictators had generated new branch of ML to make strong footings in political arena of Pakistan. General Ayub also made another segment of the ML in the name of ML conventional. The Pakistan Muslim League (N) also got sufficient in the NFP especially in non-Pashtun communication area. However, PML (N) could not get success to make inroad in the Sindh in presence of PPP and remain in limited presence in the province of Baluchistan.

In fact, most of the parties came to coalition with army and not in favor of each other and major issue was about revolution 1999. On the other hand, internally Pakistan Muslim League (N) was weakness. No doubt, The Pakistan Muslim League (N) like PPP retains extraordinary regional and local networks including the women's wing throughout the Pakistan. Though, Nawaz and his party members were in the direct conflict with each other. Nawaz Sharif and his brother Mian Shahbaz Sharif have chosen their favorites and ignore the real party workers. The anti-Nawaz group was the back of the military government to promote the PML (Q) and the support of the military.

Although, Pakistan Muslim League (N) lost their opportunity to fail the PML (Q) but now they wanted to undo some damages with the support of party leader and to defeat the PML (Q) under the guidance of Ahsen Iqbal and Raja Zafar-ul-Haq. The exile Nawaz Sharif and his brother retain the full control over party for further policymaking. Pakistan Muslim League (N) recovers a bulk of democratic sufferers, mainly in urban center of the Punjab.⁷³

Another party controlled by Altaf Hussain, the MQM (Mutahida Qaumi Movement) was established in Sindh on March, 1984. MQM activists controlled the cities of Sindh as well as in Karachi which is the largest industrial city of Pakistan. With the cooperation of the military, the Mutahida Qaumi Movement united and undermined in the first PPP government in 1990 in Sindh. The relation of the MQM with the military equally checked. The MQM targeted by the military operation in many time. The MQM exiled, Altaf Hussain as leader there at London at the same time as his party was divided into two groups. The factions of Altaf Hussain have given the blame to the

⁷³ Zulfikar Khalid Maluka, *Reconstructing the Constitution for a COAS President: Pakistan, 1999 to 2002* in Craig Baxter (ed.), *Pakistan on the Brink Politics, Economics, and Society* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.43.

military to support the Haqiqi group.

In spite of many difficulties, MQM supporter remains together in the most of the cities of Sindh. The exiled Hussain in abroad operated the party like trustworthy lieutenant on the ground in Pakistan. The MQM head assured settlement with his former Sindhi dominated PPP rival and ease tension between the Sindh populations and Sindh's Muhajir. PPP & PML (N) had good chances to obtain the sufficient seats and was in able to form government. Most of the voters turned away from the polling station due non-registered their name in the voter list. The government did not give permission to Benazir Bhutto as well as Nawaz Sharif to participate in the forthcoming election. During election campaign, the opposition alleged that most of the political works harassed and disturbed their public meetings by the government.

Now, the Pervez Musharraf required cleaning his dictatorship at the platform of democracy. Therefore, Musharraf brought into it in the shape of General Election-2002. The general election scheduled to hold in the general as well as in provincial legislative. On the other hand, it was also known that the Pervez Musharraf create own King Party to crake down the PPP and PML (N). The King party was commonly popular known as PML (Q). The NAB and ISI play very active role in winding the reliabilities of the politicians for the democratization rule of the Pervez Musharraf. Most of the politicians agreed to join the PML (Q) were both to set free from the NAB court or to delayed. The independents candidate was also joined the PML (Q) and supported to Musharraf regime. Pervez Musharraf helped the independents candidate in creating the extra women seat as well as also for monitories.⁷⁴

In Next, it was also observed that it was hard to continue Pervez Musharraf in authority in existence of PML (N) & PPP. On the other hand, the Washington negatively reacts against the Pervez Musharraf after the dismissal of the Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Washington pressurized the Musharraf for the democratic re-establishment in Pakistan. Pervez Musharraf become "best friend" of the Mr. Bush when he was pressurize by the Washington. It was also planning by the Pervez Musharraf government for rigging the election before polling.

⁷⁴ Babar Sattar, "Pakistan: Return to Praetorianism", Muthiah Alagappa, ed. *Coercion and Governance: The Declining Role of the Military in Asia* (Stanford, 2001), p. 385 quoted in quoted in ICG. "Pakistan: Transition to Democracy", *ICG Online Asia* [home page on-line]; available from <http://en www.crisisweb.org. html>; Internet; accessed 21 July ,2017.

The political and analysts observed that partial election, PPP & the PML (N) will in position to get the sufficient seats to make government. No doubt, Pervez Musharraf wish to see the PML (Q) come in power due to continuously efforts. When anyone parties did not get clear majority, the people did not confidence on these parties. No party is in position to make government without the religious alliance because Islamic parties won seats in the large quantity in National Assembly. It had become very simple for the (MMA) Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal to make its own government in the NWFP and also in Baluchistan. Most of the political parties have shown their acceptance about the elections free and fair but some parties alleged that the government has shown their favoritism of some parties.

However, the opposition parties Pakistan People Party (PPP), Muslim League (Nawaz), religious parties and ruling parties (PML-Q) did not select to leave the system. It once again provides the legitimacy to the regime for its stability. Though, in general election-2002, no party could gain simple popularity in the parliament but with the help of PML (Q), Mir Zaffar ullah Khan Jamali nominated as Prime Minister of Pakistan. At first time, religious organization gained an important voice in parliament. The Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) strongly disregarded the Musharraf's policy against the Islamist group. After the gaining the power politically and dominant in NWFP, the MMA raised question the military action in the Waziristan. Musharraf government had been fighting against the religious extremist and prohibited for extension of militant group.

No doubt, Pervez Musharraf promised to handover the power in the civilian hand but he did not lose reins of power. Musharraf always used the authoritarian rules on the political parties and retain his power in presidency. No doubt, General Musharraf enjoyed full power; he appointed three Prime Minister and removed their tenure by his exclusive direction. Pervez Musharraf strengthened his power by initiating a large of army or retired officer on key position in the government instituted and also in semi government.

When the international pressures built up, the military adopted another strategy for the restoration of power in the shape of elected government. The Political leaders played an active role and also rethinking for their transformation in the political atmosphere. The PPP and PML (N) leaders joint hand together for not to repeat their

mistakes and will work jointly again for the common interest.⁷⁵ All the political parties including bar associations rejected the constitutional amendment issued by the Pervez Musharraf and was in favoring for the restoration of inviolability of the constitution. They have taken initial step by working jointly to pressurize the Pervez Musharraf government in restoration of democratic transition. If the two major parties Pakistan People Party and Pakistan Muslim League (N) sustained mutual agreement, they will have learned how to stop the resistance of the military intervention and to promote the democratic consolidation in Pakistan.

⁷⁵ ICG, "Devolution in Pakistan: Reform or Regression," *ICG Online* [home page on-line]; available from <http://en.www.crisisweb.org.html>; Internet; accessed 20 September, 2017. 22 March 2004, p.5, available from <http://en.www.crisisweb.org>, accessed 20 September 2017.

Chapter-Four

Public Opinion

For comprehension and understanding about the research topic ‘Democratic Transition in Pakistan (1999-2008)’, the researcher organized a survey based on detailed questionnaire containing close ended questions. The random sampling technique was used to collect data from public, students, political leaders and academicians of almost all provinces. There were 110 respondents who filled questioner (Annexure -A). The questions were very interesting and thought provoking. People having different age groups and multiple backgrounds shown their interests in the debate about democratic transition are Pakistan in Musharraf era. Female also participated in survey with the core of their hurts. Most of the respondents had very liberal and sensitive opinions about the Pakistan Army and political leadership in Pakistan.

The data gathered through questioner has been analyzed through modern techniques like IBM SPSS⁷⁶ Statistics 22.4 software. The results are show in tables that contain detailed descriptions like Frequency, Percent, Valid Percent, Cumulative Percent, and final total. Moreover for the understanding of public and future research the results are also elaborated through Pie diagram. For further understanding each and every question and its result is discussed at beginning of table. Researcher traveled around the major cities of Pakistan to collect data and interview from very prominent leaders, scholars and youth of Pakistan.

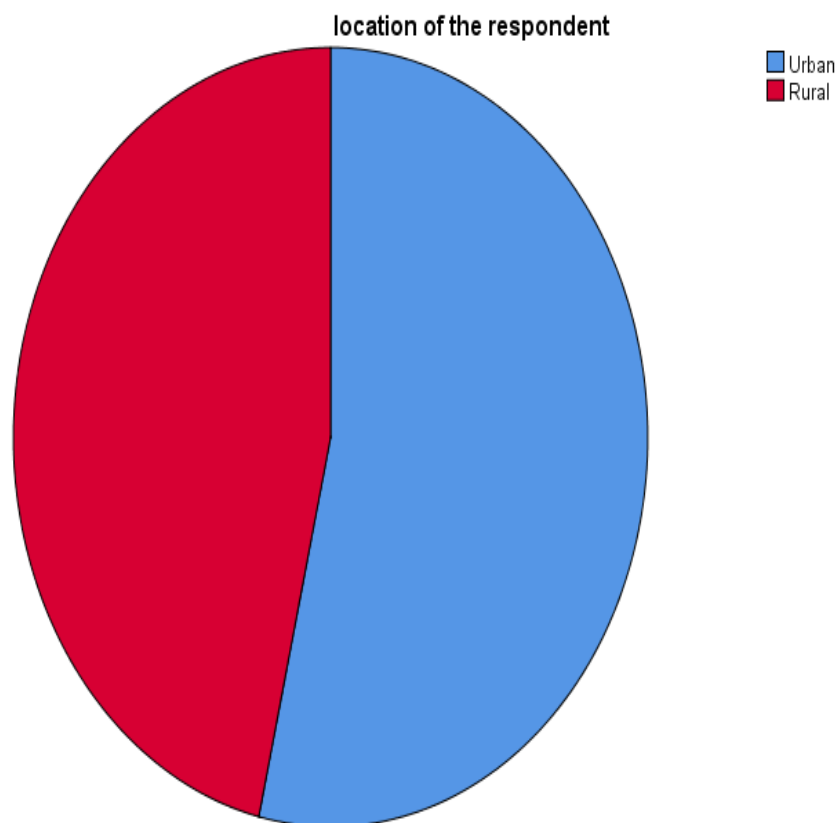
⁷⁶ <https://www.ibm.com/analytics/spss-statistics-software>

Data Analysis

1. The question number one was designed to inquire about the location of the respondent. The results show that the 52.2 percent respondents were from urban area of Pakistan and 45.1 were from rural areas. There was a big ratio of interested respondents who participated in the survey after filling questioner.

