

TRAJECTORY OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

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TRAJECTORY OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

The trajectory of democratization in India and Pakistan is a comparative study which investigates the reasons behind the adoption of divergent paths by both the countries on their route to democratization, after gaining independence from the British colonial rule in August 1947. The democracy in India managed to develop a more functioning multiparty system. However, this does not seem to be the case in Pakistan, where democracy has experienced setbacks during periods of military rule. This study tests and analyzes the theory of objective civilian rule by Samuel P. Huntington, which marks a clear distinction between civilian rule and military. The study encompasses the movements, events, incidents, social classes and ethnicities that moved or shook the democratization process in India and Pakistan. It explores the history of both the countries in its entirety in order to find out the patterns of democratization and martial laws. This study also examines the treatment meted out to civilian representatives in Pakistan in stark contrast to the safe passage provided to martial law dictators even if their crimes were more serious than the political leaders. The study utilizes qualitative techniques of interpreting the data collected through interviews and other secondary material. The study concludes that the structural difference between the political system of India and Pakistan is the major cause of deviation in the paths of democratization between the two countries, and it verifies Huntington's theory that the military officers need to keep themselves politically neutral in order to follow a statesman's political guidance. It is also learnt that India is currently experiencing a decline in democracy under the leadership of Narendra Modi.

Keywords: British Colonial Rule; Independence; Democracy; Martial Law; Elections.

ÖZ

Hindistan ve Pakistan'da demokratikleşmenin yörüngesi, Ağustos 1947'de İngiliz sömürge yönetiminden bağımsızlığını kazandıktan sonra her iki ülkenin demokratikleşme yolunda farklı yollar benimsemesinin ardındaki nedenleri araştıran karşılaştırmalı bir çalışmadır. Hindistan'daki demokrasi, daha işlevli bir çok partili sistem geliştirmeyi başardı. Ancak askeri yönetim dönemlerinde demokrasinin gerileme yaşadığı Pakistan'da durum pek de öyle görünmüyor. Bu çalışma, Samuel P. Huntington'ın, sivil yönetim ile ordu arasında net bir ayrıma işaret eden objektif sivil yönetim teorisini test ediyor ve de analiz ediyor. Çalışma Hindistan ve Pakistan'da demokratikleşme sürecini harekete geçiren veya sarsan hareketleri, olayları, toplumsal sınıfları ve etnik kökenleri kapsıyor. Demokratikleşme ve sıkıyönetim yapılarını ortaya çıkarmak için her iki ülkenin tarihini bütünüyle araştırıyor. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda Pakistan'da sivil temsilcilere uygulanan muameleyi, suçları siyasi liderlerden daha ciddi olsa bile sıkıyönetim diktatörlerine sağlanan güvenli geçişle eşit ve bütüncül bir şekilde incelemektedir. Çalışma, görüşmeler ve diğer ikincil materyaller yoluyla toplanan verileri yorumlamak için nitel teknikler kullanmaktadır. Çalışma, Hindistan ve Pakistan'ın siyasi sistemi arasındaki yapısal farklılığın, iki ülke arasındaki demokratikleşme yollarındaki sapmanın ana nedeni olduğu sonucuna varmakta ve Huntington'ın, askeri görevlilerin bir devlet adamının siyasi rehberliğini takip edebilmeleri için kendilerini siyasi açıdan tarafsız tutmaları gerektiği yönündeki teorisini doğruluyor. Ayrıca Hindistan'ın halihazırda Narendra Modi liderliğinde demokraside bir gerileme yaşadığı da öğrenilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İngiliz Sömürge Yönetimi; Bağımsızlık; Demokrasi; Sıkıyönetim; Seçimler.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIADMK:	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
ARD:	Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy
BISP:	Benazir Income Support Program
BJP:	Bhartiya Janata Party
CCBs:	Community Citizen Boards
CDNS:	Council of Defense and National Security
CDS:	Chief of Defence Staff
CENTO:	Central Treaty Organization
CMLA :	Chief Martial Law Administrator
COAS:	Chief of the Army Staff
CPEC:	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
ECP:	Election Commission of Pakistan
EIC:	East India Company
FATA:	Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan
FIA:	Federal Investigation Authority
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GNP:	Gross National Product index
IDPs:	Internally Displaced Persons

IJI:	Islami Jamhuri Ittehad
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
INC:	Indian National Congress
ISI:	Inter-Services Intelligence
JCSC:	Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee
KP:	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LFO:	Legal Framework Order
MQM:	Mohajir Quami Movement
NAB:	National Accountability Bureau
NDA:	National Democratic Alliance
NFC:	National Finance Commission
NRO:	National Reconciliation Ordinance
NSNC:	National Strategic Nuclear Command
NWFP:	North West Frontier Province
OEF:	Operation Enduring Freedom
OIC:	Organization of Islamic Countries
PAT:	Pakistan Awami Tehreek
PCNS:	Parliamentary Committee on National Security
PEMRA:	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PML:	Pakistan Muslim League
PML-N:	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz

PML-Q:	Pakistan Muslim League - Quaid e Azam
PNA:	Pakistan National Alliance
PPP:	Pakistan People's Party
PPPP:	Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians
PTI:	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf
SEATO:	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
TLP:	Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan
UN:	United Nations
UNGA:	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC:	United Nations Security Council
UPA:	United Progressive Alliance
U.S:	United States
USSR:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB:	World Bank
WoT:	War on Terror

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The history of India and Pakistan dates back to the year 1947 when both the countries achieved independence from the British colonial rule on 14th and 15th August, respectively. The English ruled the subcontinent for around two hundred years before officially governing the region for nine decades. The partition of the subcontinent witnessed mass migrations with incidents of violence, including killings. The migrations happened purely on religious grounds, with Hindus residing in Pakistan (East Wing and West Wing) moving to India and Muslims of India moving to Pakistan.

India is four times the size of Pakistan and covers an area of 3,287,240 sq. kms,¹ while Pakistan (West Wing at the time of partition) has a total area of 770,880 sq. kms². The population of India is more than 1,211 million,³ which makes it the most populous country of the world, while Pakistan is the fifth most populated country of the world, having an estimated population of 241.5 million.⁴ India had the fortune of implementing the prerequisites essential for setting up the foundation of a robust democracy, therefore, the constitution of India was drafted soon after independence i.e. January 1950, and their first general elections were held in 1952. On the other side of the border, it took nine years for Pakistan to finalize its first constitution and twenty-three years to hold inaugural elections.

The partition of India and Pakistan brought political prosperity for India as the country established democratic governments without any significant interruption. However,

¹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://censusindia.gov.in/census_data_2001/india_at_glance/area.aspx

² Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.LND.TOTL.K2?locations=PK>

³ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/muslim-population-will-never-exceed-hindus-in-india-author/2232558>

⁴ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan>

Pakistan witnessed periods of military and hybrid regimes for almost half of its age, still civilians of the country have never shown their disregard for military setups. One of the main reasons for the comforting attitude could be the ideology behind the creation of Pakistan, which came into being in the name of Islam and hence democracy was not the civilian's primary focus. Moreover, the dominant political party in Pakistan, the Muslim League, did not possess a strong political organization like the Congress party in India.

The Muslims living in undivided India maintained a sense of insecurity due to the Hindu majority in the region, therefore, they feared the latter's control over them. The uncertainties drew the Muslims of the subcontinent together who supported the idea of a separate constitutional setup. A student at Cambridge University, Chaudhry Rehmat Ali in 1933, came up with the name 'Pakistan', meaning 'The land of the Pure'.⁵ Despite common religion, the leadership of Pakistan faced challenges in integrating the linguistically and regionally different population of Indian Muslims.

With respect to governance, the Indian National Congress party witnessed a smooth transition as the party was passed on a unitary form of government in India which enjoyed international legal status as well as recognition that had been previously associated with undivided India. However, in Pakistan, the Muslim League party was not only burdened with the giant responsibility of establishing control in the Centre, it also had to develop an infrastructure crucial for Pakistan.⁶

On the economic front also, India had an advantage as it owned a fertile land perfect for agricultural use. This advantage adversely affected Pakistan's development as the country failed to establish a strong middle class that could have a bearing on political as well as societal dynamics of the country. The security situation after independence was also not encouraging for Pakistan as the border issues, especially the Kashmir dispute with India enhanced the military's might as the armed forces were responsible for safeguarding the

⁵ Bose, S., & Jalal, A. (1998). —Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy, p. 143.

⁶ Jalal, A. (1995). *Democracy and authoritarianism in South Asia*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 31–65.

borders. The political stability in India forced Pakistan's political leadership to concentrate on strengthening power in the Centre. These efforts proved futile for the liberation of diversity in the country.

The domestic issues related to class and regional differences also added up to Pakistan's ordeal. Nonetheless, India successfully confronted these issues which further boosted the country's democratic growth. The encouragement of unity among people of India through anti-caste ideologies with special regard to reservation policies, and its implementation led to a united country. Moreover, the consolidation of pluralist elites, recognition of linguistic communities and resolution of disputes through pluralism were the efforts made by the Congress party for a harmonized society. In Pakistan, citing security concerns, the regional autonomy of the country was restricted by its elite who focused on the concentration of power in the Centre. The West Pakistan's domination despite the demographic significance and outstanding performance of the East Wing (now Bangladesh), led to the growing emotions of Bengali nationalism. Due to the undemocratic practices by the political leaders of West Pakistan, the sentiments among Bengali population reached its peak after the general elections of 1970 and eventually, the East Wing was separated as an independent state named Bangladesh, in 1971.

In India, the Congress party's leadership had a deep understanding of the route to democratization and the founding father of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, helped the country in leading the path. The dominant political party of Pakistan, the Muslim League, was relatively weaker to overcome the challenges which hindered democratization in the country. Therefore, the party failed to successfully switch its role from an independence movement to a representative political party.⁷ The death of Pakistan's founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, soon after independence, created a void between firm leadership and democratization of the country. In Pakistan, majority of the representatives sitting on power echelons came from affluent backgrounds, hence, the idea of democratization in

⁷ Rizvi, H. (2000). *Military, state and society in Pakistan*. Springer, p. 4.

the country did not suit them.⁸ Moreover, the political diversity in Pakistan was completely ignored in comparison to India, which got rid of the feudal system shortly after gaining autonomy.

In the first decade of independence, Pakistan lagged behind India in the path to democratization mainly because of the failure to make advancements in constitution-making. The other challenges included the bias in power-sharing and internal rifts in the leading political party. The uncertain situation in Pakistan's Centre favored military intervention as prime ministers of the country kept changing by the then president and hence, the first military coup in Pakistan was imposed in 1958, by President Major General Iskander Mirza, who suspended the constitution and nominated the Commander-in Chief General Ayub Khan as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. After seizing power, Ayub Khan exiled Mirza and became the president with his rule spanning over a decade. General Ayub Khan was replaced by General Yahya Khan in 1969. The first general elections in Pakistan were held in 1970, under Yahya Khan and the country was divided into two independent states under the same dictator, in December 1971. After Yahya Khan realized that he could not continue as president, the elected government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was sworn in around same time. Bhutto was apparently a democratic leader who was supported by civilian bureaucracy and status quo, however, his rule was clipped through his dismissal as prime minister and the imposition of another military coup, this time by General Zia-ul-Haq. The military dictator, Zia-ul-Haq, used Islam as a tool to legitimize his unjustified rule. The ruling period of Zia-ul-Haq is marred by limited freedom for civilians, press and voice of dissent, since the dictator used Islamist card as an instrument for imposing these restrictions. The coalition of military and Islamist parties of the country particularly during Zia's rule, shaped the political future of Pakistan by sanctioning limitations on the freedom of individuals.

⁸ Haqqani, I. A. (2006). Failure of democracy in Pakistan?. *Muslim World*, 96(2), pp. 223.

The fall of Bhutto was followed by the suspension of the constitution and his arrest by Zia-ul-Haq. The concept of Islamization was executed by Zia, who called for the promotion of patriotic and religious programs on state television. The death of Zia-ul-Haq in a plane crash in 1988 brought a ray of hope for the democratic forces of the country as general elections were held in the same year. The elected governments struggled to solidify their base in the period between 1988 and 1999 and eventually, the power went back into the hands of another military dictator, General Pervez Musharraf. The dismissal and arrest of the then prime minister were ordered by the installed General, who could not stand the decision of a civilian representative to sack the Chief of the Army Staff (COAS). Musharraf, who took charge as the chief executive, became president in 2001 and resigned from his position in the year 2008. Moreover, Pakistan was not spared by military coup attempts in 1951, 1982 and 1995, however, those failed to materialize.

The root cause of hostility between India and Pakistan comes from the Kashmir issue which has cost both the countries thousands of lives and unlimited monetary resources. In 1954, Pakistan became the member of SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), during the Cold War to safeguard its peace from a comparatively large country like India. Since the U.S. has always opposed communism,⁹ and because it also has strategic interests in the region, therefore, the military dictators in Pakistan have suited the superpower more than the elected leaders.¹⁰ Moreover, there has been no respite for the elected representatives of Pakistan as they continue to fight for the establishment of democratic rule and save the country from bureaucratic and military interventions. The masses of the country have badly suffered over time due to the limited resource allocation for them as the major chunk of the annual budget goes to the military, which encourages depravity in the society. Besides, the constitution of India relies on the pillars of sovereignty, society and democracy, whereas, Pakistan's constitution focuses on the rulings of Islam from Quran and Sunnah. The existence of Islamic commands facilitates

⁹ Haqqani, I. A. (2006). Failure of democracy in Pakistan?. *Muslim World*, 96(2), p. 224.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 225.

the political establishment in getting significant support from religious parties in order to achieve electors' goodwill in retaining their power.¹¹

The thick and thin faced by democratization in Pakistan was contrasted by an evolving democracy in India. There have been instances in Indian history where the country's democratic progress was at stake, however, the elected governments were given a chance to run without any interruption or intervention. Moreover, the political parties revered the mandate of the winning party, thereby protecting the process of democratization from taking a pause. This was not the case in Pakistan as no elected prime minister till day has been able to successfully complete his/ her term. The first elected government in Pakistan to successfully run for five years was the coalition led by the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), which remained in power from 2008 to 2013. The government established in 2018 failed to finish its full tenure due to the internal feuds between the alliance of parties. Still, power remained with elected government and military refrained from intervention as the opposition leader of the House was elected the prime minister by the lower house of parliament.

The book "The Soldier and the State," by Samuel P. Huntington, which was published in 1957, drew attention of the scholars towards civil-military relations. Through institutional analysis, Huntington highlighted his focus on military's 'objective civilian control' and supported the separation of civilian government and military. Another scholar, Morris Janowitz, followed Huntington's approach and highlighted the incorporation of civil and military, subject to adaptability. The sanctity of civilian supremacy has been advocated by both the scholars, Huntington in particular, has stressed on the successful balance of civil-military relations through the recognition of 'integrity of the military profession'

¹¹ Nasr, S. V. R. (1994). *The vanguard of the Islamic revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan* (No. 19). Univ of California Press, p. 117.

and its affairs by the statesman, and at the same time, the intent of military officers to remain ‘politically neutral’ so as to accept ‘political guidance from the statesman.’¹²

1.2. Objective of the Study

The main objective of the thesis is to compare the trajectory of democratization in India and Pakistan, and to identify the factors responsible for obstructing the evolution of democracy in Pakistan. The primary motivation behind the study is Huntington’s emphasis on ‘objective civilian control’ of the military, especially focusing on the explicit separation between the civilian government and the military. Samuel P. Huntington has explained this in his book titled "The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations."¹³

This study will examine how the repeated military coups have impacted Pakistan and the causes of growing religious extremism in the country with respect to Islamization. The civil-military relations of India and Pakistan will also be reviewed to understand how India has successfully held on to democracy, while Pakistan is still in the struggling phase. According to Huntington, the civilians need to stay updated on matters related to military so that the institution can be effectively controlled, however, the control should not go beyond a certain level and civilians should refrain from interfering in the military’s area of expertise. The civilians and military must keep amicable relations in order to work together comfortably without stepping over each other’s’ domain. In a democratic society, the civilians have authority over the military because the leaders come through the democratic process of elections, therefore, the ultimate power remains with civilians.

¹² Janjua, B. (2021). Civil-military relations in Pakistan: Quest for an ideal balance. *Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) Journal*, 21(1), pp. 4-6.

¹³ Huntington, S. P. (1957). *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil–Military Relations*. Harvard University Press.

It is important for civilians to understand military's strategic concepts and their effects irrespective of having expertise on the subject.

1.3. Literature Review

1.3.1. Relationship between Democratization and Modernization

R. Hinnebusch (2006),¹⁴ emphasizes the relationship between democratization and modernization by giving the example of the Middle East. He contends that the early modernization theory is not in line with the challenges faced in recognizing certain modernization goals as a prerequisite for democracy. The theory connects democracy with high literacy, urbanization, decent income, and non-conventional employment. When comparing the modernization of India and 19th century Ottoman Empire, it is observed that in India the democratic rules have flourished at moderate levels of modernization. But the latter could attain a low level of pluralization.¹⁵ The insufficient levels of modernization could be responsible for the failure of the early semi-liberal post-independence regimes which survived only through the 1960s.

This theory is further elaborated by Hinnebusch, who argues that blaming Islam or cultural factors for any hindrance in democracy is not in line with the common belief that the religious traditions may have an impact on the political legitimacy and leadership only. The authoritarian regimes apply cultural elements in order to get rid of political parties' support from the public or restrict the civilian control in order to gain political control. The cultural aspect can be deemed influential; however, it cannot be the prime reason for obstructing democratization. In Islamic culture, the form of government can either be authoritarian or democratic, but it entirely depends on civilians' interests,

¹⁴ Hinnebusch, R. (2006). Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique. *Democratization*, 13(3), pp. 375-376.

¹⁵ Pool, D. (2015). Staying at Home with the Wife: Democratization and its Limits in the Middle East. In *Democracy and democratization* (pp. 196-216). Routledge.

accountability of individuals and legitimacy of the government. It has been observed that the authoritarian leaders use the traditional loyalties of small social groups as a bait to enhance their control, however, these groups can sometimes be the major cause of concern for the respective regimes to establish civil society.

Hinnebusch carries on the argument by giving example of the less developed Middle Eastern countries which face challenges on the path to democratization. The modernization theory was revised to study the less developed countries in order to draw conclusions based on their experiences. The imbalance usually created during the transitional phase of democracy is the major obstacle faced by these countries and it is further explained by Huntington and Deutsch, who are of the view that the social mobilization that follows in their transitional phase is robust than the economic and political development and since there is no mechanism to cope with these circumstances, it usually leads to 'praetorianism' or military intervention. Also, the countries going through modernization may worsen the inequalities confronted by the society due to the buildup of capital, because of which class conflicts may erupt, further growing confusion among the civilian government which may not be able to control the unpleasant situation. Therefore, the authors conclude that apart from the upsurge of new disparities, an extremist mindset can also grow among the middle-class.¹⁶

The modernization theory explained by P. Lewis's modernization theory (1997),¹⁷ discusses the direct relationship of stable democracy with economic development, recognition and social conditions in Eastern Europe. Lewis backs his explanation by highlighting Seymour Martin Lipset's argument on the interconnection between democracy, economic development, literacy, urbanization and industrialization.¹⁸

¹⁶ Hinnebusch, R. (2006). Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique. *Democratization*, 13(3), p. 377.

¹⁷ Lewis, P. G. (1997). Theories of democratization and patterns of regime change in Eastern Europe. *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 13(1), pp. 4-8.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

R. Dahl (1989),¹⁹ argues that modernization and development of democratization are mutually inclusive. He believes modernization coexists with high income, literacy, higher education, urbanization and a decent manpower affiliated with agriculture. For Dahl, the first wave of democratization (1828-1926) preceded the forces of modernization, but the third wave, starting from 1974, witnessed a change in the trajectory of democratization, which resulted in the diminishing legitimacy of authoritarian rule and the increasing credibility of global economic growth.²⁰ This view was furthered by Lucian Pye, who perceives economic growth to be the major challenge for authoritarianism, alongside the widespread use of science and technology and globalization.²¹

1.3.2. The Third Wave of Democratization

The explanation given by A. Croissant & W. Merkel (2004),²² is not very encouraging for democracy as he argues that majority of the countries transforming into democracies in the third wave of democratization have either not fully evolved into one or have been unsuccessful in deepening democratic progress.²³ Hence, the authors interpret that the third wave of democratization cannot be synonymous with political liberalism and liberal democracy, instead these regimes can be categorized as 'hybrid' or 'ambiguous,' 'delegative,' 'defective,' 'semi,' or 'illiberal' democracies, alongside 'competitive authoritarianism' and 'electoral authoritarianism.' There can be a presence of other types of democracies, such as "Potemkin democracies"²⁴ and "false democracies,"²⁵ which are

¹⁹ Dahl, R. A. (2008). *Democracy and its Critics*. Yale university press.

²⁰ Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave* (Vol. 199, No. 1). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, pp. 39,45.

²¹ Lewis, P. G. (1997). Theories of democratization and patterns of regime change in Eastern Europe, *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 13(1), p. 11.

²² Croissant, A., & Merkel, W. (2004). Introduction: democratization in the early twenty-first century. *Democratization*, 11(5), pp. 1-9.

²³ Carothers, T. (2002). The end of the transition paradigm. *J. Democracy*, 13, p. 9.

²⁴ King, C. (2001). Potemkin democracy: Four myths about post-Soviet Georgia. *The National Interest*, (64), pp.93-104.

²⁵ Linz, J. J. (2000). *Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, p. 39.

basically the democracies run by despotic leaders who hide behind the veil of democracy. Moreover, the democratization research begins with a change from transition to consolidation and then to the theoretical subject concerning sub-types of democracy, like illiberal and defective democracies. According to these scholars, the consolidation of democracy does not signify the exact position of a political system, it instead represents a process. The authors observe the commencement of the third wave of democratization, starting from 1974 and ending in 2000, and conclude that the already existing theories regarding the status of democratization in post-communist countries are challenged by the success of central and Eastern European states, which were able to achieve liberalization and consolidation.

1.3.3. The Theory of Diffusion

R. Doorenspleet and C. Mudde (2008), focus on diffusion theory and believe that transitional phases are crucial for democratization and that the non-democratic countries diverge their paths during this period. They are also of the view that the political elites, and not the military, civil society, or changes in the system of the country, are responsible for democratic transitions. This in turn makes the military favor democracy, however, the civil society has a trivial significance. Also, the elusive factors like ethnic conflicts, make up for democratic evolution. Nonetheless, the external factors are as important as internal ones and therefore, the role of the past colonizers also plays a major part because if they back democratization and the locals agree, then a democratic transition will be observed. However, economy and foreign politics can also be the factors contributing to change, still, there is high incidence of divergence in the event of absence of former colonizers and local powers. The independence of India and Pakistan made the Indian National Congress party achieve success during British India's transition to democracy which

negatively affected the power of Muslims in nascent Pakistan. Hence, the transitional phase is affected with the absence or presence of ethnic politics.²⁶

The consolidation phase is explained by R. Doorenspleet and C. Mudde, who assert that there could be a number of reasons which lead to the transition phase but its effects are ephemeral, and even though the political elite and civil society are considered the major factors behind the outcomes of this phase, still with the development and functioning of institutions, their impact diminishes. However, the role of military should not be overlooked since democracy in its initial stage can easily be trampled by martial law. Furthermore, the national aspects related to economy and centralization of power render significant importance during the consolidation stage. The countries like Botswana, Benin, India, Mongolia, and Costa Rica are treated as research study for divergent democracies by R. Doorenspleet and C. Mudde, as these countries were successful in gaining economic growth and stability after the phase of transition. These nations attained pliant backing of the masses and avoided a possible confrontation of the political elite. However, in general, the contribution of centralization helps the elite to implement policies, obtain support, and restrain possible disagreement over anti-democracy, especially when a country is home to multiple ethnicities.²⁷

The financial assistance granted by international organizations and foreign countries also has a major bearing in the consolidation phase, because the International Financial Institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) suggest policy changes which may decide the fate of democratization in a country. The case of Mongolia specifically describes the impact as the financial aid provided to a country structures its political setup as per the donor's conditions and the same

²⁶ Doorenspleet, R., & Mudde, C. (2008). Upping the Odds: Deviant Democracies and Theories of Democratization. *Democratization*, 15(4), pp. 818-819.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 820-821.

arrangement can be observed by and large where the presence of democracy becomes existential if the monetary assistance is sanctioned for economic stability.²⁸

1.3.4. Democracy and Authoritarianism

An examination into the political structures of different countries by K. Mukherjee (2010),²⁹ shows that South and South-East Asian countries fall between complete democracy and full authoritarianism, as these structures are usually considered 'ambiguous,' 'mixed,' or 'pseudo-democratic.' Mukherjee contends that the meaning of democracy should not be limited to 'free and fair elections' and recommends that democracy should be viewed as a political process through which the politicians should hold discretionary powers of decision-making, after getting elected by free and fair elections. The author mentions Schumpeter for defining democracy and stresses that citizens play a significant role in restricting political leaders from sticking to power as people have the power to change governments. Moreover, the effects of authoritarianism are cut down because of the voters' right to pick a leader or party from a pool of candidates and parties.

A critical approach by Rustow, O 'Donnell and Schmitter (1986), explains that the elite play the role of a protagonist in introducing democratic form of government and limiting the rights of other social segments in playing their part.³⁰ Karl (1990),³¹ Karl and

²⁸ Doorenspleet, R., & Mudde, C. (2008). Upping the Odds: Deviant Democracies and Theories of Democratization. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 821.

²⁹ Mukherjee, K. (2010). Is there a distinct style of Asian democracy?. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 45(6), pp. 684-694.

³⁰ Hinnebusch, R. (2006). Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique. *Democratization*, 13(3), p. 387.

³¹ Karl, T. L. (1990). Dilemmas of democratization in Latin America. *Comparative politics*, 23(1), pp. 1-17.

Schmitter (1991),³² and Shin (1994),³³ explain that the transition to a democratic government is motivated by rifts within the authoritarian power, but the transition can happen due to many reasons like history, institutions, and structural situations, therefore, progress happens regardless of the particular requirements needed for it to materialize. The structural approach is further explained by Przeworski (1991),³⁴ whose focus is on the significance of individuals and their actions in confronting the perspective set for the approach, as it became popular during the activism of those who struggled to transform the system of authoritarian rule to democracy.

The degree of democracy is discussed by P. Heller (2000),³⁵ who dwells into the democratic progress of the countries which developed at a later stage and highlights the worldwide inclination of countries that transition to democracy and remain successful even after this transformation. Heller maintains that democracy cannot be understood without investigating the relationship between institutions and social developments which give rise to the idea of democratic deepening after transition. Although, India witnessed an irregular path to democracy; however, the country's well-known institutions positively impacted the issues related to politics, society and economy. The author assesses the official, influential and practical dimensions of democracy, and brings to attention the critical role of age-old associations of social segments in the development and determination of democracy.

Heller also appraises the differences in the degree of democracy in the parliamentary systems of federalism with specific reference to diverse societies, like India. The designated principles of a democratic government do not change, but a revision may be

³² Karl, T. L., & Schmitter, P. C. (1991). Modes of transition in Latin America, southern and eastern Europe, pp. 269-284.

³³ Shin, D. C. (1994). On the third wave of democratization: A synthesis and evaluation of recent theory and research. *World politics*, 47(1), pp. 135-170.

³⁴ Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the market: Political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge university press, pp. 97-98.

³⁵ Heller, P. (2000). Degrees of democracy: Some comparative lessons from India. *World Politics*, 52(4), pp. 517-519.

seen in the implementation and influence of those principles on democracy. India being one of the largest democracies of the world, has been successful in keeping the democratic structures together, despite having issues in their operations. Nonetheless, the citizenship rights in the country are not infinite due to the bond between caste system and clientelist, since the local elite discourage sharing of power. In the period after 1980s, there was a lack of unity among lower-class organizations and also a dearth of objectives that gave rise to a change in Indian politics from patronage to identity-based populism, the focus of which was on religion, caste and ethnicity. As reliability on democracy starts to diminish, the locals return to the traditional networks, since the state banks on intimidation, however, a situation like this multiplies unrest and terrorizes individuals, particularly those living in remote areas.³⁶

According to Geddes' findings, economic prosperity is highly correlated with democracy, whereas economic adversity makes an authoritarian regime vulnerable. Moreover, an agreement between elites help in the establishment of a robust democracy, therefore, if the parties involved in the agreement genuinely stand by their pledges, then there will be a fair chance of a strong democracy.³⁷

1.3.5. The Social Forces Tradition Theory

The social forces tradition concept closely examines the origin of democratic governance with regard to the features and associations between the different social groups. A comprehensive study on this approach by Barrington Moore (1996),³⁸ observed the significance of the middle and lower or peasantry classes during the shift from agricultural to industrial society. The theory of social forces tradition created doubts about its

³⁶ Heller, P. (2000). Degrees of democracy: Some comparative lessons from India. *World Politics*, 52(4), pp. 517-519.

³⁷ Geddes, B. (1999). What do we know about democratization after twenty years?. *Annual review of political science*, 2(1), pp. 115– 144.

³⁸ Moore Jr, B. (1996). The Social Construction of Democracy: 1870-1990. *journal of social history*, 29(4), pp. 973-975.

pragmatic mechanism, still, the methodology revolves around the material benefits of the various social classes and decides that democracy is emerged when the social segments of a society struggle for economic success.³⁹ However, this theory only takes the social classes into consideration and not individual choices, which is the reason why it is not similar to strategic approach. This trend is further elucidated by G. Therborn (1977)⁴⁰ and D. Rueschemeyer (1992)⁴¹ G. Therborn (1977)⁴² and D. Rueschemeyer (1992),⁴³ whose claims focus on the leading role of the working class in the establishment of democracy, thereby ruling out any role of the elite or middle class in this quest.

According to Barrington Moore, the social classes play a significance role in nourishing a democracy and among the most influential segments are the working and feudal groups of the society. The ‘relative class power’ model highlights that democracy can be determined by the development of an organized working class and the weakening of the feudal class. The different social groups are basically organized to gauge their impact on the respective society and their motivation towards their interests are studied. However, this perspective is valid only for Western Europe and Latin America, therefore, the status of the social classes and the motivations behind them are not representative of the society as a whole. There are many ambiguities related to the comprehensiveness of the theory which does not elucidate the reasons behind shaping preferences of other social classes within a democratic structure.⁴⁴

³⁹ Bellin, E. (2000). Contingent democrats: Industrialists, labor, and democratization in late-developing countries. *World Politics*, 52(2), p. 177.

⁴⁰ Therborn, G. (1977). The rule of capital and the rise of democracy. *New Left Review*, (103), 3.

⁴¹ Rueschemeyer, D., Stephens, E. H., & Stephens, J. D. (1992). *Capitalist development and democracy* (Vol. 22). Polity: Cambridge.

⁴² Therborn, G. (1977). The rule of capital and the rise of democracy. *New Left Review*, (103), 3.

⁴³ Rueschemeyer, D., Stephens, E. H., & Stephens, J. D. (1992). *Capitalist development and democracy* (Vol. 22). Polity: Cambridge.

⁴⁴ Bellin, Eva. 2000. “ Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries. ” *World Politics* 52 (January): pp. 175– 205

1.3.6. Influence of the Military

The democracy and military dictatorship in Pakistan are discussed by S. Cohen (2011),⁴⁵ who assumes that the military in Pakistan has controlled the country throughout its history and analyzes that both democracy and dictatorship always struggle to gain legitimacy. In Pakistan's case, the constitution was never revered by the military dictators, therefore, internal security issues, weak governance and frail political parties have become the fate of the country. The role of military dictators is similar to a monarchy, however, the purpose of holding elections by these autocrats is to acquire legitimacy from the common people so that they can rule for as long as they want.

