

## MILITARY INTERVENTION IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF GENERAL PERVEZ MUSHARRAF

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### ABSTRACT

Military intervention in a state can be attributed to various factors, including ineffective political culture, psychological factors, and internal military dynamics. Pakistan, since its inception, has grappled with insurmountable challenges. The absence of strong leadership, an ineffective constitution, and a lack of unity among politicians created a vacuum that weakened Pakistan's political structure and impeded the flourishing of democracy. This vacuum was filled by the army, which emerged as a cohesive and powerful institution at the time. The unstable and fragile political system provided the military with the opportunity to directly or indirectly control the country. This research employs a case study method to highlight and evaluate the steps taken by General Pervez Musharraf to transform Pakistan from a military regime into a civilian regime, with a particular focus on the changes implemented following the military coup of 1999.

**Keywords:** Civil-Military Relations, Military Intervention, Pervez Musharraf, Military Regime, Devolution

### INTRODUCTION

Military rule and its involvement into politics has become one of the striking features in the third world countries especially over the past half century, military rule has become a common practice in many states of Africa, Latin America and Asia. In a state where the civilian governments are failed to satisfy the public, military intervene directly into politics, feeling itself as the only force for stability in the state. The role of military has expanded with the time. It is regarded as Guarantor to protect the state's integrity. Military feels the responsibility to protect the state from internal and external aggression. That is why in many states it is even called by the civilian government in the domestic issues when the situation of law and order get worsen and out of control of national police. Even, in some countries it has played the role of a modernizing agent.

Military is considered one of the powerful and autonomous political actors in Pakistan. It is capable of influencing the nature and direction of the political change in the country. From the British rule, it has predominately held a stronger position among all others institutions but it avoided direct and active

involvement in the politics and recognized the supremacy of the civilian institutions. But after independence, a shift was seen among the top command when they began to expand their role into the political arena, the civil military relations began to change and military began to play an active role in the policy making in shape of bureaucracy or by displacing the civilian regimes. Within a few years of her independence, the military intervention has become a striking feature in Pakistan politics.

Pakistan is among those states where a real democratic system has not been fortified. During the 76 years of Pakistan's existence, military has ruled nearly 33 years. Since the inception of country, military has gained a paramount position. Pakistan is among those states where military ensures and secures its future role while transferring powers to civilian leadership. In Pakistan, the military has converted itself into an autonomous political actor with the aptitude of holding the strings of power politics through different ways. Due to external and internal threats, military gained prominence and became a part in the decision-making process of the

country. Because of this superiority, military began to dominate the Central government directly and made its participation in several institutions indirectly. This main misbalanced in civil-military affairs is due to tradition Pakistan inherited at the time of the independence. This needs evaluation of political history of Pakistan.

In 1958, Pakistan experienced 1st military coup which was launched by field Marshal Ayub Khan against the increasing political instability and volatile elites led by the Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon. The second coup was done in 1969 by General Yahya Khan replacing General Ayub Khan. He remained in power till Dec 1971, when the East Pakistan crisis gave birth to Bangladesh. He transferred the power to the civilian martial law administrator Z.A Bhutto who started a new era of democracy in the country. Bhutto established such a violent dictatorship environment in the country due to his charismatic personality which led to destabilize the already truant country. He tried to undermine all the efforts of nation building, made the economy worst and had intensified the sectarian violence. His liberal and irreligious life style and instability of his regime, gave a third chance to military to intervene. As a result, General Zia-ul-Haq stepped in the politics by the coup of 1977. He followed the footsteps of General Ayub Khan and brought country's economy at peak. He gave a religious outlook to the country which was reflected through his policies. General Zia remained in power till his death in 1985. After him democracy was reintroduced in 1988 when Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister. The decade of 1988-1999 witnessed the power struggle between the two political parties and their leaders; Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. Both twice made their governments and were dismissed from their offices. The year October 1999, ended the infant democracy in Pakistan when General Pervez overthrew the civilian government of Nawaz Sharif and imposed a semi martial law in the country.