Table: 01 Location of the Respondents

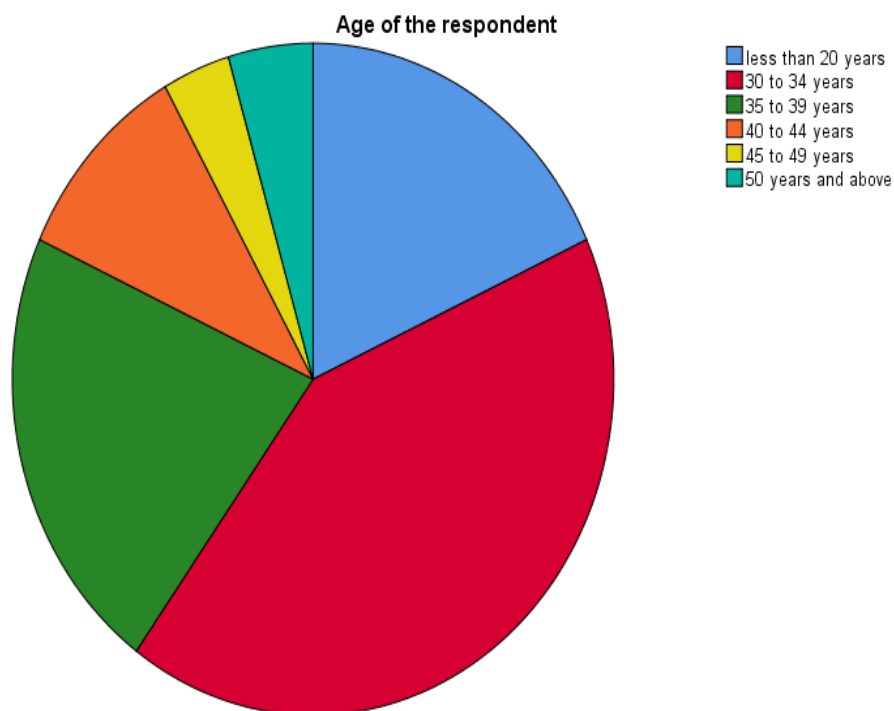
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Urban	59	52.2	53.6	53.6
	Rural	51	45.1	46.4	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		



2. Question number two was designed to inquire about the age of the respondents. The results show that the high percent of the respondents were about 30 to 34 years old i.e 40.7 percent and lowest percent of respondent age remained 45 to 49 i.e 46 percent. It shows that people having young age more interested in political ups and downs of the country and they were very enthusiastic.

Table: 02 Age of the Respondents

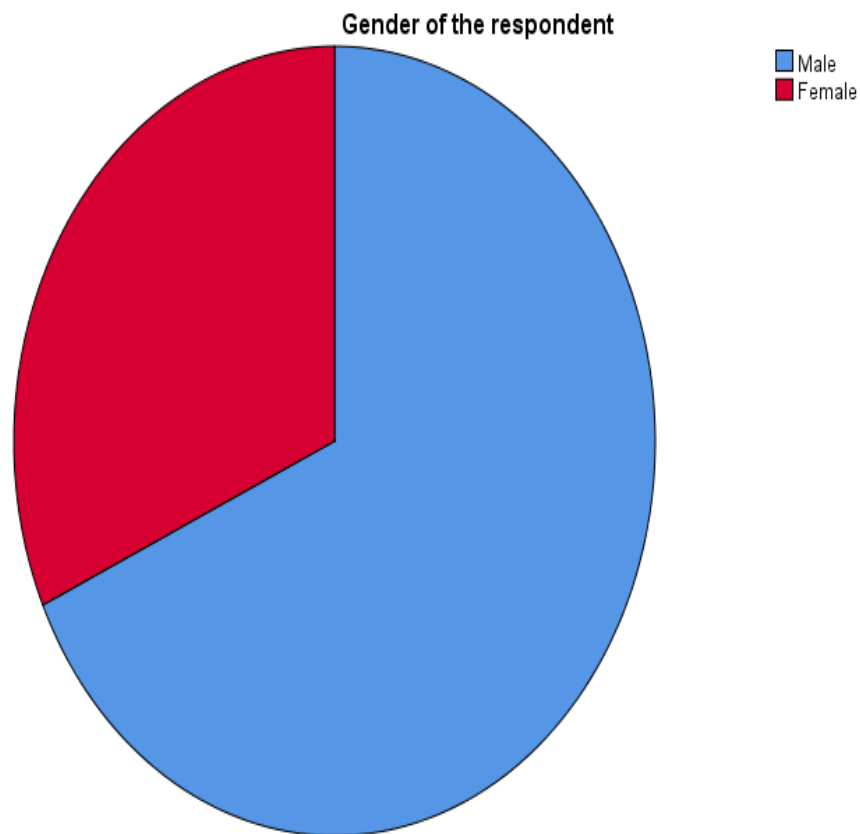
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	less than 20 years	20	17.7	18.2	18.2
	30 to 34 years	46	40.7	41.8	60.0
	35 to 39 years	24	21.2	21.8	81.8
	40 to 44 years	11	9.7	10.0	91.8
	45 to 49 years	4	3.5	3.6	95.5
	50 years and above	5	4.4	4.5	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		



3. Question number three has been designed to inquire about the gender of the respondents. The results show that the high percent of the respondents were 66.4 male and 31 percent female. It shows that male were more interested in political and democratic transition in the country and they were very enthusiastic.

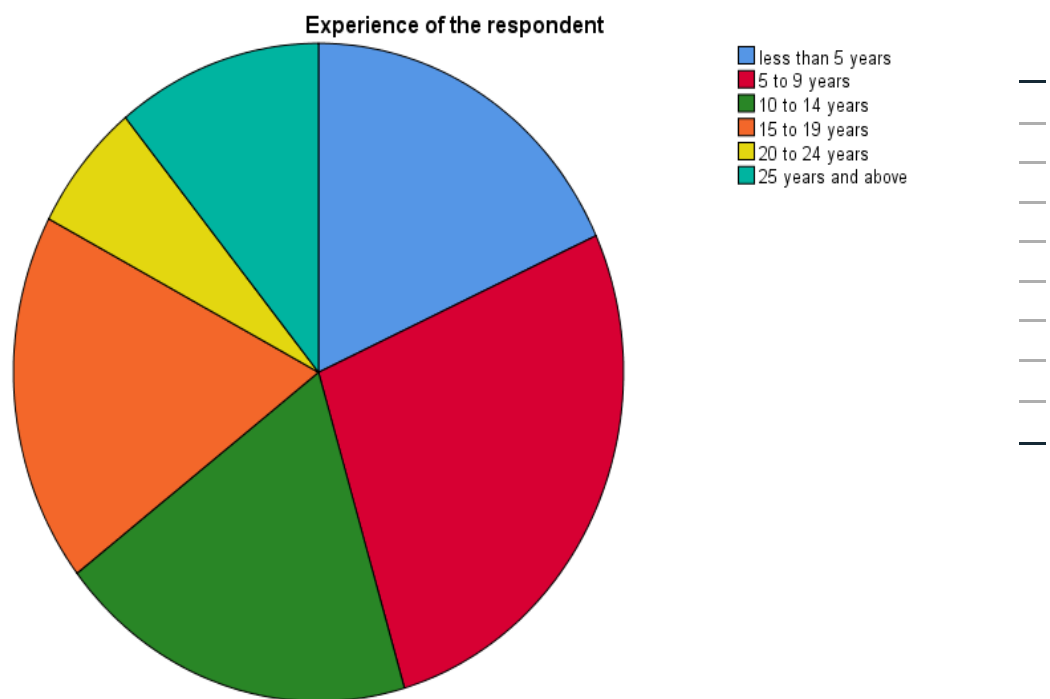
Table: 03 Gender of the Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	75	66.4	68.2	68.2
	Female	35	31.0	31.8	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		



4. This question was directly concerned with the working experience of the respondents. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had experience of 5 to 9 years and that is about 26.5 percent and lowest percent of respondent were 20 to 24 years that is about 6.2 percent. It shows that young people with considerable experience were responded much.

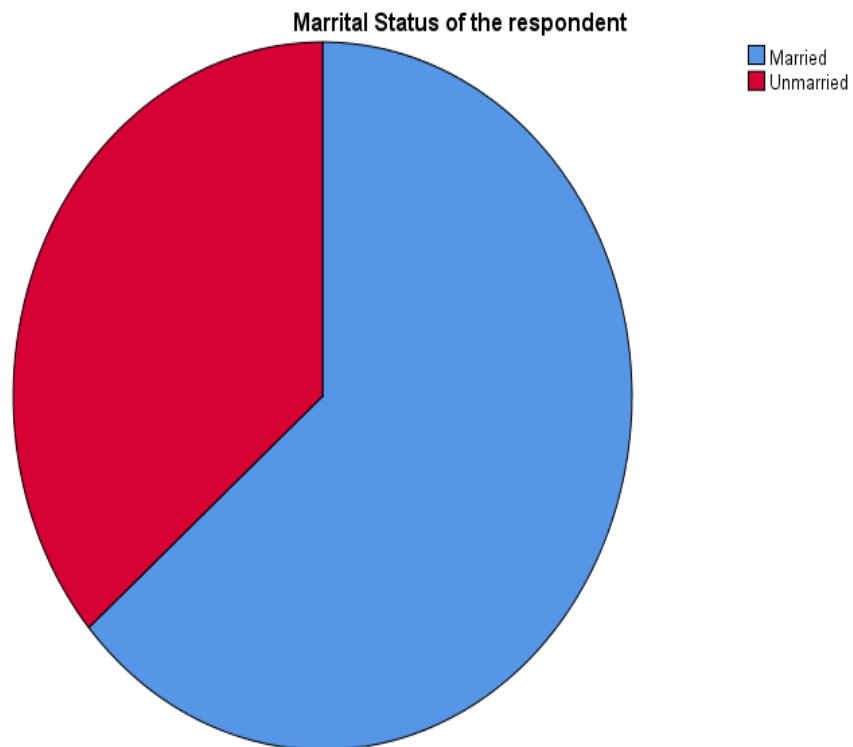
Table: 04 Experience of the respondents



5. This question was directly concerned with the marital status of the respondents. The results show that the high percent of the respondents were married and that is about 61.9 percent and about 35.4 percent of respondent were unmarried. It shows that married people were more in quantity.

Table: 05 Marital Status of the Respondents

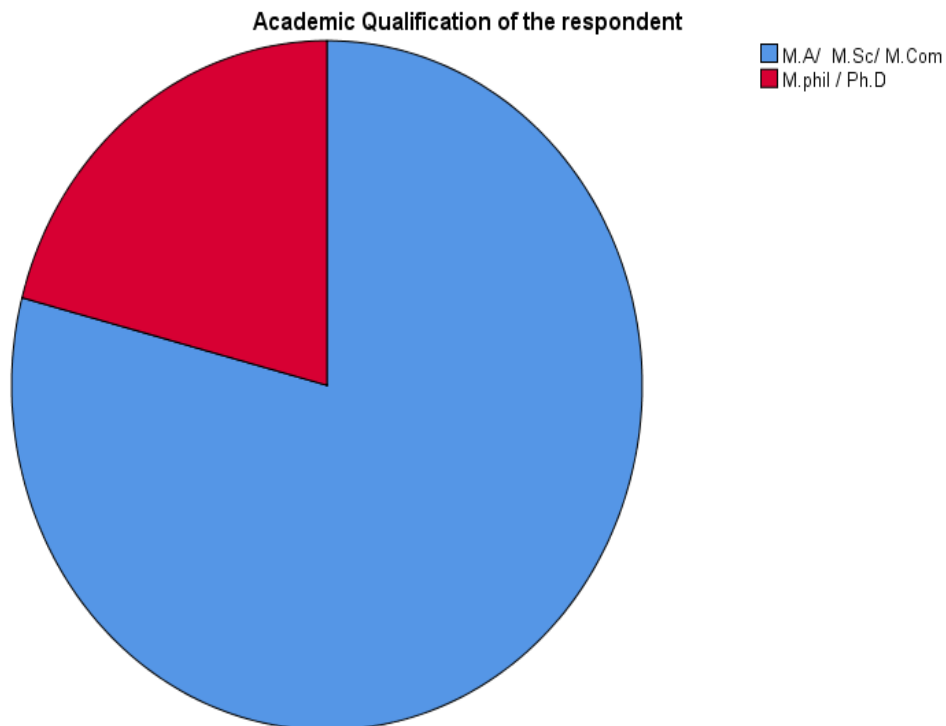
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Married	70	61.9	63.6	63.6
	Unmarried	40	35.4	36.4	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		



6. The question was asked to know about the academic qualification of the respondents. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had M.A/ M.Sc/M.Com and that is about 77.0 percent and lowest percent of respondent were M.Phil /PhD that is about 20.4 percent.