A. Saddiqa (2019),⁴⁶ discusses how military dictators in Pakistan legitimize their rule. She argues that the country's military promotes the establishment of hybrid regimes. She goes back in history to explain how successful military coups strengthened the institution's power and undermined civilian supremacy. The first constitution of Pakistan was annulled by General Ayub Khan who after coming to power unconstitutionally took charge as the president through elections and implemented the 1962 constitution. The military dictators General Zia-ul-Haq and Pervez Musharraf were no different as they trampled on the 1973 constitution and conducted elections in order to give nominal roles to the political leaders in government. The democracy in Pakistan has never flourished as there has always been an involvement of judiciary, civil and military establishments hindering the autonomy of democratic governments.

According to Saddiqa, the 20th century political model in Pakistan differs from the 21st century, since the recent past has shown new actors joining the same system of governance. She gives the example of Imran Khan's government who belongs to urban middle class and whose voters' base is also from the same social setup. The military

⁴⁵ Cohen, S. P. (2011). *The future of Pakistan*. Rowman & Littlefield.

⁴⁶ Saddiqa, A. (2019). Pakistan—From hybrid-democracy to hybrid-martial law. *Journal of south Asian and middle eastern studies*. 42(2), pp. 52-72.

exploited Imran Khan's social belonging to their advantage and considered him the best choice to become the prime minister. The author believes that Imran Khan gave discretion to the military to exercise their power in making strategic decisions. Saddiqa has no second thoughts about her hypothesis that the Pakistan military is the permanent guardian of the country and that democracy in Pakistan is effectively managed.

C. Jaffrelot (2016),⁴⁷ thinks otherwise and holds responsible the military as well as political leaders for collaborating with dictators to strengthen their authority. The military legitimizes its hegemony by promising a democratic system and holding elections. Despite knowing that the power is in military's hands, the political parties still participate in the elections which puts them in a difficult situation as a civilian government under a military dictator's rule creates a vacuum and gives rise to hybrid regime, which compels the civilian government to make arrangements with the military according to a power-sharing formula.

R. Dahl (1985),⁴⁸ gives a calculated analysis by shedding light on the discretionary powers given to the military for fighting against external threats, which in his opinion, may bounce on the civilian government as the military is empowered to combat. Also, with such powers, military may eat up major resources of the country or initiate a superfluous war, or in the worst scenario seize power of civilian government. In order to ensure balance, the rights of civilians must be protected and prioritized, since the purpose of military is to point out risks and ensure safety of civilians, however, a civilian government has the constitutional authority to take major decisions as and when needed.

May and Selachon (2004),⁴⁹ further discuss the situation of Pakistan and underscore the solid relationship of military, bureaucracy and influential elite of the country. The military dictators have governed Pakistan in civilian capacity, hence the impact of military control

⁴⁷ Jaffrelot, C. (2015). *The Pakistan paradox: Instability and resilience*. Oxford University Press.

⁴⁸ Dahl, R. (1985). Controlling nuclear weapons: Democracy versus guardianship.

⁴⁹ May, R. J., & Selochan, V. (2004). *The military and democracy in Asia and the Pacific*. Canberra: ANU E Press.

on political institutions and procedures should never be ruled out as its effects are subtle and gradual which makes the civilians believe that the country is ruled by elected representatives. The elections conducted under General Ayub Khan made him form a coalition with the political elite and General Zia-ul-Haq preferred to hold non-party elections. For authors like May, the democratic governments in Pakistan had been unsuccessful in building an environment suitable for reinforcing democracy, primarily because the elected leaders tried to keep their own power intact instead of pumping oxygen into the fragile democracy.

Zafar Iqbal provides additional insights into these reservations by highlighting the supremacy of the feudal, military and religious elite in Pakistan. He thinks that the interests of the elite are in direct conflict with democratic principles, therefore, Pakistan observes a tribal and feudal culture. The author holds the opinion that the elected leader like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif assumed power under the constitution of Pakistan, still these leaders remained unsuccessful in defending the democratic principles during their tenure. Zafar reflects on Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's rule and discusses the mistakes committed by him. For example, he preferred the power to remain in the Centre and overlooked the rights of smaller provinces. He also dissolved provincial assemblies and highly regarded the feudal elite. Moreover, his pursuit for Islamization eventually ended up in the weakening of democratic institutions.⁵⁰

Zafar Iqbal asserts rigging in elections of Pakistan and accuses the military of manipulating election results. He defends this allegation by narrating the general elections of 1990, which were held after the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto's government by the president. He believes Nawaz Sharif became the prime minister because of military's backing, since Benazir, who was contesting against the Sharif was controlled for carrying out election campaign. This blatant act raised questions among the masses about fairness of the elections, but at the same time, when Benazir served as prime minister for the

⁵⁰ Kalia, R. (2011). Pakistan: From the rhetoric of democracy to the rise of militancy. The New Delhi: Routledge, pp. 138-148.

second time, she did not care much about democratic ethics. Zafar counts incidents which directly challenged the democratic rules such as the dissolution of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's,⁵¹ provincial assembly and the nomination of judges of the superior court by her choice.⁵²

The challenges confronted by Pakistan with regard to its history of independence are highlighted by Bhargava (2015),⁵³ who says that the country inherited British systems of military, judiciary, and civil service. Pakistan was unable to strengthen these organizations as the country faced a number of issues soon after gaining autonomy. The ordeal of Pakistan did not end here, as the country experienced martial laws due to which the developmental progress suffered, mainly because of the vested interests of military dictators and elected leaders. At the present, the economic and security challenges have exacerbated to a point that according to estimates, only 10% of the population is able to afford a decent living, while the rest of the people are struggling to make their basic ends meet.

The analysis by Khan (2004),⁵⁴ reveals that the balancing instrument for Pakistan has been the use of defense budget and that the defense spending neither affects the economic growth of the country negatively nor does it pose burden during the drafting of annual budget. The research by Narayan and Narayan (2008),⁵⁵ on the impact of defense expenditure on external debt in Fiji between 1970 and 2005, contradicts Khan's analysis. Their findings indicate that the spending related to defense in Fiji showed impact a

⁵¹ Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) was formerly called North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (FATA) merged with KP in 2018 through the Twenty-fifth amendment to the constitution of Pakistan.

⁵² Kalia, R. (2011). Pakistan: From the rhetoric of democracy to the rise of militancy. The New Delhi: Routledge, pp. 148-153.

⁵³ Bhargava, V. (2015). Engaging citizens and civil society to promote good governance and development effectiveness, pp. 1-8.

⁵⁴ Hussain, F., Hussain, S., & Erum, N. (2015). Are defense expenditures pro poor or anti poor in Pakistan? An empirical investigation. *The Pakistan Development Review*, pp. 878-879.

⁵⁵ Narayan, P. K., Narayan, S., & Prasad, A. (2008). Understanding the Oil Price-Exchange Rate Nexus for the Fiji Islands. *Energy Economics*, 30(5), pp. 2686-2696.

number of years after it was discovered that the defense expenditures made up most of the domestic and external debts of Fiji.

The research by Aziz (2008),⁵⁶ takes the point of views of historians and concludes that Pakistan can be called a praetorian state since the real power of the country continues to be under the control of civil and military establishments. The military involvements began with the excuse of protecting interests of the armed forces as an institution. One of the reasons for the complex status of authoritarian proclivities in Pakistan could be the cause of a centralized rule which entirely ignored the significance of political and democratic institutions of the country.

1.3.7. The Political Learning of Civilian Leaders

The description given by N. Bermeo (1992),⁵⁷ focuses on the political learning of the leaders and followers in adapting themselves according to the events and changes in a political setting. The author studies the consequences of the learning process during the redemocratization process; the transitional phase from dictatorship to democracy. He cites the example of Gaetano Salvemini, who disproved the fascist dictatorship of Giolittian system in pre-fascist Italy, the establishment of which was only made possible due to the role of reactionary groups after being confronted by severe criticism from Left and Right. This is a living example of the dynamics of political beliefs and strategies by the leaders and followers which happen as a reaction and it stresses on the significance of political learning in understanding the past and not repeating the same mistakes in order to help boost the reconstruction of democracies. According to Bermeo, redemocratization goes through three critical phases; the collapse of dictatorship, the transformation to democracy and the integration of a new rule.

⁵⁶ Aziz, M. (2008) *Military Control in Pakistan: The Parallel State*, Routledge, Abingdon.

⁵⁷ A. William Salamone, *Italy in the Giolittian Era: Italian Democracy in the Making, 1900-1914* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), p. xx.

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

In the book “The soldier and the state,”⁵⁸ Huntington gives suggestion to civilians to keep themselves away from normal operations and decisions of the military, since civilians are officially authorized to prepare policies that cover these matters in detail. Nonetheless, the military experts should be authorized to execute these policies. The civilian control is categorically pointed out by Huntington, who believes civilians should not carry ambiguities towards the military, however, showing leniency in control over the military may end up in risking the democratic norms. It is therefore advised by Huntington that the military should adhere to its professional integrity by respecting civilian supremacy, safeguarding the constitution, and putting national interests above personal or institutional interests.

This study examines Samuel P. Huntington’s institutional theory, highlighting the concept of “objective civilian control” of the military, which supports the separation of civilian government and the military. This study plans to test Huntington’s theory of separation by using the forms of government in India and Pakistan as its case studies. The objective of this study is to seek answers to questions: How do the political systems of India and Pakistan look like? As British colonies gaining independence from the British Raj simultaneously, why has democracy in Pakistan not evolved like India’s? How has India successfully preserved its democracy? Who is responsible for Pakistan’s democratic failures: politicians, the military, or political structure? Can Islamization in the military post-1977 coup in Pakistan be the cause of religious extremism, which is on the rise? Has the revocation of the Eighth Amendment strengthened the legislative assembly in

⁵⁸ Huntington, S. P. (1957). *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil–Military Relations*. Harvard University Press.

Pakistan? Will the Pakistan Military's statement on non-involvement in politics help enhance the foundations of democracy?

The study focuses on a comparative research of the political systems of India and Pakistan since these countries gained independence from the British colonial rule in the same period. These particular cases have been selected due to my Pakistani background, providing me with familiarity with the cultures of both the countries under examination. The data required to study the subject in detail is easily accessible and the process of collection of primary data through interviews is expected to be managed smoothly. The selected cases will be studied for the period starting from India and Pakistan's independence in 1947, and will be analyzed with the help of qualitative and comparative methodologies. The research will be based on both primary and secondary data. The primary data will be collected through interviews from professionals who are working or have worked in public offices, politics, bureaucracy, military, media, or legal fraternity. The secondary data will comprise of academic writings, book chapters, scholarly and newspaper articles, and internet sources. A comparative study will be conducted on the analysis of the trajectory of democratization in India and Pakistan. This study encompasses the democratization process in India and Pakistan, with respect to periods of military rules and Islamization in Pakistan. I have filled the gaps of previous studies so that the future researchers can start from where I have concluded my study.

2.1. Structure of the Thesis

The research consists of six chapters and starts with the introduction of India and Pakistan, a brief history of the Indian subcontinent, and the size and demography of both the countries is included. The more functioning multiparty system in India after gaining independence, in contrast to Pakistan, experiencing the shades of democracy, dictatorship and hybrid regimes are analyzed. The first chapter draws on the objectives of the study and reviews literature on the topic of the study by highlighting the relationship between democratization and modernization, and factors like culture, religion, or ethnicity which

could influence the progress of democratization. It also encompasses the degree of democratization and the significance of democracy in relation to economic prosperity.

The second chapter concentrates on the research design and methodology to be used in the study. It addresses important questions pertaining to the research, the answers to which are pursued accordingly. The chapter outlines the structure of the thesis and the research strategy it adopts. The theory to support research is discussed which has eventually led us to the resolution of issues surrounding the democratic progress of India and Pakistan. This section also delves into the research method applied to the study, including the types of data collected and the process of data collection. Since, every research confronts limitations, therefore, the expected constraints that can affect data collection and/or analysis of the study are also discussed.

The third chapter explores democratization and authoritarianization in India and outlines the penetration of the East India Company (EIC) in the region, in the 17th century. The seizing of power from the EIC to the British raj is discussed in detail. The section further examines the emergence of the Indian National Congress Party, the Hindu law, the period of Congress party's rule followed by the coalition regimes, and the governance of Bhartiya Janata Party in the political system of India. The civil-military relations in the country, and the impact of these relations on India and on its democratization are also covered.

Similar to the third chapter, the fourth chapter is about democratization and authoritarianization in Pakistan. However, due to the elements of Islamization and religious extremism, this section incorporates more details. The chapter highlights the rule of Mughal empire in the Indian subcontinent, the EIC's control, the three constitutions of the country, and the struggle of Muslims for an autonomous country. The establishment of All India Muslim League party pre-independence and its role after the creation of Pakistan are discussed. The emergence of political parties other than the Muslim League, the martial laws, civilian governments, and Islamization in the country are also looked into. The chapter explores the reasons for religious extremism in Pakistan because of which the civilians have faced punishments, deaths and death threats. The

chapter explains the civil-military relations and the business empires run and owned by the military of Pakistan.

The fifth chapter includes interviews from serving and retired public officials, military and media personnel, and individuals from the legal fraternity. It explains the similarities and differences between the forms of government in India and Pakistan. The section reflects on the events that resulted in the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan and gives an overview of the impact of Soviet-Afghan war on the country. Moreover, the chapter highlights the advantages and disadvantages for Pakistan after partnering with the U.S. to fight the War on Terrorism. The instances of democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan are also reviewed and the political chaos in the country soon after gaining autonomy and the series of events which called for military coups in the country are probed into in the same section.

The sixth chapter which is the final chapter of the study, combines the research findings and outcomes through a detailed examination. The study is completed by conducting a comparative analysis of the two cases through examination and interpretation of the data collected and explored in this regard.

2.2. Research Strategy

The approach adopted for this research will examine the democratic progress in India and Pakistan with emphasis on Samuel P. Huntington's theory of "objective civilian control." The comparative analysis will be supported by the utilization of primary and secondary data so that the social dynamics of India and Pakistan can be analyzed. The results from the study will help in interpreting the direction of democratization in both the countries. Moreover, the causes of a significant uptick in religious extremism in Pakistan will be studied with particular focus on the roots of this malice.

According to Huntington, a civilian government should follow the military dynamics of the country by staying up to date and knowledgeable. Therefore, India and Pakistan's scope of control with respect to military will be determined with emphasis on the role of

civilian governments in Pakistan in establishing cooperation with the institution as per the constitution. The military's obedience to the respective civilian governments of India and Pakistan, as per the constitutions of their respective countries, will also be examined.

2.3. Case Selection

For the research, India and Pakistan are selected as case studies to review their political system, especially with regard to the military's influence. The study will examine how a large country like India with diverse ethnicities, has successfully retained its political system on the route to democratization. The case of Pakistan will also be studied in detail to look for the reasons why the country faced periodic military coups and why the institution's involvement is openly seen in the administration of democratically elected governments.

The current literature on the subject reveals that democracy in India is considered to exist at a moderate level of modernization. The modernization theory does not seem to apply to India and Pakistan; however, the study will skim through the challenges confronted by Pakistan, especially with regard to military interventions and will also discuss the civil-military relations of India and Pakistan. These will be understood with the support of various theories on the issue such as the strategic theory, social forces tradition theory and the diffusion theory. These approaches will enable in comprehending democratization processes of both the countries. The role of international financial institutions and external factors influencing the political system of a country in facilitating democratization will also be examined in the research.

The literature under study will look into the significance of the role of the major stakeholders of India and Pakistan, i.e. the political elites, the military and the judiciary, in setting the direction of democratization for the respective countries. With regard to Pakistan, the influence of feudal and religious elites will also be discussed in forming or deforming the democratic process of the country. The significance of political learning

will also be explored as it is a crucial element in transition from authoritarianization to democratization.

2.4. Data Collection and Analysis

The comparative study follows qualitative methodology approach and the research methods are placed accordingly. In this regard, primary and secondary data will be collected to get a wide array of input. The aim of the research is to evaluate Huntington's theory of separation by examining the forms of government experienced by India and Pakistan. The period under study will be from August 1947 to March 2024.

The primary data will be collected through interviews from experts who belong to diverse professions, such as bureaucracy, journalism, armed forces, politics, media, and law. Their valuable perspective will be published without any alterations, in order to maintain originality and authenticity. The secondary data will incorporate resources, including the historical and statistical papers, scholarly journals, Hindu Law and the Constitutions of Pakistan. To help understand Islamization in Pakistan, data collection in the shape of interviews, books, and academic papers, authored by scholars will be reviewed and interpreted accordingly.

2.5. Limitations of the Study

The research intends to collect primary data and carefully ensure the authenticity and reliability of secondary data. However, there may be some limitations to this thesis. One of the most noticeable limitations is the confidentiality of information which may not be imparted by individuals. Moreover, due to the apparent disharmony between India and Pakistan, interviewers from both sides of the border may refrain from sharing sensitive information. Furthermore, the interviewers may also not be willing to give an impartial opinion.

DEMOCRATIZATION AND AUTHORITARIANIZATION IN INDIA

The Crown rule in India, known as the British raj which began in 1858, was the era when the British ruled the subcontinent by establishing their government. The sun set on the British empire in the subcontinent after ninety years of official rule. There were two main regions integrated by the British raj; British India and the princely states. The British India's administration was under the United Kingdom and the princely states were ruled by the indigenous nobles, nonetheless, these states also operated under the British empire. The British raj was established after the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and was enacted on June 28, 1858. The authority from the East India Company (EIC) was thus transferred to the British Crown, which was represented by Queen Victoria who was formally announced the Empress of India in 1876. The British rule in India officially came to an end in August 1947 with the division of two independent states; The Union of India, later named the Republic of India and Pakistan or the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (including Bangladesh).⁵⁹

Before 18th century, the European states usually represented their power symbolically but with the passage of time, these states expanded their authority through the implementation of formal procedures. These procedures were applied to penetrate into the society and exercise their power through documentation, control and presentation of historical records. The European states enhanced their governance skills through the process of documentation as this helped in gaining important information. The data collected through documentation included health, finance, trade, demographics, education, crime, transportation, agriculture, and industry. The interpretation of this data required special expertise, however, its streamlining helped in the smooth functioning of a state.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Raj

⁶⁰ Cohn, B. S. (1996). *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton University Press, p. 3.

The creation of a functional and effective government or the project of state-building in Great Britain was interrelated with India as Britain's largest and important colony. The development initiatives of governance in Britain and India were common and included documentation, classification, boundary-setting and legitimation, therefore, the exchange of practices, experiences and ideas were often observed. For example, the inspiration from Indian civil service assisted Britain in developing Home services in their country. Similarly, the ruling authority for the empire, including India was nurtured through the British educational institutions in the Victorian period.⁶¹

In the mid of nineteenth century, the British Crown experienced changes which were greatly shaped by India and the broader empire, since the British Raj came across a new society, they used their own knowledge frameworks to understand it. The European states used the established processes and documentation in expanding and incorporating their dominance over the society and governance. The transformation in representation of the British Crown and the shaping of the state-building processes were mainly due to the relationship between India and Britain.⁶²

The British observers of India acknowledged various fundamental aspects during the 18th century, which included India's existing state system, although it was weakening, however, the country was home to distinctive state institutions, having a deep-rooted civilization and stable systems of self-governance. The large size of India and its increasing population required modification of existing state structures under the EIC.⁶³

⁶¹ Cohn, B. S. (1996). *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton University Press, p. 4.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 58.

3.1. The East India Company

The East India Company (EIC) was established in 1600 as a joint-stock company for trade in the region of Indian Ocean. It mainly functioned in the East Indies and then East Asia, however, with the passage of time, the Company extended its control over the significant areas of the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia. The EIC topped amongst the world's corporations, having a considerable military force of 260,000 soldiers, even more than the size of the British army of those times. The EIC reversed the west-to-east flow of precious metals that had existed since Roman period, proving its substantial influence over global trade.⁶⁴

In the middle of 1700 and early 1800, the EIC, which was originally chartered as the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East-Indies," controlled half of the global trade. The trading was particularly done in commodities such as cotton, silk, tea, opium, and spices. This was the period of the beginning of British imperial rule in India. It started with seizing control over military and administrative institutions of large Indian regions, formally starting after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 till 1858, when the British Crown took charge of the governance, following the Indian Rebellion of 1857.⁶⁵

The EIC had a well-established market system but did not possess natural wealth and its primary resources were dependent on the products of human labor. The Company achieved control of the state finances in the territories of Bengal and parts of South India through taxation thereby giving permits for the purpose of acquisition of goods for export and building of military power. With the passage of time, the Company adopted the characteristics of a European-style state having the capability of fighting a war, maintaining peace, levying taxes, and running administration. However, it faced financial

⁶⁴ Retrieved on May11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_India_Company

⁶⁵ Cohn, B. S. (1996). *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton University Press, pp. 57-58.

challenges and was dissolved in 1874, even though the government kept intervening to tackle the troubles. The Company was considered obsolete by the Government of India Act 1858 and this is how the government functions and armies were transferred by the EIC to the British Crown.⁶⁶

The main argument revolving around this period focused on the eligibility of a private company performing state functions which was dependent on royal grants and charters. This debate also anticipated the responsibilities of the private company towards the well-being of its subjects. A dual principle of power was established by 1785 in the Indian subcontinent, according to which the EIC possessed the power to control its territories for shareholder profit, which was dependent on the regulation by the British Parliament. The parliament reviewed the Company's governance in India every now and then. The EIC employees' loyalty rested with the British Crown, nevertheless, the indigenous people of India which also included the peasants and the rulers of allied territories, did not have any such commitments. There was a complicated relationship between the Company, the British Crown and the Indian subcontinent during this period as the EIC justified its legality in India through grants received from Indian rulers.⁶⁷

Moving to the second half of the eighteenth century, the EIC was confronted with the challenge of establishing a governing unit for the swift expansion of its territories in India, since the colonial experiences of the British in North America and the Caribbean was entirely different as the governance systems there were parallel to Great Britain. On the other hand, there were legal and constitutional difficulties surrounding governance in the subcontinent since the region was vast and culturally diversified. Although the condition of the existing public institutions in India was at a decline, however, there were concerns regarding the EIC's role in the country with regard to the recognition of those institutions and the sovereignty of the state. Nonetheless, these difficulties did not deter the Company

⁶⁷ Cohn, B. S. (1996). *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton University Press, p. 58.

to assume state-like attributes which included but were not limited to the ability of fighting a war, imposing taxes, and giving out justice to its employees as well as the growing Indian populace under its control.⁶⁸

One of the tragic incidents which happened in the second half of the eighteenth century was the catastrophic famine in Bengal which resulted in the death of around one third of its population. This was a consequence of the complicated process of identity of the landowners responsible for revenue payments to the EIC, since the British were accustomed to linking tax assessment with law. This calamity aggravated the issue of the revival of agriculture and maintenance of security. The nomadic gangs exacerbated the law and order situation in the area and hence their presence could not be overlooked as they were involved in manipulating the poor class and hindering trade activities. Moreover, the British authorities faced a number of challenges with regard to agriculture, starting from production to its administration. All these issues added to the complexities of the British rule.⁶⁹

3.2. The Reconfiguration of Established Modes of Authority and Governance

In 1772, under a new parliamentary act, Warren Hastings was appointed as the Governor-General of the East India Company (EIC). Hastings was earlier holding a prominent position as a commercial and diplomatic agent for the Company. He was tasked with forming a stable governance in Bengal as it was the territory symbolic for Indian complexities and an opportunity for the British. The appointments of officers in the EIC in Bengal were basically viewed as a means of wealth creation and securing an affluent life back in England. Hastings was confronted by a bureaucratic system in which he was part of a council of five members and considered first among equals. He planned to

⁶⁸ Cohn, B. S. (1996). *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton University Press, pp. 57-58.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 59

appoint a British officer for the post of “collector” based on preexisting Mughal revenue units and having executive and judicial powers within the demarcated districts.⁷⁰

In Hastings’ opinion, the Mughal administrative system best suited Indian traditions and therefore needed revival, although this system was entirely different from European norms. He also believed in the significance of having knowledge and experience of India, hence the study of classical Indian languages and traditions was encouraged among the Company’s younger officers in order to build a system of rule that was consistent with the local institutions. Nonetheless, this system was supposed to be administered by Englishmen to integrate the British ideas of governance and justice. The success of the administration was determined in line with the British standards of proficiently collecting revenues through rent and taxes. The Hindu and Muslim laws were applied in the Dewani (civilian) and Faujdari (military) courts, and the collector headed these courts. Hastings rejected the European predominant belief of Indian authoritarianism and insisted on the use of Indian law and traditions which were seen as codes. There were specialists who interpreted these codes and offered authoritative decisions, thereby challenging the general European myth of Indian governance.⁷¹

3.3. The Despotic Paradigm

The term "despot" is originated from a Greek word which means head of a household, it is also associated with the meaning of ruling as a master to a slave. Furthermore, in the Greek context, its meaning goes as far as a subjective rule, which is highlighted by Aristotle as the form of government where legitimate royal authority parallels the role of master over its subjects.⁷² An officer of the East India Company named Alexander Dow

⁷⁰ Cohn, B. S. (1996). *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton University Press, p. 60.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 60-62.

⁷² Koebner, R. (1951). Despot and despotism: vicissitudes of a political term. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 14(3-4), p. 276.

explained the negative consequences of this arbitrary rule on the people as these kind of empires are founded without adhering to law or the support of the local population. Dow elaborated that such rules lacked public spirit and loyalty, and individuals are only concerned about their own safety and security, overlooking the suffering of others. Since, the Mughal emperor was regarded as the sole owner of the land in India, he possessed the power to distribute grants and lands to nobles. Moreover, the honors rewarded by the emperor lasted for as long as the recipient lived, therefore, for Dow and other English historians, the arbitrary political authority did not bring good and instead gave rise to property insecurity.⁷³

The Mughal system, as believed by the British, had no proper rules of succession or a legal framework to take the course of rule of law without being influenced by money or nobility. Therefore, the Indian despotism ascribed to a pattern which endorsed the British rule in India during the 19th and 20th centuries, and which encouraged brave and compassionate rulers, who without limiting themselves to legal procedures and regulations could facilitate in providing robust justice. This reasoning vindicated the British authoritarianism in India as it was considered a solution to the supposed inefficiency of Indian judicial system, making way for the rule of “strong hand.”⁷⁴

3.4. The Governance by Religious Authorities

When the model, “India as despotic” was being established, around the same period, a move was made by Warren Hastings and his associates to change the image of India as a theocratic state. However, the country’s status of law and codes of conduct were viewed as thorough and well-established. These codes which integrated sacred laws for Hindus in particular, and for Muslims in general, contained deep historical roots that had

⁷³ Cohn, B. S. (1996). *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton University Press, pp. 62-64.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

progressed over hundreds of years. This legal heritage was backed by comprehensive texts, interpretations and explanations, the descriptions of which were given by legal experts.

In order to look for ways to restore law, order, and prosperity in the East India Company's territorial jurisdiction, a parliamentary committee explored the Company's affairs around 1772-1773. Some of the committee members who perceived India needed law, insisted on the introduction of British law and institutions. Since a constitution already existed in Bengal, Warren Hastings did not endorse the idea and argued that Hindus had ancient laws which were familiar to Brahman scholars and that the British law was incompatible for India, disproving the claims that India was ruled by "arbitrary will" only.⁷⁵

Hastings believed that these legal scholars honored Hindu law and hence, he had a lot of respect for those experts. In order to make the Hindu law available to British judges in civil courts, Hastings sought the services of eleven pandits from Bengal region for the compilation of Hindu law code based on shastric literature. This code was originally translated from Sanskrit to Persian and then into English by a civil servant named N.B. Halhed. The East India Company's courts were facilitated by the translated code in the beginning of the Company's judicial system.⁷⁶

The general belief of India's lawlessness was confronted primarily by Warren Hastings and then by Sir William Jones who asserted on the recognition of the prevailing legal traditions, specifically in Hindu and Muslim laws which were old and comprehensive. Sir Jones intended to collect and translate these laws into English in order to develop a legal framework that took inspiration from the rich historical and legal traditions of India and which substantially shaped the insight and administration of law in British India.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Gleig, G. R. (1841). *Memoirs of the life of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings, first governor-general of Bengal* (Vol. 3). R. Bentley, p. 401.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Mukherjee, S. N. (1964). Sir William Jones and the British Attitudes towards India. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 96(1), pp. 46-47.

3.5. The Characteristics of Hindu Law

The Indian case holds exclusivity with regard to its categorization of the existence of old legal framework, customs, and the introduction of British law. The Hindu law was completely modified into a type of English case law after the judicial system's reform in 1864, and the formation of provincial high courts. India had ingrained diverse legal systems which included Hindu and Muslim laws and a number of regional customs, yet these laws were often undocumented, that is why those laws combined with the imposition of British laws, did not work well. The English legal systems are currently in use in India as the books on Hindu law are full of records referencing the decisions of previous judges. Moreover, the Hindu law is created on the basis of the abilities of judges and lawyers in discovering and applying legal precedents which run parallel with the English legal traditions.⁷⁸

In the beginning, the East India Company respected the Indian law and customs and appointed local individuals to oversee the local courts. This approach was likely adopted to maintain harmony with the native culture and traditions dominant in the society. As time passed and the British control expanded in India, their authority over the territory also increased, which in turn resulted in a complex legal hierarchy. The tension and confusion between British legal principles and the local customs, both of which formed Indian law, ended up in a complicated legacy, leaving its marks on the modern Indian legal framework. Though, Warren Hasting and Sir William Jones were advocates of "ancient Indian constitution," however, their experiment led to the establishment of English law as the law of India.⁷⁹

The application of the local legal systems was made possible by Hastings in 1772, who introduced a system of hiring judges in India who were specialized in those systems.

⁷⁸ Derrett, J. D. M. (1961). The administration of Hindu law by the British. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4(1), pp. 11-12.

⁷⁹ Colebrooke, H. T. (1873). *Miscellaneous essays* (Vol. 2). Trübner.

However, the Hindu and Islamic laws did not cover the matters holistically or uniformly and were limited to legal matters like inheritance, caste, and marriage. The matters especially beyond the limits of regional customs were not included and therefore, in all such cases, the judges used their autonomous rights or dealt with fairness, impartiality and with the application of customary rules. This approach was progressively adopted by the British legal system in India to strike a balance between the local traditions and the British influence. The approach not only improved the Indian legal system, especially with regard to Hindu and Muslim laws, but it also made the state retract from its involvement in issues related to caste. As most of the legal codes were undocumented, therefore, this progress confronted no major obstacles.

The British Indian legislation gradually replaced Hindu law which included but was not limited to crime, evidence, trusts and contract. The British adopted a wise approach in enhancing old Hindu laws with the Indian Evidence Act and other acts by avoiding any interference with the local traditions. These steps by the British helped in allowing notable components to continue with regard to the native customs. Nonetheless, despite these steps, a confusion was created in the legal system due to the gap between the law, custom and incomplete method.⁸⁰ Moreover, the British colonial administration in India was challenged by Hindu law when individual components were disconnected from the larger system as traditional texts and potential misrepresentation of Hindu law were overlooked. The Hindu law was impacted by the British methodology and resulted in substantial changes, including the curtailment and expansion of rights and at times revoking them completely. The British judges practiced vigilance when drawing similarities between the Hindu law and foreign legal systems, however, the translation of Hindu rules into English legal terminologies inadvertently changed their original meaning and implications.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Derrett, J. D. M. (1961). The administration of Hindu law by the British. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4(1), p.14.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.18.