Following a 1999 coup, General Pervez Musharraf ruled Pakistan with the support of the military. To legalize his position the Judiciary gave him the constitutional shelter by declaring his step taken under the 'law of necessity'. After coming into power General conducted a presidential referendum and, in the elections of 2002, elected his party. He amended the constitution of 1973 to get more power and to make the position of army strong through the creation of National Security Council. His decision

to participate in the war on terrorism led to the rise of religious extremism in the country. In 2007, President himself re-elected by the outgoing parliament which was challenged in the Supreme Court. On 3rd November, he declared a state of emergency and dismissed the judges of Supreme Court whom he feared would rule against him. Under external pressure, he ended the emergency after he had secured the presidency and resigned from the military. In 2008, opposition parties won the parliamentary elections and formed a coalition government. The government prepared a charge sheet to impeach the President. But before the movement started, Musharraf resigned from his office. With this, there was the end of military rule in Pakistan and democracy began to flourish.

This research highlights the causes of military intervention in Pakistan's politics and the policies adopted by military rulers. The main focus is on the fourth martial law which was done by General Pervez Musharraf and his policies through which he tried to govern Pakistan in his own style. The research will analyze the domestic policies and steps taken by General Pervez Musharraf during his rule like civil military relationship, amendment in the Constitution of 1973, Referendum, Baluchistan Crisis and Siege of Lal Masjid etc.

### **Literature Review**

Existing literature informs about several causes of military intervention in politics. Several scholars have given various reasons which lead to military interventions and the effects of such interventions on civil-military relations.

(Perlmutter, 1969) identifies the reasons and causes, such as lack of professionalism and non-autonomous military and personal interests. He argues that military intervention can be decreased with the rise in military professionalism. A military officer is also socially responsible to perform his role with loyalty and responsibility just like the doctors and engineers do in society. (Finer, 1962) argues that it is a professional military that has its own politically distinct identity that leads to a coup. He states that a professional military is more inclined to do coups because the military draws a distinction between the nation and the government and begins to invent its own notions of national interest. He argues that the "military supports the civilian power when it is drawn from the same social class and overthrows it when it is drawn from different social class." (Rizvi,

2000) has examined the civil military relations in Pakistan. He has explained the dynamics, causes and situation which make military powerful and urges it to coup. He has also examined the methods and techniques adopted by the different military rules to legitimize their rule and also the problems of the civilian regimes.

(Khan, 1999) has discussed all the political and constitutional development which had taken place since independence. He has tried to explain the methods which had been taken by General Musharraf till 2004 and examined the important case and specially the Legal Frame Work Order 2002(LFO) resulting the seventeenth amendment. (Razvi, 2009) has written about the rise and fall of General Musharraf. According to him after Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, General Musharraf remained the most controversial leader in Pakistan. Rizvi called him an 'accidental dictator' who had no plans for the coup prior to 12th Oct 1999. It was the Nawaz Sharif plan of throwing him out, which made him accidental dictator. During the eight years of rule, General Musharraf performed many roles. A soldier was turned into a politician, a self-centered statesman, sophisticated globetrotter, a resolute face for US in war on Terror and a disowned President to the country.

(Cohen, 2004) talked about the Pakistani army officers who take the political power because "they consider themselves more patriotic to the nation than the civilians". The initial coups of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan show that these coups were planned by the professional and patriotic officers who thought to save the country from the internal aggression. (Khan S. R., 2004) has examined the economic reforms done by General Musharraf. He had discussed about the various strategies which the military regime has done and the various problems of Education, planning commission, rural and urban development and structural adjustment problems which the regime has to tackle.

### **Research Questions**

1. How does the military intervention influence the political process in a country?
2. What were the major factors which inclined military to intervene in Pakistan's politics for four times?