Table: 06 Academic Qualification of the Respondents

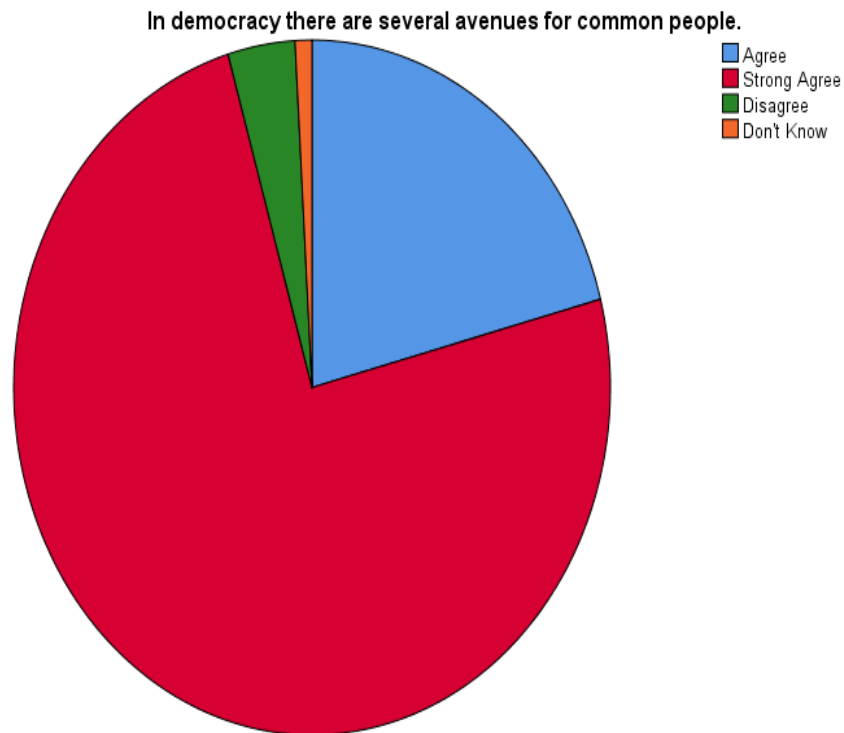
			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	M.A/ M.Sc/ M.Com		87	77.0	79.1	79.1
	M.phil / Ph.D		23	20.4	20.9	100.0
	Total		110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System		3	2.7		
Total			113	100.0		



7. The question was directly concerned about democracy that in the democracy there are several avenues for common people. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected strongly agree and that is about 72.6 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 1.00 percent.

Table: 07 In Democracy there are Several Avenues for Common People

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	23	20.4	20.9	20.9
	Strong Agree	82	72.6	74.5	95.5
	Disagree	4	3.5	3.6	99.1
	Don't Know	1	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		



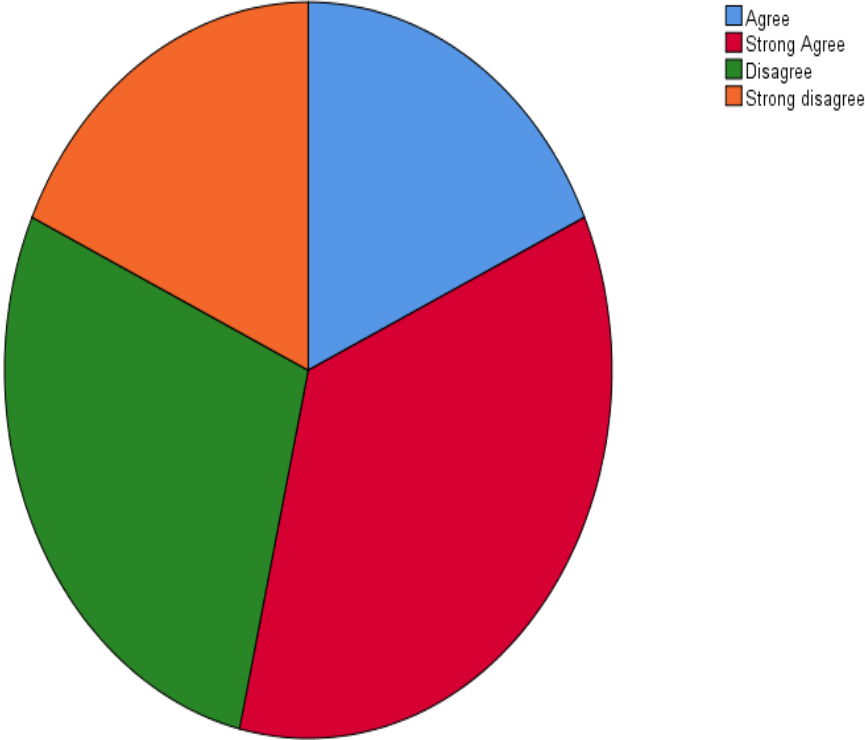
8. The question was directly concerned about Democracy is suitable for countries like Pakistan. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge

Table: 08 Democracy is Suitable for Countries like Pakistan

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	20	17.7	18.2	18.2
	Strong Agree	39	34.5	35.5	53.6
	Disagree	31	27.4	28.2	81.8
	Strong disagree	20	17.7	18.2	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

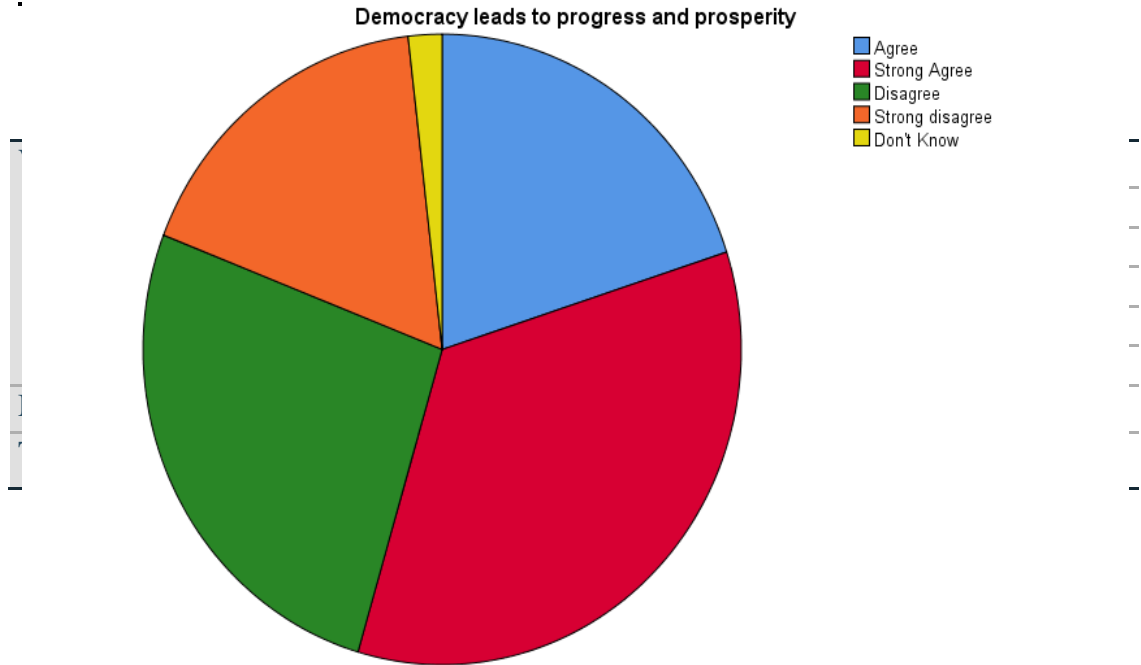
opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agrees and that is about 34.5 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected Agree that is about 17.0 percent.

Democracy is suitable for countries like Pakistan

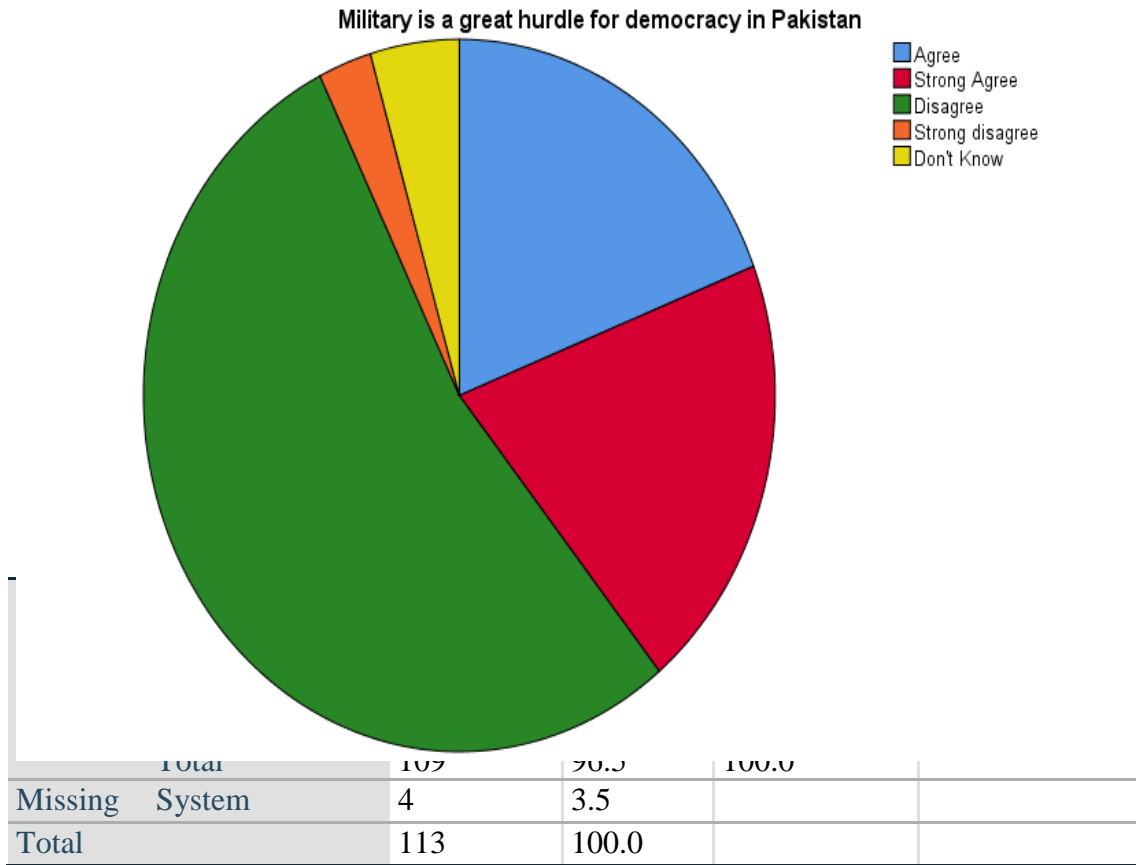


9. The question was directly concerned about Democracy leads to progress and prosperity. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agrees and that is about 33.6 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected Don't Know that is about 1.8 percent.