Among all the British Commonwealth countries, the Bombay High Court greatly influenced the Privy Council,⁸² as its advices were frequently given more importance in India. The dearth of complete understanding of the actual purpose of the sastric (scriptural) rules usually ended up in situations that did not suit the traditional Hindu customs, however, these rules were religiously followed.⁸³ The integration of Hindu principles with English legal concepts was common, even though the Anglo-Hindu legal system (influenced by the British culture and customs) often seemed to be more conventional than the sastric.⁸⁴ The implementation of Hindu law into a structure parallel to English law was not possible without the incorporation of English-type procedural rules within the original structure. It was materialized because of the robust growth in economy and the changes in social behavior which required traditional rules to welcome new needs, which influenced the pandits (Hindu clerics) to adjust traditional sources.⁸⁵

The traditional customary law in the Hindu legal framework was therefore expected to be replaced or incorporated with the English-style negotiable documents in the setup of new legal institutions. There were reservations with respect to the extent of integration of these foreign concepts into the Hindu legal system. The English legal text was applied in instances where the traditional rules did not provide a guideline on the interpretation of judgement or upholding of rights. As far as the rural areas were concerned, the ultimate source of legal authority followed "justice, equity, and good conscience." In case of testamentary bequests⁸⁶ and the allocation of undivided interests in coparcenary

⁸² "The Privy Council," is an official advisory body to the king/queen in countries like the United Kingdom. Although, the Council's role has become limited with the passage of time, still it is involved in giving advice on legal matters and government decisions.

⁸³ Derrett, J. D. M. (1961). The administration of Hindu law by the British. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4(1), p. 36.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.37.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

⁸⁶ Testamentary bequests are the defined provisions written in an individual's (testator) will which are to be transferred to person(s) or entity nominated in case of the death of the individual. The bequests are designed to distribute the assets of the testator to the designated recipients.

property⁸⁷, the judges usually adopted the English Common Law and Equity principles. Though it presented English legal principles into their proceedings, nonetheless, the introduction lacked conscious awareness.⁸⁸

The Hindu law is greatly influenced by the combination of traditional and progressive elements allowed by the Indian judiciary. Justice P. B. Gajendragadkar gets the credit for codifying the fusion of elements but despite all these efforts, there are some shortcomings i.e. the case law does not follow a proper pattern but still has an influence of sastric (scriptural) rules in the Hindu law. The displeasure over the fusion of Anglo-Hindu law has strengthened new codified system which combines Western legal concepts but conflicts with the Anglo-Hindu law. The issues in the Hindu law are usually discussed when a new regulation is drafted and with respect to its application, indecisiveness surrounds in choosing from age-old authorities or contemporary “community spirit.” The complications regarding reforms in Hindu law and decision-making exist because India is a multi-ethnic society with functioning caste courts.⁸⁹

3.6. The Emergence of a Movement; The Indian National Congress Party

In the aftermath of British Raj, the natives of India founded the Indian National Congress (INC) party in 1885, in order to achieve the goal of independence and reform. As time passed by, the party evolved in gaining wisdom, imparting traditions, and ultimately modifying itself into a mass movement in the first quarter of twentieth century. The Congress drafted its mission and since the party was a depiction of the society and their interest, therefore, it was rightfully acknowledged by the civilians.

⁸⁷ Coparcenary property is often referred to India's joint family system and inheritance laws. It relates to the joint property which is owned by Hindu undivided family (HUF).

⁸⁸ Derrett, J. D. M. (1961). The administration of Hindu law by the British. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4(1), pp. 42-44.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 44-46.

The Congress was basically an upper class political party, the structure of which was prudently established and organized as an interconnected movement. Due to the expansion of its ubiquitous presence, the party gained an identity and continued as a strong movement, which was extremely disciplined and strongly devoted to its mission. Britain invited the Congress to take charge of the central government in 1946, sighting its declining control of colonial rule.⁹⁰

3.7. The Path to Democratization and the Establishment of the Political System in India Post-1947

The democratization in India is uniquely placed in the context of research as its democratic process cannot be linked with a conservative theory or explanation. India is a country which successfully developed into a democratic nation with the integration of a democratic system. The transitional phase for Indian democracy was not easy and was confronted with a number of challenges and hostile conditions. The successful functioning of democracy in India is a perfect research study for sociologists as the country faces acute issues like poverty, illiteracy and ethnic diversity. The successful democratization in India has traces in the lengthy struggle of nationalists for independence from British rule in the subcontinent. The struggle helped India in gaining independence and establishing democratic governance. While this is an established fact, there still remains confusion among the scholars regarding the extent of influence the British rule possessed that helped in the evolution of democracy in India.⁹¹

According to a scholar, Sumit Ganguly, the British played an insignificant role in the development of democratic institutions in India. This stance is in line with the views of Indian nationalists who believe that it was actually the incessant hard work of Indians which helped in gaining independence from colonial rule and advancing the country to

⁹⁰ Kothari, R. (1964). The Congress' System' in India. *Asian survey*, pp. 1166-1167.

⁹¹ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), pp. 733-734.

achieve self-governance and democratic governance. Nonetheless, the presence of administrative systems developed during the British colonial rule also facilitated India in its transition to democracy. The already established systems helped in an all-inclusive governance structure to set the foundation for a representative system of government in the country.⁹²

The British regime in India operated through the incorporation of authoritarian norms, with the consent of locals, so that it can integrate British liberal ideals with imperial practices. The Indian National Congress skillfully used the contradictions arising from the liberal beliefs and colonial rule of the British.⁹³ The Indian National Congress focused on the weaknesses of the colonial rule and therefore, the party's leader Mahatma Gandhi developed means of protest to highlight the injustices and trickery exercised by the British imperialists. This benefitted the Congress in removing insecurities and weaknesses developed by the indigenous people overtime.⁹⁴

The leadership of Gandhi helped the Indian National Congress in developing the party through its transformation from an elite organization into a mass political movement with a wide and inclusive ideology. Gandhi was an active supporter of nonviolence, therefore, the principle of nonviolence and staunch commitment to the idea of "swaraj" meaning self-rule, suggested that he vowed to achieve social freedom which covered a broad focus on constitutional issues within the nationalist movement. This strategy gave rise to a blend of diverse plans which focused at challenging British colonial rule through numerous means.

India under the British colonial rule, saw mass protests under the non-cooperation movement in 1920-1922 and the civil disobedience movement in 1930-1931. However, these movements were weakened due to the risk of peaceful protests turning into violent conflict. The Congress leader, Gandhi's personal role helped in expanding these

⁹² McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 737.

⁹³ Varshney, A. (1998). Why democracy survives. *J. Democracy*, 9, 36, p. 40.

⁹⁴ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 737.

movements which included hunger strikes and his well-known salt satyagraha, in 1930. The Congress party played on multiple fronts by amicably cooperating and negotiating for constitutional reforms, all the while directly challenging the British authority.⁹⁵

The British Viceroy showed the interest of English Government in India to not only progressively educate the population under their rule, but also engage them in managing their region's affairs. Through an accommodation process, efforts were made to integrate Indian expertise alongside the authoritarian regime. This development resulted in the execution of the Morley-Minto reforms in 1909 and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in 1919. The former helped in the establishment of legislative councils and the latter intended to improve Indian participation in many areas of administration and encourage the steady development of self-governing institutions in order to accomplish the aim of a representative government in India as an important part of the British Empire. These restructurings set the foundation of elections into the Indian political system, although the eligibility and measures to assure the representation of certain groups was limited.

Besides the introduction of restricted form of political elections and utilizing several electoral processes, a system for structured political engagement was developed with the implementation of these changes. These reforms were carefully enacted through an extensive consultation system by the committees which collected input from all over British India. This input was achieved by the representatives of several societies who individually insisted on representing a certain segment of Indian society. The documents of these consultations show that India had an extensive community involvement at the turn of the 20th century. The structure of group consultation and rewards established the groundwork for the British colonial system of representation, even though the wider support for these associations was not verified.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), pp. 737-738.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 738.

The concessions made by the British rulers were believed to be driven by the principle of “divide and rule,” who were criticized for it at times. According to Gita Subrahmanyam, the British colonial rule justified its autocracy by designing and politicizing social tensions to maintain stability and effective control.⁹⁷ However, the proponents for communal electorates did not include all the British reformers, therefore, an agreement named the Lucknow pact was signed between the Congress and Muslim League in 1916, to support the continuation of this policy.⁹⁸

In the directly administered regions of India, the British colonial administration carried out pre-independence elections in two phases, the first in 1936-1937 and the second in 1945-1946.⁹⁹ Although, the voting rights for the natives were limited, the impact was positive as it helped in promoting impressive interactions and outlining party competition. The support for Congress party across different provincial constituencies was mixed which reflected the inconsistent popularity of the party across India. The Justice party in Madras and the Unionist party in the Punjab also aggressively contested for success in the elections. The legislative powers and electorate were expanded through the Government of India Act 1935 and therefore, the elections after that showed widespread support for the Congress as the party made successes over its rival parties. Moreover, in 1937, the Congress demonstrated earning political loyalty of significant population of India’s peasant which in other words extended the party’s influence beyond those who enjoyed the privilege of having voting rights.¹⁰⁰

The British colony of India finally achieved independence at the cost of an estimated loss of half a million lives and forced migrations of approximately 11 million Hindus and Muslims across the hastily drawn borders. The partition was actually due to the idea of

⁹⁷ Subrahmanyam, G. (2006). Ruling continuities: colonial rule, social forces and path dependence in British India and Africa. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 44(1), p. 87.

⁹⁸ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), pp. 738.

⁹⁹ Tudor, M., & Ziegfeld, A. (2010). Subnational Democratization in India: Colonial Competition and the Challenge to Congress Dominance. *Unpublished manuscript*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), pp. 738-739.

“two nations” theory, which was put forward by Mohammad Ali Jinnah during constitutional negotiations in order to support an effective Muslim independence and the power to protect the Muslims against the supremacy of a possible Hindu-majority state.¹⁰¹

The institutional model to fulfill the Indian National Congress’ commitment to a liberal democratic foundation and the Muslim League’s demands to safeguard was challenging to design. There was no implementation of the federal system of government as specified in The Government of India Act 1935, and instead of being protective, the communal electorates were considered divisive. The ruthless partition was not the ideal resolution for all the major stockholders to gain independence, however, to reach for an alternative consensus ended up in a failure.¹⁰²

The partition of independent India had far-reaching repercussions as the series of events that followed this historic moment reveal it. The Indian National Congress was completely in control of the constituent assembly which was responsible for drafting India’s independent constitution. Those representing the areas coming under Pakistan’s dominion were mostly excluded from the constitution-making process, and only a few of them were reintegrated into the Assembly as a goodwill gesture of the Congress. The Congress’ domination over the constitution-building process was absolute and it continued to remain so with a quick pace. The socio-economic disadvantage was mainly kept in view while granting concessions to “untouchables” and the tribal groups, however, calls for the protection of religious-based minorities were ignored. The elements of Nehru Report were incorporated into the constitutional structure, especially with regard to universal suffrage and the executive framework was the same as outlined in the Government of India Act 1935. The Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, B. R. Ambedkar, who was also an outspoken critic of Gandhi and the

¹⁰¹ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 739

¹⁰² Ibid.

Congress, included a section on fundamental rights, which was inspired from the American Bill of Rights.¹⁰³

The public figure, B. R. Ambedkar's opposition on Congress's prejudice towards the untouchables, did not deter the Congress to involve him which helped in the representational concessions made by the party for socially disadvantaged groups, and included about 15% of the untouchables and around 8% of the tribal populations, who were socially excluded for different reasons. The Gandhian ideals of impartiality and social reform helped the Congress to reach out to these groups and designate leaders for developing support basis in the respective communities and presenting reserved seats in the legislature in order to ensure fair representation of untouchables as well as tribal.¹⁰⁴

According to Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, there is some exaggeration in the extent of Congress's role in India's democratization. They contend that the basic factor behind India's transition from colonialism to democratization was the close relationship between bureaucracy and the leadership of Congress. There were times when democratic accountability was ignored due to the consensual bureaucratic transition from colonial rule to a democratic state as it provided the basis for executive control in India. S. Bose and A. Jalal make a comparison between the smooth transition in India and the messy situation in Pakistan. The establishment of new state structure in Pakistan resulted in instability and ultimate control by the military and civilian bureaucracy.¹⁰⁵

However, this perspective is an underestimation of the importance of the ideology and organization of the Indian National Congress and the party's skill to proceed to the new requirements of an independent and democratic India by transforming the colonial system. The Congress adopted an inclusive ideology for the formation of democratic norms and adjusted the British administrative structure for the modification of institutional systems and focus. The representational and practical leadership was

¹⁰³ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 738.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 740-741 .

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 739.

provided by Mohandas K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru who were prominent leaders of the Indian National Congress. They protested against the British rule and also played an important role in integrating the local and regional populations into combined Indian identity.¹⁰⁶

During the transitional phase to democracy in India, the military's incorporation into the administrative sphere (not political) was necessary, although the military's role usually complicates matters during the democratization process. In comparison to Pakistan, where the country had to develop a new military infrastructure from scratch, India had the privilege to align with the already established military after partition. Furthermore, the nationalist character of the Congress boded well with the highest ranks of the military which relatively helped in the smooth administrative transition of civilian control over military affairs.¹⁰⁷

The loyalty of the Indian military to their country and democracy dates back to the address by the first Commander in Chief of the Indian Army, Field Marshal Cariappa, who informed soldiers that there is no harm in being interested in politics as Indian citizens, however, they should stay away from internal politics of the military. He told the army personnel that they were supposed to serve the current government and refrain from drawing opinions. The Field Marshall told the army men that the institution of military does not prevent its soldiers from having political affiliations, nonetheless, their stature was above the prejudices based on caste and creed. The Field Marshall identified himself as an Indian and advised the soldiers to be proud of their Indian identity and encourage unity in the country, irrespective of one's religion, class or community. According to James Manor, the military's obedience to the civilian government was mainly due to the successful functioning of civilian institutions. This could be considered as one reason of military's non-involvement in parliamentary government system of the country, however,

¹⁰⁶ Varshney, A. (2022). How India's Ruling Party Erodes Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 33(4), p. 39 (note 24).

¹⁰⁷ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 740.

the separation of army, air force and navy from civilian government is another reason. Moreover, the separation was valid for the personnel below the higher ranks as the Indian military played a significant role in the incorporation of princely states and in handling the Jammu and Kashmir issues.¹⁰⁸

The integration of princely states which covered two-thirds of the subcontinent's area and one third of the population signifies the importance of Indian nationalist ideology. The integration of these states with hardcore conservatives ended up in the incorporation of the princely states into the adjacent provinces. The ideals of Indian nation became evident through the accession of princely states without any noteworthy opposition. This displayed the power of Indian principles which could supersede the regional sentiments as and when needed. The institutional systems of the colonial rule helped India in establishing the foundation of an independent government. The Congress played an important role in adapting the already maintained institutions such as military, police, and civil administration roles and organizations to new democratic structure and the country's modified frontiers. The Congress leadership can be credited for successful democratization of India which not only expanded and adapted but also established electoral politics and the democratic principles. The Indian nationalism helped in replacing the colonial state authority into a single ideology.¹⁰⁹

The smooth transition of India from authoritarian rule to democracy was made possible due to the ideology and organization of the Indian nationalist movement and the administrative and representative system developed by the British colonial rule. The remarkable and deviant transition of India distinguished it from the neighboring authoritarian regimes, however, the impact of British regime played a significant role in establishing the systems that were the jugular vein for the new independent country.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 740.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 741.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

3.8. Moving from Transitional to Consolidation Phase

The route to democracy for India was unusual and continued to be exceptional during its consolidation phase. A number of descriptions have been projected for India's democratic consolidation, focusing on the way the state's institutions progressed and the way the government confronted challenges pertaining to its legitimacy and authority.¹¹¹

The ability of India to not show inconvenience to the religious, regional, and linguistic protest movements in the apparently majoritarian democratic systems can be credited to the state's democratization success, according to political scientist, Arend Lijphart.¹¹² The likes of leaders such as prime minister Nehru, restrained from using their authority to overpower opposition, though after independence, the Indian National Congress enjoyed electoral supremacy.¹¹³ These leaders preferred to adopt a consociational grand coalition to give way to power-sharing over majoritarian policies. The factors which played a role to the consociational approach included India's socio-economic diversity, practical leadership, effective linguistic federalism, and a culture of compromise.¹¹⁴ Lijphart contends that the consociational politics helps in safeguarding democratic stability even if faced by challenges such as Indira Gandhi's despotic leadership and interference by the Centre.

Contrary to Lijphart views, Steven Wilkinson is of the view that India, under the British Raj had a constitutional system similar to the consociational model which had well-developed allocations for religious and caste groups in provincial governments and legislative assembly since 1920s.¹¹⁵ He reasoned that what apparently seemed to be a "divide and rule" approach intended to undermine Congress' supremacy and could be

¹¹¹ Lijphart, A. (1996). The puzzle of Indian democracy: A consociational interpretation. *American political science review*, 90(2), p. 258.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 260.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 262–263.

¹¹⁵ Wilkinson, S. I. (2000). India, consociational theory, and ethnic violence. *Asian Survey*, 40(5), p. 773.

regarded as the consociational strategy so as to tone down religious tensions through constitutional mechanisms for the safeguard of minority representation. Furthermore, Wilkinson disagrees with Lijphart on the latter's stance that Nehru and Indian National Congress were inclined towards sharing power, and emphasized that both showed resistance to group rights provisions with limited acknowledgement of special measures for scheduled tribes and castes. There was defiance shown even during discussions regarding representation in government employment and expanding group rights to other low caste community. The leadership of Congress and Nehru opposed linguistic restructuring of the federal system during 1950s.¹¹⁶ The ethnic and separatist movements were oppressively confronted and claims of minority rights that confronted the government in the Centre were resisted, unless were forced to do otherwise due to external factors.¹¹⁷ Due to the system implemented by the Congress during this period, India was exemplified as a control state where the religious minorities, lower castes, and linguistic minorities were not only largely excluded from government positions and political influence but they were also denied cultural rights.¹¹⁸

The institutions of India before independence were primarily planned to acknowledge and accommodate national diversity through federal framework and consociational strategy. Nonetheless, the constitution of India post-independence adopted a more majoritarian approach to encourage inclusivity. The approach of Nehru focused on territoriality and even though the institutions in the federal structure were somehow strengthened after 1956, Nehru did not seem to be pleased about it.¹¹⁹

The depiction of Indian state is also explained through empirical evidence which is in contrast to the consociational approach. The power-sharing concepts in India before its

¹¹⁶ Wilkinson, S. I. (2000). India, consociational theory, and ethnic violence. *Asian Survey*, 40(5), pp. 777-778.

¹¹⁷ Lustick, I. (1979). Stability in deeply divided societies: Consociationalism versus control. *World politics*, 31(3), pp. 325-344.

¹¹⁸ Wilkinson, S. I. (2000). India, consociational theory, and ethnic violence. *Asian Survey*, 40(5), p. 770.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 777-778.

independence were idealistic because of the restricted level of representative government. During that period, the Indian state was controlled by the British rulers and the inclusion of the locals on executive positions was motivated by practical considerations. These aspects were due to the colonial state's limited legitimacy and the significance of a functional administration. The constitutional assembly after independence was controlled by the Indian National Congress, and resultantly, the constitution followed majoritarian Westminster model. Therefore, the Indian democracy was persistently influenced by the heritage of British Raj not only during the transition, but also during integration, albeit to a lower extent. The framework of government by the Congress recognized several groups as well as grievances, nonetheless, the acknowledgement remained biased and followed the terms of Congress leadership.¹²⁰

A gradual shift in the political dynamics of the country was observed after the primary control of the Congress over the distribution of government sources, after the formation of political parties. It is a natural phenomenon that where there are resources, there are conflicts. The Indian political system is characterized as "patronage democracy" by Kanchan Chandra, who highlights the authority of Indian officials in the allocation of state resources to certain individuals or electoral segments, totally based on political inclinations. Chandra contends that since Indian government is prejudiced and widespread, therefore, the politicians and political intermediaries in the country prefer to mobilize individuals on the basis of ethnicities and this procedure prompts the voters to make the government resources available to them. Nonetheless, this does not necessarily affect the democratic integration as in competitive electoral setting identities can be fudged. Moreover, in instances where the election results can be impacted by political authority, there is minimal possibility of exclusion of minority groups or emergence of any conflict due to the exclusion.¹²¹

¹²⁰ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 741.

¹²¹ Chandra, K. (2007). *Why ethnic parties succeed: Patronage and ethnic head counts in India*. Cambridge University Press, p. 287.

The conclusion drawn by James Manor with regard to Indian identity suggests that ethnicity in Indian politics is susceptible to the complexities related to politicization and mobilization in the country.¹²² Since India represents a heterogeneous society, therefore, Manor's analysis takes cues from Indians' accessibility to choose from multiple identities. The preferred identity by an individual can vary from religion to region to political affiliations, however, these diversified identities may help in weakening pressures on the incumbent government and in strengthening a country's democratic institutions. The diluted pressures resulting from diverse identities in turn help in preventing prolonged and stubborn conflicts in the country and this could be one of the reasons how a large country like India has remained intact.¹²³ The political affiliations based on an individuals' identity and the incidence of communal violence in India are interconnected with rivalry based electoral politics and instability in the country. The contentions surrounding electoral politics in India might be a cause of concern for the democratic pros, however, the robust federal structure in the country has always helped in ensuring peace and stability, otherwise the absence of a strong federal system could have been alarming for the survival of democracy in India.¹²⁴

The constitutional foundations of the Indian federal system are fairly weak; therefore, the substantial power is centralized at the national level. A dominant central authority was established by the Nehruvian legal framework which controls state autonomy through budgetary restrictions in events of political interference, especially the regular enforcement of "president rule." The invocation of Article 356 of the Constitution laid down that the president "may assume to himself all or any of the functions of the state" in the instance of the "constitutional failure of state machinery,"¹²⁵ allowing the Centre to

¹²² McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 744.

¹²³ Manor, J. (1996). 'Ethnicity' and politics in India. *International affairs*, 72(3), p. 463.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 473.

¹²⁵ Dua, B. D. (1979). Presidential rule in India: a study in crisis politics. *Asian Survey*, 19(6), p. 612.

dissolve provincial governments at its will. This discretion is occasionally influenced by party politics.¹²⁶

The federal government, however, faced challenges from 1950s, which surfaced due to regional mobilization, the demands for the linguistic restructuring of provinces, in particular. The political rivalry against the Congress party effectively developed in a fragmented manner on regional level, with numerous parties and alliances gaining power at the provincial level. This could be seen in 1990s when the Hindu-nationalist Indian People's Party (BJP) gained recognition, however, its support base was dense in a few major provinces. The BJP also increased its influence through coalitions with various provincial level parties.¹²⁷

The regionalization of politics with regard to the complicated nature of Indian identity is explained by scholars like Alfred Stepan, Juan Linz, and Yogendra Yadav, who hypothesize this as the "state nation." It is believed that the political structures in India replicate numerous organized socio-cultural identities which live together and complement each other.¹²⁸ On the one hand, the Indian voters continue to stay loyal to national unity and identify themselves with federal institutions, nonetheless, they feel more connected to the regional parties and politicians. The state-level politics in the federal electoral system in India has become the major determinant of party competition in national elections. The results of regional contests usually ascertain the outcomes of national election results. This change has negatively impacted the control of Congress on national level and the frequent occurrence of national coalitions and electoral alliances.¹²⁹ The prime minister's role has also transformed from an authoritative figure into a convener of the coalition government. These changes have given rise to "puzzle of political stability," according to Subrata Mitra. This stability is credited to the successful

¹²⁶ Khan, M. G. (2003). Coalition Government and Federal System in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, p. 170.

¹²⁷ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 745.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

electoral process that promotes a stable and authentic political structure. The political parties are essentially forced to cooperate, compromise, make concessions, and reach consensus so as to establish effective alliances and coalitions.¹³⁰

Initially, the federation in India after independence, took unilateral decisions in redrawing the political map of India, thereby influencing the rights of the states in boundary modifications. The dominant character of the Centre can be understood by the division of Assam for Nagaland and Meghalaya, bifurcation of Bombay, and ceding parts of West Bengal to Pakistan, which showcase the Centre's overriding power. The emergence of coalition governments and the rise of regionalism posed a threat to the central authority. The governments run by parties like the National Front, Left Front, and United Front encouraged cooperation between Centre and the states. The coalition governments changed the dynamics of power which resulted in the changes on federal level, highlighting blend of Centre and uniform characteristics. The supremacy of power in the Centre was condemned, particularly in the field of economic planning, however, the progress of coalition politics and regionalism resulted in the changes in balance of power between the Centre and the states.¹³¹

The primary phase of federalism in India was between 1950 and 1967 and it was symbolic of the mighty dominance of the Congress party at the central and provincial levels. The federal principle of government was strengthened by the constitution as well as by the political acumen of Nehru. The Congress party's top leadership and Nehru possessed influence over the selection of chief ministers, ministers, and the candidates for legislative elections. The Congress party's central leadership followed the rule of dissidence since it made the chief ministers enjoy limited power. This rule bore fruit for the party as six chief ministers were made to resign under the Kamraj plan, in 1963. A total of three elections were held during the primary phase of federalism i.e. 1952, 1957 and 1962. The Congress

¹³⁰ McMillan, A. (2008). Deviant democratization in India. *Democratization*, 15(4), p. 745.

¹³¹ Khan, M. G. (2003). Coalition Government and Federal System in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 171-172.

party won election in majority of the provinces in each of the three polls, including absolute majorities in numerous states and also a majority in the parliament. Furthermore, the Communist Government in the state of Kerala was dismissed through the implementation of Article 356, which was unjustly used by the Congress to ensure their win.¹³²

The founding of the Planning Commission in India, in 1950, facilitated the Centre to dominate the states. This Commission was presided over by the prime minister and a few of the ministers were its members. The Centre drew a lot of criticism over its exceeding powers due to the control of the economic policy by the Planning Commission, which limited the state governments to local administrations. The institution overrode the constitutional body's Finance Commission's powers by apparently working as the cabinet. A number of states expressed their displeasure over the Planning Commission, particularly West Bengal, which opposed the significant presence of the institution as it interfered with the territories that fell under state subjects.¹³³

In 1952, another institution with the name National Development Council (NDC) was established, which apparently meant to be more democratic as it also comprised of chief ministers as members. Nonetheless, the actual purpose of the NDC was to maintain the influence of Centre over the states. This became evident when in one of the institution's meetings, the states gave up on their right for the imposition of certain taxes, despite the issue being constitutional. Since, the Congress party had an edge over the center-state relationship, therefore the states were not in the position to have an effective say.¹³⁴

In order to encourage uniform policies and to deliberate mutual issues, Regional Zonal Councils were setup under the State Reorganization Act, however, these advisory bodies functioned within the supremacy of central system, overlooking their actual purpose of

¹³² Khan, M. G. (2003). Coalition Government and Federal System in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, p. 171.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

promoting cooperative federalism. The operations of the Indian government in the primary phase of the country's federalism followed a framework similar to unitary structure despite having a federal system and therefore, it can be categorized as a period where the Centre had supremacy over the states. The federal system faced no objection from the states in handing over some of their powers to the Centre, nonetheless, it created a complex situation for India in its initial stage of independence.¹³⁵

In the second phase of Indian federal system, which was between 1967 and 1977, a number of important events and challenges took place. The most significant event was the fourth general elections held in 1967, which marked the end of Congress' political rule over the country since the successive government was formed by the coalition of political parties. The Congress party faced a setback when it split in 1969, which benefitted the other political parties to form governments in some states, while the government in Centre misused Article 356 and included defections in order to regain power. The assertion of rights by non-Congress governments and resistance by the Centre for these demands led to worsening of the conflict amid the Union and the states, between 1967 and 1971. The increase in the demand for state autonomy resulted in the establishment of the Administrative Reforms Commission and the Rajamannar Committee. These institutions were founded with the intent of addressing Centre-state relations, nevertheless, the recommendations of both the entities failed to be entertained.¹³⁶

In 1980, when Mrs. Gandhi resumed power, she dismissed the Janata party governments in nine states by using Article 356. However, the subsequent elections in these states saw the regional parties securing power in several regions and the formation of non-Congress governments. In 1984, Rajiv Gandhi became the prime minister of India, who sought to make alliances with regional parties but yearned to concentrate power in the Centre. The

¹³⁵ Khan, M. G. (2003). Coalition Government and Federal System in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, p. 176.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

government of Rajiv Gandhi worked on policies of economic growth; however, he was confronted with challenges in gaining electoral majorities. Rajiv Gandhi showed his inclination towards decentralization, but the decisions made by him did not involve state governments, that is why his rule revolved around disputes over Centre-state relations. The second phase of Indian federalism demanded state autonomy, efforts for decentralization and difficulties in realizing policy outcomes in the wake of changing political scenes. Therefore, this period was a complicated interchange of Centre-state forces. The representation of regional parties in the lower house increased due to the enhancement in their vote bank, which went up by 100 percent in the 1990s.¹³⁷

The functioning of a healthy government signifies parliamentary majority, nonetheless, when there is an absence of such a majority in the developing countries, a coalition government is formed by the alliance of numerous parties. The precedence of coalition governments in India was set in 1989 and consequently, the supremacy of the Congress party became a privilege of the past as this is when the Centre was taken over by coalition governments. The regional parties also rose to prominence and effectively practiced their influence in this period. All the governments that were formed between 1989 and 2014, with the exception of P.V. Narsimha Rao's rule of minority mandate, coalition governments had the support of regional parties.¹³⁸

The formation of coalition governments turned out to be a breath of fresh air for India as the alliance promoted a positive change among the politicians who either formed or joined regional parties in order to make their position significant in the establishment of the government in the Centre. The transformation of the political culture of parties ruling the

¹³⁷ Ziegefeld, A. (2012). Coalition government and party system change: Explaining the rise of regional political parties in India. *Comparative Politics*, 45(1), p. 69

¹³⁸ Khan, M. G. (2003). Coalition Government and Federal System in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, p. 182.

largest democracy of the world to the rising trend of regional parties was the way forward in the strengthening of democracy.¹³⁹

The motivation behind ruling in a coalition government carried the benefits of achieving personal and party goals, which was against the general belief that the sharing of power by regional parties in the Centre was to form consensus. These parties had a relatively insignificant role in the matters of governance; however, the intent was to gather popular support through the extension of their exposure on national level. Moreover, the regional parties established their presence within the states as well as in the governance nationwide with the formation of coalition governments.¹⁴⁰

The Constituent Assembly in India, having a strong unitary bias, functioned within the framework of the Government of India Act, 1935, while drafting the country's constitution. The governance of India was primarily centralized until the country became independent, making the government strong in the Centre. This in turn, strengthened the culture of administrative practices with Centre having the authority and decision-making powers. The coalition government led by the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) tried to follow a more federal approach which was apparent by its unpopular use of Article 356, which enables the implementation of president's rule in the states. This tradition was opposite to the earlier governments in India, run by a single party which possessed dominance in the country's political environment.¹⁴¹

After more than seven decades of independence, India has been rejoicing as the world's largest democracy except between 1975-77, when a state of emergency was declared. With respect to religion and language, India is a diversified country, however, it was not until 1990, that the country started growing rapidly. The role of each successive government in India will be discussed in detail in this chapter to have a better

¹³⁹ Khan, M. G. (2003). Coalition Government and Federal System in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, p. 167.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

understanding of the democratic and/ or autocratic norms followed by individual and coalition parties. The role of these political parties in the formation and functioning of the Indian government is deliberated in chronological order starting from the country's independence in 1947.