3. What strategy was used by the General Musharraf to legitimize his rule?

### **Research Objectives**

1. To analyze the causes of military intervention in the politics of Pakistan and associated conditions that favored military to intervene.
2. To examine the democratic structure established by General Pervez Musharraf.
3. To identify the underlying factors that changed the semi martial law in Pakistan to the modern democratic footing during the General Pervez Musharraf rule.

### **Research Methodology**

This study aims to examine the political situations which were present in Pakistan before 1999 and during the Pervez Musharraf era by using historical, comparative, analytical and hypothetical deductive approaches. Both primary and secondary sources have been used. Public documents like the government publications and constitutions have been consulted. The relevant constitutional provisions, press statements and reports of various departments are extensively consulted. Historical references have been taken from different national and international newspapers and journals to scrutinize the facts and figures.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Many political scientists have tried to give different reasons for the military intervention in a state. (Riaz, 1994) has divided these factors in two major approaches.

- i. Corporatist Approach
- ii. Structuralist Approach.

Corporatist approach deals with the importance of military, political, social and economic causes for the military intervention. Whereas the Structuralist approach emphasize the 'Bureaucratic authoritarian model' to explain the military intervention in politics. The Corporatist approach provides a wide range of factors and causes to explain the military intervention like the low socio-cultural environment in a state or some focuses on the interplay between the social forces external to military itself and military structure. But there are many other reasons like personal ambition, cooperate motives, class

interest, ethnic considerations or the military perception of the national interest.

**Overview of Military interventions in Pakistan**

The eras of direct military rule ; 1958, 1969 and 1977, 1999 established the dominance of army with the partnership of bureaucracy (Jalal, 2017). Military had its presence in almost every institution of government and society in Pakistan. Pakistan has a military hegemonic political system where people showed greater trust and confidence in the military

as compared to Political parties. In this system, the military had a control over strategic policy issues and decision-making institutions in the country. There were four occasions when the military intervened overtly and imposed martial law throughout the country: October 1958, March 1969, July 1977 and October 1999. The military justified its extreme action on the ground of instability in the country. The following table shows the typology of ruling governments in Pakistan including democratic and military governments.

**Table 1.1: Typology of Governments in Pakistan (1947-2013)**

<b>Time Span</b>	<b>Institutional Takeover</b>	<b>Type of authority</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Net result</b>
1947-1958	Political parties	Legitimate	Weak, leading to decay	Crisis and praetorian environment
1958-1962	Military takeover	De-facto	Modernization	Political inactivity
1962-1969	Military bureaucratic oligarchy	De-jure	Development (political and Economic)	Failed to control the effects of the processes of change led to system shocks
1969-1971	Military takeover	De-facto	Accelerated political development	Unbridled forces system collapsed
1971-1976	Civilian government	Legitimacy	Truncated Pakistan with enormous things to be done	System shocks
1977-1985	Military takeover	De-facto	Re-establish credibility	Political inactivity
1985-1988	Military regime	De-jure through referendum	Modernization	Limited political activities without political parties
1988-1999	Civilian governments of PPP & PML	Legitimacy	Incomplete tenures, coalitional, agitation politics	System breakdowns
1999-2002	Military takeover	De-facto	Democratization of system through devolution plan	Uncertainty and politics of confusion
2003-2008	Military regime	De-jure	Devolution and Accountability	Politics with limited participation
2008-2013	Civilian government of PPP	Legitimate	Weak	Crisis, Corruption
2013-onward	Civilian government of PML(N)	Legitimate		

**Military Intervention of General Pervez Musharraf**

Military intervention of General Pervez Musharraf brought enormous political, social and economic changes in Pakistan. It was fourth military coup on 12th October 1999, when army sacked the civilian government of Nawaz Sharif. This coup was a bit different from the previous coups as General

Musharraf did not impose martial law but declared Emergency throughout the country. The precipitated crises of governance, economic stagnation, aggravation problem and mainly corruption eroded Nawaz Sharif's government and led to the coup of 1999. The following table succinctly explains the causes of military coup of 1999.