Table 09. Democracy Leads to Progress and Prosperity

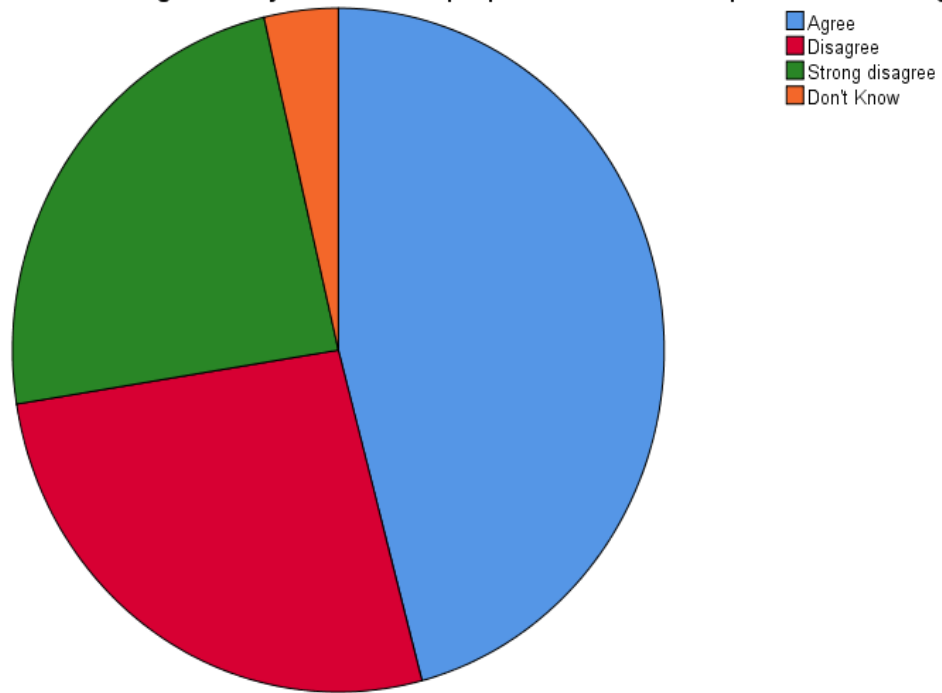


10. The question was directly concerned about Military is a great hurdle for democracy in Pakistan. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Disagree and that is about 52.2 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 4.4 percent.



11. The question was directly concerned about Military government has given many facilities to the people of Pakistan as compare to democratic government. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Agree and that is about 44.2 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 3.5 percent.

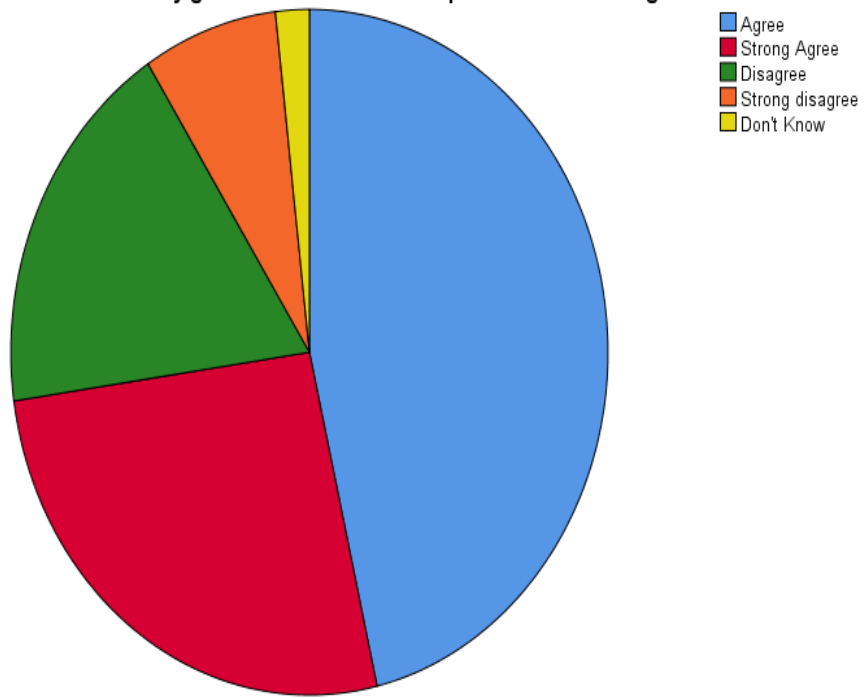
Military government has given many facilities to the people of Pakistan as compare to democratic government.



	Don't Know	2	1.8	1.8	100.0
Total	110	97.3	100.0		
Missing System	3	2.7			
Total	113	100.0			

12. The question was directly concerned about Military government is better than political/ democratic government. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Agree and that is about 45.1 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 2.0 percent.

Military government is better than political/democratic government.

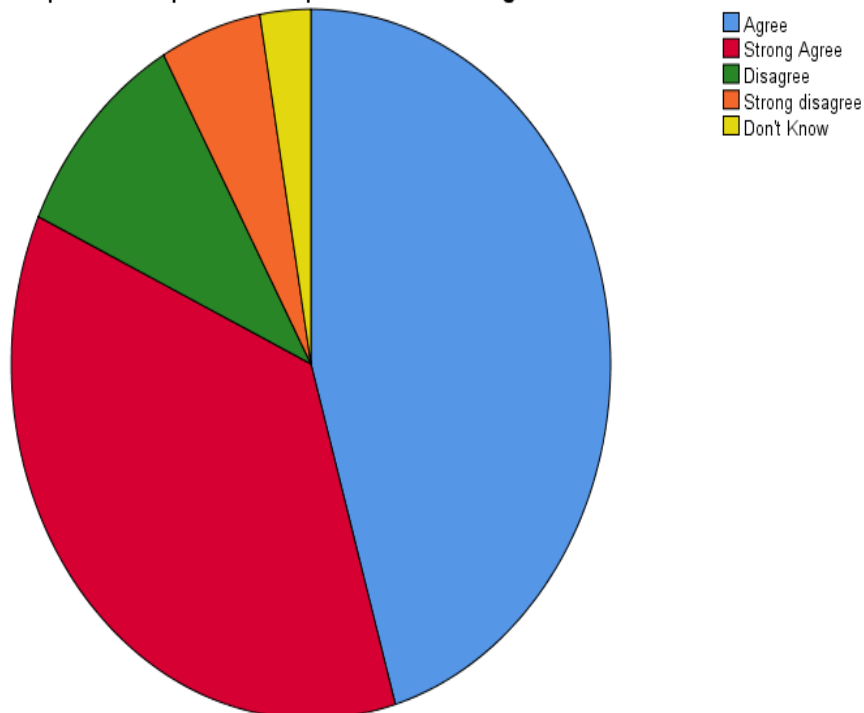


13. The question was directly concerned about Corruption and nepotism of the political leaders are great hurdles in the wake of democracy. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Agree and that is about 44.2 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 2.7 percent.

Table: 13 Corruption and Nepotism of the Political Leaders are Great Hurdles in the Wake of Democracy.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	50	44.2	45.5	45.5
	Strong Agree	40	35.4	36.4	81.8
	Disagree	11	9.7	10.0	91.8
	Strong disagree	6	5.3	5.5	97.3
	Don't Know	3	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

Corruption and nepotism of the political leaders are great hurdles in the wake of democracy.

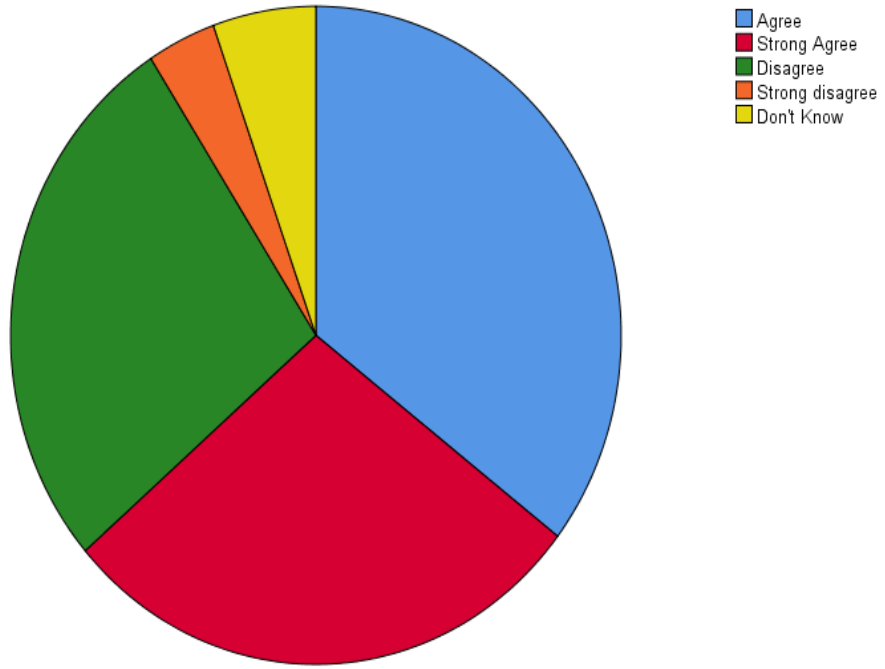


14. The question was directly concerned about Military government has given many facilities to the people of Pakistan as compare to democratic government. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Agree and that is about 34.5 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected disagree that is about 3.5 percent.

Table: 14 All the Elections Held in Pakistan were the Free and Fair.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	39	34.5	35.5	35.5
	Strong Agree	31	27.4	28.2	63.6
	Disagree	30	26.5	27.3	90.9
	Strong disagree	4	3.5	3.6	94.5
	Don't Know	6	5.3	5.5	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

All the Elections held in Pakistan were the free and fair.

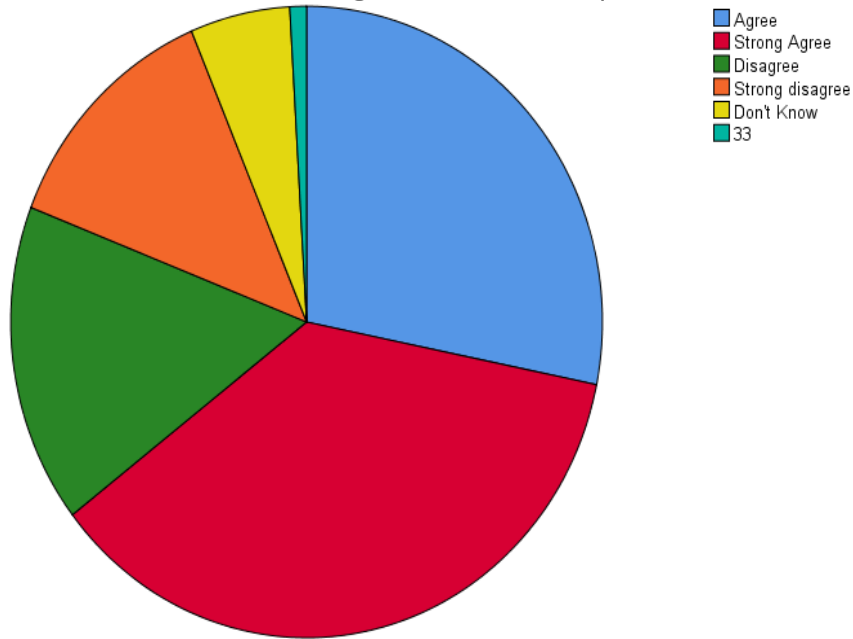


15. The question was directly concerned about Pakistan is heading towards democratic dispensation. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Strong Agree and that is about 35.4 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 5.3 percent.

Table: 15 Pakistan is Heading Towards Democratic Dispensation.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	31	27.4	28.2	28.2
	Strong Agree	40	35.4	36.4	64.5
	Disagree	18	15.9	16.4	80.9
	Strong disagree	14	12.4	12.7	93.6
	Don't Know	6	5.3	5.5	99.1
	33	1	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

Pakistan is heading towards democratic dispensation.