3.9. The Indian National Congress Party's Government

The essential principles of the Congress movement's ideology were non-violent nationalism, intellectual tolerance, freedom of speech and tolerance of opposition. After independence from British colonial system in 1947, the Indian National Congress (INC) surfaced on the political scene as the dominant party of India. The book, *The Congress "system" in India*, by Kothari, R. elucidates that one-party system was despised by the Congress party and it continued on working for strengthening of democracy by welcoming rights and freedom of the people.¹⁴² The Congress emerged as a movement and therefore, even after independence, the party persisted to be active on this front.

The establishment of the significant characteristics of the Indian party system became possible due to the Congress' focus on nation-building. The party did not possess authoritarian characteristics, however, it identified parallels with the movement and official parties of the communist and non-communist developing countries.¹⁴³ The Congress movement was equally popular even after independence because the institutions in India continued to function without any restriction. Moreover, the unwarranted and one-sided struggles in the country were neither encouraged nor unrestricted.¹⁴⁴ The main feature of the ideology of Congress party has been the promotion of democratic norms

¹⁴² Kothari, R. (1964). *The Congress' System' in India*. Asian survey, pp. 1166-1167.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 1167.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

and following the Panchayat raj leadership style, also known as democratic decentralization.¹⁴⁵

The Congress party faced opposition with the rise of a number of political parties, overtime, however, this did not influence the popularity graph of the Congress, which was generally acknowledged as an embodiment of historical unanimity. The party also enjoyed continuous backing and trust. This privilege of the Congress led to a political competition within the party, which in turn resulted in a complicated system of formation of groups within the Congress. These factions existed at each stage of political engagement and government operation and intertwined through hierarchical “faction chains.”¹⁴⁶ The origin of these factions was a result of leadership competition on individual level going up to organized structures which included functional networks and social groups. This process brought about the formation of a patronage system in the rural areas of India, which in turn gave rise to gradual participation of kinship and caste institutions and developed a framework of pressures and settlements within the community.¹⁴⁷

The factional system in the Congress operated through two distinct levels of political organization. One level comprised of the politicians on crucial organizational positions in state and district Congresses and the other level included a group of “link men” who were working in the field. This system operated with the goal of reinforcing political competition to encourage new leadership hailing from diverse social backgrounds. The system within the party reflected the complicated structure of conflict, mediation, bargaining and consensus-building. Occasionally, the new leadership within the Congress played the primary role of opposition to the government at the state level and hence, this process worked as the main source of substitute for leadership in Indian politics. Since, the Congress operated as an organization of consensus and trusted its widespread network

¹⁴⁵ Kothari, R. (1964). *The Congress' System' in India*. Asian survey, p. 1166.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 1163.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 1167.

of factions, therefore, these developments served as the main competitive mechanism in the Indian political system.¹⁴⁸

The Congress enhanced its strength through the general elections, intra-party elections and the selection of party candidates for general elections. The factional structure was also properly managed by the vigorous participation of central leadership with the help of mediation, inter-level coordination and arbitration within the Congress. The function of this system at the highest levels of the party, the initiation of the central executive and the effective arbitration after the demise of Mr. Nehru for governmental successor, determined the well-organized structure of the Congress. The Indian politics revolved around the Congress organization, its factions, and the party's competitive relationship with the government. It was incumbent on the Congress to count on the complex network of factionalism and consensus-building in order to rule and face the multiple challenges surrounding the newly independent country.¹⁴⁹

A dominant party system like the Congress possesses two main structural features. Such a party promotes flexibility and is diverse which gives space for more representativeness and sustains internal competition. Moreover, it welcomes the integration of movements and groups from outside the party so that the opposition parties can be constrained from gaining power. It is instrumental for a dominating party to create internal checks to maintain balance of power, helping the party to remain committed to the policies, principles, and values every now and then. This commitment ensures the legitimacy of the political system and the institutional framework supporting the party. In the long run, these measures helped the Congress strengthen and survive through the perception of incessant challenge. Conversely, the party's control depended on the party itself, obtaining strength from party failures and at times achieving considerable success on losing control of a situation or facing internal issues.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Kothari, R. (1964). *The Congress' System' in India*. Asian survey, p. 1163.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 1164.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 1164-1165.

The Indian National Congress party, “a favorite example of a dominant party in a competitive party system, was thought to be the backbone of the developing world’s best institutionalized democracy.”¹⁵¹ However, with the weakening of the political system in India and the slow decline in the strength of the Congress due to the communal riots and deterioration of institutions in India, the control of the party began to diminish in the 1990s,¹⁵² although, the political pundits warned about the societal influences and extensive turmoil. These factors gave rise to the popularity of those parties which focused on caste and religion, that were inconsistent with parliamentary democracy. The ascend of Bhartiya Janata party (BJP) through its win in the parliamentary and state elections between 1991 and 1996, supports this conviction.¹⁵³

The Indian National Congress remained in power in India for 44 years in the first fifty years of the country’s independence. The party proved instrumental in developing a modern political system for India. The Congress began winning elections in India, starting from the first general elections in 1952 till the sixth general election in March 1977, ruling not only in the Centre but also in majority of the states. This achievement was not possible without the wisdom of party leadership and its structural scope. Despite the unparalleled popularity of the Congress and its vote bank, the multi-party elections were regularly held across the country on all levels. Moreover, the losing political parties have always conceded to the victory of the winning party.¹⁵⁴

The attributes that set the Congress apart from other political parties has been its emphasis on “organizational problems” and “rules and regulations,” according to Myron Weiner. These characteristics influenced individuals possessing different political inclinations and constituencies, to join the party, at least for two decades after independence. The

¹⁵¹ Sartori, G. (1976). *Parties and Party Systems: Volume 1: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge University Press, p. 124

¹⁵² Kohli, A. (1990). *Democracy and discontent: India's growing crisis of governability*. Cambridge University Press.

¹⁵³ Candland, C. (1997). Congress decline and party pluralism in India. *Journal of International Affairs*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 21.

Congress owned a competent organization, exceptionally successful leadership and motivated party workers, therefore, until 1948, the party welcomed other parties to function within its organization even if they did not share similar organizational structures and autonomous ideologies.¹⁵⁵

The governance of Congress enhanced the political health of India by inculcating optimism in the government and politics of the country. The supremacy of the civilian government was strengthened through the ideology of the interdependence of civilian government with the survival of the country. The Congress enjoyed the privilege of having a huge organizational heritage, a mature leadership and command of institutional backing. These prerogatives helped the party in following the competitive model of development with respect to mobilization and public cooperation whenever there was a need for political participation of individuals. This procedure eliminated the need of administrative control and police supervision. The Congress gave discretionary powers to the military in running internal administration and formulating policies in order to build a relationship based on mutual trust. This resulted in the establishment of a strong civil-military relationship, to uphold respect for civilian rule.¹⁵⁶

The Congress carried out a number of reforms in order to ensure prosperity and harmony in India. Among the party's initiatives, the significant ones are the reorganization of the states according to language, elimination of social inequalities and granting of certain rights to the underprivileged class of the society. The Congress also eradicated feudalism, curbed violence and introduced labor unions covering protective labor regulations. All this restructuring facilitated in neutralizing the political hostilities. Despite fighting the odds, the Congress stayed away from exercising authority over the masses. The party highly regarded the minority rights, including the political minorities and welcomed consensus on all national issues. The Congress was fortunate to have a charismatic leader,

¹⁵⁵ Candland, C. (1997). Congress decline and party pluralism in India. *Journal of International Affairs*, p. 22.

¹⁵⁶ Kothari, R. (1964). The Congress' System' in India. *Asian survey*, pp. 1161-1173.

the first prime minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru, and the rich legacy that the party inherited as a movement. These were the forces behind the power and reputation of the Congress. It was Nehru who not only brought the country on one page by eliminating troublemakers but also led the country to the path of development and modernization. He instilled the values of independence, objectivity and built India's institutions. Nehru genuinely believed in democracy and therefore, his willpower helped in establishing a solid base for India to strengthen the country's democratic institutions.¹⁵⁷

After the death of Nehru in 1964, the situation inside the Congress party started to get bad as a split between the party in government and the party in organization took place. The new prime minister of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri, was elected by the Congress party and supported by the then President Kumaraswami Kamaraj. The rule of Shastri was short-lived as he passed away in January 1966,¹⁵⁸ two years after swearing in as the country's premier. The death of Shastri caused a rift between the Congress party for succession and therefore, the party was divided into two groups; the senior members called the syndicate and the younger leaders. The daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, was eventually elected as the prime minister by the syndicate. The Congress faced a setback in Lok Sabha (lower parliament) and state assembly elections in 1967, when the party was unable to win most state assemblies, although, it was able to get majority in the parliament. The conflict between the party members deepened, consequently resulting in a split in the party in November 1969.¹⁵⁹

The group of the Congress party on Mrs. Gandhi's side contesting in the general election of 1971, performed exceptionally well on the slogan "garibi hatao" (eliminate poverty). However, Mrs. Gandhi dealt with the party issues in an autocratic manner, which had diverse effects on the party as an organization and this situation ended up in the

¹⁵⁷ Kothari, R. (1964). The Congress' System' in India. Asian survey, p. 1170.

¹⁵⁸ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lal_Bahadur_Shastri

¹⁵⁹ Kochanek, S. A. (1968). The Congress Party of India: The Dynamics of a One-Party Democracy, pp. 407-444.

deinstitutionalization of the party. Additionally, the government in the Centre during Mrs. Gandhi's rule, was threatened by the provincial power movements and protests. It was commonly believed that the Congress losing control on the party was due to the economic challenges faced by the country and also Congress' unfulfilled promise of restructuring the society and economy.¹⁶⁰

The commitment of Nehru as the prime minister of India brought prosperity to the country. He was a visionary leader who played an important role in the industrial development of the country. Nehru did not indulge in modifying the social patterns of agricultural production and was successful in introducing the import substitution-oriented industrialization policy (disavowed in the 1990s). This policy was a milestone in the growth of a highly competent industrial sector and technological expertise. It was through Jawaharlal Nehru's efforts that the developmental challenges were bravely faced, and the states' demands were skillfully fulfilled. It was only after the death of Nehru that India was surrounded by both internal and external issues, with a number of challenging movements, famine in 1965 and 1966 because of a prolonged drought, the 1965 and 1971 war with Pakistan, and the influx of refugees due to the aftermath of the war in 1971, which resulted in the separation of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) from Pakistan. Alternately, Indira Gandhi's rule brought drastic changes in the industrial sector of India. A number of labor intensive industries were nationalized by Mrs. Gandhi due to the bad shape of the economy, but this step resulted in the reduction of capital output and a rise in unemployment.

The impulsive nature of Mrs. Gandhi led her to announce a national state of emergency in June 1975 after she was found guilty of breaching election regulations by the Allahabad High Court, which ordered her dismissal as the prime minister and banned her for six years from taking a government position. A revised executive order of Maintenance of

¹⁶⁰ Candland, C. (1997). Congress decline and party pluralism in India. *Journal of International Affairs*, pp. 24-25.

Internal Security Act was used by Mrs. Gandhi to save her premiership. It was through this order that the political opposition as well as trouble-makers for Mrs. Gandhi were incarcerated and imprisoned, the press was censored and there was a ban on opposition protests and political meetings. The whole country was brought under “direct dictatorial rule from Delhi,”¹⁶¹ according to Brass, since Mrs. Gandhi executed president’s rule in the two non-Congress governing states over the duration of emergency and used state machinery to accomplish her interests.

The strength of Mrs. Gandhi lied in two-thirds majority of the Congress in upper and lower houses, which gave her discretion to revise the constitution for the continuation of her rule and the announcement of elections in March 1977.¹⁶² The Congress badly lost in those elections, although, Indira Gandhi’s advisers were adamant about making an easy win. The loss of Congress was mainly due to the alliance of political parties, public movements, and the party’s inability to mend terms with dissenting voices. The Congress’ absence from the government was short and the party resumed power in the Centre after winning the May 1980 elections. This surprising turn of event took place after the failure of Janata coalition which came to power after the elections held in 1977. The downfall of Congress started in the middle of 1960 when the country faced economic crises and because of which the party began to have internal differences. The direct appeals to the masses from Mrs. Gandhi was also one of the factors responsible for the complications in the party. The vote bank of Mrs. Gandhi took a downward turn after the call for national emergency in 1975, as the Muslims, lower caste and scheduled caste constituencies lost confidence in her.¹⁶³ Though, the Congress won in the elections held in 1984 and 1991, however, the general perception is that this win was mainly due to the assassinations of Indira Gandhi and her son Rajiv Gandhi in 1984 and 1991, respectively. The Indian

¹⁶¹ Candland, C. (1997). Congress decline and party pluralism in India. *Journal of International Affairs*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 22.

system can be declared as one party system of dominance till the country was ruled by the Indian National Congress party.¹⁶⁴

3.10. The Non-Congress and Coalition Parties' Governments

In 1977, the Congress was replaced by Janata party after winning majority of the seats in the general elections. The Janata party was formed with the union of a number of political parties and dominated seats in the Centre as well as in the states. The party possessed anti-Congress perspective, nonetheless, soon after the elections, a few political groups in the party did not want to abandon their respective identity because of which a split was created. This resulted in a group within the Janata party setting up the government with thin majority, however, this did not work and backed off before making it to the parliament. The setback by the Janata party benefited the Congress, which returned to power once again. The National Front established a government in 1989, after it won marginal majority in the Lok Sabha (lower parliament) elections. The prime minister elected by this government was V.P Singh who belonged to Bhartiya Janata party (BJP). The BJP was supported by the leftist Communist Party of India (Marxist) and also backed by a right wing party with which it did not share ideology. The alliance of the National Front survived for less than two years and in November 1990, another political group named Janata Dal formed the government. This group was supported by Congress-I and Chandra Shekhar was elected as the Prime Minister. This government also did not last for long and fresh elections were announced in 1991. These elections led to the establishment of a minority government which was formed under the leadership of Congress-I and whose Prime Minister was P.V. Narasimha Rao. This government faced numerous challenges, and therefore, the path to the completion of official tenure of five years was

¹⁶⁴ Kothari, R. (1964). The Congress' System' in India. *Asian survey*, p. 1162.

not an easy task, confronting serious accusations of buying members of Parliament (MPs).¹⁶⁵

In 1996, India saw a landmark on its political arena when fourteen regional parties formed a coalition government with the backing of the Congress party. This coalition was called the United Front and it transformed the dynamics of Indian politics by shifting the power from Centre to the states during their rule. The state leaders had the discretion in allowing individuals of their choice to enter union ministry and in making ministerial appointments and portfolio distribution. The government's alliance functioned on the basis of a document called the "Common Minimum Programme," which mainly focused on political, administrative and economic federalism, in order to warrant a stable and effective system of government.¹⁶⁶ This document put the reorganization of Centre-caste relations on priority and worked on giving the states more autonomy in their developmental endeavors and greater control over the centrally initiated programs. Despite these efforts by the coalition government, the United Front failed to survive, however, the Congress made use of the situation and clarified the relationship between the Centre and the states. The party stressed on India's unity and integrity and vowed for a strong Centre and strong states.¹⁶⁷

The history of coalition government was repeated in India in 1998 when Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) won majority of the seats in Lok Sabha (lower parliament) election and formed government with the help of allies. The successful establishment of the BJP government proved significance of alliances on political, regional and social levels, which aimed at achieving power. This period marked important changes in Indian political affairs through the rise of coalition politics, the influence of regional parties and acceptance of coalitions. Moreover, the Centre-state relationship experienced changes

¹⁶⁵ Barthwal, C. P. (2012). Coalition Governments in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁶⁷ Khan, M. G. (2003). Coalition Government and Federal System in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 183-184.

with respect to autonomy as attempts were made for decentralization and recognition of state sovereignty. There were coalitions in the Centre and states, however, despite several important efforts and initiatives, the alliances did not prove long-lasting in India. The rise of coalition politics resulted in a shift to co-operative federalism, decreasing the Centre's authority. These unprecedented changes brought about an evolution in the federal process of India.¹⁶⁸

The coalition based governance in the Centre between 1996 and 1998 brought about a chaotic situation in India as the successive governments did not succeed in completing their tenure. The coalition government run by the BJP in May 1996 with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, lasted for only thirteen days. Similarly, the next government, which was formed by the alliance of fourteen parties named the United Front and led by the Janata Dal group with Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda, survived for ten months. The reason for the government's downfall was the defection by Congress party leader. This was followed by a coalition of sixteen political parties named the United Front which established government under the premiership of Inder Kumar Gujral. This alliance based government came to an end within a year after the withdrawal of Congress' support. In the elections of February 1998, the BJP won the most seats and constituted coalition government. It was led by the BJP, and Atal Bihari Vajpayee became the prime minister once again. The Vajpayee government was dissolved after a year because of the withdrawal of the support of India's regional political party, All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), culminating in the calling of new elections in September 1999.¹⁶⁹

The credit for the first successful coalition government in India goes to the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), led by Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), which completed its

¹⁶⁸ Khan, M. G. (2003). Coalition Government and Federal System in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 167-168.

¹⁶⁹ Barthwal, C. P. (2012). Coalition Governments in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 13-14.

five-year official tenure from 1999 to 2004. The alliance was inclusive of the society, representing Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, and other weaker castes and segments of the society.¹⁷⁰ However, the actual control of the coalition government remained with the upper and middle Hindu castes. The National Conference party which is the Muslim political party based in Jammu and Kashmir was also an ally in the political coalition since Jammu and Kashmir is a Muslim majority province. The adept statesperson, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, served India as prime minister the third time in this coalition government as he was well respected in the political spheres. Mr. Vajpayee was faced with fundamental challenges during his tenure as the premier. His challenges included but were not limited to the protection of the welfare of the masses, continuation to support Hindutva supporters and preserving the essence of the coalition of NDA. Mr. Vajpayee bravely faced all the challenges and performed exceptionally well as the head of the Union Councils of Ministers. Moreover, he was not only acknowledged as the unequivocal leader of the BJP but also a captivating figure to the Indian society. The traditional society like that of India needs a charismatic leadership for society's unity and effective government, therefore, the coalition partners in NDA mobilized their respective constituencies on the significance of coalition and that its absence can run the risk of putting the country's unity in danger.¹⁷¹

The coalition led government under NDA played a satisfactory role especially for the regional parties who had long waited for significant positions in the Centre. Moreover, with the NDA, all the coalition parties had their stakes in the government, which in other words meant no insecurity of presidential rule, maximum stability under normal circumstances and plentiful prospects to make use of political strength and this also implied transferring of power to the states from union level.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Patil, S. H. (2001). India's Experiment with Coalition Government at the Federal Level. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, p. 587.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 580.

¹⁷² Barthwal, C. P. (2012). Coalition Governments in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 14-15.

The coalition parties fought the 1999 Lok Sabha (lower parliament) elections under the same manifesto and all the members pledged the voters that they will allow a smooth governance. The NDA was not successful in the elections of May 2004 and therefore, a new coalition government named United Progressive Alliance (UPA) led by the Congress, took charge with Manmohan Singh as the elected prime minister. The government formed in the 2009 elections was the same UPA coalition led by the Congress which won majority of the seats. Manmohan Singh was once more elected as the prime minister, who became the third longest-serving premier of India after Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. As India comprises of national as well as local political parties, the pundits, experts and representatives of Indian polity have been of the view that the formation of governments in the country was inevitable without coalition in the Centre as well as on the states level. The other major reason for coalition governments in India is the heterogeneous society having different language, religion, caste, race and status, which are also the root causes of divisions between different communities.¹⁷³

3.11. The Bhartiya Janata Party's Government

Democracy is not about holding free elections only; it is also about the rights of citizens to speak and move the way they want, since these impact an individual's civil liberties. It has been observed that in various parts of the world, the democratically elected leaders are playing a significant role in weakening democracy which leads to "democratic backsliding."¹⁷⁴ The advent of democratic backsliding in India started in 2014,¹⁷⁵ when Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) came to power after winning elections and Narendra Modi became the prime minister. In 2019, the BJP became the country's strongest political

¹⁷³ Barthwal, C. P. (2012). Coalition Governments in India. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 9-20.

¹⁷⁴ Haggard, S., & Kaufman, R. (2021). *Backsliding: Democratic regress in the contemporary world*. Cambridge University Press.

¹⁷⁵ Varshney, A. (2022). How India's Ruling Party Erodes Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 33(4), p. 105.

party after winning the elections with a bigger margin. Currently they rule not only the Centre but eighteen out of a total of twenty-eight states, on their own or with allies.¹⁷⁶

The Indian Constitution of 1950, protects the electoral and nonelectoral rights of its citizens, nevertheless, in Modi's government, the minorities' rights and the freedom of citizens with respect to their expression, association and liberties have been curtailed. The erosion of freedom does not stop here, the minorities especially the Muslims are physically attacked by the administration, the police and the vigilante. The basis of this hostile behavior is the ideology that governs the BJP politics, called the Hindu nationalism. The fundamental of Hindu nationalism defines the rights of citizens as dependent on national loyalty, which is community based and hence, the communities that are believed to be loyal to India should have superior rights and privileges than those who are believed to be less loyal. For Hindu nationalists, all citizens enjoying equal rights not only diminishes national strength, but it also breaches the historical and cultural realities connected with the country.¹⁷⁷

The term "Hindu" represents Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains according to Hindu nationalists because these religions are believed to be originated in India.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, the two concepts Hindu and Indian are presumed to be used interchangeably. According to the description of V.D. Savarkar (1883-1966), a loyal Indian is an individual who is born in India, originally a Hindu and is committed to the geography of the country. On the other hand, Muslims are considered to be disloyal to the nation as their religion has roots outside India and consequently the colonialism in India is assumed to have started with the footsteps of Muslim rulers in the subcontinent in the eleventh century and not with the British in the eighteenth century. The Muslim rulers and clerics are blamed for Hindu's forced conversion and for demolishing their places of worship. To make matters

¹⁷⁶ Varshney, A. (2022). How India's Ruling Party Erodes Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 33(4), pp. 104-118.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 110-112.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 108.

more complex, for Hindu nationalists, the independence of Pakistan as a separate Muslim state is an ample evidence to back Muslim's infidelity.¹⁷⁹

According to the 2011 census of India, the Hindus have a populace of 79.8 percent, while there are 220 million Muslims living in the country which accounts for 14.2 percent and which makes India one of the most densely populated Muslim countries.¹⁸⁰ The Hindu nationalism was regarded as a mockery to the Congress party and therefore, until 1990, the concepts of Hindu dominance and supremacy remained on the backfoot. However, with the rise of Hindu nationalism, especially after Modi's elevation as prime minister, the attacks on dissenting voices continues to increase and the concept of duties is given preference over citizens' rights. Modi has categorically contended for it,¹⁸¹ and those following the ideology of Hindu nationalism are of the view that the key to building a solid nation demands submission and discipline to the state. Thus, the leftists and liberals are considered "anti-national" forces and a threat to Hindu nationalists as they talk about citizens' freedom and minority rights. The dissenting voices may also be silenced by calling on the state to act against those demanding rights, thereby, resulting in the weakening of institutions like press, universities and civil society, which base their strength on political and intellectual freedoms. This pattern authorizes the fanatic groups to intimidate and harass not only the dissenters but also the minorities from practicing their religion.¹⁸²

The first biggest legislation done by the BJP after coming to power the second time in May 2019, was amending the existing anti-terror and public-safety laws.¹⁸³ According to the amendment, an individual can be nominated as a terrorist on pretext of personal

¹⁷⁹ Varshney, A. (2022). How India's Ruling Party Erodes Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 33(4), p. 108.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 104-118.

¹⁸¹ Narendra Modi, "Why India and the World Need Gandhi," *New York Times*, 2 October 2019. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/02/opinion/modi-mahatma-gandhi.html>

¹⁸² Varshney, A. (2022). How India's Ruling Party Erodes Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 33(4), p. 115.

¹⁸³ Ibid., pp. 115-116.

writings, social media posts, speeches or for even possessing literature. The once autonomous courts also seem to be under the influence of the government failing to protect the rights of minorities and liberty of civilians. If the situation remains the same, with BJP continuing to win elections and all the Indian states favoring Hindu nationalism, the civil liberties will crumble, elections may become a formality and India will become an electoral autocracy.¹⁸⁴

The BJP had a strong ethno-nationalist Hindutva plan, therefore, when it led the government under the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) after the general elections in May 2014, a renewed interest was sparked regarding tolerance towards religious diversity in India as the country being the largest democracy of the world.¹⁸⁵ The overwhelming win by the BJP in the state assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh in February - March 2017, further strengthened this interest. Since Uttar Pradesh is the most populous state in India, hence, BJP's victory reinforced the party's position for the national elections in 2019, and strengthened the attractiveness of Hindutva belief system amongst the voters.¹⁸⁶ The BJP's response to religious diversity is usually compared with Congress' civic conception of nationhood, the latter having stressed on a secular state with cultural diversity. Nonetheless, it is contended that since pre-independence, the BJP as well as the Congress shared a common nationalist narrative with regard to religious minorities and to accommodate them was largely overlooked. Consequently, both the political parties embraced historical continuities with each other, and this continuity is apparent with the BJP's elevating to power.¹⁸⁷

Although, the BJP and the Congress have significant differences in their ideology and language, however, both the parties have encountered difficulties in creating vocabularies

¹⁸⁴ Varshney, A. (2022). How India's Ruling Party Erodes Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 33(4), pp. 116-117.

¹⁸⁵ Kim, H. (2017). Understanding Modi and minorities: The BJP-led NDA government in India and religious minorities. *India Review*, 16(4), p. 360.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 370.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 370-371.

that could justify their respective procedures for governing religious diversity in India today. Due to these reasons, the BJP and the Congress showed indifference towards the complex issue of social policy.¹⁸⁸ The BJP-led NDA's policies seemed to show fundamental modifications from the conventional approaches of dealing with religious diversity in India, but the Congress' government management of controlling communal violence and systemic discrimination against religious minorities was also unsatisfactory. The initiatives taken for the alleviation of the state of religious minorities under Manmohan Singh's United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government were also only limited to symbolism.¹⁸⁹

While the Hindutva supporters have been involved in extreme actions, there is still a need to evaluate the policies of the BJP-led NDA government by observing its skillful management in adjusting according to the religious diversity, without confronting any opposition as such. This evaluation requires an exploration into India's institutional historical analysis and path dependence in comprehending the reason for the religious minorities like Christians and Muslims being "inconvenient minorities," even today. The Pulwama incident,¹⁹⁰ in February 2019, gave an opportunity to the BJP and its coalition partners to conduct a hyper-nationalist campaign which led to their landslide victory in the Lok Sabha (lower parliament) elections held between April 11 and May 19, 2019.¹⁹¹ This win strengthened the BJP's diminishing support,¹⁹² by securing 303 seats and regaining parliamentary majority. Thus, with the backing of regional coalition parties, the BJP government was reestablished for another five years. The majority of the northern

¹⁸⁸ Kim, H. (2017). Understanding Modi and minorities: The BJP-led NDA government in India and religious minorities. *India Review*, 16(4), pp. 357-371.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 16(4), pp. 357-376.

¹⁹⁰ The Pulwama incident happened in Srinagar, former Jammu and Kashmir, on February 14, 2019, when a convoy of vehicles carrying Indian security forces' personnel was attacked by a suicide bomber on the national highway, in Pulwama district. The fatal attack resulted in the killing of 40 Indian soldiers belonging to the Central Reserve Police Force (CRFP). The suicide bomber who was also killed in the attack was identified as a local Kashmiri young man, by the name, Adil Ahmad Dar.

¹⁹¹ Singh, G. (2019). Hindu nationalism in power: Making sense of Modi and the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance government, 2014–19. *Sikh Formations*, 15(3-4), p. 315.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 327.

and eastern parts of India have been controlled by Hindu nationalism, but there have been no significant signs of its power in the northern side. The increased parliamentary majority by the BJP has encouraged the ideological outlook of the party and therefore, the other stakeholders in the government may not be able to hold it accountable for its policies. The Indian politics has been predominantly influenced by Hindu nationalism and is here to stay for long. The construction of a temple in Ayodhya, the abrogation of Article 370, and the abolition of Muslim Personal Law are controversial issues India has been surrounded by, however, it is expected that these matters will be taken into consideration. Although, Prime Minister Modi is believed to be a strong leader able enough to maintain national security, stability and order, however, he has also been placed as a national savior for skillfully handling the anarchy created by Hindu nationalism. Moreover, Modi is regarded as the man on whom no rules apply, and he is seen as a man of destiny who can bring about a revolution in the social and economic sectors of the country.¹⁹³ Despite these perceptions, an almost absolute power with Modi and a shift towards Hindu nationalism alludes to the decline of democracy in India, as has happened for long intervals of authoritarian governance in other countries (Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018). The Indian politics is going through a major transformation as the long-term changes are significantly altering the conventional political certainties. This transformation is similar to “critical juncture.” There is an undisputed consensus on confronting the ongoing and unchangeable shift through the introduction of a new analytical framework, in order to realize how state authority is evolving Hindu nationalism today.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Singh, G. (2019). Hindu nationalism in power: Making sense of Modi and the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance government, 2014–19. *Sikh Formations*, 15(3-4), pp. 315-316.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

3.12. The Civil-Military Relations

The civil-military relations in India are not simple and have an influence of the experiences gained by the country before independence. The influence shaped the structure and impacted difficulties revolving around the civil-military relations in the years post-independence. These relations have been significantly shaped by the internal and external conflicts and the country's nuclear capabilities. After gaining independence and as advised by Lord Ismay, India's higher defense organization was restructured which helped in proposing the formation of political and military committees in order to strike a balance of power between the government and the armed forces.¹⁹⁵

The defense ministry of India served as an intermediary between civilians and the military, and to exercise caution from a possible intervention, the administration and social status of the military has been relegated on purpose. The president of India is also the Commander in Chief who has limited powers, and no external advisory council for a specific duration exists. However, the frequent wars and nuclear capabilities led the higher defense organization of the country to undergo some changes. The military's participation in the country's policymaking was further limited until 1990s, due to the lack of distinct institutional arrangements.¹⁹⁶

In the period between 1947 and 1962, there was a certain disconnect between the civilian government and the military, primarily because India as a newly independent country was struggling with economy and democratic consolidation. The government was also unable to formulate a detailed defense policy, however, in 1962, changes in the military function and policy-making for higher defense were made because of India-China war. These modifications helped the military to skillfully confront conflicts. The need for India to move from conventional civil-military relations led to a review of defense policy and an

¹⁹⁵ Ray, A. (2013). *The soldier and the state in India: nuclear weapons, counterinsurgency, and the transformation of Indian civil-military relations*. SAGE Publications India, pp. 35-36.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

enhanced military participation. This became possible only after Krishna Menon's joining the office of defense minister in the late 1950s, and India's maiden war with China in 1962. In 1980s, the requirement for a strong defense structure became necessary again due to crises with Pakistan.¹⁹⁷

In the period between 1962 and 1998, India was confronted with a number of disputes, which necessitated the government to include the military in decision-making. The significance of the military was enhanced especially after the nuclear tests conducted by the country in May 1998. After the historical tests, the policymakers discussed shortcomings and aspired for a collective approach between the government and the military. A systematic collaboration between civil and military elements was unveiled for the country's military defense system, after the formation of new agencies for a worthy cooperation on nuclear policy. The progress of the country's ministry of defense was initiated to bring together the civilian government and military and to remain persistence in accepting new challenges.¹⁹⁸

In independent India, the military was considered a tool of the colonial rule, therefore, the civil-military relations functioned in a hierarchy. The first prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, exercised commanding powers to emphasize the civilian government's control over the military in implementing their decisions. The economic challenges led Nehru prioritize economic revival, poverty alleviation and allocation of defense expenditure not exceeding two percent of the Gross National Product (GNP).¹⁹⁹

The fact that Prime Minister Nehru was threatened by possible military might was not a secret as he had mentioned about it in his memoirs also. However, Nehru's insecurities led to an ambiguous defense policy which intentionally remained so as the prime minister wanted to prevent the military from taking over the civilian government. The military was

¹⁹⁷ Ray, A. (2013). *The soldier and the state in India: nuclear weapons, counterinsurgency, and the transformation of Indian civil-military relations*. SAGE Publications India, pp. 40-44.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 44-47.