**Table 1.2: Causes of October 1999 Coup in Pakistan<sup>1</sup>**

<b>Structural Factors</b>	<b>Situational Factors</b>
<p><b>Internal</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attempts to move away from the “Troika” model of administering Pakistan</li> <li>• Factionalism in the armed forces</li> <li>• Difference with the civilian government over the major national security issues</li> <li>• Perception of being undermined by the civilian government</li> </ul>	<p><b>Internal</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attempted dismissal of army chief</li> <li>• Power-seeking officers in command</li> <li>• Presence of officer radicalized by Prime Minister’s decision to withdraw troops from Kargil sector</li> </ul>
<p><b>External</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High level of corruption among politicians</li> <li>• Tenuous political control</li> <li>• Legitimacy crises in the civilian government</li> </ul>	<p><b>External</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic Crises</li> <li>• Sectarian violence</li> <li>• Political crises in smaller provinces</li> </ul>
<p><b>International</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Influence of International politico- economic pressures</li> </ul>	<p><b>International</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Destabilizing policies of certain big powers and international financial institutions.</li> </ul>

General Musharraf’s coup was not a unique one as he claimed. This coup was the result of weak political institutions which resulted in praetorianism. According to (Perlmutter,1969) the absence of the shared civic values, lack of efficiency of political institutions and political parties lead towards the chances of an inevitable condition for the coup. The Constitution of 1973 was held in abeyance and Parliament and Provincial Assemblies were dissolved. However, this coup was a bit different then the pervious coups in Pakistani history. No military courts were established. No restrictions were placed on Press and political activities. On 17th Oct 1999, General Musharraf addressed the nation and announced the establishment of National Security Council (NSC). NSC was established to keep a check upon the new government to ensure the continuity of reforms initiated by the regime. General Pervez Musharraf was the Chairman of the council. NSC was the first indicator of the institutionalization of the military regime. Its basic objective was to

increase the military's role in the governance. He also announced his seven-point agenda. He envisioned a plan to reform the political and social structures of the Pakistani society. Following is the detail of his initiatives and measures that he covertly used for illegal usurpation of power and intervention in politics but apparently they were meant for revival of democracy ,strength of institutions and supremacy of civilian elected leaders.

**i. Devolution Plan**

It has remained a precedent in the history of Pakistan that military rulers used the Local bodies and government laws to create their political cadre. Pervez Musharraf also reintroduced the local government system in Pakistan prior to the election of Parliament and Provincial assemblies. His regime intended to involve the local masses in the governance form villages and towns to the provincial level. In August 2000, he announced the devolution plan

<sup>1</sup> For details see: (Hussain, 2000)

which was designed in such a way which could spread democracy to grassroots level through popular participation. Under the Devolution Plan, local governments were to be elected on a non-party basis in phase-wise voting between December 2000 and July 2001. The new setup of the local government was consisted of the Union Council, The Tehsil Councils and District government. District governments were made in every province. These city governments were established through the 'Devolution Plan', so that power could be devolved to the grassroots level and people could get an opportunity to elect their representative at local level which could work for their constituency. These districts were to be governed by Nazims and Naib Nazims, who were to be elected by the Union Council. In the first phase the elections of the Union council level were completed from December 2000 to May 2001. In the second phase the elections of the district assemblies were held in July 2001. These elections held under the supervision of army. The age of voter was reduced from 21 to 18 so that maximum people could participate in the elections. However, this system created misunderstanding in the minds of people who were confused whether to approach the MPAs or their Naib Nazim for the solution of their problem. This system practically failed because the Nazims and district government were not experienced to run civilian institutions.