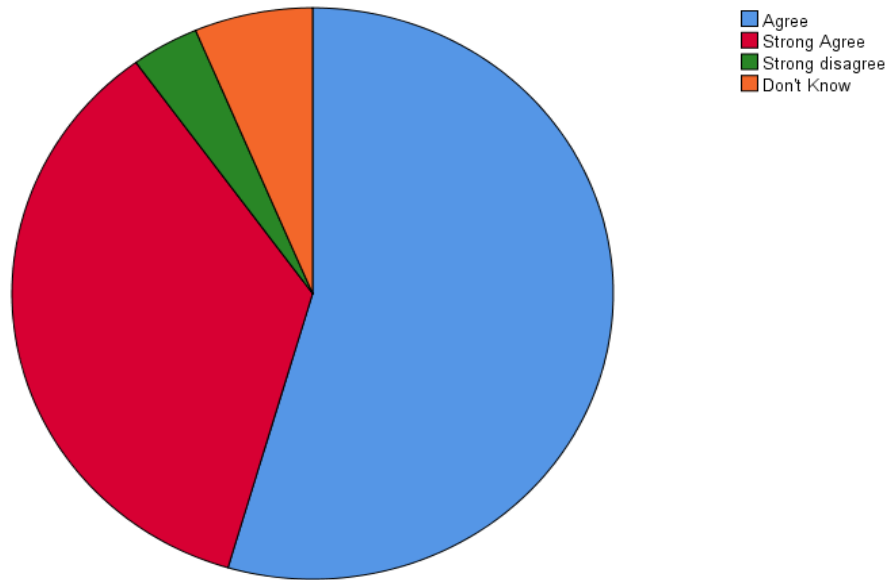


ip

	Strong Agree	39	34.5	35.5	90.0
	Strong disagree	4	3.5	3.6	93.6
	Don't Know	7	6.2	6.4	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

16. The question was directly concerned about Feudalism, illiteracy; Military interventions and corrupt leadership is hurdle in the wake of healthy democratic environment. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Agree and that is about 53.1 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 6.2 percent.

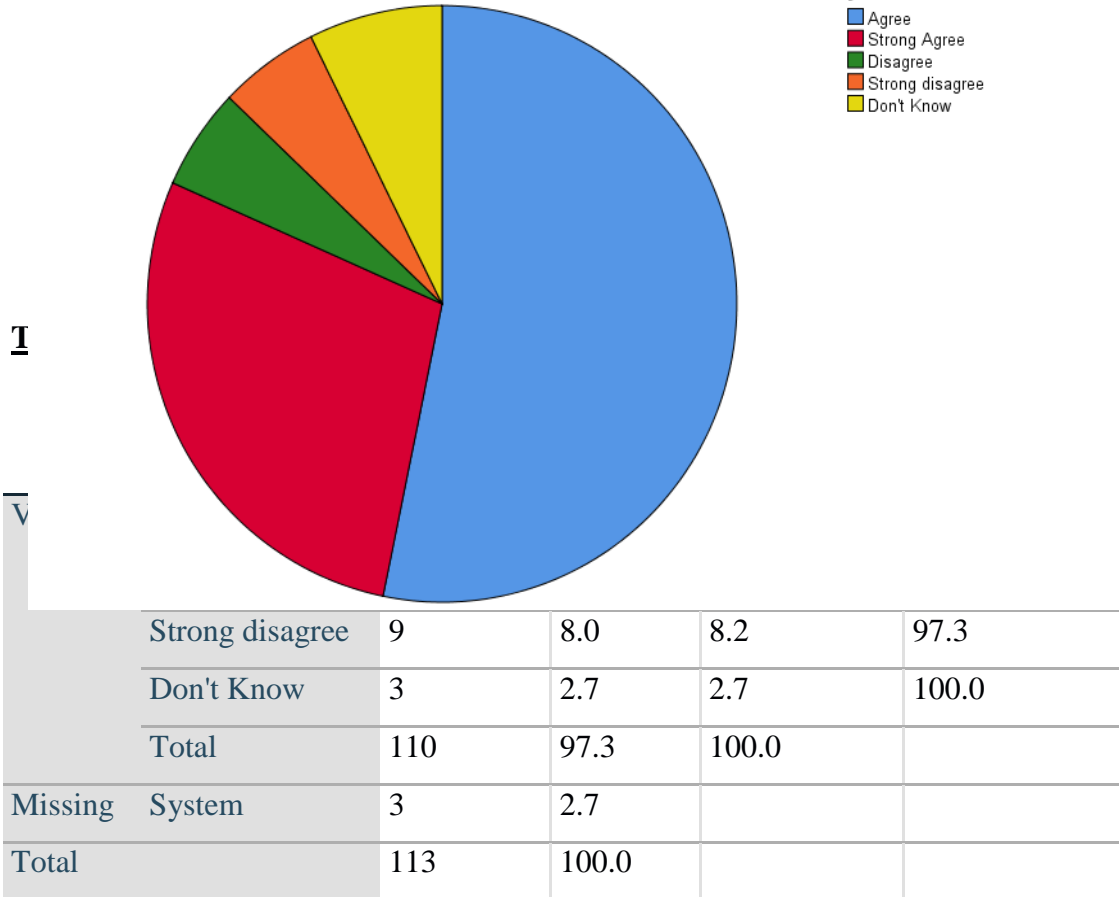
Feudalism, illiteracy, Military interventions and corrupt leadership are hurdle in the wake of healthy democratic environment.



	Disagree	6	5.3	5.5	87.2
	Strong disagree	6	5.3	5.5	92.7
	Don't Know	8	7.1	7.3	100.0
	Total	109	96.5	100.0	
Missing	System	4	3.5		
Total		113	100.0		

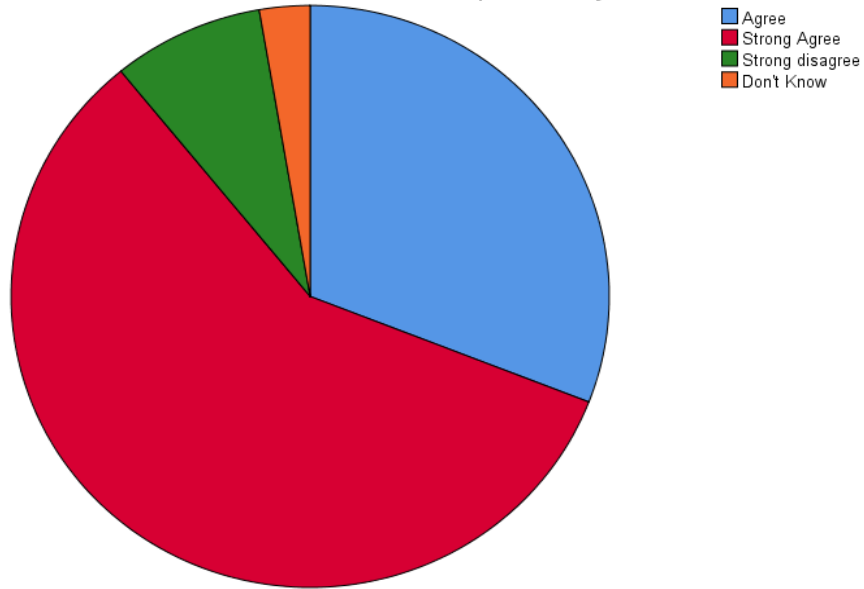
17. The question was directly concerned about Unfair elections have also undermined future of democracy. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Agree and that is about 51.3 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected Disagree that is about 5.3 percent.

Unfair elections have also undermined future of democracy.



18. The question was directly concerned about International assistance best help democracy in Pakistan. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Agree and that is about 30.1 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 3 percent.

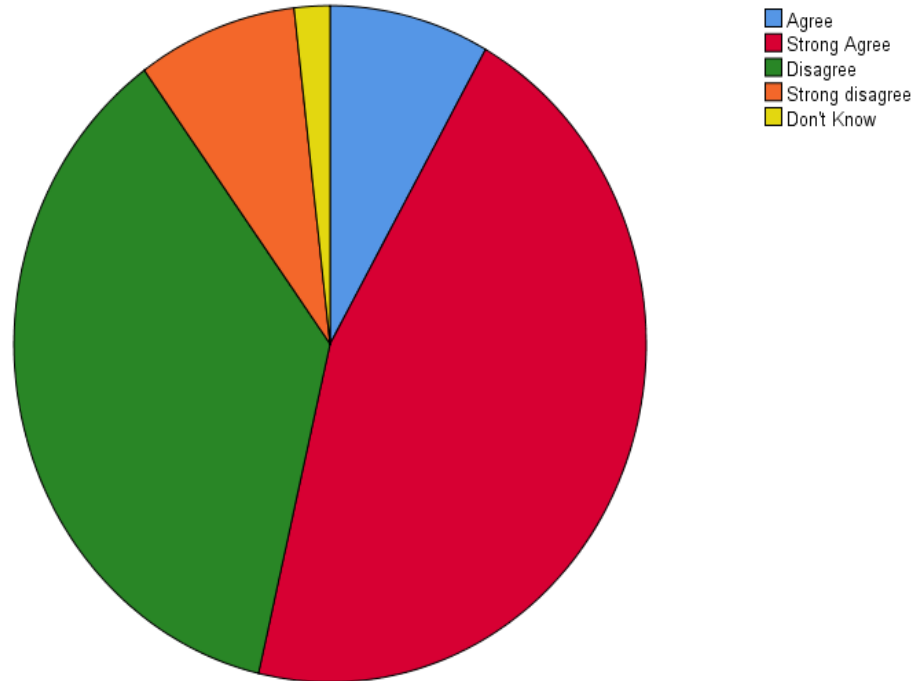
International assistance best help democracy in Pakistan.



	Disagree	40	35.4	36.4	90.0
	Strong disagree	9	8.0	8.2	98.2
	Don't Know	2	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

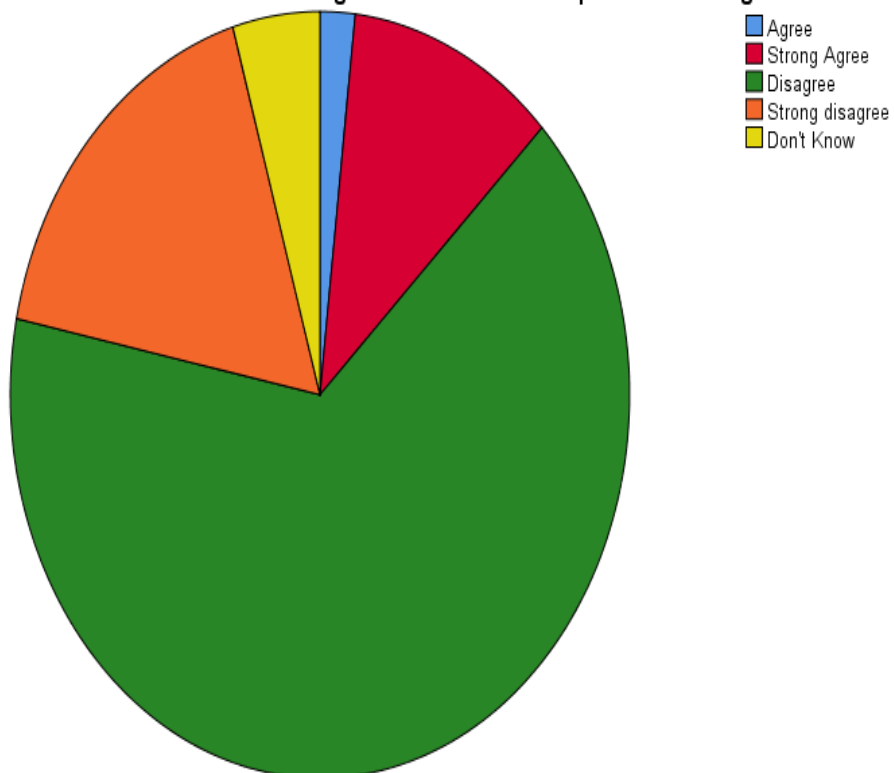
19. The question was directly concerned about the transition from military to civilian rule not established stable democratic set up in Pakistan in present era. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected Strong Agree and that is about 44.2 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 2 percent.