¹⁹⁹ Smith, C. (1994). *India's ad hoc arsenal: direction or drift in defence policy?*. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), p. 48.

unable to get all their recommendations approved during Nehru's rule. The initiatives taken to reorganize the defense infrastructure during that time, were not enough, however, the amicable security situation at the borders could also be the reason to overlook details.²⁰⁰

Before the beginning of India-China conflict, the serving General at that time shared his fears of potential threats from China. The General's foresight was overlooked by the government, and he was replaced by an unqualified Field Commander. When the war finally began between India and China in 1962, the civil-military relations got strained, and their perspectives on the war were totally the opposite. The government's decision to replace a General possibly led to the military's defeat, which in turn led to a trust deficit between the government and military. After the war was over, the serving defense minister tried to introduce new strategies in the defense policy, however, his efforts were confronted with opposition from the armed forces. This showed that the civil-military relations were at its lowest in the early years of 1962 and the proposed defense policy could not be implemented because of the absence of consensus.²⁰¹

After the 1962 war, the military was granted more autonomy in operational decisions,²⁰² by Prime Minister Shastri which motivated institutional changes in civil-military relations. The changes covered the establishment of committees for civil-military dialogue and enhanced involvement of the armed forces in decision-making process. The timely changes helped the country in the war of 1965, between India and Pakistan, by adopting suitable military strategies and mutual decision-making. The lessons learnt from the previous war experiences pushed the government to initiate more strategies during the India-Pakistan conflict of 1971. The initiatives included the formation of the Political

²⁰⁰ Nehru, J. (2008). *Discovery of India*. Penguin UK.

²⁰¹ Ray, A. (2013). *The soldier and the state in India: nuclear weapons, counterinsurgency, and the transformation of Indian civil-military relations*, p. 37.

²⁰² Bhimaya, K. M. (1994). Nuclear deterrence in South Asia: Civil-Military relations and decision-making. *Asian Survey*, 34(7), p. 653.

Affairs Committee of the Cabinet and Policy Requirements Committee, for enhancing military's response during the war.²⁰³

The establishment of committees for strengthening communication between government and military in India did not change the status of either of the two as the civilian government continued to have an upper hand over the military, even if it involved operational and critically strategic decisions. The reorganization of India's defense ministry and essential changes in the civil-military structure took place after India conducted nuclear tests in May 1998. The nuclear tests were followed by the establishment of the National Strategic Nuclear Command (NSNC), and the National Command Authority for managing nuclear weapons.²⁰⁴

The Kargil War between India and Pakistan was fought after both the countries became nuclear states. A report by the name, "Kargil Review Committee Report" was released because of India's status of a nuclear power. The report included recommendations for upgrading the country's defense policy and intelligence systems. The creation of the position of Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) was also mentioned for refining political decision-making.²⁰⁵ The enhanced strategic plans were gradually executed, including the high-ranking appointments and agencies for enhanced strategic planning, budget recommendations and intelligence coordination. There was a delay in the appointment of CDS which happened on January 1, 2020, after the service rules of Army, Airforce and Navy were amended.²⁰⁶ The role of agencies was to involve the military in matters related to nuclear weapons. The interdependence of government and military increased after the

²⁰³ Ray, A. (2013). *The soldier and the state in India: nuclear weapons, counterinsurgency, and the transformation of Indian civil-military relations*, p. 38.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 48.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 48-49.

²⁰⁶ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chief_of_Defence_Staff_\(India\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chief_of_Defence_Staff_(India))

nuclear tests, therefore according to some analysts, an advanced system was developed for the use of nuclear weapons in future.²⁰⁷

Although the new institutions and committees were established for the purpose of defense planning, however the indifference on the government's part could be observed especially in the delayed implementation of proposals suggested in the Kargil Review Committee. The loopholes in the institutional setup of civil-military relations continued till the late 1980s. The ministry of defense, however, successfully shaped India's defense policy by undertaking critical decisions. The military's mistrust, the role of civilian bureaucracy and the absence of political understanding of matters related to military, helped in enhancing the strength of the ministry of defense. In India, the ministry of defense is a function of bureaucracy and it possesses significant powers in controlling the military and influencing the government. This, however, adversely affects the civil-military relations and even minor delays in the approval of projects or the release of funds from the country's finance ministry, adds to the perception of the military that the political leaders are not well-informed.

3.13. The General Elections, 2024

The General Elections in India are scheduled to be held from April 19 to June 1, 2024.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Interview of the author of "The Soldier and the State in India," Ayesha Ray, with Indian journalist on defense affairs, Maroof Raza, New Delhi, June 23, 2006.

²⁰⁸ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://indianexpress.com/article/when-is/general-elections-2024-dates-phases-key-players-and-all-you-need-to-know-9150641/>

DEMOCRATIZATION AND AUTHORITARIANIZATION IN PAKISTAN

The “land of the pure” also called Pakistan has a geographically strategic location and borders with China, India, Iran and Afghanistan. It is the largest Muslim country, having an estimated population of 241.5 million people.²⁰⁹ Pakistan came into existence with the idea of two nation theory as Muslims needed a land of their own where they could freely practice their religion. As a result, the regions where Muslims were densely populated, were separated from undivided India and named Pakistan. This is how the country got independence from the British colonial rule and India. Pakistan is home to diverse ethnicities and the highest number of religious schools (madrassas) in the world.²¹⁰

The Muslims from Central and Western Asia came to the Indian subcontinent and settled here before the establishment of British rule. The Muslims ruled in the region for thousand years and the locals of the area who were non-Muslims, converted to Islam. When British came to the subcontinent, primarily for business purpose, Muslims saw them with suspicion and they were the main reason for obstructing British rule, however, after the resistance of almost hundred years, the conflict of 1857 took place. The Muslims did not want the British to rule the region, therefore, they indulged into wars and conflicts. The 1857 “war of independence,” was lost by the Muslims to the British raj, who took control of the undivided India and carried out legal and political reforms. They invited representatives from the different communities to join the Imperial legislative Council.

The formation of Indian National Congress in 1885, was made possible by the support of a retired British civil servant. The aim of the British rule was to introduce Western and Christian education to the elite youth and modernize the society according to Western values. The locals welcomed the idea of education but showed reluctance in allowing the

²⁰⁹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, "Announcement of Results of 7th Population and Housing Census-2023 'The Digital Census'" (PDF). Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (www.pbs.gov.pk). 5 August 2023.

²¹⁰ Cohen, S. P. (2004). *The idea of Pakistan*. *Brookings Institution Press*.

transformation of society. The planner of British colonial education policy, Thomas Macaulay, wanted to raise a class in India which could help them serve as mediators for the locals. The British efforts paid off and they were successful in creating an elite group from among the indigenous people whose values were inspired by the English.²¹¹

The Muslims under the British rule began demanding for a separate identity in India when they witnessed the appointment of Hindus on lucrative government jobs, after the implementation of reforms by the British. These injustices compelled the local Muslims to struggle for a piece of land where they could practice their religion and share religious beliefs. These Muslims did not bother to think about language, integration of territory or the economic prospects. Though the Muslim religious leaders were not in favor of the concept of Pakistan, however, after independence, these leaders showed their support for the country to run on Islamic principles. This stance by the religious leaders of Pakistan created a rift between them and the politicians and professionals under the influence of the West.²¹²

Pakistan was declared an independent state after the last viceroy of India transferred his authority to the new government on the midnight of August 14-15, 1947. The Muslims celebrated the news of the shift of power to Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who was a Muslim. The independence sparked a rift between those who supported undivided India and those who wanted a separate Muslim land. Since, Hindus and Muslims lived peacefully together, therefore, a number of Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs preferred not to migrate. The news of expected partition created anxiety among these minority groups, which exacerbated and ended up in a number of incidents of violence, looting and destruction of life and property in Northern India. There are no exact official figures on the number of deaths during this time, but a rough estimate showed it to be as high as one million. The number of refugees migrating to Pakistan was around 12 million, but Pakistan had

²¹¹ Dobbin, C. E. (1970). Basic documents in the development of modern India and Pakistan, 1835-1947.

²¹² Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, p. 171

no reserves to feed this large influx and the province in Pakistan which suffered the most during this time was Punjab.²¹³

It was in June 1947 that a decision was made for the creation of Pakistan, however, there was only a little for the country to form a government having a large population. The dominant party at the time of partition was the Muslim League, whose leader was Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who exercised great influence over the party as well as Pakistan's governance. After gaining independence, law and order was restored in Pakistan and the Central government began operating effectively under the leadership of Jinnah. The boundary of partition basically affected India as the princely states of undivided India were supposed to align themselves with either of the new dominions, however, an issue surfaced between Pakistan and India on Jammu and Kashmir. As Pakistan was heading towards the path of prosperity, the conflict between the two countries resulted in a war between them in October 1947.²¹⁴ The conflict lasted for more than a year and a ceasefire was announced on the new year of 1949. The end to the war came with a cost for Pakistan as India was successful in gaining a large and most prosperous share of the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir.²¹⁵

4.1. The Emergence of the Pakistan Muslim League

To protect the rights of Muslims in India, the All India Muslim League was established in December 1906. The British colonial rule recognized the Muslims' genuine demands and hence in 1909, announced a separate electorate system for them. The implementation of this system resulted in individuals belonging to different communities voting for their representatives in the Legislative Council. The objective of the Muslim League was to unite the masses of undivided India to struggle for an independent country, however, the

²¹³ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, p. 171.

²¹⁴ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indo-Pakistani_War_of_1947%E2%80%931948

²¹⁵ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, pp. 171-172.

party's influence continued to diminish after Jinnah's death in 1948. The governance of Pakistan went into the hands of rich landowners and western-educated elites, who were not qualified and competent enough to run a newly formed state.²¹⁶

Since the Muslim League's primary objective was to gain independence to practice their religion freely, they did not have a complete plan for the implementation of reforms. The shortcomings in the party's manifesto disappointed the people and resulted in not only internal party conflicts but also developed opportunist thinking in the party's leadership. Also, the Muslim League inherited a system of governance where bureaucrats had the power to control, therefore, the party's leadership was clueless about the country's political system. The Muslim League leadership also had to sort out issues like refugee immigration, communal riots and hostility from neighboring India. The party's leadership migrating from India needed time to settle in Pakistan and sustain their livelihoods. Moreover, these settlers lost their traditional political base as well.²¹⁷

The feudal class in Pakistan had the power to control democratization of the country as they were well-connected with the bureaucracy and law enforcement agencies. The Muslim League's voter base was deeply dismayed by it as they had been supporting leaders who were more interested in ensuring their personal benefits rather than the country's. The Muslims who were associated with the East India Company and British regime were rich individuals who formed affluent dynasties and rose up to the power echelons after the creation of Pakistan. These individuals were not loyalists and focused on multiplying their wealth.²¹⁸ This situation adversely affected the governance of Pakistan as the influence of feudal class overshadowed the education and professionalism of genuine Muslim League leaders. All these circumstances led to nine unstable

²¹⁶ Shaikh, I. A., Islam, A., Jatui, B. A., & Khan, S. A. (2018). The Failure of the Muslim League in Post-Colonial Pakistan: A Critical Appraisal. *American Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Research* 2, 10, pp. 28-29.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 30.

governments between 1948 and 1958, and the breakdown of the Muslim League into seven new political parties.²¹⁹

4.2. The Establishment of Political System in Pakistan Post-1947

The royal head of Great Britain was the official head of Pakistan, although he had no role to play in the country's governance. However, in 1956, Pakistan, which initially functioned on the Government of India Act 1935, attained sovereignty and amended the Act for drafting a temporary constitution, without touching its fundamental clauses. The first governor general of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, was elected by the constituent assembly because of his active role in the struggle for an independent state. He was conferred with the title of "Quaid-e-Azam," meaning great leader. The constituent assembly members who were tasked to run the country, were not elected through an election, however, the assembly functioned as a temporary parliament and was responsible for drafting the constitution.²²⁰

The founder and first governor general of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, got his education from secularly oriented institutions, yet, he led the movement for an independent country for Muslims in undivided India. Shortly before independence, there were doubts about the political ideology the new state would adopt, although, the Muslim leaders who came up with the idea of a separate country based on religion, usually discussed religious matters. The main confusion was created by Jinnah, who passed on contradictory statements regarding Pakistan's ideology, therefore, there was no clue whether the country will be secular, Islamic or democratic.²²¹

²¹⁹ Shaikh, I. A., Islam, A., Jatui, B. A., & Khan, S. A. (2018). The Failure of the Muslim League in Post-Colonial Pakistan: A Critical Appraisal. *American Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Research* 2, 10, p. 30.

²²⁰ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, pp. 167-168.

²²¹ Ibid., pp. 169-171.

The tragic and sudden demise of Mohammad Ali Jinnah aggravated Pakistan's issues as the country was already facing issues like food shortage, foreign trade challenges, tensions between provincial factions and the Kashmir conflict. Jinnah was succeeded by Liaquat Ali Khan, who became the new prime minister of Pakistan. However, Liaquat Ali's tenure as the premier was short-lived as he was assassinated in 1951, and the country was left with no second-in-command. The role of prime minister was assumed by Khawaja Nazimuddin, who had also remained the country's governor-general. The lack of strong leadership resulted in political instability, with rivalries among the political leaders belonging to East and West Pakistan. The Bengali leaders hailing from East Wing, developed a mindset that the leaders from the West Wing, especially from the Punjab province, considered East Pakistan as a colony. The Punjabi leadership made sure the Bengalis had minimum presence in the governance structure at the Centre. During the same time, the government was confronted with other challenges including the collapse of Korean War boom, decline in cotton and jute exports, and a campaign against the Ahmadiyah sect.²²² The government's futile response to the agitation regarding Ahmadiyah issue resulted in the imposition of martial law in various parts of Punjab in 1953.

The creation of Pakistan was a worthwhile opportunity for the Muslim League leaders as they had the control of the first constituent assembly, provincial assemblies and the assembly of East Pakistan. The Pakistan National Congress party became the official opposition in the constituent assembly. As the Muslim League was founded by Jinnah, therefore, loyalty to the party was synonymous to the loyalty of Jinnah. His death brought divisions between political leaders of East and West Pakistan. There were also seen acute rivalries among the different political groups of Pakistan. The national and provincial politics started to be considered as one, since the government in the Centre was motivated to establish dependable ministries in the provinces, while the provincial factions made

²²² Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). *India, Pakistan, Ceylon*, pp. 172-173.

alliances to put pressure on the Central government. Fresh elections were held in Punjab, Sindh, and North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, excluding Federally Administered Tribal Areas). The Muslim League won the elections with a clear majority; however, the elections also did not improve the relations between the party leaders.²²³

In East Pakistan, the division among the Muslim League Party's leadership was apparent after the result of March 1954 elections. The alliance of opposition parties, the United Front, actively voiced their concerns for provincial rights, which badly affected the Muslim League's image, as it won only 10 out of 309 seats. These results weakened the influence of Bengali representation of the Muslim League in the constituent assembly and consequently, the Central cabinet was reorganized. The second constituent assembly which revealed no party secured a clear majority resulted in the formation of a new cabinet after a declaration was made that the constitutional machinery has stopped functioning.²²⁴ The new prime minister, Mohammad Ali, assumed office on August 11, 1954,²²⁵ and continued to work in the same position even after the declaration. He included a number of opposition leaders and non-party members into his cabinet. The Federal Court decreed that a new constituent assembly must be sworn in to address the pertaining issues. Despite the situation getting stable, there was a genuine need of tackling the matters effectively.²²⁶

The new constituent assembly was initiated in 1955, and it included members who were elected by the provincial assemblies. The draft for a new constitution was prepared and was introduced in 1956, which was subsequently approved by the assembly and officially implemented on March 23. The government system in Pakistan was similar to India's as the president was considered the head of the state and s/he was elected through a

²²³ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, p. 168-169.

²²⁴ Ibid., pp. 169-170.

²²⁵ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chaudhry_Muhammad_Ali

²²⁶ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, pp. 172-173.

collective vote of national and provincial assemblies. The president was predominantly powerful and was also responsible for selecting the prime minister, a figure who was supposed to perform as the primary leader of the government. Going by the history of Pakistan, it is evident that the prime minister office in Pakistan enjoyed significant authority, especially when Jinnah was the governor-general, and Liaquat Ali Khan the prime minister who held significant powers.²²⁷

Primarily, Pakistan consisted of four governor's provinces, one commissioner's province called Baluchistan, a number of princely states and tribal regions. The East Pakistan was a separate province, where majority of the population of the country lived. In 1955, the various units in West Pakistan were merged together into a single province by the constituent assembly so that the political competition is minimized, and governance is restructured. On the other side of the country i.e. East Pakistan, the issues related to geographical distance with West Pakistan, language and industrial development projects were dealt with.²²⁸

4.3. The First Constitution of Pakistan, 1956

The drafting of the constitution was not an easy task which was introduced after the constituent assembly's acceptance of the objectives resolution in 1949. The first proposed constitution was created and presented in 1950 by a committee formed for this task. The draft was not representative of the whole country as firstly, it did not completely cover the Islamic aspects and secondly, it gave an expression of prejudice against the Bengali legislatures. After the rejection of the first draft, another constitution was prepared and presented accordingly in 1952, however, a delay due to the political instability in the country in 1953, the draft was not approved until 1954. The prepared constitution was finally accepted in September 1954, by majority of the legislatures in the assembly and a

²²⁷ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, p. 168.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 170.

committee was formed to make necessary improvements in the draft before implementation. However, the then governor-general of Pakistan dissolved the assembly in October 1956.²²⁹

The first constitution of Pakistan was enacted almost a decade after independence as all the stakeholders needed to be taken on board to avoid any conflict. Apart from other reasons, the delay also happened because of the dissolution of the constituent assembly in 1954, which brought the strengthening of political institutions to a standstill. The constitution was not only lengthy as it contained 234 articles, but it was also inflexible as it covered Islamic principles, federal and provincial constitutions, and provisions for tribal areas and lower classes. These details complicated the relations between the Centre and provinces as the inclusion of situations was unnecessary and could easily be addressed by regular legislation or on emergency basis.²³⁰

The constitution of 1956 introduced a federal system; however, the provinces had limited autonomy and the actual power and political influence resided with the government in the Centre. As per the constitution, Pakistan was pronounced as a federal republic, referred to as the “Islamic Republic of Pakistan,” where only Muslims could become president of the country and no laws could contradict the Islamic principles as mentioned in the Quran and Sunnah. The constitution stressed on adherence to Islamic principles and supported democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice.²³¹

Pakistan was constitutionally founded as a federation which followed the Government of India Act 1935, however, the implementation of federal form of government was materialized in 1949 after considering the geographical aspects of East and West Pakistan. The distance between East and West Pakistan was one issue and the differences in language, culture and other demographic features between the two Wings was another, which complicated matters for the federal government. The constitution of 1956

²²⁹ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, pp. 167-168.

²³⁰ Choudhury, G. W. (1956). The constitution of Pakistan. *Pacific Affairs*, 29(3), pp. 243-244.

²³¹ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, p. 171.

represented the distinctive features of a federation which consisted of a written constitution, governments at the Centre and in provinces, the division of power between the two and the establishment of a superior court named the Supreme Court.²³²

According to the Constitution, a parliamentary system at the federal and provincial levels was enforced. The prime minister and the cabinet of ministers enjoyed executive authority, while the president held a ceremonial role, who was elected by the electoral college. The supervision of social, political and economic justice was also presented in the Constitution through the directive principle of state policy. The fundamental rights of the people which included the protection of civilian freedom were also introduced in the Constitution and the Supreme Court was obliged to execute it. Since Pakistan is a country with people belonging to various religions and ethnicities, therefore, the protection of their rights needed to be implemented and enforced to safeguard them from state oppression.²³³

As Pakistan was founded on the basis of a separate Muslim identity, therefore, the architects of the Constitution carefully drafted the articles in order to create a balance between Islamic values and modern democratic principles. The introduction and a number of articles in the draft promised to remain binding to Islamic principles. The important Article 198, focused on the implementation of all the new laws pertaining to the rulings of Islam. The existing laws were also pledged to be amended according to the principles of Islam. The president of the country was authorized to setup a commission for the execution of the rulings. The rights of non-Muslims and the protection of minority rights were also drafted in the Constitution.

The first president of Pakistan, Iskander Mirza, who was a secularist, announced the replacement of “Islamic Republic of Pakistan” with Pakistan. This announcement was a cause of concern for the non-Muslims, especially Hindus, who raised questions about

²³² Choudhury, G. W. (1956). The constitution of Pakistan. *Pacific Affairs*, 29(3), p. 246.

²³³ Ibid., pp. 247-250.

them being considered as equal citizens. The main issue between the Muslims and the Hindus was the concept of separate electorate as Muslims did not want to let go off the existing system, while Hindus did not accept to be relegated to second-class status in politics.²³⁴ The first Constitution of Pakistan declared equal treatment of all the citizens irrespective of caste, color, language or race.²³⁵

4.4. The First President under the Constitution

The president, Major General Iskander Mirza, was the first and only president who was elected unanimously under the Constitution of 1956, on March 23, 1956.²³⁶ The constitution did not declare Pakistan as an Islamic state but established a commission for the introduction of laws mentioned in the Constitution, to conform with the teachings of Islam. The formation of the commission proved futile and it was dissolved in 1958 by the president due to the unstable political situation and the president's non-serious attitude towards the concept of integrating religion and politics. Iskander Mirza was known to be a powerful president, however a rift for power struggle between him and the four consecutive prime ministers ended up in the nullification of the Constitution by the president on October 7, 1958. This was a time when Pakistan did not have a clear direction, as on the international front there was no light at the end of the tunnel for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute, border disputes with Afghanistan, China and water disputes with India. And on the domestic front, there were issues regarding religion, national discourse, and direction of foreign policy.²³⁷

²³⁴ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, pp. 170-171.

²³⁵ Choudhury, G. W. (1956). The constitution of Pakistan. *Pacific Affairs*, 29(3), pp. 244-245.

²³⁶ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iskandar_Ali_Mirza

²³⁷ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1958_Pakistani_military_coup

4.5. The First Military Coup, Ayub Khan (1958-1969)

The first successful military coup in the history of Pakistan took place in October 1958,²³⁸ when General Ayub Khan assumed office of the president. He was also the prime minister of the country responsible for appointing military officers, diplomats, businessmen and bureaucrats to his cabinet. In his tenure, a number of reform commissions were formed for the evaluation of national activities and implementation of changes accordingly. The military did not have a significant involvement in governance before the first successful coup and even Ayub Khan refused to take a leadership role in the government. The bureaucracy, however, was the backbone of the government as it already held an essential authority in India and Pakistan. The bureaucracy role did not change even after the government was stable enough to run independently. Nonetheless, the bureaucracy often played an important role during the turbulent times in Pakistan's politics by taking charge of governance during the intervals when parliamentary rule in the provinces was suspended.²³⁹

The approach adopted by Ayub Khan in running the country's affairs was inclusive as he supported religious harmony and worked towards the integration of ethnicities, languages and cultural diversity. Ayub Khan was inclined towards secularism and modernity, since he did not follow the concept of religious nationalism, therefore, he preferred a liberal position in the country's foreign policy. The era of Ayub Khan marked a new direction for Pakistan as his leadership focused on expressing national identity and global role. In the beginning of his rule, Ayub Khan, who had a sense of insecurity with respect to his unconstitutional ascend to power, imposed a ban on political parties. The achievements credited to Ayub Khan's progressive approach include the education policy of 1959, the Constitution of 1962, and his public pronouncements.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Retrieved on May 11, 2024,

<https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095438165>

²³⁹ Brown, W. N. (Ed.). (1960). India, Pakistan, Ceylon, p. 168.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 174-175.

In Ayub Khan's regime, Pakistan witnessed unprecedented success in the foreign policy domain, which includes but is not limited to the water dispute settlement with India, proposal of joint defense efforts with India against Chinese warnings, and commencement of backdoor diplomacy to resolve the Kashmir issue. Pakistan became the member of security pacts like Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) to resolve the Kashmir issue and prevent threats from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Ayub Khan was able to confront the territorial claims made by Afghanistan in collusion with USSR against Pakistan, with the support of Western allies. Pakistan understood the significance of the countries, like U.S, China, USSR and India on international level; therefore, efforts were made to build balanced relationships with all of these countries to promote equity and harmony. The ingenuity of these relationships was revealed in the 1965 war between India and Pakistan when all the major powers deserted Pakistan and China offered diplomatic support only.²⁴¹

The U.S. supported India during this period as it needed India's assistance to counter China, therefore, it remained neutral in Indo-Pak conflicts. Pakistan, after seeing all this, adopted a policy of neutrality as it was deeply disappointed to see the Western support for India. Ayub Khan came up with a strategy he called "bilateral equations," due to the bitter experiences with the Western powers which he also mentioned in his book titled "Friends not Masters: A Political Autobiography." The Ayub Khan's policy was to create balanced relationships with major powers and promote peaceful and equitable relations and respect each others' genuine interests. The policy proved successful in improving relations with the major powers, even though Pakistan received support only from China during the 1965 war.²⁴² The unchanged policy of the state, which is to use religion for

²⁴¹ Khan, M. A., & Friends, N. M. (1967). *A political autobiography*. Oxford UP, pp. 114 & 166-172.

²⁴² Ibid., p. 115.

national unity, was used during this war after Ayub Khan called it a “Jihad” against India.²⁴³

During Ayub Khan’s rule, a movement by political alliance, urban middle-class and laborers started against him which forced him not to contest for a re-election and resign. He resigned as the president and transferred his power to another military dictator General Yahya Khan, who assumed charge as Chief Martial Law Administrator in March 1969. The second Constitution of Pakistan was revoked by Yahya Khan after coming into power.²⁴⁴

4.6. The Second Constitution of Pakistan, 1962

The first martial law was imposed on Pakistan shortly after the first Constitution of Pakistan was enacted. The country witnessed important changes in the early 1960s under Ayub Khan’s presidentship. The perspective of democracy for Ayub Khan revolved around people coming together as being one, no matter what region of the country they belonged to. Ayub Khan presented the second Constitution of Pakistan in 1962 and according to the document, the country symbolized the integration of presidential, federal and single legislative governance.²⁴⁵

The Constitution of 1962 consisted of sixteen and twenty-one principles on law-making and policy-making, respectively. These principles emphasized on security, justice, morality, and freedom of expression and association. The concept of equality remained a priority, and Urdu and Bengali were declared national languages, however, English was acknowledged as official language. The country’s capital Islamabad in West Wing,

²⁴³ Shaikh, F. (2008). From Islamisation to Shariatisation: cultural transnationalism in Pakistan. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(3), p. 602.

²⁴⁴ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 9-12.

²⁴⁵ Singhal, D. P. (1962). The new constitution of Pakistan. *Asian Survey*, pp.15-17.

represented the national government and the country's other capital Dhaka in East Wing, represented the principal seat of the national assembly.²⁴⁶

The Constitution of 1962 mentioned that the president who was democratically elected, held the executive powers. Moreover, the national assembly was empowered to amend the Constitution with two-thirds majority, yet, the judiciary could not exercise its power to review laws approved by the legislatures. It was again made mandatory for the president to be a Muslim and a council of Islamic ideology was formed to advise on issues related to religion. In short, the president possessed unlimited powers without any fear of accountability.²⁴⁷

Although the new Constitution brought an end to martial law, still it did not oblige the politicians, political parties or the civilians. Also, it did not meet the expectations of democratic processes as there was an absence of a representative government. The ban on general elections and political parties was an evidence of controlling the political culture of the country. According to some political experts, the reason why Ayub Khan was reluctant to hold general elections in the country was his fear of the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan.²⁴⁸

4.7. The Second Military Coup, Yahya Khan (1969-1971)

The resignation of Ayub Khan was followed by another military dictator General Yahya Khan who assumed charge as the president of Pakistan and implemented martial law in March 1969. He pronounced himself as the Chief Administrator of Pakistan. Yahya Khan was born in Pakistan but had Persian roots and a military background. He was himself a competent military officer who had served in World War II, became the youngest Major-General in Pakistan's history of armed forces and possessed strong organizational

²⁴⁶ Singhal, D. P. (1962). The new constitution of Pakistan. *Asian Survey*, Ibid., p.19.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 19-24.

skills.²⁴⁹ He was a close associate of Ayub Khan when the latter was Chief Martial Law Administrator, hence, Yahya Khan was involved in the transitioning of parliamentary system to martial law. He was designated as the General Officer Commanding, East Pakistan in 1962, to resolve political chaos and restore order. Among his achievements, Yahya Khan was conferred with country's honor for his infantry division's best performance in the Indo-Pak war of 1965.²⁵⁰

Yahya Khan's tenure as president was full of controversies and he received a lot of criticism from the senior bureaucracy of the country after the civil servants were accused of corruption and misconduct. By early 1970, the senior bureaucrats whose number was as high as 303, were charged with corruption. These charges proved costly for Yahya Khan whose downfall from power is believed to be because of the same reason. However, his governance lacked competence, especially in the field of economy, the failure to address the woes resulted in the concentration of wealth in a small number of families. Moreover, Yahya Khan's cabinet which mostly consisted of members belonging to the military, had no political expertise, therefore, the country's problems worsened, and his rule was considered unpopular and weak.²⁵¹

Pakistan went through tough times in 1971, as the country was surrounded by domestic issues, this is when India started a war with Pakistan for the third time. The same scenario was repeated this time as no major power supported the country and consequently, Pakistan fought the war on its own against a relatively giant country. The same year saw a civil war in Pakistan which resulted in the separation of East Wing from the West Wing and eventually the creation of Bangladesh in December 1971.

²⁴⁹ Ziring, L. (1974). Militarism in Pakistan: The Yahya Khan Interregnum. *Asian Affairs*, 1(6), p. 404.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 404-408.

²⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 408-409.

4.8. The Pakistan People's Party's Government

The journey to power for Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was not hard as he belonged to an affluent feudal family of Sindh Province. Bhutto hailed from a political background with well-connected links and had graduated from the University of California and Christ Church, Oxford in 1950 and 1952, respectively. His father was an influential person who forced him to join politics, so in April 1958, Bhutto officially stepped into politics by representing Pakistan as the Chairman of delegation to the United Nations (UN) Conference on the Law of Seas. Bhutto climbed up the political ladder and after his assignment to the UN, he was selected as the Minister for Commerce by President Iskander Mirza in that year in October, and later held the same portfolio in Ayub Khan's era. Bhutto was attracted towards power, therefore, with his potential and Ayub Khan's support, he continued to be rewarded with lucrative positions. He worked as the minister for fuel, power and natural resources and as the foreign minister of the country during Ayub Khan's rule.