**ii. Referendum:**

Like the pervious military dictators, Musharraf also opted for Referendum to continue his rule. The basic reason for holding the referendum was to abide by democratic principles and establish legitimacy for his rule. Political critics saw the referendum as an attempt to clothe authoritarianism through popular mandate. It was also challenged in Supreme Court and opposition boycotted it. Referendum took place on 30 April 2003. The question was asked to the electorates was

“For the survival of the local government system, establishment of democracy, continuity of reforms, end to sectarianism and extremism, and to fulfill the vision of Quaid-i-Azam, would you like to elect President General Pervez Musharraf as President of Pakistan for five years?”

On 1st May election commission announced the result that there was 70% turnout in the referendum

and 98% voted in favor of "YES". General Musharraf followed the footprints of his predecessors and cast bogus votes through Nazims. The polling staff, municipal councilors and electoral commission who ought to be neutral in the referendum, cast votes as many as they wished. They stamped ballot papers themselves. It was a gross misuse of public money and Nazims were inducted in this whole game.

**iii. General elections of 2002:**

As ordered by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, to restore Democracy in country, elections of National and Provincial Assemblies were announced. 10th October 2002 was fixed as Election Day. Prior to that, Election Commission issued the code of conduct for the elections. The dissenters of PPP and PML (N) formed a new political party, Pakistan Muslim League (Q). This political party was the Kings party and it was supported by the military government. Another pro-Musharraf alliance was build including six small political parties named as National Alliance (NA). The poling took place on the announced day. PML (Q) was able to secure seats but not in much majority to form the government. However, with the collation of independent candidates, PML (Q) was able to secure majority to form the government. On 24th November 2002, Mr Zafarullah Khan Jamali from Baluchistan was elected as Prime Minster by securing 172 votes in a house of 342. Mr. Jamali remained an ineffective PM during his tenure. He and his cabinet took all those steps which were given by the High command. On 26th June 2004, he resigned from his office after losing the party support and mainly due to his differences with the PML (Q) party leader Ch. Shajuat Hussian. Afterwards Mr Shauket Aziz, General Musharraf handpicked person became the new Prime Minister.

**iv: Legal Frame Work Order 2002 and 17th amendment:**

After the referendum, the next task for Musharraf was to amend the constitution so that he could strengthen his hold on power. For this purpose, he assigned Lt. Gen (R) Tanveer Naqvi the task to prepare a draft regarding the Constitutional amendments. Finally on 21st August 2002, the military government promulgated the Legal Framework Order (LFO) to be passed by the Parliament. Through LFO the powers of President

were increased and he was given the power to dissolve the Parliament. LFO has remained the most debatable issue in the Parliament of Pakistan (Indurthy, 2004). Under the 17th amendment<sup>2</sup> to the Constitution of 1973, several provisions of LFO got legal validity including the re-introduction of article 58/2b and 112 according to which the powers of the president and the governor were increased.

**v: Baluchistan Crisis:**

Pakistan is a multiethnic state where the ethnic conflicts have been prevailing since the independence. Among these conflicts one of the major issues is Baluchistan. Its history started since the inception and represents an unending narrative of the continuous conflicts. The long-standing offenses dating back to its unification with Pakistan have led to the present crisis in the province and the whole state. The latest wave of insurgency started in 2005 with the gang rape by the army officers of a female doctor Dr Shazia Khalid<sup>3</sup> who was serving at the Pakistan Petroleum complex. Baluch showed great anger as they considered the lady their 'guest' and benefactor. Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti demanded punishment of the rapists. General Musharraf dismissed the victim's allegation by saying the allegation were the politically motivated by the Baluch nationalist. In response, the army launched an attack on Dera Bugti. The Baloch guerrillas fired rocket launchers during the visit of President General Pervez Musharraf's helicopter to Quetta. In 2005 a full operation by the Pakistani army began in the province in Kohlu and Dera Bugti, when the Frontier Corps commander were wounded after shots were fired at their helicopter on 15th Dec 2005. During this operation many Bugti and Marri militants were killed. In Jan 2006, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan reported the existence of 'full-fledged military' operations which had started against Baluchi protester. About 50,000 army and 30,000 paramilitary forces were deployed in Baluchistan. Later in August 2006, a 79 years old Baluch tribal chief, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, was killed in