The transition from military to civilian rule not established stable democratic set up in Pakistan in present era.



20. The question was directly concerned about the Democracies are unable to organize the international policies of their governments. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the

Democracies are unable to organize the international policies of their governments.



respondents had selected disagrees and that is about 63.7 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don't know that is about 4.4 percent.

21. The question was directly concerned about the Political parties, despite making struggle for the restoration of democracy failed to construct a pro-democracy environment. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to

Table:20 Democracies are Unable to Organize the International Policies of their Governments

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	2	1.8	1.8	1.8
	Strong Agree	12	10.6	10.9	12.7
	Disagree	72	63.7	65.5	78.2
	Strong disagree	19	16.8	17.3	95.5
	Don't Know	5	4.4	4.5	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results show that the high percent of the respondents had selected disagrees and that is about 58.4 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected strong disagree that is about 1.8 percent.

Table: 21 Political Parties, Despite Making Struggle for the Restoration of Democracy Failed to Construct a Pro-democracy Environment.

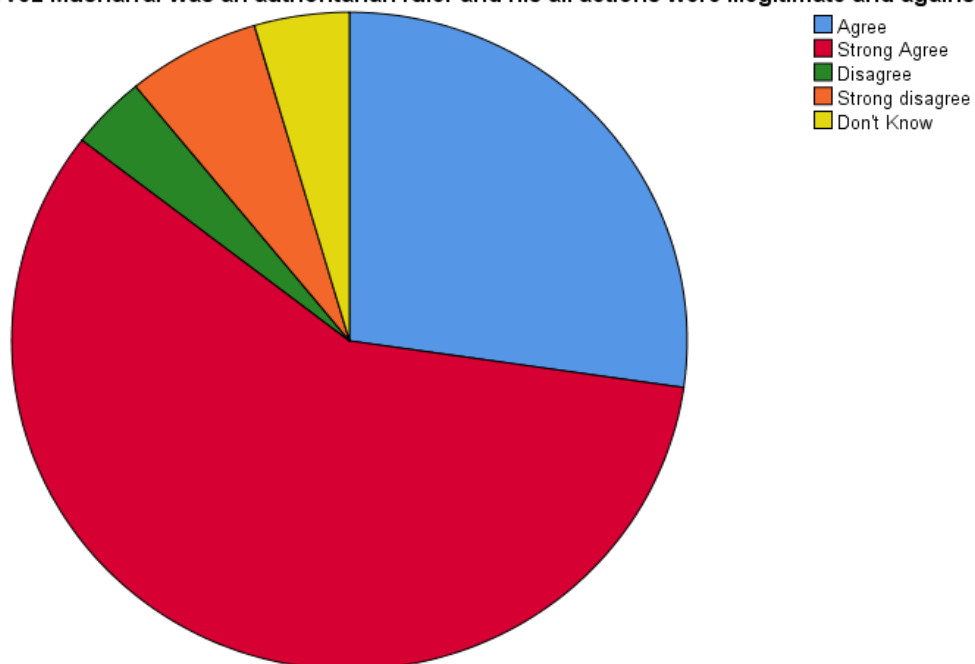
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	19	16.8	17.3	17.3
	Strong Agree	13	11.5	11.8	29.1
<p>Political parties, despite making struggle for the restoration of democracy failed to construct a pro-democracy environment.</p>					
Mis					
Tot					

22. The question was directly concerned about the Pervez Musharraf was an authoritarian ruler and his all actions were illegitimate and against law. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results shows that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agree and that is about 56.6 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected disagree that is about 3.5 percent.

Table:22 Pervez Musharraf was an Authoritarian Ruler and his all Actions were illegitimate and Against Law

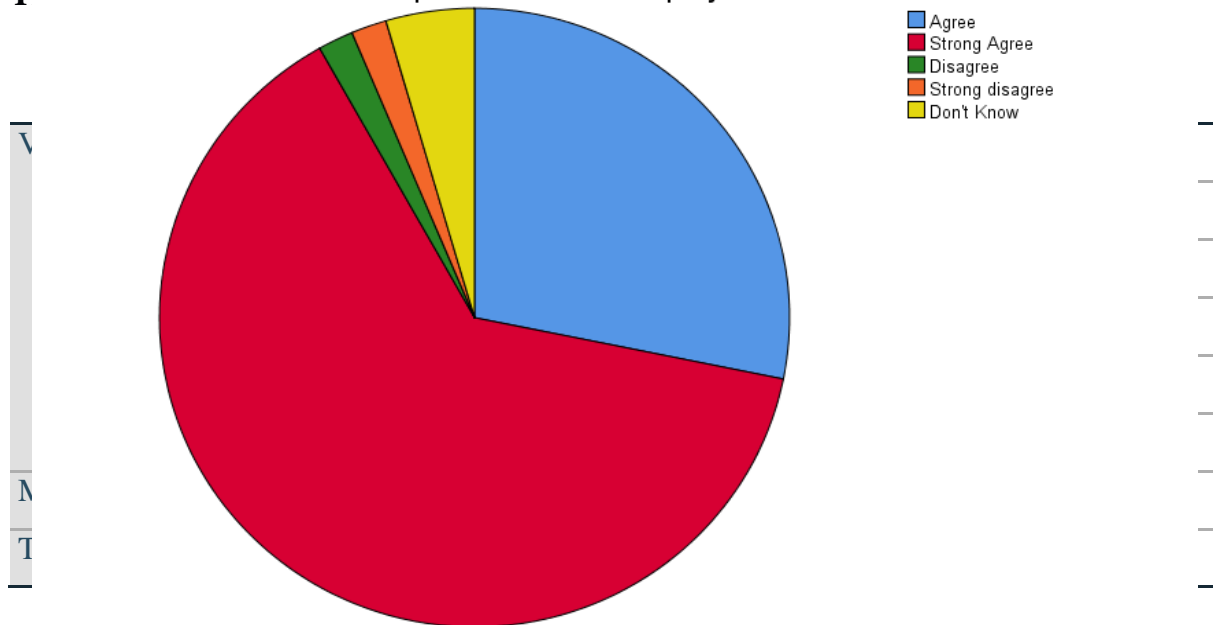
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	30	26.5	27.3	27.3
	Strong Agree	64	56.6	58.2	85.5
	Disagree	4	3.5	3.6	89.1
	Strong disagree	7	6.2	6.4	95.5
	Don't Know	5	4.4	4.5	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

Pervez Musharraf was an authoritarian ruler and his all actions were illegitimate and against law.



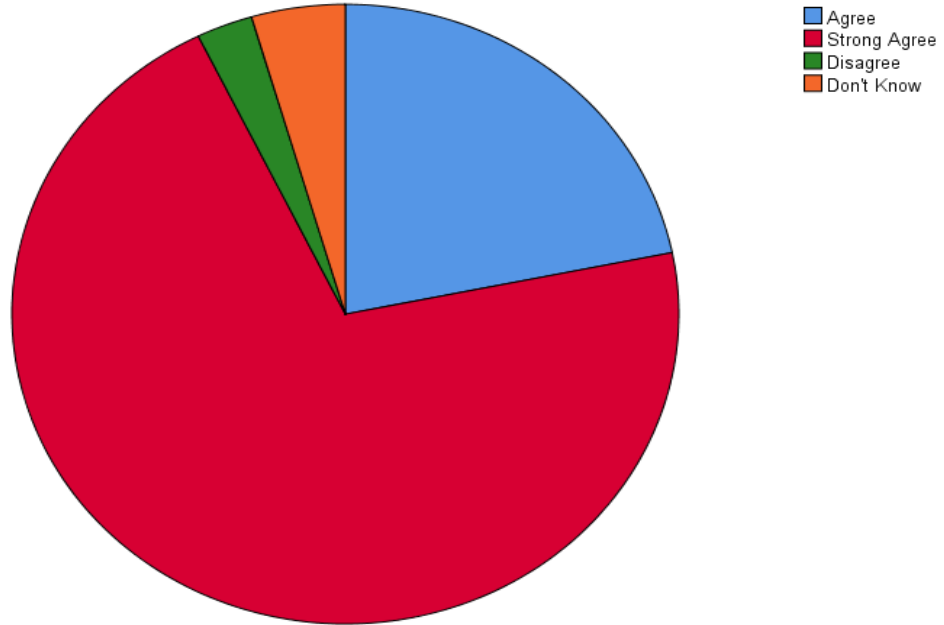
23. The question was directly concerned about the Pervez Musharraf transferred powers to his self-made party that is not a true democratic transition. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results shows that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agree and that is about 61.9 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected disagree that is about 1.8 percent.

Table 23 Pervez Mucharraff Transferred Powers to his Self- made Party that is not a true democratic transition.



24. The question was directly concerned about the Musharraf wanted to hold full power under his control in order run his rule. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results shows that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agree and that is about 69.0 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected disagree that is about 2.7 percent.

Musharraf wanted to hold full power under his control in order run his rule.



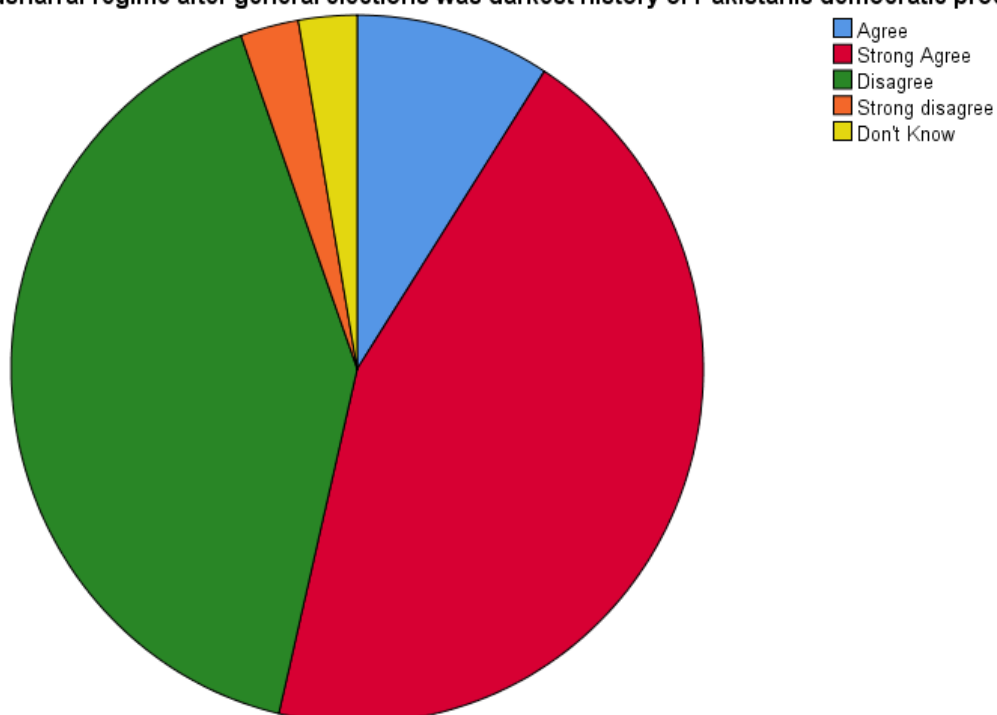
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

25. The question was directly concerned about the Musharraf regime after general elections was darkest history of Pakistanis democratic process. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results shows that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agree and that is about 43.4 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected disagree that is about 2.7 percent.