The attack of India on Pakistan in 1965 was an opportunity for Bhutto to prove his charisma and therefore, for his speech at the UN Security Council's (UNSC) meeting in September 1965, he was highly appreciated for his heroic stance against India. In his speech, Bhutto said, "We will wage a war for 1,000 years, a war of defense."²⁵² Due to unknown circumstances, he stepped down as foreign minister in June 1966, and headed to Europe. After spending four months abroad, Bhutto returned and restarted his political activities, however, with a slow pace. He met with politicians, labor and student leaders, but was indecisive about his political future as he could not choose between creating his own political party or joining an existing party. After contemplation, he decided to try his luck by establishing a new socialist party, after some of his loyalists did not agree with the idea of him affiliating with some other party. Eventually, the idea of Pakistan People's

²⁵² Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://bhutto.org/index.php/kashmir-65-war/how-zulfikar-ali-bhuttos-speech-at-the-un-changed-the-history-of-pakistan/>

Party (PPP) was materialized in December 1967, with the help of a competent and loyal team who had a lot of admiration for Bhutto and who trusted his leadership skills.²⁵³

The PPP was formed at a time when Ayub Khan's popularity as the president of the country was at its lowest and it gave an opportunity to Bhutto to make his party's niche by visiting all over Pakistan and motivating the masses by his charisma and outstanding oratory skills. The circumstances in the country benefitted Bhutto whose stature rose politically, and he was able to influence the minds of the disappointed sections of the society. Bhutto possessed political acumen and ambition and therefore, his voice brought hope to the masses, especially to the students and the underprivileged class. His party slogan, "Roti, Kapra aur Makaan" meaning "bread, clothing, and house/ shelter" was strong enough to directly connect with common people.²⁵⁴

As a student, Bhutto's father used to send him biographies on Karl Marx and Napoleon Bonaparte, therefore, he drew his inspiration from these figures. He was also a fan of JawaharLal Nehru and his excellent skills in foreign policy, however, once in power, Bhutto exercised his authority like a typical Sindhi landlord. This meant that if he was not comfortable even with the loyalists who helped him in establishing his political party, he got rid of them without second thoughts.²⁵⁵

The fruits of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's hard work finally paid off when he became the elected president of Pakistan on December 21, 1971. Bhutto also assumed the role of Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA),²⁵⁶ the post left by Yahya Khan, which made him take control of the economy, industry, media and implement a series of reforms. A number of industries and businesses were nationalized, and land reforms were introduced

²⁵³ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 2-6.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

²⁵⁵ Zahoor, M. A. (2017). Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Political Behaviour And Ouster from Power. *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, 5(2), p. 101.

²⁵⁶ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/12/21/archives/pakistan-swears-bhutto-as-chief-replacing-yahya-nation-returns-to.html>

under his rule. These steps were taken to reduce the effect of economic inequality and also the influence of feudal landlords. Bhutto style of leadership was nothing less than a dictator as he was involved in making political appointments, reorganizing important positions and using arbitrary actions to curb judicial challenges risking his decisions or authority.²⁵⁷

In order to reach a consensus and prepare preliminary work for a temporary constitutional arrangement, Bhutto made an agreement with other political parties like the National Awami Party (NAP) and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) in March 1972. According to the agreement, an interim Constitution based on the Government of India Act, 1935 was to be accepted with necessary amendments. The agreement highlighted important points related to the transition of martial law to constitutional rule and provided a context for the preparation of a permanent Constitution. The agreement known as the Accord could not materialize as the political parties did not agree on the extension of martial law till mid-August 1972. However, with effective negotiations and collaboration of political forces in the country, an interim Constitution setup was passed in April 1972, to pave the way for constitutional rule. The main feature of the interim constitution included the introduction of presidential system at the federal level and parliamentary system in the provinces. The preparation of another Constitution was also not an easy task for Bhutto and his government as the consensus of the ruling and opposition parties was required. However, after negotiations and a meeting of parliamentary leaders, a draft was finalized by the Constitution Committee.

Bhutto established the Ministry of religious Affairs to address all issues related to religion.²⁵⁸ The instruction of Arabic language was introduced, and the national television and radio were urged to telecast more religious programs and teach Arabic. Bhutto

²⁵⁷ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 104-111.

²⁵⁸ Hussain, S., Gillani, A. H., & Abbas, M. W. (2020). Role of Council of Islamic Ideology in Islamization During Zulfikar Ali, pp. 241-250.

organized international conference on the life and work of Prophet Muhammad and restored quota for Hajj pilgrims. He also raised the foreign exchange allowance for the pilgrims who traveled to and from Saudi during the Hajj season. Bhutto separated religious teaching at schools for the children of major sects in Pakistan i.e. Sunni and Shi'ah.^{259 260} All these steps helped in maintaining the essence of Islamic-oriented society in the country.

The relationship between Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the judiciary was not encouraging as the court's role in monitoring government actions became an issue of everyday life. The question related to martial law topped all issues.²⁶¹ The institution of bureaucracy was used for political purposes during Bhutto's rule, which weakened the productivity of civil servants as he wanted the power and control to be transferred to elected representatives.²⁶² It was under Bhutto's regime that the Qadianis,²⁶³ were declared non-Muslims and this became part of the Constitution as well. However, the experience of Qadiani issue had not been very encouraging in the past and resulted in martial law. The government of Bhutto worked hard on Islamization of the country; however, his efforts were of no use for him in gaining credibility as the torchbearer of Islam. His struggle for Islamization ended up in religious fusion and it adversely affected the impact of religious parties on the country's political outlook.²⁶⁴

The issue of Baluchistan has always been in the news due to instability in the province ever since it was integrated with Pakistan. One of the major issues is the various ethnicities and influence of tribal Baloch in the region which cause trouble in the name

²⁵⁹ Hassan, R. (1985). Islamization: An analysis of religious, political and social change in Pakistan. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 21(3), pp. 263-284

²⁶⁰ Burki, S. J. (1988). Pakistan under Bhutto, 1971–1977. *Springer*.

²⁶¹ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 114-119.

²⁶² Ishfaq, U., Ashfaq, K., & Sanam, K. (2022). Pakistan's Political Shift from Martial Law towards Democracy during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Era (1970–1977). *Global Political Review*, VII, 1-6, p. 5.

²⁶³ Qadianis are also called Ahmadis and Mirzais in Pakistan.

²⁶⁴ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 210-214.

of freedom fighting. The events of 1971, multiplied the province's importance as it shared borders with Afghanistan and Iran. To diffuse tensions, the prominent leaders of the province were made the governor and chief minister of Baluchistan in 1972. This move neither helped the government nor the province, partly due to the inexperience of the Baloch leaders and partly due to the reluctance of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to devolve power. Bhutto, who became the elected prime minister of Pakistan in 1973, dismissed the provincial government of Baluchistan in the same year because of the deteriorating situation in the province, and imposed president's rule. The armed forces of Pakistan were deployed in the province and despite the reconciliatory efforts, nothing good came out. The unfavorable events negatively affected Pakistan and Bhutto paid the price through the imposition of martial law in 1977.²⁶⁵

The tenure of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto saw a number of setbacks as the country faced regional and domestic issues, including the Pashtuns' demand for their rights in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province through their leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the drafting of new Constitution and negotiations with international financial institutions. The acuteness of these issues added up to Bhutto's ordeal. As if that was not enough, the popularity graph of Bhutto in his political stronghold Punjab began to go down due to the unstable status of leadership in the province and the persistent culture of violence. Moreover, Bhutto was faced with accusations of human rights violations, and a movement known as "Punjab bachao" (save Punjab) against him emerged around the same time. The challenges confronted by Bhutto resulted in his removal from the office and imposition of another military coup which turned out to be the cause of his arrest and hanging.²⁶⁶

The claim to fame of Bhutto can be ascribed to the complexity of the previous decade but he remained in power for a little over five years. The voter base of Bhutto included people from all walks of life, and those who had failed to directly prosper economically or

²⁶⁵ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 191-196.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 196-201.

politically also looked up to him. Bhutto had amicable relations with the military, bureaucracy and elite industrials. However, he started getting a cold shoulder from bureaucracy and industrialists after the implementation of his economic policies which did not suit either of the two. Moreover, the military was marginalized by Bhutto and the power of large landowners was dented after the implementation of land reforms in 1972.²⁶⁷

The bureaucracy, large landowners and military were only temporarily sidelined by Bhutto as with the passage of time, the bureaucratic authority was restored after large-scale nationalization which empowered them to control the means of production. The landowners regained their power after they were brought back into Bhutto's group and the military also regained its lost popularity after Bhutto sought help to crush the armed mutiny in Baluchistan between 1973 and 1977. The introduction of social reform agenda did not favor some segments of the urban middle-class of Pakistan, hence, Bhutto's popularity among them was lost. Since the banks were nationalized by Bhutto, therefore, the industrialists failed to restore their connections with finance and industry, and hence, they transferred their capital outside the country. Nonetheless, Bhutto made the mistake of asking for help from the same individuals and institutions he disproved of in the beginning of his reign as these individuals might have been the same forces responsible for his downfall.²⁶⁸

Bhutto helped the urban middle-class in establishing themselves through green revolution by the incorporation of small-scale manufacturing. This proved to be risky for him because the same class along with other sections of the middle-class and with the support of military and bureaucracy, played a major role in ousting Bhutto from power in 1977. The dismissal of Bhutto was similar to the downfall of Ayub Khan as those who benefitted

²⁶⁷ Zaidi, S. A. (2005). State, military and social transition: Improbable future of democracy in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 5175.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

from the former's economic plan were the same people who initiated a movement against him, and he became the victim of his own doing.²⁶⁹

The government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to an end with the military coup by General Zia-ul-Haq in 1977. Bhutto was placed in protective custody for a short period of time and later released, however, his return to politics did not get along well with Zia-ul-Haq's goals.²⁷⁰ Bhutto was again arrested in the same year but this time on charges of murder. He was sentenced to death and hanged on April 4, 1979.²⁷¹

4.9. The Third Constitution of Pakistan, 1973

The drafting of the Constitution of 1973 was not simple as conflicts emerged between the government and opposition; however, the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan played a positive role in the smooth implementation of the Constitution. The opposition accepted the constitution document in 1973, but with the demand of a few amendments, nonetheless, the Constitution of 1973 finally came into effect on August 14, 1973. The implementation of the Constitution marked a significant milestone in Pakistan's history. The document highlighted that the prime minister enjoyed the prerogative of executive powers making it difficult for the president to dismiss the premier. The military was considered subordinate to the civilian government and to discourage any future attempts of military intervention, the forceful abrogation of the Constitution was considered punishable as high treason.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ Zaidi, S. A. (2005). State, military and social transition: Improbable future of democracy in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 5175.

²⁷⁰ Mumtaz Bhutto conveyed this to the author: Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*; Zia had felt insulted because his friend, Crown Prince Hasan of Jordan, was his guest in Pakistan at the time.

²⁷¹ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 267-271.

²⁷² Ibid., pp. 130-135.

The Constitution of 1973 bore significance because it was passed from members of the parliament as well as religious leaders. Although, the new Constitution was similar to the last two, but the latest included incorporation of strict Islamic principles.²⁷³ The announcement of Islam as the state's religion by Bhutto apparently helped in strengthening the religious identity of the country. The Ahmadis were declared non-Muslims through the implementation of parliamentary Act, and it was made mandatory to place copies of the Holy book (Quran) in the rooms of five-star hotels of Pakistan. Moreover, as symbolism, the name of "Red Cross," which is a philanthropic organization, was changed to "Red Crescent."²⁷⁴

During Bhutto's rule, it was not unique that the government and opposition parties had differences or there was something different in the relationship between religion and the state, or in the nature of the executive, or in the distribution of power. The rightist groups of the country were insistent on the provision of Islamic principles which made Zulfikar Ali Bhutto include injunctions for maintaining peace with all the groups. The Constitution of 1973 consolidated the same Islamic provisions as older Constitutions with special emphasis on the sovereignty of Allah. The necessary placement of existing laws with Islamic injunctions was established through Article 227. Also, an Islamic Council was established with advisory role but limited authority, following the footsteps of Ayub Khan.²⁷⁵

The Constitution of 1973, like the previous Constitutions, mandated the president of the country to be a Muslim, which underscored the Islamic character of the Constitution through the "Principles of policy." The country was pronounced as "Islamic Republic," and Islam was recognized as the state religion.²⁷⁶ Pakistan was originally modeled on Westminster's model of parliamentary system, however, the real power in the country

²⁷³ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 130-135.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 213-214.

²⁷⁵ Choudhury, G. W. (1974). "New" Pakistan's Constitution, 1973. *Middle East Journal*, 28(1), pp. 10-12.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

rested with the business elite, bureaucrats and military generals. The main reason for opposition to the 1973 Constitution was the unlimited powers of the prime minister and the degree of regional autonomy. This resulted in violent clashes in 1973 that gave rise to a constitutional crisis; however, the issue was settled after some changes in the parliamentary system which eventually led to a federal parliamentary system in the country. The Constitution of 1973 emphasized the importance of the prime minister's office who was the chief executive and head of the country and who could only be removed through a vote of no-confidence. The fear of a military coup forced Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to add certain provisions in the Constitution against the revocation of the Constitution.²⁷⁷

4.10. The Third Military Coup, Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988)

The Zia-ul-Haq's regime was a fortune winner for the civil and military establishments of Pakistan as these two institutions enhanced their control over the creation and distribution of wealth. The civil servants got the freedom of actively involving themselves in politics and economy. The business opportunities attracted the military officials who became stakeholders in the fields of operations and manufacturing. The military officials also benefited by working outside their domain and sitting on profitable positions in both public and private sectors. There was no restriction for even the retired military personnel during Zia's rule as they setup businesses with the discretion of military establishment.. The military was perceived to be safeguarding the borders and the country, but that image changed in the public eye after their involvement in business endeavors.²⁷⁸

The successful industrialists from Ayub Khan's era, who had moved out of Pakistan during Bhutto's rule, returned to the country during Zia's government. At that time,

²⁷⁷ Aziz, S. (2018). *The Constitution of Pakistan: A Contextual Analysis*. Oxford London Portland: Hart Publishing Ltd, pp. 53-54.

²⁷⁸ Zaidi, S. A. (2005). State, military and social transition: Improbable future of democracy in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 5175.

ownership of big businesses was concentrated with a few families , however, during the martial law rule of Zia, a large number of individuals from all over the country became entrepreneurs. The governance was still controlled by the civil and military establishments, however, the middle-class and new businessmen also established themselves during Zia’s era. The feudal also successfully reclaimed their power and the middle-class officially entered into the economic and political spheres of the country.²⁷⁹

The most powerful weapon with Zia-ul-Haq during his rule was religion and he believed to convert Pakistan into an Islamic state. He used this tool to oblige the masses by insisting on poverty alleviation and abolition of class distinctions through Zakat and Ushr (Islamic means of charity). The primary goal of Zia-ul-Haq was to give an impression to the world that the country was under the influence of Islamic economic system.²⁸⁰

The military dictator took pride in the rich legacy of the Muslims in the subcontinent and possessed a sense of superiority due to the historical glory. Zia-ul-Haq can be credited with the Islamization of the country as he conditioned the country’s prosperity with religion and disowned secularism, modernism and liberalism and blamed these “isms” for having ties to colonial rule. Zia’s solution for survival of Pakistan was the reliance on Islamic practices as Pakistan was founded on the ideology of Islam and therefore, in a press conference in 1983, he reiterated that he aspired to conclude the process of Islamization. He also emphasized his consistent devotion to strengthening of the country’s Islamic identity and religious transformation.²⁸¹

The education policy of 1979 basically introduced religious education, and transition from modern education to conservative education model was Zia-ul-Haq’s strategy. He incorporated religious principles, made Arabic as a mandatory requirement, deleted non-Islamic material from syllabus throughout the academic institutions. He made the use of

²⁷⁹ Zaidi, S. A. (2005). State, military and social transition: Improbable future of democracy in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 5175-5176.

²⁸⁰ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, p. 14.

²⁸¹ Ibid., p. 13.

Islam in academia to encourage national unity. The education policy focused on imparting the idea of Muslim Ummah (Muslim community) to the students so that they can assist their fellow Muslims as and when needed. The policy facilitated in the inauguration of a faculty at a public university in Islamabad, Pakistan under the name of Shariah, to represent an obligation for the restructuring of higher education and research in the context of Islamic studies.²⁸²

The education policy 1979, introduced mosque schools for the predominant purpose of shaping Pakistan's national identity with emphasis on its place within the global Muslim Ummah, and to encourage the practicing Muslims of the country. These schools were mainly opened in villages and had simple setups, staffed by a public teacher and an Imam to impart the children with Quran and religious studies. In order to transmit Islamic education to the female students according to the education policy, similar schools were set up by the name of "Mohalla schools" or street schools. The type of education provided to the female students was the same, however, these students were instructed within their homes. These set ups principally served Muslim students and focused on teaching only Islamic curriculum.²⁸³

The Zia-ul-Haq regime implemented a policy through which the liberty rights of women were minimized, and various orthodox rules were applied in order for women to be deprived of their freedom. This included the limited representation of women in public and the implementation of "Hudood Law," which allowed the accused of rape to escape prosecution in case the victim failed to present four male eyewitnesses. This particular law received a lot of criticism and coverage from local as well as international media.²⁸⁴

²⁸² Qurban, S., & Amin, H. (2019). Education Policies, Discourse of Ideology and the Construction of National Identity in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis. *Global Regional Review*, 4(3), pp. 5-6.

²⁸³ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, pp. 14-15.

²⁸⁴ Imran, R. (2005). Legal injustices: The Zina Hudood Ordinance of Pakistan and its implications for women. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 7(2), pp. 78-100.

It is commonly believed that Zia-ul-Haq, with the support of foreign funding was the mastermind behind the expansion of religious schools (madrassas) in Pakistan, since the students of those schools were trained for Jihad in Afghanistan and to fight Soviet forces. However, it is also believed that the growing population and poverty in the country was the compelling force behind the proliferation of madrassas, as the disadvantaged and deprived class was able to get some education along with skill(s) to stand on their feet. The history of the importance of madrassas in Pakistan can be traced back to 1962, when a committee was formed for the improvement of these schools' syllabus and aligning the importance of madrassas in building a virtuous nation.²⁸⁵ There has been a significant influence of religious clerics (ulema) in the country which is mainly due to the fact that Zia-ul-Haq focused on madrasa education and considered ulema as the protectors of Islamic identity. A significant population of the country pursued studies at madrassas, which helped in making up for the deficiencies in education unaddressed by the government and also in the national development endeavors.²⁸⁶

4.10.1. The Constitutional Amendments

In 1985, sensing pressure from Western donors and Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD), Zia-ul-Haq revised the Constitution of 1973, and introduced Eighth amendment through President's Order No. 14 of 1985. This was a shift of balance of power from parliamentary democracy to semi-presidential system and empowered the president to dismiss elected governments.²⁸⁷ A separate Clause(2) was included in Article 58 of that Order, which specified, "The President may also dissolve the National Assembly in his discretion where, in his opinion, an appeal to the electorate is necessary."

²⁸⁵ Dogar, N. T. (2010). Madrasa reforms: Problems and prospects. *NDU Journal*, 23(1), pp. 1-25.

²⁸⁶ Rahman, K., & Bukhari, S. R. (2006). Pakistan: Religious education and institutions. *The Muslim World*, 96(2). pp. 332-333.

²⁸⁷ Yasmeen, S. (1994). Democracy in Pakistan: the third dismissal. *Asian Survey*, 34(6), p. 575.

The first victim of this amendment was Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, who was dismissed by Zia-ul-Haq in May 1988 on charges of corruption.²⁸⁸

Zia-ul-Haq emulated the role of a torchbearer for the implementation of Islamic values in Pakistan and hence introduced or reestablished laws to champion the cause, including the Hudood Ordinance, and he also restored the separate electoral system for minority groups. To build stronger links between the religious scholars and the military government, Zia founded a novel Islamic bureaucracy. He went as far as establishing Sharia courts (Islamic law courts) and modifying the blasphemy law, according to which punishment of death was introduced for using offensive language against Prophet Muhammad. The participation of women in public was also curtailed and they were urged to confine themselves at homes to carry forward Zia's ideology amidst the community at large.²⁸⁹

4.11. The Pakistan People's Party's Government; Benazir Bhutto's First Term as Prime Minister

The daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, has the honor of being the first female prime minister of the Muslim world and the youngest prime minister of Pakistan. Like her father, Benazir was also highly educated and got her degrees from Harvard and Oxford. She served as the prime minister of Pakistan twice, from 1988 to 1990, and from 1993 to 1996. Benazir officially joined politics after her father's execution and faced imprisonment and exile during Zia's rule. She got married to a feudal landlord, Asif Ali Zardari, in 1986, after returning to Pakistan. After Zia's death, the armed forces seemingly kept a distance from politics, but the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) played the old games of influencing politicians and elections, and therefore in 1988, the intelligence

²⁸⁸ Retrieved on May 11, 2024,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eighth_Amendment_to_the_Constitution_of_Pakistan

²⁸⁹ Kennedy, C. H. (1990). Islamization and legal reform in Pakistan, 1979-1989. *Pacific affairs*, pp. 64-71.

agency formed an alliance of different political parties named Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), which included the Muslim League and other parties.²⁹⁰

The general elections of 1988 resulted in a split mandate, but the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) secured majority of the seats; 97 out of 207, however, with this number, the party could not form a government on its own. The IJI also wanted to establish government in the Centre but PPP and IJI could only do that with the alliance of smaller parties or independent representatives. Both the parties sought help to gain support and claim majority. The military and the then president of Pakistan, Ishaq Khan, tried to drag the matter for two weeks,²⁹¹ as they could see none of the parties was successful at making alliances. However, the delay in the transfer of power to democratic government was confronted with local and international pressure. The situation benefitted the PPP whose chairperson, Benazir Bhutto, was elected as the eleventh prime minister of Pakistan.²⁹² The PPP was able to form a coalition government in the Centre with the alliance of Mohajir Quami Movement party (MQM). However, the formation of government was not so simple because the PPP had to make compromises with the military to establish stability. Benazir was well-respected in her party who considered her a seasoned politician and stateswoman, nonetheless, she faced many challenges as a female prime minister.²⁹³

Benazir becoming the prime minister of the country was not possible without the support of the U.S, although, the military showed reluctance to her ascent. The situation in and outside the country was unpleasant for Pakistan as the newly elected prime minister had to pull out the country from economic crisis and mitigate ethnic tensions. Moreover, the country was facing complex geopolitical dynamics which needed to be navigated on

²⁹⁰ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 135-138.

²⁹¹ Yasmeen, S. (1994). Democracy in Pakistan: the third dismissal. *Asian Survey*, 34(6), p. 573.

²⁹² Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 138-140.

²⁹³ Shafqat, S. (2019). *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. Routledge, p.226.

priority. Pakistan was engulfed in economic challenges and the high military expenditure was another pressing issue. There was no time for Benazir to relax as the opposition against her did not slow down, especially the IJI in Punjab and the upper house (senate), since this is where they held majority. Benazir knew that in order to secure her prime minister seat, she was supposed to keep good relations and make concessions where necessary, with all the stakeholders. Those who mattered the most were the president and the Chief of the Army Staff (COAS). Benazir was supposed to follow her government's agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and also to continue with the Afghan policy implemented during Zia's regime. In a nutshell, Benazir had little to no freedom to pursue her party's agenda according to her terms and conditions.²⁹⁴

The PPP was on Zia's radar during his rule and he wanted to weaken the party, especially in its stronghold Punjab, therefore, a coalition of religious groups, businessmen and traders was formed against the party. The elections of 1985, critically affected PPP's voters base because those elections were non-party based. The government formed as a result of those elections could not continue for long and in May 1988, the national and provincial assemblies were dissolved, however, Zia did not remove Nawaz Sharif as the chief minister of Punjab. Nawaz Sharif, originally an industrialist, is generally known to have been politically raised by Zia-ul-Haq, and had also served as finance minister before becoming the chief minister. Nawaz Sharif is believed to have realigned the socio-economic classes of the country with the support of Zia-ul-Haq.²⁹⁵

The elections of 1988 made the Nawaz Sharif led Pakistan Muslim League (PML) win 108 out of a total of 240 seats in the Punjab assembly. This was made possible with the help of IJI and backdoor channels used by Nawaz Sharif, which succeeded him in forming government in the Punjab province. The IJI's government in Punjab was challenging for

²⁹⁴ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 142.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 143-144.

Benazir's government because Nawaz Sharif's politics was confrontational towards the Centre.²⁹⁶

The need to achieve provincial autonomy by Nawaz Sharif compelled him to carry out initiatives that could make him win the hearts of the masses. Therefore, he opened provincial banks and organized the Pakistan Muslim League so that his party interests could align with the Punjabi middle-class interests. In the Centre, Benazir was going through a hard time because of the unpredictability of events in the country such as the Pakka Qila incident, which strained her relations with other political leaders and tensions kept rising because Benazir was unable to reconcile. The unpleasant circumstances resulted in the dismissal of Benazir, whose government was declared incompetent by the President and the military.²⁹⁷

As the prime minister of Pakistan, Benazir faced a lot of criticism on personal level due to the political involvement of her husband, Asif Ali Zardari. The active participation of Zardari in official engagements and politics was not liked by the civil and military establishments of the country. Zardari was accused of doing things under the table like engaging in nepotism,²⁹⁸ and objectionable financial activities for personal benefits. He was nicknamed "Mr. Ten Percent" for purportedly demanding kickbacks and giving undue favors in return. The allegations against Zardari stained Benazir's repute and the PPP as a political party also suffered from the accusations against its chairperson's spouse.²⁹⁹

The first tenure of Benazir as the prime minister was also marked by a number of achievements such as foreign investment in oil exploration, textile and fruit preservation

²⁹⁶ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 144.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 145.

²⁹⁸ Shafqat, S. (2019). *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. Routledge, p. 233.

²⁹⁹ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan., p. 146

sectors.³⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the government under Benazir's premiership struggled with various challenges related to finance, economy, and law and order, which ended up in her dismissal and dissolution of all the assemblies by the President in August 1990, twenty months after the formation of government. The leader of the opposition, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, became the prime minister of interim government, who inducted new ministers into his cabinet. The transparency of elections conducted by the interim setup was seen with suspicion due to the government's hostile attitude towards Benazir and the PPP.³⁰¹ The Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) won by majority seats in the general elections of 1990, thus forming government in the Centre.³⁰²

4.12. The Islami Jamhoori Ittehad's Government; Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's First Term as Prime Minister

The exit of Benazir and Nawaz Sharif replacing her as the prime minister of Pakistan in 1990 did not change the challenging situation on ground. The country still faced economic woes, corruption issues, crisis in Sindh and inheritance of confrontational politics. The international financial institutions, particularly the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), dictated the country's economic planning and policy formulation and Pakistan had to follow those directives. This was the same time when the U.S. aid to Pakistan for Afghan-Soviet war was slowing down and the remittances from Gulf countries were also not encouraging. As the prime minister, Nawaz Sharif went with the market liberalization approach which removed control on foreign exchange entering into the country. A number of state-owned enterprises were privatized in this regard and in a bid to encourage foreign investment, a new policy was implemented. The Kuwait-

³⁰⁰ Shafqat, S. (2019). *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. Routledge, p. 234.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 235

³⁰² Ibid., p. 236.

Iraq war widely known as the Gulf crisis resulted in more than 40% increase in oil prices in Pakistan.³⁰³

It was expected that the president and the new prime minister will keep up good relations, however, Sharif wanted to balance the power enjoyed by the presidency. This was not possible without exerting power and authority of the premier who is also the chief executive of the country, therefore, he tried to nominate the Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) according to his preference, but he did not succeed in it. The president of Pakistan, Ishaq Khan, took these policy initiatives as a challenge to his position, hence, he began looking for options to replace Nawaz Sharif. During this time, the prime minister considered reviewing the Eighth amendment of the Constitution.³⁰⁴

Nawaz Sharif played an active role in making legislative progress and executed plans for the improvement of relations with stakeholders within the federal system. He began with organizing a convention for the Council of Common Interest and ensured that the country's financial assets are distributed among the provinces. Nawaz Sharif was also successful in breaking ice to resolve the Indus water dispute with India, in March 1991.³⁰⁵ In order to benefit the lower class of the society, a number of measures were undertaken by the Nawaz Sharif government to introduce schemes like distribution of land to the landless peasants and fixing of minimum monthly wage for unskilled workers. The government of Sharif carried out a large operation in rural Sindh to clean the area from dacoits.³⁰⁶ The Sharif government, after recognizing the sensitivity of issue, involved military intelligence in 1992, under the leadership of Sindh Police and Rangers to conduct an operation named "Operation Clean-up" or "Operation Blue Fox." The purpose of the operation was to decimate anti-social elements from Sindh, especially those responsible

³⁰³ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 148-149.

³⁰⁴ Yasmeen, S. (1994). Democracy in Pakistan: the third dismissal. *Asian Survey*, 34(6), pp. 5858-5860.

³⁰⁵ Wasseem, M. (1992). Pakistan's lingering crisis of dyarchy. *Asian Survey*, 32(7), p. 626.

³⁰⁶ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 149-151.

for a separatist movement in Karachi. This operation took two years to conclude and in 1994, it came to an end with the approval of the successive prime minister, Benazir Bhutto.³⁰⁷ Since Nawaz Sharif came from an industrial background, therefore, he gave utmost priority to economy and his expertise in this sector helped Pakistan achieve Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of 13%. Although, the country witnessed a robust improvement in economy during Nawaz Sharif's government, still his tenure was confronted with many conflicts, including ethnic disputes.³⁰⁸

The hard luck with Pakistan is that even if a government is doing something significant for the betterment of masses, it still faces criticism. The same happened during the first term of Nawaz Sharif's government which was censured for different projects such as the "Yellow Cab Scheme." The collapse of corporate societies during Nawaz Sharif's rule also received criticism from different quarters of the country. The temperature of political intolerance continued to go up due to the political victimization of political parties and the lack of seriousness on constitutional matters. This situation benefitted the PPP which carried out protests and went as far as organizing long marches and train marches to weaken the government.³⁰⁹

The relationship between Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif touched its lowest due to the differences of opinion on issues like independent politics on Kashmir and Afghanistan, Gulf War, Shariat Bill and the appointment of new COAS. The accumulation of these feuds made Nawaz Sharif publicly accuse Ishaq Khan of conspiring against him in a televised address. This led to the president dismissing Sharif's government and swearing

³⁰⁷ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Clean-up

³⁰⁸ Monshipouri, M., & Samuel, A. (1995). Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?. *Asian Survey*, 35(11), pp. 982-983.

³⁰⁹ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 149-150.

in of a caretaker setup, the cabinet ministers of which were from the PPP. This arrangement raised concerns over the integrity of interim government.³¹⁰

4.12.1. The Reinstatement and Resignation of Nawaz Sharif

A petition was filed by the dismissed prime minister in the Supreme Court regarding his removal and the dissolution of national assembly by the president of Pakistan. The supreme Court gave judgement in the petitioner's favor with ten votes in favor of the verdict out of a total of 11. The Court gave its decision according to the constitutional rights given to a prime minister and the parliament and categorically stated that the dismissal of the government was not within the powers conferred on the president as per the Constitution under Article 52(2)(b).³¹¹ The verdict set a historic precedent by the upper judiciary which did not compromise to any pressure from the powers that be. The judgement by the Supreme Court also questioned the discretion of the president, the division of power and the perception of Eighth amendment, which were not in line with the Islamic identity of Pakistan.³¹²

The reinstatement of Nawaz Sharif witnessed his political allies strongly opposing him. The most active were the speaker of the Punjab Assembly and the Governor of Punjab, who were unwilling to accept Nawaz Sharif's return to power. In July 1993, after an aftermath of domestic crisis due to a contest for power, Nawaz Sharif and the President of Pakistan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, resigned from their positions. The vacuum was filled by Moinuddin Qureshi, who was sworn in as the prime minister of a caretaker government with the hope to restore stability and enhance the electoral system.³¹³ Moin Qureshi was sponsored by the World Bank and IMF, assuming the role of prime minister and Waseem

³¹⁰ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 150-152.