fighting with the Pakistan Army in a place called Tratani in the Kohlu. In this operation 60 Pakistani soldiers and 7 officers were also killed. Nawab Bugti was charged by Pakistan's government of a series of bomb blasts, killings of the people and the rocket attack on President Pervez Musharraf. Dr Hassan Askari is of the view that "during the eight years of Musharraf's military rule in Pakistan, no initiatives were taken to deal with the insurgencies. The absence of political process increased hostility of even moderate Baluch nationalist from the Federation of Pakistan. It closed all the doors of negotiation process with the Baloch Leaders". Since December 16, 2005, there has been unrest and military action in Baluchistan in Marri and Bugti areas. This unrest resulted in the guerrilla attacks on the government installations and target killing in province. Musharraf and the establishment were unwilling to compromise on Baluchistan's genuine political and economic demands. Instead of addressing Baloch grievances politically, the Musharraf government continued the use of force against civilians.

**vi: Suspension of Chief justice of Pakistan 2007:**

On 9th March 2007, General Musharraf suspended Chief Justice of Pakistan (CJP) Iftikhar Chaudhry on the charges of misconduct and nepotism. General turned President in uniform called CJ Iftikhar Chaudhry at Army House Rawalpindi and dubiously ordered him to resign. The president asked the Supreme Judicial Council to investigate the entire allegations against CJ. Graham Usher in his report<sup>4</sup> wrote about the situation that CJP Iftikhar Chaudhry was dismissed from his post because he had crossed the boundary of the civilian government drawn by the military. Moreover, CJP Iftikhar Chaudhry had challenged the military's illegal acquisition of the state power. International observers believed that the real reason behind this act of General Musharraf was that, he was afraid of CJP's loyalty. It was the time when General Musharraf needed a complaint judiciary which could wave him through the legal

<sup>2</sup> For details see:

<https://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/amendments/17amendment.html>

<sup>3</sup> For details see:

<https://www.dawn.com/news/145815/i-m-still-terrified-dr-shazia>

<sup>4</sup> For details see:

<https://www.npr.org/2007/03/18/8986179/pakistans-lawyers-protest-justices-suspension>

hurdles. The government ran into more difficulties when CJP tried to put the leviathan under the legal purview. He took the *sou moto* action on the privatization of Pakistan Steel Mills and Missing people's case of Baluchistan. Due to Pakistan involvement in War on terror, many Pakistan citizens got disappeared on mere doubtful claims by ISI and Military Intelligence (MI). Often these citizens were exchanged for the bounty paid by the American CIA.

The main issue which disturbed General Musharraf was his case of Dual position. General position was challenged in Supreme Court that he could not hold two office of profit at one time. The Supreme Court was about to give her decision when this incident took place. This step was considered one of the biggest political blunders made by General Musharraf. The suspension of CJP led to country wide agitation by lawyers. Civil Society joined hands with them. Public came on roads and police was unable to control the mob of lawyers. About four months, demonstrations continued throughout the country especially in Punjab. Through sheer momentum and unavailability of evidence of 'misconduct', the CJP Iftikhar Chaudhry was restored on 20th July, 2007. This incident infused a political activism and vibration among the youngsters. Civil society came much active after this incident. Prof Rasul Baksh Rais remarked that "The Lawyer's movement was a remarkable event. It was a non-violent, it was popular and it echoed the sentiments of the middle class and the other new classes forged by modernization".