Table:25 Musharraf Regime after General Elections was Darkest History of Pakistanis Democratic Process

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	8.8	9.1	9.1
	Strong Agree	49	43.4	44.5	53.6
	Disagree	45	39.8	40.9	94.5
	Strong disagree	3	2.7	2.7	97.3
	Don't Know	3	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

Musharraf regime after general elections was darkest history of Pakistanis democratic process.

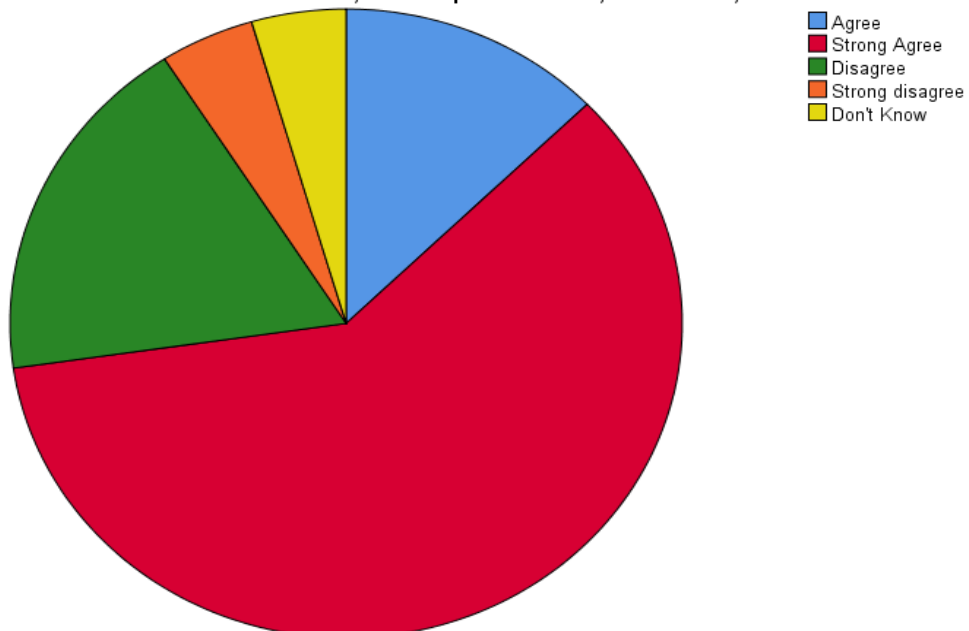


26. The question was directly concerned about the Musharraf was valuable to the West, and his policies were, on balance, been best for the country. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results shows that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agree and that is about 58.4 percent and lowest percent of respondent selected disagree that is about 4.4 percent.

Table:26 Musharraf was Valuable to the West, and his Policies were, on Balance, been Best for the Country.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	14	12.4	12.7	12.7
	Strong Agree	66	58.4	60.0	72.7
	Disagree	20	17.7	18.2	90.9
	Strong disagree	5	4.4	4.5	95.5
	Don't Know	5	4.4	4.5	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

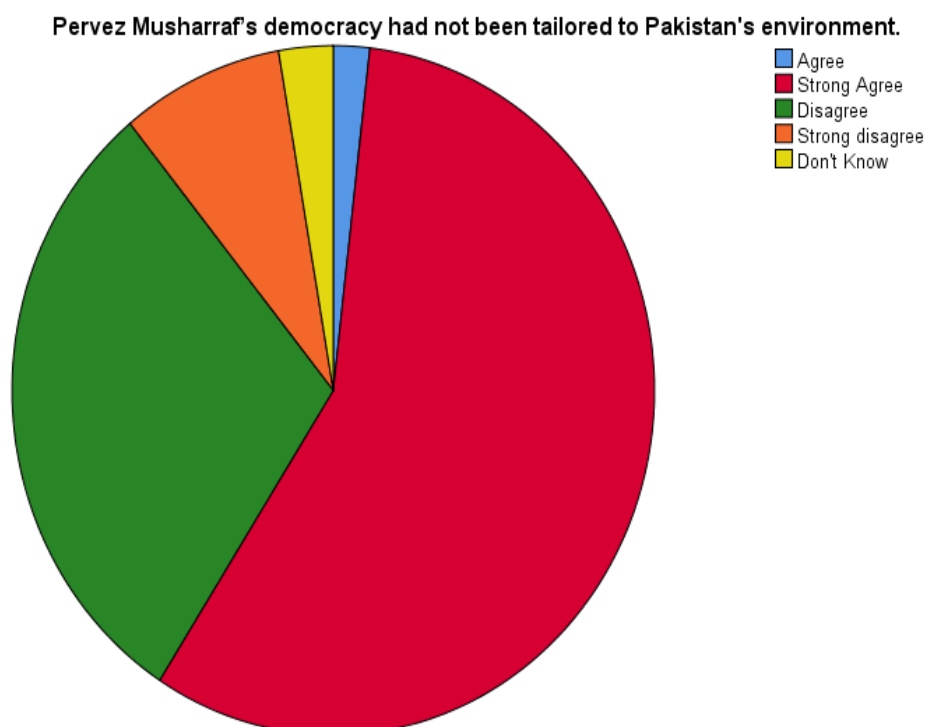
Musharraf was valuable to the West, and his policies were, on balance, been best for the country.



27. The question was directly concerned about the Pervez Musharraf’s democracy had not been tailored to Pakistan's environment. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results shows that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agree and that is about 55.8. Percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don’t know that is about 2.7 percent.

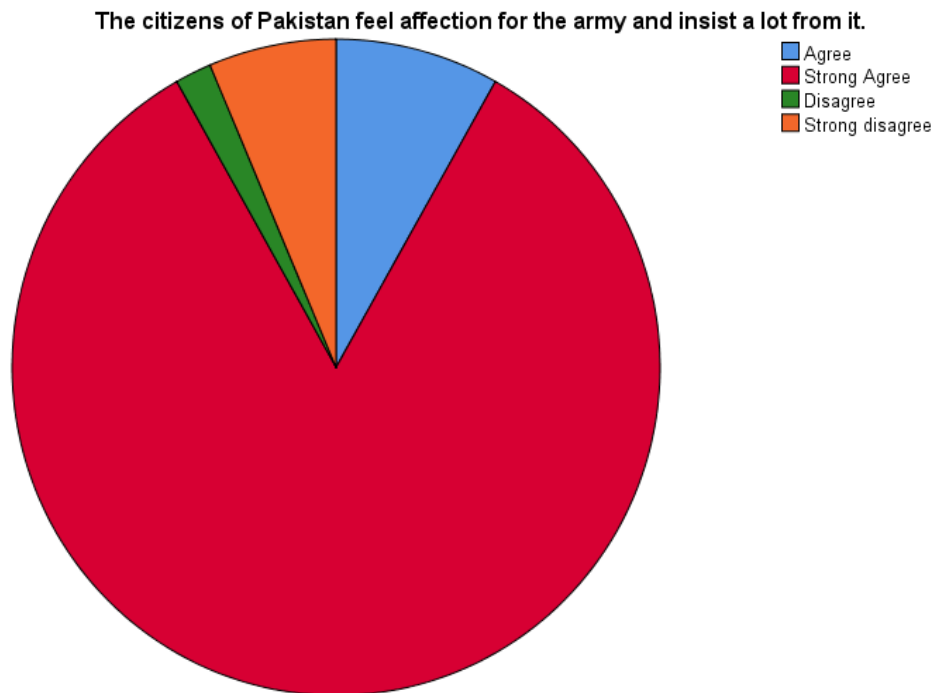
Table:27 Pervez Musharraf’s Democracy had not been Tailored to Pakistan's Environment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	2	1.8	1.8	1.8
	Strong Agree	63	55.8	57.3	59.1
	Disagree	33	29.2	30.0	89.1
	Strong disagree	9	8.0	8.2	97.3
	Don't Know	3	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		



28. The question was directly concerned about the Citizens of Pakistan Feel Affection for the Army and insist a lot from it. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results shows that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agree and that is about 81.4 Percent and lowest percent of respondent selected disagree that is about 1.8 percent.

Table:28 The Citizens of Pakistan Feel Affection for the Army and insist a lot from it.

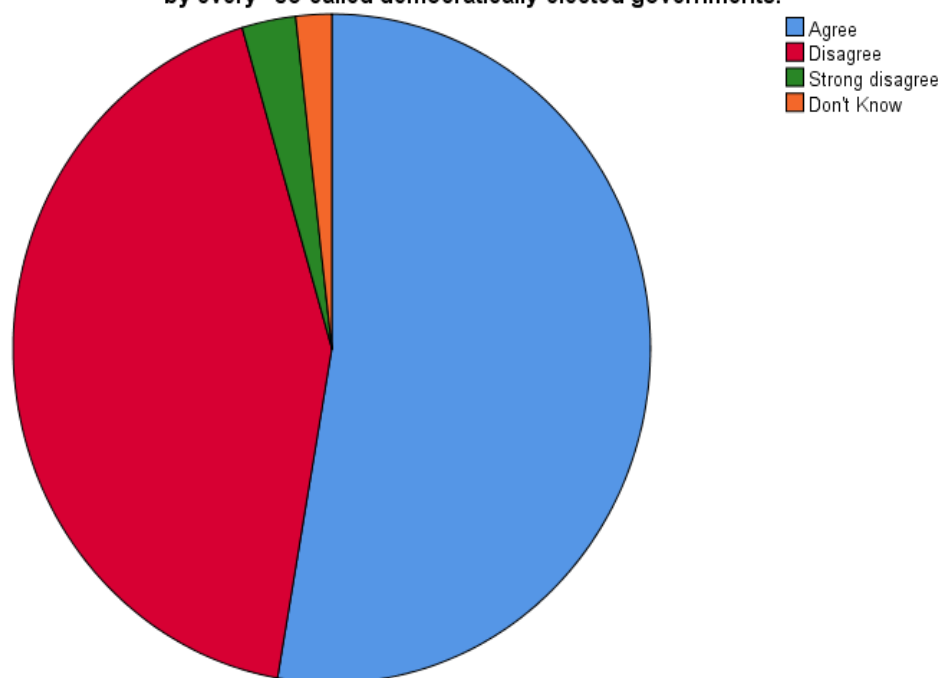


29. The question was directly concerned about the Musharraf played an extremely outstanding role in the governance of Pakistan, mostly due to mis-governance by every “so-called democratically-elected governments. To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results shows that the high percent of the respondents had selected agree and that is about 51.3 Percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don’t know that is about 1.8 percent.

Table:29 Musharraf Played an Extremely outstanding Role in the Governance of Pakistan, mostly due to Mis-governance by every “So-called Democratically-elected Governments.”

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	58	51.3	52.7	52.7
	Disagree	47	41.6	42.7	95.5
	Strong disagree	3	2.7	2.7	98.2
	Don't Know	2	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

Musharraf played an extremely outstanding role in the governance of Pakistan, mostly due to mis-governance by every “so-called democratically-elected governments.”