³¹¹ Yasmeen, S. (1994). Democracy in Pakistan: the third dismissal. *Asian Survey*, 34(6), p. 580.

³¹² Ibid., p. 581.

³¹³ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 153.

Sajjad, favored by the military establishment, taking the position of president.³¹⁴

Apart from improvement in the economy, Pakistan experienced unrest and resistance on domestic fronts, primarily due to the advancement of Islamization agenda by Nawaz Sharif's government as this created social conflicts among the masses. As if this was not enough, the opposition leader Benazir Bhutto, carried out demonstrations in the capital city of Islamabad. As mostly happened with the previous governments, the issues of Kashmir and disarmament of nuclear weapons persisted without resolution in Nawaz Sharif's government.³¹⁵

4.13. The Pakistan People's Party's Government; Benazir Bhutto's Second Term as Prime Minister

The fresh general elections took place in October 1993 after the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif; however, the election results gave a split mandate to the two major parties i.e. Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), winning 86 and 73 seats, respectively, in the national assembly. In order to prevent military intervention because of the failure to form majority government by either of the parties, the PPP made government in the Centre, albeit a weaker parliamentary mandate. The ruling party elected the president, Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, out of their choice. Leghari was a close associate of Benazir who was sworn in as president in November 1993.³¹⁶

The PPP did not do well in the provincial elections of Punjab and did not secure a single seat from the major cities of the province. One of the reasons was the PML's projects in Punjab which were meant for the masses such as the Yellow Cab scheme and the Lahore-

³¹⁴ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 153.

³¹⁵ Monshipouri, M., & Samuel, A. (1995). Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?. *Asian Survey*, 35(11), p. 983.

³¹⁶ Yasmeen, S. (1994). Democracy in Pakistan: the third dismissal. *Asian Survey*, 34(6), p. 587.

Islamabad Motorway project. However, the PPP was successful in forming coalition government in Punjab and securing power in the province. The PPP also formed government in Sindh, its stronghold. The opposition party, Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) tried to bring political unrest in Karachi, the provincial capital of Sindh, during Benazir's rule.³¹⁷

After learning from her first term as prime minister, Benazir dealt wisely with her political opponents this time. She showed maturity towards the military as she did not want to repeat the past mistakes, and refrained from any confrontations with the institution's high ranks. The political witch hunting was minimized by Benazir and this could be seen by the relatively small number of arrests of the political workers of PML-N during her tenure.³¹⁸ Benazir had learnt her lesson well, hence, she avoided sharing her opinion regarding the appointments of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC) and other military appointments. The "Operation Clean-up," implemented during Nawaz Sharif's government came to an end in Benazir's government on MQM's demand. Benazir approved its conclusion in November 1994, because she did not want to put her government at risk again.³¹⁹

To act prudently, Benazir showed her support for Kashmir and made sure to remain in good terms with the military behind closed doors.³²⁰ Benazir remembered the price she paid in her previous government after clipping the wings of army in their response to the violence in Sindh province. Benazir knew the might of military in Pakistan, therefore, to strengthen her connection with them, she combined the Kashmir issue with Pakistan's

³¹⁷ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 154-155.

³¹⁸ Shafqat, S. (2019). *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. Routledge, p. 241.

³¹⁹ Shafqat, S. (1996). Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto. *Asian Survey*, 36(7), p. 670.

³²⁰ Monshipouri, M., & Samuel, A. (1995). Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?. *Asian Survey*, 35(11), p. 983.

nuclear program. Benazir also clearly stated Pakistan's position on Kashmir policy and the country's nuclear program during talks with the U.S.³²¹

The economy of Pakistan measures the success of a government, therefore, with regard to Benazir's performance in economy, there are no confirmed figures for the per capital GDP growth rate. The government of Benazir failed to control inflation but was able to increase foreign exchange reserves and obtained pledges in energy sector. The same government enhanced the status of women and strict measures were taken to get rid of child labor in the country. Benazir has been credited for controlling human rights' abuses in the country and for providing increased autonomy to human rights groups. The government faced crop loss and political instability in the largest city of Pakistan during her second term. Moreover, Benazir was unsuccessful at settling issues related to violence and civil unrest in various part of the country.³²²

The second tenure as prime minister for Benazir was as challenging as the first one because this time she had to deal with sectarian violence, and fight with the then militant party named Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM). Her government planned to confront the financial crisis by attracting foreign investment into the country and make up for the country's deficit through budget for the upcoming fiscal year i.e. 1994 to 1995. The government also had to exercise austerity in order to cut down on unnecessary expenses, and practice fiscal restraint as a reduction in the industrial and agricultural output was expected alongside the prolonged dry spell and challenges faced by the cotton crop, since Pakistan's cotton tops industrial exports.³²³

The enactment of Eight amendment by Zia's government was a ticking bomb for the successive democratic governments, since the president had the discretion to remove prime minister and dissolve assemblies. The government of Benazir was neither able to

³²¹ Monshipouri, M., & Samuel, A. (1995). Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?. *Asian Survey*, 35(11), p. 984.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibid., pp. 984-985.

revoke the amendment nor make structural adjustments for the formation of a civil society independent of electoral processes. Apart from national level, Benazir was also unsuccessful in achieving international support for facilitating peace in neighboring Afghanistan and resolving the Kashmir issue.³²⁴

The government of Benazir faced tough economic challenges and to make matters worse, a report by the Transparency International ranked Pakistan as the second most corrupt country. Moreover, the IMF and the WB continued to pressure the government to reduce their huge defense spending for financial stability. A major scandal also surfaced around same time, regarding the sale of a financial organization which sabotaged the government's much needed privatization process. The popularity of Benazir kept moving downhill due to the failing state of economy and the challenges of law and order situation in Karachi. These circumstances led to opposing elements to emerge from within the party in Punjab. Benazir received a major setback due to the assassination of her brother, Murtaza Bhutto, in September 1996, when she was the prime minister. This tragedy severed her relations with President Farooq Leghari, as he was accused of being involved in Murtaza's murder. Leghari, instead of defending the accusations, dismissed Benazir's government in November 1996.

The caretaker government formed after the dissolution of Benazir's government also faced a number of challenges due to the discretionary powers residing with the president. Nonetheless, the caretaker setup was successful in implementing several reforms which also included the formation of the Council of Defense and National Security (CDNS) and the introduction of adult franchise in 1996, in the former Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (FATA), now part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The adult franchise program in FATA carried major significance as it made the locals eligible to vote in general elections.³²⁵ The CDNS, on the other hand, directly benefitted the military and

³²⁴ Monshipouri, M., & Samuel, A. (1995). Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?. *Asian Survey*, 35(11), p. 986.

³²⁵ Synnott, H. (2009). *Transforming Pakistan: Ways Out of Instability* (Vol. 406). Routledge, p. 113.

aimed at strengthening its role in the country's decision-making process, which in turn, made the president and the army chief more powerful.³²⁶

4.14. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz's Government: Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's Second Term as Prime Minister

The dismissal of Benazir repeated history, and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), led by Nawaz Sharif, won the elections of 1997 with a landslide victory. The absolute majority enabled the party to form government in the Centre and in Punjab province. The PML-N also performed fairly well in Sindh, which has always been the stronghold of Pakistan People's Party (PPP). In the national assembly, the PPP was successful in winning 19 seats only. The sweeping victory by the PML-N did not reduce the government woes as it had to pace up in order to confront the deteriorating economic situation due to the uncontrollable circular debt and debt servicing.³²⁷

The government of Nawaz Sharif came up with the idea of dealing with economic challenges through the assistance of Pakistani expatriates. The scheme was named "qarz utaro, mulk sawaro," which means "retire debt, develop the country." The government received an overwhelming response from expatriates, but, even this did not completely resolve the critical economic issues of the country.

The higher judiciary of Pakistan got active against Nawaz Sharif's government and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court took suo-moto notice in March 1996, for mismanagement in wheat-shipping contract from the U.S. The Supreme Court also reopened pending case against the prime minister for his alleged involvement in the illegal distribution of residential plots. These circumstances led to judicial activism and tension began to build up between the government and the higher judiciary. The issue culminated

³²⁶ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 162.

³²⁷ Ibid., pp. 162-164.

into the replacement of the Chief Justice of Supreme Court,³²⁸ however, there was more to come for the government as on October 12, 1999, Nawaz Sharif was removed and arrested through a military coup by General Pervez Musharraf.

4.14.1. Varied Responses by the Political Parties on Nawaz Sharif's Exit

The tragic exit of Nawaz Sharif's government through a coup followed mixed reactions from the political parties and a number of parties supported the military intervention. The biggest democratic rival of Nawaz Sharif, Benazir Bhutto, was in London at the time of Musharraf's takeover, however, she blamed Sharif for inviting the tragedy. The reason behind Benazir's undemocratic statements was believed to be the corruption charges against her for which she needed a safe passage to avoid arrest in Pakistan. Since the armed forces wanted to play the neutrality card, therefore, Benazir's positive words for the institution did not grant her relief. The only political party that disapproved the coup by Musharraf and the suspension of fundamental rights was Jamaat-e-Islami, which called for the accountability of corrupt rulers only. The PML-N refrained from directly confronting the military and preferred to adopt a restrained tone against the institution as the party was more concerned about the release of Nawaz Sharif and the restoration of democracy.³²⁹

The PML-N leader Nawaz Sharif was imprisoned on charges of criminal conspiracy, hijacking and attempted murder but his defense argued that the military coup by Musharraf was actually a planned conspiracy to punish his client for his decision of withdrawing troops from Kargil in July 1999. The defense for Nawaz Sharif could not be proved in the court of law, therefore, he was convicted on charges of hijacking and

³²⁸ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 164-166.

³²⁹ Ibid., pp. 176-178.

attempted murder and sentenced to two life imprisonment terms simultaneously, for 25 years each. Nawaz Sharif's assets and properties were also confiscated.³³⁰

The military regime of Musharraf was not pleased with the judgement on Nawaz Sharif's case as they expected a death penalty for him. Nawaz Sharif, on the other hand, pleaded for release and filed appeals in the Sindh High Court, however, the military coup was pronounced legal on the basis of "doctrine of necessity." The Supreme Court upheld the Sindh High Court's decision and gave a deadline of three years to Musharraf to restore democracy. Since, the odds were against Nawaz Sharif, therefore, in another case related to corruption, he was punished to complete a prison term of 14 years and was also banned from holding public office for 21 years.³³¹ As luck had it, Nawaz Sharif escaped all the sentences and was exiled to Saudi Arabia in the year 2000.

The book titled "From banking to the thorny world of politics," written by Shaukat Aziz, who happened to be the former prime minister and finance minister of Pakistan, describes the events after Nawaz Sharif's incarceration which led to his exile in Saudi Arabia. Shaukat Aziz says that the then U.S. president, Bill Clinton, visited Pakistan during a stopover and gave a clear message to Pervez Musharraf to pardon Nawaz Sharif and allow him to leave Pakistan. The then Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah also played a significant role in Nawaz Sharif's release.³³²

4.15. The Fourth Military Coup, Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008)

The military dictator General Pervez Musharraf became the Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) in October 1998, after the resignation of the former Chief. He also assumed the additional role of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC) in April 1999.

³³⁰ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 178-180.

³³¹ Ibid., pp. 181-182.

³³² Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1269353>

The evening of October 12, 1999, which started with the sacking of Pervez Musharraf, followed a series of dramatic events. The prime minister Nawaz Sharif removed Musharraf as COAS and replaced him with a Lieutenant General who was a family loyalist also. Musharraf, who was on an official trip to Sri Lanka was returning the same evening. As per the directives of Nawaz Sharif, the concerned authorities at Karachi airport were ordered not to let Musharraf's plane land so that he was unable to react to his sacking. Since, the military is a powerful institution, therefore Musharraf's loyalists within the army who were senior army generals, took control of Karachi airport and dismissed the government. Not only that, but Nawaz Sharif was also placed under house arrest and later sent into exile. Musharraf assumed charge as the chief executive of the country, while Nawaz Sharif's handpicked president, Rafiq Tarar, remained in office until Musharraf became the president in June 2001.³³³

As soon as Musharraf took power, he blamed everything bad on the ousted government, including the economic instability and governance issues.³³⁴ The primary goal of every military dictator in Pakistan has been to gain public trust, therefore, Musharraf tried to take people into confidence by saying that he had informed Nawaz Sharif about the growing public pressure due to the deteriorating situation of the country. He also said that the removed prime minister did not pay attention to the acute issues and instead focused on meddling and weakening the military institution.

The provincial assemblies were dismissed on next day of Musharraf's coup and the military took over parliament building of the national assembly to prevent the convening session scheduled for October 15. The President of Pakistan was directed to follow the order of the Chief Executive,³³⁵ and restore martial law in the country, although, the term

³³³ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 173-174.

³³⁴ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.tribuneindia.com/1999/99oct13/head5.htm

³³⁵ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.news.indiamart.com/news-analysis/musharraf-makes-hims5622.html

“Martial Law” was not formally used so as to avoid international pressure.³³⁶ Musharraf made sure he is completely safeguarded by all means, therefore, under the Provisional Constitutional Order,³³⁷ courts were not authorized to issue orders against the Chief Executive or any authority designated by him. Moreover, the Army Court tribunals were not allowed to make judgements against the Army Chief or individuals exercising their power. The freedom and basic rights granted to individuals by law and Constitution were to be maintained, however, subject to certain circumstances and conditions. All these modifications in the law hinted at complete military dictatorship in the country. A declaration was issued by Musharraf after detailed discussions with the Chiefs of Staff of the armed forces and Corps Commanders of the military, followed by decisions.³³⁸

The National Accountability Bureau (NAB), is an organization which was established in 1999 and was used as a tool for political revenge or to gain support of defectors from the PML-N and PPP. The military stayed away from self-governing authorities which could ruin the institution’s internal autonomy and authority. The mainstream parties, PPP and PML-N established the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) in December 2000.³³⁹ This alliance was too weak to fight the military might and thus failed to influence the political structure of Pakistan as public was not allowed to organize itself during Musharraf’s martial rule. This political voice gave an opportunity to the outspoken religious parties to exploit public sentiments against the U.S. and Musharraf, in order to gain public support.³⁴⁰

The alliance of Pakistan and the U.S. dates back to Ayub Khan’s rule, however, the relationship between the two countries reached highest level after the 9/11 incident in the

³³⁶ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 175.

³³⁷ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional_Constitutional_Order

³³⁸ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 176.

³³⁹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alliance_for_Restoration_of_Democracy

³⁴⁰ Shah, A. (2002). South Asia faces the future: Democracy on hold in Pakistan. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(1), p. 71.

U.S. This gave more leverage to the U.S. to exert control over the formulation of local and regional policies. Musharraf's liberal inclination helped him in gathering support from military establishment, business elites, different social groups and politicians. The religious segments of the society were neither for nor against Musharraf's regime, however, they refrained from actively supporting the military dictator because of his overt support to U.S. foreign policy.³⁴¹

Musharraf apparently portrayed himself as a liberal, however, his actions spoke quite the opposite, since he deprived the citizens and politicians from their fundamental rights. Just like Zia-ul-Haq's era, the military officers took significant positions in public and private sectors of the country, under the cloak of fighting corruption. A political analyst from Pakistan, Aqil Shah, was informed by the PML-N leader Mr. Ahsan Iqbal that when the Islamist groups made street protests in Pakistan, it seemed that these parties were made to supersede the moderate political parties, in order for them to be pacified, to establish "the new reality of Pakistani politics."³⁴² This accusation was denied by Musharraf and according to him, the protesters signified extremist minority, however, this looked like a balancing act by him to obey the pressing requirements of the U.S. led alliance and encounter the radical opposition at home.³⁴³

The shrewd nature of Musharraf made him use the annoyance of Islamists as a bait to strengthen his power and win hearts of the U.S. and its allies by using "mad mullah" (crazy Islamist) card to show them about the significance of relying on Pakistan which maintains nuclear stability despite these challenges. When it came to safeguarding his position, Musharraf acted like a true military dictator and this can be witnessed by an incident in October 2001, when he removed three uncompromising Generals from their positions, one of the three was the Chief of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), for

³⁴¹ Zaidi, S. A. (2005). State, military and social transition: Improbable future of democracy in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 5177.

³⁴² Shah, A. (2002). South Asia faces the future: Democracy on hold in Pakistan. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(1), p. 69.

³⁴³ Ibid.

addressing the concerns of the West regarding the potential influence of Taliban sympathizer on U.S. support. Those Generals who had assisted Musharraf in making his coup successful, were also dismissed for being ambitious. The armed forces' campaign on "grassroots empowerment" led to a pause in the lawful political engagement in provinces and the entire country.³⁴⁴

As part of the devolution of power plan, Musharraf's government brought major changes to the legal framework that governed the police. The objective of these changes was to transfer powers of provincial government authorities to the district level and promote public accountability within the policing system. Therefore, in 2001, the district magistrate's office was replaced by public safety commissions and all the amendments were formally integrated in the Police Order of 2002. In order to give more power to the Inspector General of Police, a professional Police Complaints Authority was established, which separated the functions related to security and law enforcement from investigation process. The laws related to public safety commissions could partially be implemented in the provinces and districts mainly because of the lack of commitment from all the stakeholders.³⁴⁵

In 2004, a legislative measure on honor killing was presented, according to which all the killings related to honor were considered to be criminal and liable to legal penalties. Moreover, with the support of local and international women's organizations and commissions, the Women Protection Law of 2006 was enacted, the purpose of which was to protect the basic rights of Pakistani women. The Act intended to ensure that women at workplace are treated equally and impartially.³⁴⁶ In order to ensure the well-being of women, several existing laws were modified, which brought improvements in the society

³⁴⁴ Shah, A. (2002). South Asia faces the future: Democracy on hold in Pakistan. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(1), p. 70.

³⁴⁵ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 195-196.

³⁴⁶ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, pp. 23-24.

and which helped in the elevation of the status of women. The amendment in rape laws offered a broader description of assault as a result of which the rape survivors discovered comfort, which facilitated the prospect of justice without guilt or allegations.³⁴⁷ According to the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance, 2006 or the Presidential Ordinance 2006, a woman charged with any crime except murder or acts of terrorism, was allowed to be granted bail within 24 hours of detention without any legitimate justification, and must be brought before a magistrate during that specific period of interrogation.³⁴⁸

Since Musharraf's governance model signified liberalism, therefore on international front, he spared no effort in representing Pakistan as the supporter of democratic norms, hence, Pakistani media also experienced an unmatched degree of freedom. An autonomous body called the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA), was established to modernize electronic and print media in the country. The state's level of control was lowered over media and private media channels started getting registered and licensed. The regulatory body PEMRA facilitated in lifting limitations and providing masses with the opportunity to access and freely articulate their common interests.³⁴⁹ The National Accountability Bureau (NAB), underwent structural and policy changes overtime, expanding its functions and subordinating public entities such as the Anti-Corruption Operations (ACO) and the Economic Crime Wing (ECW) of the Federal Investigation Authority (FIA). While the primary purpose of NAB was to combat corruption, it was perceived by some as a tool for Musharraf and the establishment to control politicians, while also evading accountability for those supporting the government in power.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁷ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, p. 24

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Iqbal, Z. (2012). Media and Musharraf: A marriage of Convenience. *European Scientific Journal*, 8(3), pp. 38-64.

³⁵⁰ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 196-197.

4.15.1. The Devolution of Power

The third wave of decentralization, aiming at the devolution of power was initiated in 2001. The plan was implemented due to pressure at the national and international levels, especially from foreign donors like the IMF and the WB. The idea behind IMF's structural adjustment program was to transfer power down to the grassroot level.³⁵¹ The devolution plan faced challenges in less than two years of its operation because it was implemented without the details mentioning the roles and responsibilities of local government officials and the bureaucracy, The purpose of the establishment of Community Citizen Boards (CCBs) was to involve citizens in public development projects, however, this conflicted with their role as development partners and as the overseers of the project simultaneously.³⁵²

The development projects under the devolution plan could not be properly executed due to delays in transfer of funds, which created a perception among individuals that this plan was actually a strategy for the benefit of the military to prolong its rule rather than improving public services or attracting the support of donors. The experts were of the view that the main reason of chaos was the loss of political system at grassroot level which was due to the absence of legitimization.³⁵³ The devolution plan was implemented without any political will, which ended up in unutilized funds and a little to no accountability at the district level.³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ Alam, M., & Wajidi, M. A. (2013). Pakistan's Devolution of Power Plan 2001: A brief dawn for local democracy?. *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance*, (12), p. 21.

³⁵² Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 190-192.

³⁵³ Ibid., pp. 192-194.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 194.

4.15.2. The Referendum

The military dictators in Pakistan have always enjoyed absolute power, therefore, they are reluctant in stepping down. The same happened in Musharraf's case who wanted to stick to power legitimately, hence, a presidential referendum was conducted on April 30, 2002.³⁵⁵ The independent observers and surveys reported a low voter turnout, however, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) reported the voters' participation as high as 71 percent. The referendum results were in Musharraf's favor who received 97.5 percent votes to continue in office of the president. The referendum was reported to be highly manipulated with the voting age reduced from 21 to 18 years. Moreover, the prerequisites of showing national identity card to vote and casting of the vote according to the electoral list were waived. The government machinery was used for campaigning so that public participation could be enhanced. There were question marks regarding the legitimacy of the referendum because it was independently observed that the voters' turnout was between 10 and 15 percent and some estimate it to be even less than 10 percent.³⁵⁶

4.15.3. The General Elections, 2002

The military dictator Pervez Musharraf confronted international pressure regarding the imposition of democratic government in the country. The pressure was multiplied after Supreme Court's decision in May 2000, to hold elections within the timeframe of three years. Consequently, general elections were held in October 2002, however, no political party won a clear mandate in the national or provincial assemblies. After weeks of negotiations, the political parties settled with the name of Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali as the prime minister of the newly elected parliament.

³⁵⁵ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/60/>

³⁵⁶ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 184-187.

Jamali, who was a seasoned politician and had full support of Musharraf, was duly elected. The new government enjoyed minimum power and due to unknown reasons, Jamali resigned in June 2004. The exit of Jamali brought the serving finance minister, Shaukat Aziz, to power who took oath as the interim prime minister and ran the government till completion of the five-year tenure of the parliament in 2007.

4.15.4. The Seventeenth Amendment

The Musharraf's regime was involved in making certain amendments in the Constitution, only for its own good and therefore, the parliament passed an amendment in December 2003 which is known as the "Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Act of 2003." The amendment covered important provisions of President Musharraf's Legal Framework Order, such as disallowing individuals from holding two offices at a time, after December 2004. This meant that no person had the discretion to retain a political office and an "office of profit." Since, it applied on Musharraf also, therefore, due to certain elusiveness, he could hold the positions of the president and the COAS. To make things easier for Musharraf, a vote of confidence within 30 days was mentioned in the same amendment. There was also a provision in the amendment which restored the president's powers to dismiss the prime minister and dissolve the national assembly, however, it was subject to the Supreme Court's approval. There were provisions added for the provincial Governors as well so that they could apply the same powers for the dissolution of provincial assemblies. The seventeenth amendment revoked Article 152-A of which the National Security Council was part of. The revocation resulted in impacting certain laws that were part of the Sixth Schedule and which also highlighted that "laws that are not to be altered, repealed, or amended without the previous sanction of the President." These

changes were a message to all the political forces that the then president, Musharraf, held supreme power.³⁵⁷

4.15.5. Musharraf's Second Term as President

The ambiguity in the seventeenth amendment allowed President Musharraf to get vote of confidence within a month of the approval of seventeenth amendment. Accordingly, a re-election of the president was held, and Musharraf successfully won it through the electoral college, in January 2004, securing his presidentship for second term.³⁵⁸ The rule of Musharraf facilitated in bringing about visibly identifiable trends, which helped in formally making the constitutional framework more structured. The important feature of the framework was the National Security Council which played an important role in politics and governance. Since, Musharraf wanted to establish military's stronghold in the country, therefore, a number of serving and retired military official were designated on attractive public positions. During Musharraf's second term in office, the debate on whether a COAS can also hold the position of president simultaneously was part of open discussions as Musharraf was the beneficiary of an ambiguity in the Seventeenth amendment which deeply concerned the supporters of democracy.³⁵⁹

A major setback faced by Pakistan was when the country, under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif, conducted nuclear tests in May 1998. This resulted in the imposition of economic sanctions on the country by the U.S. and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). When Musharraf came to power in October 1999, through a military coup, Pakistan was also removed from the Commonwealth. The country was facing acute economic challenges and was feared to be standing on the brink of collapse, when September 11

³⁵⁷ Retrieved on May 11, 2024,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seventeenth_Amendment_to_the_Constitution_of_Pakistan

³⁵⁸ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 187-188.

³⁵⁹ Zaidi, S. A. (2005). State, military and social transition: Improbable future of democracy in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 5176.

attacks in the U.S. happened. Since, the U.S. needed Pakistan's support in combating terrorists behind the attacks and Musharraf promised Pakistan to be an ally, therefore, the international sanctions against the country were lifted.³⁶⁰

The history of Pakistan shows that whenever the U.S. needed Pakistan's support and the country accepted to assist, dollars poured into the country for as long as the U.S. wanted. The response of the U.S. after Pakistan showing its support to combat terrorism came in the form of monetary rewards like debt rescheduling, securing new loans and billions of dollars in aid. The dollar influx helped Pakistan in increasing its foreign exchange reserves which reached \$16 billion in 2006, however, foreign debt of the country also reached an all-time high and totaled \$10 billion.³⁶¹ The government was able to make tall claims regarding improvement done in various sectors and announced that the country made more than one-hundred percent increase in per capita income in 2006, in comparison to the previous seven years.³⁶²

The Asian Development Bank's report on Pakistan, in 2007 was an eye opener as the document mentioned the challenges faced by the country which included "poor governance, endemic corruption, and social indicators among the worst in Asia."³⁶³ A poll which was conducted by the leading local and international media outlets showed that in Musharraf's rule, corruption was believed to have gone up. The Pakistani media reported that corruption was seen within the institution of army as the military officers were accused of being rewarded with land deeds and affluent lifestyle.³⁶⁴ The author, Ayesha Saddiqa, is Pakistan's military critic who has authored many books covering the same topic. In her book titled "Military Inc," she has revealed that the extensive commercial activities of the country's army have made them become Pakistan's largest

³⁶⁰ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Musharraf

³⁶¹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Musharraf

³⁶² Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 198.

³⁶³ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Musharraf

³⁶⁴ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Musharraf

corporate entity.³⁶⁵ The Musharraf's regime faced a big scandal in 2007, accusing the government of spending hundreds of millions of Pakistani rupees from the national coffers for paying to the lawyers who represented the government in different court cases.³⁶⁶

Musharraf had a dominating nature and he could not stand anyone objecting to his authority, therefore, on March 9, 2007, he suspended the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The decision was defended by Musharraf on account of misuse of power by the chief justice. However, it was generally believed that before suspending, Musharraf summoned the chief justice and questioned him on various matters. The situation got bad when the chief justice refused to resign, and Musharraf reacted by detaining him. The legal fraternity treated the incident as a stain on their reputation, therefore, the legal professionals and civil society took to the roads and carried out nationwide protests against Musharraf's actions. The matter got so serious that the lawyers boycotted court proceedings and conducted rallies. The suspension of the chief justice was also declared unconstitutional by the legal fraternity. The opposition to the incident continued to grow in the shape of protests and intense hostility towards Musharraf's rule. As this was going on, a tragic incident, related to the same issue, resulted in the killing of more than 40 people in Karachi, in May 2007. The matter was serious, and things were going out of the government's control due to the persistent pressure from public, therefore, in July 2007, the Supreme Court reinstated the Chief Justice and dismissed the charges of misconduct filed against him by President Musharraf. The ego of Musharraf did not accept defeat and hence, in revenge, he declared a state of emergency in Pakistan on November 3, 2007. As a result, the Chief Justice and

³⁶⁵ Khawaja, M. I. (2007). Ayesha Siddiqi. *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 177-179.

³⁶⁶ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 199.

other members of the judiciary were dismissed by Musharraf which fueled the already heated public.³⁶⁷

The real test for Musharraf came, when in July 2007, the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque), centrally located in the capital of Pakistan, challenged government's authority which resulted in increased tensions. The mosque was run by a friend of Zia-ul-Haq named Maulana Abdullah, therefore, this place of worship had a historical association with General Zia. It was suspected that the masjid supported Taliban in Afghanistan and promoted a strict Deobandi school of thought. A military operation on the mosque was finally announced by the government after negotiations between the government and mosque organizers failed and resulted in a deadlock.³⁶⁸ The operation against the perpetrators of the mosque was codenamed "Operation Silence," and it was carried out for two reasons. One of the reasons was to rescue the students who were held hostage inside the mosque and the second reason was to either capture or kill militants who showed resistance. The operation could not be called successful as it resulted in bloodshed. A Colonel of the army was also killed in the operation.³⁶⁹

The Lal Masjid incident did not end here as its after-effects were witnessed across the country. There was a notable increase in suicide bombings in the country and the Economist declared Pakistan as "the world's most dangerous place" during this period.³⁷⁰ There was also a significant increase in incidents related to violence like terrorism, sectarianism and political unrest. These events worsened the law and order situation, and cost loss of life and property.³⁷¹

The era of Musharraf is generally considered to be the golden period for Pakistan with respect to the implementation of legal reforms concerning women empowerment and

³⁶⁷ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 199-200.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 200-201.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 201-202.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 201.

³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 202.

elimination of prejudicial regulations. Musharraf, under the guise of liberalism, executed reforms that built an image of progressive and enlightened Pakistan. He wanted to promote the concept of enlightened moderation so that the West could understand the modern side of Islam and therefore, a series of policy papers were issued after the introduction of enlightened Islam. The publications consisted of green papers in 2006, a white paper in 2007, and the education policy of 2009. These documents indicated that the country has successfully moved from Islamic narrative to enlightened moderation. The papers mentioned here depicted a political strategy of shift from a traditional society to an advanced identity of Pakistan for global recognition.³⁷²

Musharraf also knew the extreme religious elements in the society, so he made sure that those involved in the policy making of the papers emphasized their commitment towards religion. To facilitate a discussion regarding enlightened moderation, a modern but moderate interpreter of Islam was nominated as the chief speaker at National Educational Conference. To finalize the education policy, the green papers and white papers were included in the detailed discussion. These papers made use of neutral words and replaced the term “Muslim Ummah” by vision and “Muslims” by citizens, in the green paper and white paper, respectively. The purpose behind the green paper was to express progressive educational objectives which focused on ethics, values, tolerance, and improved accessibility to educational resources. The white paper was intended to emphasize on the type of education to be imparted to citizens and included the skills of creative writing, analytical thinking, economic understanding, and the willingness to participate in democratic processes.³⁷³

The green and white papers were prepared in a way that Pakistan was no more considered a conservative country where non-Muslims could not practice their religion freely,

³⁷² Qurban, S., & Amin, H. (2019). Education Policies, Discourse of Ideology and the Construction of National Identity in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis. *Global Regional Review*, 4(3), pp. 7-9.