**vii: The Lal Masjid Siege of 2007:**

Terrorist violence had not been restricted in tribal areas of Pakistan it had spread beyond it. In July 2007, Islamabad became a battle field when an operation was done at Lal Masjid and Jamia-Hafsa madrassa. This Masjid was often attended by the city elite, including prime ministers, army chiefs and presidents for the prayers. However, under the supervision of Abdul Rashid Ghazi (Imam Masjid), the militants used the mosque as a transit station. The militants had close association with the Lal Masjid and over the time managed to smuggle arms in the compound of the masjid. There were 1000 women and children present in the madrasa for getting religious education and training. In January 2007 the students of madrasa challenged the state authority and gave an ultimatum to government to impose Sharia in Pakistan. These students mostly females

came on roads for protest demonstration. They tried to impose new laws of morality in the city by forcefully shutting down the music and video shops and by abducting not only police officials but foreigners also for their social purification campaign. Situation got worst when these students kidnapped a woman whom they thought was engaged in immoral activities and put her in detention at madrassa.

The government and many religious groups tried to negotiate with the Khateeb of Lal Masjid Abdul Aziz but it was failed. Even the government offered the militants Rs 5000 with free education. Many of them surrendered but many remained in the Masjid. With no other option left, the Government gave them an ultimatum of 48 hours and after launched a military operation against them. The militants were equipped with hi-tech weapons but were defeated by command group (SSG) for the III brigade. There was an eight-day siege and conflict between militants and Pakistan army. Nearly 150 militants were killed and hundreds of them were arrested including the Khateeb of Masjid. About dozens of soldiers died in this operation. After this incident a series of suicide bombing started as the response of the siege. General Musharraf made no apologies to the people.

**viii. The return of exiles and National Reconciliation Ordinance:**

On September 10, 2007, the exiled Nawaz Sharif made an attempt to come back but he was not allowed to and was send back to Jeddah. On November 25, 2007, he made another attempt and was given not only permission to stay but also to run this party campaign for the upcoming elections of January 2008. The Saudi King Abdullah played a major convincing General Musharraf to let Nawaz Sharif return to Pakistan and to contest elections. In 2007, President Musharraf and former PM Benazir Bhutto had a negotiation regarding the power-sharing arrangement that could facilitate Musharraf's continued national political role. Under a secret deal, the self-exile leader of PPP Benazir Bhutto was allowed to return back to country from self-imposed exile to serve as prime minister for a third time. Under this deal President Musharraf promulgated National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) under which all the charges of corruption against Benazir Bhutto, Asif Ali Zardari and 8,000 people including ministers, bureaucrats and politicians were waived off. NRO gave an amnesty to the politicians who served in Pakistan from 1988 to 1999. Benazir



Bhutto came back on 18th October, 2007 and received a historic welcome. But unfortunately, this jubilation came to a tragic end when her rally was hit by two bombs killing 140 people and hundreds injured but she remained unharmed. The NRO was highly controversial. It was badly criticized by civil libertarians. They argued that the NRO condoned corruption and protected powerful elites by allowing them to avoid accountability for their actions.

**ix. Musharraf Re-election as President and Declaration of Emergency 2007:**

On October 6, 2007, General Musharraf reelected himself as President by the outgoing Parliament by acquiring 98% of the votes cast by Pakistan's 1,170-member Electoral College. His term of presidency was going to expire in November 2007. His re-election was challenged in Supreme Court that while holding the uniform, he could not hold the office of President. The Supreme Court accepted the petition. As a response of it, General Musharraf promised to "take off his uniform" if the Supreme Court gave decision in his favor. Earlier on September 10, Nawaz Sharif made an attempt to return but the government deported him. On October 24, Pakistan's Chief Justice stated that Sharif still has an "inalienable right" to return to Pakistan and accused the PM Shaukat Aziz for violating the court's order. The Supreme Court verdict was due on 6th November 2007, but before that on 3rd Nov 2007, General Musharraf declared Emergency throughout the country and suspended the constitution of 1973. All the judges of Supreme Court and High courts were dismissed and were put under house arrest. Paramilitary Pakistan Ranger enclosed the court building. Many private TV channels went off air and army stormed the stations. Fundamental rights were suspended. Many Newspapers bluntly spoke about this decision. Dawn called this "Gen. Musharraf second coup". While The Daily Times wrote it as "martial law". Musharraf's "second coup" seemed by many observers as "desperate power grab by a badly discredited military ruler". A former Bush Administration envoy to Pakistan said;

"Musharraf has committed the political equivalent of a suicide bombing. He blasted his political credibility and legacy and in the process killed the transition to civilian democracy. It is a tragedy".