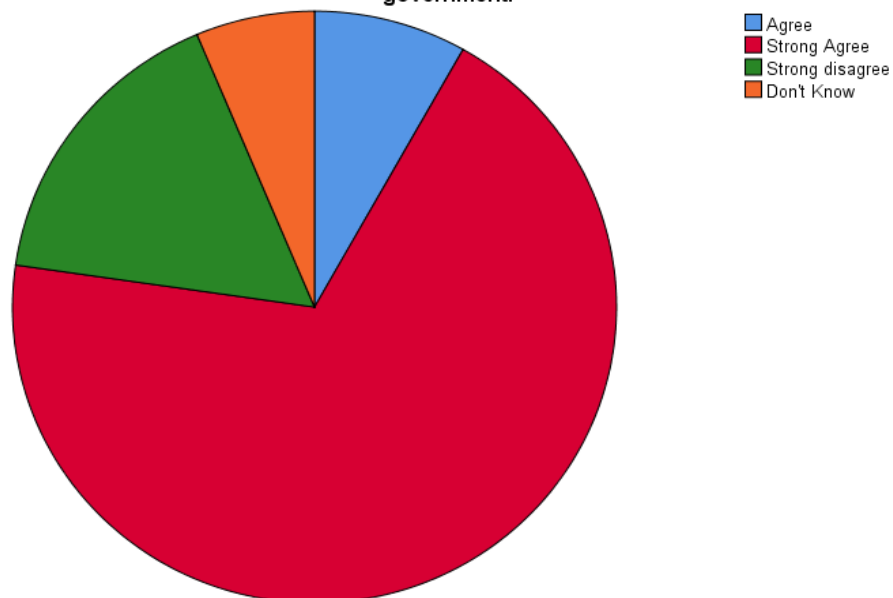


30. The question was directly concerned about the “People of Pakistan need fundamental necessities no matter it come from a dictator or a democratic government.” To find out the results of this question there were five parameters to judge opinion of the students, academicians, public and political leaders. The results shows that the high percent of the respondents had selected strong agree and that is about 67.3 Percent and lowest percent of respondent selected don’t know that is about 6.2 percent.

Table:30 People of Pakistan need Fundamental Necessities no Matter it come from a Dictator or a Democratic Government

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	9	8.0	8.2	8.2
	Strong Agree	76	67.3	69.1	77.3
	Strong disagree	18	15.9	16.4	93.6
	Don't Know	7	6.2	6.4	100.0
	Total	110	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		113	100.0		

“People of Pakistan need fundamental necessities no matter it come from a dictator or a democratic government.”



Chapter –Five

Conclusion

Pakistan is a country that came into being after a long struggle. Since its inception it has been facing dearth of political leadership. Jinnah could not survive much after independence of Pakistan. Therefore, various other un-trained politicians came to hold Pakistan in their lust of their power. Corrupt politicians left no stone unturned to destroy social, political, economic and religious fabric of Pakistan. On the other hand, some countable people came to ruin democratic norms of Pakistan which Jinnah developed himself.

The democratic transition in Pakistan in Pervez Musharraf era was completely failed because he put ban on all political parties and their heads. Nawaz Sharif was exile and Bhutto became absconder. His self-made political party namely Muslim League (Quaid-i-Azam) was not any senior party that may be enshrined such a huge authority to rule the Pakistan. From the interviews conducted from the political heads public educated people and youth it came to observation that Pervez Musharraf is an unacceptable character in the entire story that was written by him. On the basis of questionnaire 110 participants partially disqualified democratic transition of Pervez Musharraf. His unfair general election, referendum for President ship , suspension of Constitution 1973, appointment of PCO judges and most important un-timely coup d'état were absolutely un-constitution action.

Despite of all these, there are few works of appreciation that designate Pervez Musharraf a sincere person were, he succeeded curtail extremism and fought against Terrorism in the reign, saved prestige and integrity of the country in Kargil. Pervez Musharraf compelled US to assist Pakistan for more than five years. Such very bold actions of the Pervez Musharraf earned name and fame not only for Pakistan military but for himself.

In the aforesaid discussion, it has been found that authoritarian regime adopted the different strategies to maintain its level best through support of political opposition. No doubt the military government reform helped to consolidate the economy. At that time, Pakistan was in position to enter into a peaceful dialogue with international forum for economy consolidation of the Pakistan and to control the inflation in the country as

well as to improve the living standard of the poor people. Pervez Musharraf did not have any strategy to come in power in the democratic affairs of Pakistan but critical day of 1999 came him in that position. At that time, Pervez Musharraf position was strengthened and was in position to do something for the national. He wishes in restructuring the political system of Pakistan and introduced the basic democracy in Pakistan. But, the political parties like Pakistan People Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (N) rejected Pervez Musharraf policies and criticized on him in the intervention of political system of Pakistan. Musharraf fully enjoyed his power as authoritarian ruler and controlled the democracy.

The people of Pakistan since the creation of Pakistan have been struggling for a democratic setup and selected as best one. It should be sustained for the development and progress of the state. In democracy there are several avenues for common people. Therefore, public, youth, educated class and political party heads supported that it should be maintained for sake of country.

Unluckily, every military dictator in Pakistan never surrendered his power voluntarily and tries to transfer the power to another military General. But when some authoritarian rulers come and violate democratic norms it is unacceptable to the people of Pakistan.

Pervez Musharraf was an authoritarian ruler and his all actions were illegitimate and against law. Hence, it proves that every person in power in Pakistan has tried its level best to maintain his position.

Pervez Musharraf transferred powers to his self-made party that is not a true democratic transition. Pervez Musharraf wanted to hold full power under his control in order run his rule. Such kind of action may be restricted for the better future of the Pakistan. Pervez Musharraf did not play any impressive role in the governance of Pakistan. That is indeed irreparable loss. Therefore such authoritarian rules should not be sustained.

Unfair elections have also undermined future of democracy. Therefore, strong check and balance may be maintained to sustain democratic order in the state.

Indeed, to consolidate democracy and to make stronger civil-military relation as well to prevent the military intervention in the democratic system of Pakistan in future.

Pakistan saw three military governments since inception. Military ruler like political leaders lift no stone unturned to violate rule of law and constitution. Due to this corruption became contiguous disease for a nation state.⁷⁶ Ethnic stratification and regionalism have remained orders of the day.⁷⁷ Energy crises, child labor, poverty, joblessness, poor health, increasing crime and bad governance or the result of such fast changing governments like music chairs in the eyes of military man, civil government are corrupt, nepotistic and unskillful to the state affairs. On the other hand civil government and people are large have disregards when they come into the power are destabilize any democratic norms.

Pervez Musharraf like his predecessors Ayub and Zia proved guilty to various politician and head of the political parties. Zia brought Bhutto into direct trial and left him to the death. Likewise Musharraf dethroned Sharif regime and exile him to Saudi Arabia along with 20-members of his family including Mian Shahbaz Sharif. Musharraf empowered him after violating several norms of conditional society. From a Journey of Chief Executive to the President ship he brought various amendments in the constitutional 1973. Not only this, but he also suspended the constitutional and brought into practice have self-made Legal Frame Work Ordinance (LFO). Though, Pervez Musharraf encountered terrorism and increasing high handedness of the Indian Army at Line of Control (LOC)

Pervez Musharraf government played pivotal role to curb Islamic extremist organization operating in the premises of Pakistan and the World. For this action, USA supported Pakistan and received more than sufficient services. Washington pressurized to restore the democracy in Pakistan. The democratic transition seemed less important than War on Terror for Pervez Musharraf.

Pervez Musharraf's all of sudden changes in the constitution invited Bush to comment as: "my opinion about the Pervez Musharraf, he still is with us on the War

⁷⁶"In its 2002 report", "Transparency International gives Pakistan a score of 2.6 on a scale of 10 (highly clean) and 0 (highly corrupt)". "Transparency International Corruption's Perceptions Index 2002 (Berlin, 28 August 2002)". "Pakistan has moved up a notch in the chart on categories of states. But, as a Transparency International Vice President states, it remains very near the bottom of the ladder in terms of the actual score on corruption. ICG interview, September 2002. See findings of the report at http://www.transparency.org/press_releases_archives/2002/2002.08.28.cpi.en.html."

⁷⁷"The government's decision, for instance, to disqualify Bhutto from the electoral contest led to demonstrations in her home province", "Sindh, in September 2002 amid renewed Sindhi pledges to confront the Punjabi-dominated military government."

against Terror”, as well as what I appreciate.... “He understands that we got to keep Al-Qaeda on the run.... Obviously to the extent over friends promote democracy, it is important.”⁷⁸ Bush government time and again stopped the fund to Pakistan for not restoration of democracy. When Pervez Musharraf transferred power in the clause of democratic transition again it became point of grievance for US policy maker. Washington raised reservation that Pervez Musharraf had handed over power to weak, untrue, civil government that may create alliances with Islamic extremist and create trouble for War against Terror. ⁷⁹

As per International orders, Pervez Musharraf stalled democratic transition and sought exit gate. Now, it was turn of political parties to change behavior revolving around the personal interest. Even in 1990s democratic transition failed because of the ill organized political set in Pakistan. The flawed “democratic transition” never lies in military intervention rather poor political setup. Had there been no flaws in political parties, there would have been no poor democratic transition in Pakistan.

Towards the end, it has found through qualitative thematic analysis and the result accumulated from the data analysis through conducting survey to discover public perception and assimilating the results it has submitted the recommendations to consolidate the democratic setup, to stabilize the State, to unite the civil-military relationship and to prevent the military intervention in democratic affairs of Pakistan in future.

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⁷⁸ “Democracy as an Afterthought”, “The Washington Post, 25 August 2002”

⁷⁹“ICG interviews with U.S. and European officials, April– August 2002”

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Annexure

Appendix- A

Particular of the Respondent

Questionnaire (to be filled by public, students, leaders, academicians)

Place check (√) against the appropriate Column:

1. Location: _____ Urban, _____ Rural
2. Age: _____ less than 20 years , _____ 30 to 34 years,
_____ 35 to 39 years _____ 40 to 44 years,
_____ 45 to 49 years, _____ 50 years and above.
3. Sex: _____ Male, _____ Female.
4. Experience: _____ less than 5 years, _____ 5 to 9 years,
_____ 10 to 14 years, _____ 15 to 19 years,
_____ 20 to 24 years, _____ 25 years and above.
5. Marital status: _____ Married, _____ un married.
6. Academic Qualification: _____ M.A/ M.Sc/ M.Com, _____ M.phil /
Ph.D.

Questions	Agree	Strong Agree	Disagree	Strong disagree	Don't know
7. Democracy is best form of government.					
8. In democracy there are several avenues for common people.					
9. Democracy is suitable for countries like Pakistan.					
10. Democracy leads to progress and prosperity.					
11. Military is a great hurdle for democracy in Pakistan.					
12. Military government has given many facilities to the people of Pakistan as compare to democratic government.					

13. Military government is better than political/democratic government.					
14. Corruption and nepotism of the political leaders are great hurdles in the wake of democracy.					
15. All the Elections held in Pakistan were the free and fair.					
16. Pakistan is heading towards democratic dispensation.					
17. Feudalism, illiteracy, Military interventions and corrupt leadership are hurdle in the wake of healthy democratic environment.					
18. Unfair elections have also undermined future of democracy.					
19. International assistance best help democracy in Pakistan.					
20. The transition from military to civilian rule not established stable democratic set up in Pakistan in present era.					
21. Democracies are unable to organize the international policies of their governments.					
22. Political parties, despite struggle for the restoration of democracy failed to construct a pro-democracy environment.					
23. Pervez Musharraf was an authoritarian ruler and his all actions were illegitimate and against law.					
24. Pervez Musharraf transferred powers to his self made party that is not a true democratic transition.					

25. Musharraf wanted to hold full power under his control in order run his rule.					
26. Musharraf regime after general elections was darkest history of Pakistanis democratic process.					
27. Musharraf was valuable to the West, and his policies were, on balance, been best for the country.					
28. Pervez Musharraf's democracy had not been tailored to Pakistan's environment.					
29. The citizens of Pakistan feel affection for the army and insist a lot from it.					
30. Musharraf played an extremely outstanding role in the governance of Pakistan, mostly due to mis-governance by every "so-called democratically-elected governments."					
31. "People of Pakistan need fundamental necessities no matter it come from a dictator or a democratic government."					
32. Democratic governments suitable and successful in the political culture of Pakistan.					

Thank You for completing this questionnaire