After this the President promulgated Provisional Constitution Order (PCO) in the backdrop of visible ascendancy in the activities of extremists and

incidents of terrorist attacks. It also contained a long charge-sheet against the judiciary, blaming it for having members who were working at cross purposes with the executive and legislature in the fight against terrorism and extremism, thereby weakening the government and the nation's resolve and diluting the efficacy of its actions to control this menace. According to the proclamation, the situation required "emergent and extraordinary measures. Under this PCO the judiciary was openly blamed. The proclamation indicated that some judges of the higher courts were interfering in the executive authority. They were undermining the executive and legislature ability to combat terrorism. Their interference was affecting on the country's economic growth and had crossed the boundaries of judiciary's role in the political system.

The imposition of Emergency changed the political scenario of the country. A wide scale agitation started against General Musharraf. All the major political parties and politicians condemn the act of General Musharraf and demanded the restoration of Constitution of 1973. Many political activists, lawyers, journalists and member of civil society were put behind the bars. General Musharraf gave the justification for the emergency that it has been imposed to strengthen democracy and good governance. However, many factors were responsible for the imposition of the emergency. The situation of Law and order was dreadful. The extremist elements had challenged the government authority. A series of suicidal attacks has been started targeting the government buildings, and intelligence and security agencies. Many innocent people became the victim of these blasts. Other factors include the irresponsible role played by the Media and Judiciary. Media began to openly criticize the government failure of controlling law and order situation in the country. They were shading down the country's image in through their programs. The judiciary began to interfere in the executive authority. The judges were required to take oath under the new PCO, however seven judges of Supreme Court including the Chief Justice, and High Court judges refused to take a new oath of office under the PCO and were dismissed. Later, Musharraf finally had to go after general elections of 2008.

### Conclusion and Recommendations:

The latest experience of Pakistan of military coup was in 1999 when General Pervez Musharraf overthrew the elected government of PM Nawaz Sharif and took the hold of the country. The main reason behind this coup was the tensions arose between the Prime Minister and Army. Under a secret plan PM planned to remove COAS from the office but his plan was failed because army had already decided at that time with whom they have to support. General Musharraf dismissed the elected government of Nawaz Sharif and imposed martial law in Pakistan. After coming into powers, he announced his seven-point reforming agenda. But his reforms did not bear fruit and became controversial. The Devolution Plan created a power tussle between the district governments and provincial government. It weakened the provincial governments. Later it was found that these elected bodies were involved in massive rigging. Musharraf's LFO, 17<sup>th</sup> amendment to Constitution of 1973, referendum and alliance with kingmaker political parties which he thought could be his savior, proved disastrous for him in the long run. All state institutions became critical about the policies taken by General Musharraf. The last step which proved to be the last nail in the coffin was the decision of General Musharraf was of sacking CJP Iftikhar Chaudhry. His step was badly criticized by all most everyone. This act was widely reported by the media which resulted in the mass mobilization of Lawyers and Civil Society, which led to Musharraf's resignation. The Judiciary, the ruling party and the Opposition party got united against him to free society from future military intervention. The confrontation between military rule and an active civil society got more mobilized after the judicial crisis. Resultantly, the dictator had to leave power and once again democracy saw a new dawn in Pakistan. Following are some recommendations on the basis of this study.

### Recommendations

1. Military should only play its connotational rule and avoid interference in politics.
2. The institutions of the state need to be strengthened in order to keep the democracy functional in Pakistan.
3. The political parties should play active role to protect democracy in Pakistan.
4. Judiciary should play its part in the protection of constitution and upholding rule of law in Pakistan.

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