³⁷³ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, pp. 22-23.

therefore, in the white paper, the term “Religious Education” was used without the mention of the word “Islamic.” This helped in the introduction of new subjects for non-Muslims as substitute for Islamic subject(s) which were otherwise mandatory for them to study. To encourage self-development in enlightened citizens, the white paper was a testament that the religious education was open for everyone in the country, which also signified that Pakistan prioritized religious freedom. In essence, the idea behind publication of the green papers of 2006 and white papers of 2007 was to improve the image of Pakistan globally and hence, these documents supported Musharraf’s concept of enlightened identity, since he wanted Pakistan to be represented by it.³⁷⁴

As was expected from the Islamist religious groups in the country, Musharraf’s narrative of enlightened moderation was not accepted by them and they called it a conciliation strategy to counter the supposedly Islamic militancy. These groups held the West and media responsible for showing a wrong picture of Muslims and Islam. The religious groups were adamant to confront all kinds of hardships to defend Islam. They openly spoke against the Western atrocities in Afghanistan and Iraq. These religious groups also issued a warning to the Muslim world to refrain from falling under the trap of “modern Islam.”³⁷⁵

The statements and policy actions taken by Musharraf were applauded by the Pakistani liberals, however, religious leaders of the country were forced to raise their voice against the extreme policies carried out by Musharraf to combat terrorism. These leaders gave examples of India and Israel for carrying out state terrorism and blamed Musharraf of following the wrong perspective of accusing only Muslims as terrorists. These religious leaders discussed that Musharraf’s concept of enlightened moderation could confuse people in understanding the religion of Islam. The term enlightened moderation,

³⁷⁴ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, p. 23.

³⁷⁵ Boquérat, G., & Hussain, N. (2012). *Enlightened moderation: Anatomy of a failed Strategy in Pakistan: From the rhetoric of democracy to the rise of militancy* (pp. 187-203). Routledge India.

according to religious leaders, was used by Musharraf as a tool to appease the Western powers but these thoughtless concepts may result in the incorporation of secularism into Islamic ideology of Pakistan. This could directly impact the open practice of Islam in the country.³⁷⁶ The religious leaders knew that their voice resonated with the masses of the country, therefore, they chose words which could easily convince people about Musharraf's wrong initiatives. Their stance worked and the popularity of Musharraf's narrative of enlightened moderation was eventually seen taking a downturn.³⁷⁷

Pakistan has a rich history of military coups and therefore the martial law by Musharraf was no different than his predecessors, who wanted to stick to power, even if it cost a high price to the country. The clock started ticking for the downfall of Musharraf in 2005, as certain events on national and international level impacted Pakistan politically and economically. The changed political dynamics of the country made way for the revival of democracy.³⁷⁸ Musharraf had to leave office due to immense pressure from the newly elected legislators of the country and therefore, he resigned as president of Pakistan on August 18, 2008. However, his nine year rule helped the military strengthen as an institution and take control of the country's state structure and political setting.

4.16. The Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians' Government

In the last quarter of 2007, political parties of Pakistan were actively campaigning for the general elections to be held in 2008. The two times prime minister of Pakistan and the chairperson of Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Benazir Bhutto, who was living in exile, came to Pakistan in October 2007. As Benazir was returning from a political rally in Rawalpindi on the evening of December 27, 2007, she was attacked by a suicide bomber

³⁷⁶ Boquérat, G., & Hussain, N. (2012). *Enlightened moderation: Anatomy of a failed Strategy in Pakistan: From the rhetoric of democracy to the rise of militancy* (pp. 187-203). Routledge India.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 174-175.

who shot her before blowing himself up.³⁷⁹ After Benazir's tragic death, the chairmanship and co-chairmanship of the party was passed to her son and husband, respectively.

The elections were held on February 18, 2008 and Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), formerly known as the PPP, won majority of the seats. According to some analysts, the PPPP's win was a result of the sympathy vote gained by the party due to Benazir's assassination. The PPPP candidate, Yousaf Raza Gilani, was elected as the prime minister on March 24, 2008,³⁸⁰ A day before the election for prime minister, Musharraf as president of Pakistan, welcomed the democratic government by issuing the statement, an "era of democracy had begun in the country."³⁸¹ Benazir's husband, Asif Ali Zardari, assumed the President's office on September 9, 2008.³⁸² Since, the president in Pakistan has a ceremonial role, therefore, Zardari forwarded his hand for reconciliation with the military and opposition parties.³⁸³ The reconciliatory move by Zardari had an adverse effect on the country's politics as it created a vacuum, which was filled by the emergence of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI).³⁸⁴

The major achievements of the PPPP's government were the introduction of reforms in finance and agriculture sectors. The government also introduced welfare programs to alleviate poverty, alongside the initiation of projects for economic revival. The PPPP government was also successful in passing the legislation for National Finance Commission (NFC) award. The award was a positive progress for the autonomy of provinces as equal share of the federal revenue was supposed to be given to them annually. The PPPP government implemented constitutional reforms for transfer of powers from the president to the parliament. The Article 58(2)(b), which empowered the

³⁷⁹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-42409374>

³⁸⁰ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/yousaf-gilani-takes-oath-as-pakistan-prime-minister/articleshow/2897634.cms>

³⁸¹ Haider, S. K., & Ali, S. S. (2018). Impact of Benazir Bhutto Death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008-2013. *Pakistan Vision*, 19(1), p. 146.

³⁸² Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/sep/09/pakistan>

³⁸³ Burki, S. J. (2015). *Historical dictionary of Pakistan*. Rowman & Littlefield, p. 430.

³⁸⁴ Haider, S. K., & Ali, S. S. (2018). Impact of Benazir Bhutto Death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008-2013. *Pakistan Vision*, 19(1), p. 141.

president to dismiss prime minister and dissolve national assembly, was also revoked.³⁸⁵ The PPPP fulfilled the Pashtuns' demand for changing the name of the province, North West Frontier Province (NWFP), to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP).³⁸⁶

The War on Terror (WoT), which was carried out by Pakistan during Musharraf's rule to combat terrorism against the Taliban of Afghanistan, after September 11 attacks in the U.S. greatly cost the country. The PPPP government showed determination in bringing back the lost peace and order in Pakistan, especially in the regions which were badly affected, such as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). The WoT displaced many people, therefore, the issue of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) also needed to be resolved, hence, the government worked on their rehabilitation. The PPPP government implemented the Benazir Income Support Program (BISP), for the under-privileged women. The government also worked for the well-being of the working class and for the resumption of activities related to trade unions. The farmers of the country were also provided with affordable tractors through a special scheme. A notable improvement was seen in rural economy of Pakistan between 2008 and 2013.³⁸⁷

The ban on student unions was lifted by the PPPP government to ensure youth participation in politics.³⁸⁸ The government focused on the supremacy of parliament and civilian rule,³⁸⁹ and for that, the PPPP leadership made efforts to initiate positive negotiations with members of the parliament sitting in opposition benches.³⁹⁰

The government tried its best to combat terrorism and improve economy during its tenure from 2008 to 2013, however, due to the surge in terrorism and inflation, the government

³⁸⁵ DeVotta, N. (2016). *An introduction to South Asian politics*. Routledge, p. 44.

³⁸⁶ Haider, S. K., & Ali, S. S. (2018). Impact of Benazir Bhutto Death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008-2013. *Pakistan Vision*, 19(1), p.148.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 151.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 151-152.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 151.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 148-149.

was blamed for incompetence. On the night of May 2011, the U.S. led marine operation in Abbottabad, Pakistan and killed Al-Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden. The incident was a huge setback for the PPPP government, and they denied having any information on Osama bin Laden's presence in the country, however, the fallout of the incident was huge and embarrassing for Pakistan. The international community accused government and military of the country for being incompetent. The world was taken by surprise on learning bin Laden's whereabouts, since he was believed to be the mastermind behind September 11 attacks in the U.S. After the incident, nobody knew where Osama bin Laden was and the U.S was on a hunt to catch him, dead or alive.³⁹¹

The general elections of 2008 were a silver lining for the evolution of democracy in Pakistan. These elections created a hope for the revival of the Constitution and judiciary as the PPPP government worked on supporting the smooth functioning of judiciary without external interference. The government tried to make the judiciary autonomous and it was put to test when Prime Minister Gilani was convicted of contempt by the Supreme Court, for not adhering to the Court's instruction of reopening the dormant fraud investigations against Asif Zardari.³⁹² Although, Prime Minister Gilani defended himself with the provision of the Constitution that the President enjoys immunity and a case can be opened only after the incumbent leaves office. He fought his case by informing the Supreme Court that he respects the judiciary of the country; however, the supremacy of the Constitution is his priority. Gilani was disqualified by the Supreme Court on June 19, 2012, keeping the tradition alive of prime ministers in Pakistan failing to complete their full-term in office. Gilani was replaced by PPPP's Raja Pervez Ashraf,³⁹³ on June 22, 2012.³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ Haider, S. K., & Ali, S. S. (2018). Impact of Benazir Bhutto Death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008-2013. *Pakistan Vision*, 19(1), p.155.

³⁹² Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/19/pakistan-prime-minister-yousuf-gilani-disqualified>

³⁹³ Fair, C. C. (2013). Pakistan on the Brink of a Democratic Transition?. *Current History*, 112(753), p. 132.

³⁹⁴ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/728608>

4.17. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz's Government; Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's Third Term as Prime Minister

The first general elections in Pakistan that smoothly transferred power from one elected democratic government to another were held in May 2013, still, none of the prime minister has been able to complete the full-term in office and these premiers are usually dismissed through unconstitutional means.³⁹⁵ The 2013 elections proved successful for the PML-N, as the party won majority of the seats in the national assembly and in Punjab. The PML-N leader, Nawaz Sharif, once again became the prime minister on June 5, 2013.³⁹⁶ The revival to power of the PML-N can be credited to the party's successful rule in Punjab and their infrastructure projects. The elections of 2013 signified Nawaz Sharif's relation with the middle class and business owners, and since the party's values are conservative, therefore, the voters were attracted. As this was the third time for Nawaz Sharif in Prime Minister's office, hence, the political experts around the world called him the most successful politician in the history of Pakistan.³⁹⁷ The government of Nawaz Sharif confronted issues related to border security of India and Afghanistan. Moreover, the government also had to skillfully handle military establishment and the U.S.

Since the PML-N won with clear majority in the Centre, therefore, Nawaz Sharif focused on solidifying his power base instead of bringing the opposition together. The importance of strengthening democratic institutions was ignored by him. The dharna (sit-in) by the PTI and Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT), which started in August 2014, gave the military another chance to intervene and turn the tables in their benefit. The military refrained from taking an extreme step, however, the indifference weakened the government as

³⁹⁵ Khan, T. M. (2020). Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf. *PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL PARTIES*, 60. Chapter 1: Pakistan's Political Parties in an Era of Transition, p. 1.

³⁹⁶ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/politics/nawaz-sharif-approved-as-pakistans-prime-minister/240345>

³⁹⁷ Owen Bennett-Jones, "Pakistan Election: Why Voters Backed Nawaz Sharif," BBC News, May 13, 2013. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-22502733>

uncontrollable situation in the Capital forced them to call the military for restoration of order.

The premiership of Nawaz Sharif ended abruptly again after he was disqualified by the Supreme Court on July 28, 2017, for misrepresentation of assets.³⁹⁸ He was again banned from holding public office, however, this time for life. The close associate of Nawaz Sharif, Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, assumed the charge of prime minister on August 1, 2018 and served till completion of the government's tenure.³⁹⁹ The cases against Nawaz Sharif and his family continued to proceed and in February 2018, the Supreme Court gave out a ruling that Nawaz Sharif could not lead a political party. In another judgement by the Supreme Court, Nawaz Sharif and his daughter, Maryam Nawaz, were sentenced to ten years in prison on charges of corruption.⁴⁰⁰ The decision by the Court came on July 10, 2018, a few days before the upcoming elections when Nawaz Sharif and his daughter were in London with the latter's wife who was battling with cancer. They arrived in Pakistan soon after and were arrested upon landing the airport.

4.17.1. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

The PML-N, during its tenure between 2013 and 2018, implemented a number of infrastructure projects, for the prosperity of the masses. One of these projects is "One Belt and One Road," which was inaugurated by the President of China in the year 2014. The main objective of the project is to encourage economic cooperation, fortify relationships and boost development across Asia, Europe and Africa.⁴⁰¹ The launch of this project

³⁹⁸ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/7/28/pakistan-supreme-court-disqualifies-nawaz-sharif>

³⁹⁹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.voanews.com/a/former-pakistani-oil-minister-expected-to-be-next-prime-minister/3967370.html>

⁴⁰⁰ Khan, T. M. (2020). Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf. *PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL PARTIES*, 60. Chapter 1: Pakistan's Political Parties in an Era of Transition, p. 36.

⁴⁰¹ Scott Kennedy, David A Parker, (2015). Building China's "one Belt One Road", Centre for strategic and international studies (CSIS), and 3rd April 2015. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <http://csis.org/publication/building-chinas-one-belt-one-road>

signifies goodwill of China and makes it the primary trading partner of Pakistan. The project has strengthened diplomatic relation, economic trade and strategic partnerships between both the countries.⁴⁰²

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is considered the game-changer for China, Pakistan and the entire region. The CPEC will help in solidifying the foundations of economic cooperation between Pakistan and China. Its goal is to connect the Chinese region of Xinjiang with Gwadar Port in Pakistan, and the completion of this project is expected in the year 2030. The CPEC is expected to promote prosperity and resist the influence of U.S. in the region.⁴⁰³

4.17.2. Dharna 2014

The two political parties of the country, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) and Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) staged a sit-in (dharna), in the capital of Pakistan in August 2014. The PTI started its journey in the form of a march from Lahore on August 14, 2014, and slowly moved towards Islamabad. The chairman of PTI, Imran Khan, led the march and named it “Azadi March” (freedom march), as it began on the same date when Pakistan got independence from the colonial rule. The main objective behind the sit-in was to investigate the alleged rigging in the 2013 elections, which deprived the party from forming a government in the Centre. The PTI and PAT made a power show in Islamabad by merging their rallies in Islamabad.

The venue for the dharna was Constitution Avenue, where containers of both the parties were also parked and the leaders of each party would address the charged crowd every

⁴⁰² Younas, N., Aftab, S., Iftikhar, A., & Farooq, M. S. (2021). China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and its impacts on Pakistan Economy and Society. *VFAST Transactions on Education and Social Sciences*, 9(1), p. 54.

⁴⁰³ Cheema ZN (2015) Geostrategic importance of China-Pakistan economic corridor: foreign policy news. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://foreignpolicynews.org/2015/11/25/geostrategic-importance-of-china-pakistan-economic-corridor/>

day and speak against the government, inciting violence at times. The dharna participants and their leaders called for the resignation of the prime minister and chanted the slogan “Go Nawaz Go.”⁴⁰⁴ The PTI chairman is a former cricketer who has a huge fan following, especially from the urban middle-class,⁴⁰⁵ therefore, those attending the dharna were mostly from the same class who had never voted before.

The sit-in continued for more than four months and was called off after a terrorist attack at Army Public School, in Peshawar on December 16, 2014. The tragic incident resulted in the killing of 141 people, out of which 132 were children.⁴⁰⁶ The incident brought the government and PTI on the table to engage in a peaceful dialogue. The PTI did not show genuine commitment and kept oscillating between boycotting the parliament and returning.

4.18. The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf’s Government

The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), after many years of battle to make it to the power corridors finally got a chance to serve the country in 2018. The party secured majority seats of the national assembly in the general elections, however, government formation was not easy for PTI as it did not have a clear majority, therefore, the party resorted to a coalition of regional parties, hailing from Baluchistan and Sindh provinces, and took help from independent candidates. The PTI chairman, Imran Khan, became the prime minister of Pakistan on August 18, 2018. The opposition parties and analysts assumed PTI’s victory to be an extension of military’s interests and that is the reason why that

⁴⁰⁴ Noora Jutt Talk Shows and Latest News, “Imran Khan Speech to PTI Dharna Islamabad 19th August 2014, FUL HD [video file],” (2014). Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UcopjxYX5g0on>.

⁴⁰⁵ “Dance in PTI Jalsa Face Criticism on Social Media,” Awami Politics Blog, 2014. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <http://www.awamipolitics.com/dance-in-pti-jalsa-faces-criticism-on-social-media-17515>

⁴⁰⁶ Rachel Roberts, “Pakistan: Three Years after 140 Died in the Peshawar School Massacre, What Has Changed?,” Independent, December 15, 2017. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/pakistan-peshawar-school-shooting-massacre-what-has-changed-happened-three-years-a8113661.html>

government was often called a “hybrid regime.”⁴⁰⁷ Imran Khan, as the prime minister, lacked political acumen and a competent team to run the complex affairs of the country. After retirement from cricket, Khan joined politics and formed PTI, however, he had no experience of running even a constituency until becoming the prime minister. The PTI also elected the president of the country from the party’s senior leadership. Arif Alvi, who is a dentist by profession, assumed the office of the President of Pakistan in September 2018.

The issues facing the new government were similar to those faced by the previous governments. PTI tried best to bravely confront the challenges, however, Pakistan continued to face economic challenges which became worse due to the impractical policies carried out by the government. In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic impacted the country’s economy and Pakistan’s GDP which was 6.2% in 2018,⁴⁰⁸ and plummeted to -1.3% in 2020,⁴⁰⁹ finally making a rebound in 2021.

During PTI led government, when the country faced high inflation, unemployment, and slow economic growth, the public started losing its trust in the government. The situation was a blessing in disguise for the opposition parties as they availed this opportunity to carry out nationwide protests against the government. A protest march which started from Lahore and ended in Islamabad, was held carrying the slogan “mehngai mukao march” (march to end inflation). An unfortunate incident also happened during the nationwide protests when Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP), an Islamist religious party, turned violent during demonstrations, causing the death of three security personnel.

In September 2018, the minister of commerce, industry and investment, suggested for the suspension of CPEC projects for review. These projects included rail, road and oil

⁴⁰⁷ Christophe Jaffrelot, “Imran Khan, the Army’s Choice,” *The Nation*, September 4, 2018. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/imran-khan-the-armys-choice/>

⁴⁰⁸ *Pakistan Economic Survey 2018-19*. Islamabad: Pakistan Finance Department. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_19/7-Inflation.pdf

⁴⁰⁹ *Pakistan Economic Survey 2021-2022*. Finance Division Government of Pakistan. p. 8. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapter_22/Economic%20Survey%202021-22.pdf

pipeline, which were aimed at improving connectivity between China and the Middle East.⁴¹⁰ The PMLN government and Chinese companies were blamed for personally benefitting from CPEC project. The military establishment did not want the project to continue under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif as his popularity and independence posed a threat to them. Moreover, CPEC is also a threat to the Gulf countries as its formal operation would mean China being their strong competitor in the region, where the Gulf states have important ports.⁴¹¹ The second Belt and Road Forum which was held in April 2019, was attended by Prime Minister Imran Khan, however, it is widely believed that the progress on CPEC slowed down during PTI government.

It has been observed that the leaders of Pakistan often use religion as a tool to fulfill their interests and therefore, Imran Khan as prime minister was no different. He played religion card by making claims of transforming Pakistan into “Riyasat e Madinah” (state of Madinah), recalling the times of Prophet Muhammad, when the city of Madinah offered honesty and justice. Khan also apparently struggled to fight against Islamophobia and with his efforts, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) passed a resolution on March 15, 2022 to declare it as the “International Day to Combat Islamophobia.”⁴¹²

Aasia Bibi, a Pakistani Christian was sentenced to death in 2010 on blasphemy charges but was acquitted in October 2018 and flown out of Pakistan in May 2019. The Aasia Bibi acquittal case,⁴¹³ badly tarnished the pious image of PTI and nationwide protests took place by the religious parties to address this case and several other sensitive issues, including the government’s refusal to expel the French ambassador to Pakistan after

⁴¹⁰ Younas, N., Aftab, S., Iftikhar, A., & Farooq, M. S. (2021). China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and its impacts on Pakistan Economy and Society. *VFAST Transactions on Education and Social Sciences*, 9(1), pp. 59-60.

⁴¹¹ The ASIA, Shamil Shams. (2019). Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dw.com/en/belt-and-road-forum-is-the-china-pakistan-economic-corridor-failing/a-48473486>

⁴¹² Agency, A. a. (2022, March 16). Pakistan PM lauds UN for International Day to Combat Islamophobia. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/16/pakistan-pm-lauds-un-for-international-dayto-combat-islamophobia>

⁴¹³ Saddiqui, N. (2019, May 8). Aasia Bibi leaves Pakistan, 'safely reunited' with family. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1481011>

French President Emmanuel Macron passed derogatory remarks about the Prophet Muhammad.⁴¹⁴

The history of Pakistan shows Pakistan's strong loyalty with the West, especially with the US. After Imran Khan came to power, there was a shift in the foreign policy from West to East. This became obvious when Khan visited Russia on February 24, 2022, the same day Ukraine was attacked by Russia. As superpower, the U.S. closely monitored the developments taking place in the region and suspected Pakistan's unprecedented inclination towards Russia.⁴¹⁵

The Russian conflict with Ukraine was badly handled by the PTI led government after Pakistan remained neutral in the UN General Assembly session to condemn Russian aggression against Ukraine. The Western allies of Pakistan, especially the European countries showed their reservations regarding the government's neutrality at the UN, to which Imran Khan publicly stated, "Are we slaves?" This is usually how the populist leaders respond for winning the hearts of the masses and it is a known fact that the more a leader speaks against India or the West, the more he is applauded by the public in Pakistan. In a meeting of the National Security Council on March 31, 2022, which was also attended by top command of the military, Imran Khan alleged that the U.S. and the political opposition are in collusion to remove him through a vote of no confidence. Although, Khan's accusations were not appreciated, still military did not find it appropriate to take any side and stayed away from political intervention.⁴¹⁶

As the opposition parties and the PTI-allied parties geared up for a vote of no confidence against Prime Minister Imran Khan, a session was scheduled on April 3 to vote on the motion of no confidence, however the session was dismissed by the deputy speaker of the assembly without moving the motion. The dismissal of the session was connected with

⁴¹⁴ Gabol, I., & Hussain, J. (2021, October). TLP announces 'long march' to Islamabad. Pakistan: Dawn Newspaper. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1653215>

⁴¹⁵ Ali, J. (2022). Legitimacy Crises in Pakistan; A Study of Imran Khan Regime. *Zakariya Journal of Social Science*, 1(2), p. 33.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

the information minister's speech, who accused the U.S. of conspiring against Khan's government. The deputy speaker's uncalled action was not in line with Article 5 of the Constitution.⁴¹⁷ Imran Khan bit the last straw by advising President Alvi to dissolve the national assembly before his removal through a vote of no confidence.⁴¹⁸

The government was in no position to back off from saving the prime minister's downfall, however, the Supreme Court of Pakistan eventually became active and opened the court around midnight as the country was facing a constitutional crisis after the dissolution of the national assembly. The Supreme Court declared the president's order and the deputy speaker's ruling null and void. After the Supreme Court's order, the national assembly's speaker called a session on April 10, 2022, which was attended by opposition and coalition parties. The proceedings for the vote of no confidence went as per Article 95 of the 1973 Constitution,⁴¹⁹ and the leader of the opposition, Shahbaz Sharif, who is also the brother of Nawaz Sharif, assumed office of prime minister of Pakistan on April 11, 2022, after being elected by majority of the members in national assembly.⁴²⁰ The new cabinet which was sworn in, included members from all the coalition parties. The parliament was dissolved on August 9, 2023, after completing its five-year term.⁴²¹ A caretaker setup ran the government until the new elections were held on February 8, 2024.⁴²²

Though, Imran Khan was removed constitutionally, but his ouster followed a pattern similar to the fate of other democratically elected prime ministers. The Khan's government was dismissed because of his estranged relationship with the military,

⁴¹⁷ Gurmani, N., & Chaudhry, F. (2022, April 3). NA speaker dismisses no-trust move against PM Imran, terms it contradictory to Article 5. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1683067>

⁴¹⁸ Ali, J. (2022). Legitimacy Crises in Pakistan; A Study of Imran Khan Regime. *Zakariya Journal of Social Science*, 1(2), p. 29.

⁴¹⁹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1684168>

⁴²⁰ Ali, J. (2022). Legitimacy Crises in Pakistan; A Study of Imran Khan Regime. *Zakariya Journal of Social Science*, 1(2), p. 29.

⁴²¹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Pakistan-parliament-dissolved-as-PM-Sharif-makes-way-for-caretaker>

⁴²² Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://english.news.cn/20231103/c60a193a5101430dac272a8385f1f5d1/c.html>

judiciary, bureaucracy and media.⁴²³ There is no denying the fact that Imran Khan's government had its share of shortcomings which it failed to get over despite being warned about it. The PTI government made official dealings based on nepotism and appointed close associates on lucrative positions, within and outside the cabinet.⁴²⁴ The Imran Khan government also failed to safeguard the rights of religious minorities, women and children and faced criticism in this regard from human rights groups and civil society organizations. The freedom of expression was also clipped by the government. Although, Imran Khan was always seen speaking about honesty and blaming the opposition for alleged corruption, however, the Transparency International report said that there was a continuous rise in corruption during Imran Khan's rule and Pakistan ranking dropped to 140 out of 180 countries, according to Corruption Perception Index.⁴²⁵

The military was alleged to be involved in pre and post-poll rigging of the 2018 elections. The media coverage given to political parties' campaign for 2018 elections shows that the PTI was given more coverage than any other party.⁴²⁶ The PTI government was accused of having close connections with the military and that is why it was called "hybrid regime."

The former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, who was serving his sentence in jail was permitted to go to the U.K. for treatment after his health deteriorated in November 2019. When his brother, Shahbaz Sharif, became the prime minister, Nawaz Sharif started getting relief from the courts and he returned to Pakistan in October 2023, after getting assurance that he will not be arrested again.

⁴²³ Ali, J. (2022). Legitimacy Crises in Pakistan; A Study of Imran Khan Regime. *Zakariya Journal of Social Science*, 1(2), pp. 30-31.

⁴²⁴ Tanvir, D. A. (2022, February 3). PM Imran's Friends In Govt: Why Does PTI's Nepotism Go Unquestioned? Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.thefridaytimes.com/2022/02/03/pm-imrans-friends-in-govt-why-does-ptisnepotism-go-unquestioned/>

⁴²⁵ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1671455>

⁴²⁶ Khan, T. M. (2020). Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf. *PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL PARTIES*, 60. Chapter 1: Pakistan's Political Parties in an Era of Transition, pp. 1-2.

4.19. The Civil-Military Relations

The history of successful martial rule in Pakistan began a decade after independence when the then president of the country, Iskander Mirza, disturbed the political structure of Pakistan and announced the country's first martial law.⁴²⁷ The elections which were scheduled for next year in February, were also cancelled by him. The presidential rule of Mirza showed that he was unsuitable for Pakistan's nascent democracy. The strategy adopted by Iskander Mirza during his rule was to remove his political opponents from office with the help of military. He put the last nail in the coffin of democracy by convincing army to takeover. In October 1958, General Ayub Khan, citing an easy entry into the power echelons of governance, took control of the country by dismissing Mirza from office and becoming the first martial law administrator of Pakistan.⁴²⁸

The practice of arrests and incarceration of politicians in Pakistan is as old as the first martial law in the country. General Ayub and Iskander Mirza weakened the structural framework of the country by introducing special martial law courts. Through these courts, politicians were arrested on corruption charges and individuals alleged to be involved in black market and fraudulent trade, were harassed. The civil service of Pakistan was also adversely affected for vested interests. Moreover, the staunch supporters of democracy were imprisoned to prevent them from being vocal. Although, the benign laws were put in place and the ordinary courts kept functioning, however, these courts did not have the power to act against government brutality. The new government formed in Pakistan in 1958 included members from the military and civil service. The army of the country was commonly known for employing influence over civilians with the backing of the British. Moreover, majority of the senior officers in those times were not politicians but individuals with military background.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁷ Wilcox, W. A. (1965). The Pakistan Coup d'état of 1958. *Pacific Affairs*, 38(2), pp. 142-143.

⁴²⁸ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 45-46.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Although, Ayub Khan's regime tried to make things difficult for Bhutto who had served as minister for different portfolios in the former's government, nonetheless, with the passage of time, his position as a potential statesman continued to strengthen. The ambivalent behavior of the judiciary, military, and the U.S. towards Ayub Khan also bolstered Bhutto's political influence. The chances for Ayub Khan's survival as president started to diminish after Awami League's growing popularity under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in East Wing and Pakistan People's Party's in West Wing under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. There were other movements as well from different quarters of Pakistan, including some from political alliances. By the end of 1968, the movement against Ayub Khan reached its peak after the urban middle class consisting of teachers, doctors, lawyers, students as well as laborers, got involved. When it became evident to Ayub Khan that it was not possible for him to continue as the president, he addressed the nation on radio and said, "I cannot preside over the destruction of my country" and resigned in March 1969.⁴³⁰

The resignation of Ayub Khan gave a hope to the masses and also increased political influence of Bhutto, however, the optimism surrounding Yahya Khan's ascent to power was temporary. The lack of his leadership skills and political discernment, resulted in a series of changes in his position and how he governed. He started trusting the civilian cabinet and military officials who did not appear to be a threat to his power. Though, Bhutto and Yahya Khan shared a relationship of respect but the latter's cabinet members and military officials who held reservations against PPP, did not encourage it. A delay in the well-anticipated general elections of 1970 worsened the tense and divided situation between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. The country was unable to cope with the economic and political challenges, however, the Awami league in East Pakistan and PPP in West Pakistan continued to garner popularity in their respective domains.⁴³¹

⁴³⁰ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://historypak.com/democratic-action-committee/>

⁴³¹ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 13-17.

Although, military dictatorship is the worst thing to happen to a country, but the replacement of General Ayub Khan with General Yahya Khan as the president of Pakistan was somehow not a wise decision. When Yahya Khan came to power, he showed his dictatorship powers by suspending the Constitution. Nonetheless, he did not display any enthusiasm for being the president and kept hinting at the establishment of civilian supremacy. A number of challenges were faced by Yahya Khan during his rule, majority of which exacerbated due to his lack of expertise as the president. Moreover, Yahya Khan is assumed to be responsible for the killings of thousands of people in East Wing that resulted in a split between the East Pakistan the West Pakistan. The role of Yahya Khan as president was not only criticized by the civilians, but the military was also not happy with his professionalism, since he lacked experience in public administration. However, Yahya Khan proved himself in playing successful diplomacy and was appreciated for his role as a mediator for the U.S. President Richard Nixon to facilitate diplomatic relations between China and the U.S.⁴³²

Before the general elections of 1970, a Legal Framework Order (LFO) was presented by President Yahya Khan in March 1970,⁴³³ which provided structural framework for the future Constitution of Pakistan. Apart from a few other missing aspects, LFO failed to specify the voting procedures, about which Bhutto also showed his concern and accused Yahya Khan for an unstable democratic government. Bhutto's clear stance on this and additional matters won Yahya Khan opposition from West Pakistan's other political leaders.

As much as the election results of 1970 were surprising to Yahya Khan's government, these results were the root cause of the tussle between leader of the Awami League, Mujibur Rehman, representing East Pakistan and leader of Pakistan People's Party,

⁴³² Ziring, L. (1974). Militarism in Pakistan: The Yahya Khan Interregnum. *Asian Affairs*, 1(6) , pp. 406-407.

⁴³³ The Legal Framework Order, 1970, President's Order No. 2 of 1970, the Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary, Part 11 of 30 March 1970. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://pakistanspace.tripod.com/archives/70lfo.htm>

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, representing West Pakistan. On the one hand, Yahya Khan led regime was worried about their diminishing power after the swearing in of the democratically elected government, while on the other, Bhutto aimed to represent West Wing in constitution-making and government formation of the country. The Awami League's landslide victory in the national assembly transformed the country's political environment, however, Bhutto was adamant on attaining the highest position in the government and focused on prioritizing interests of West Pakistan in the constitutional process. In comparison to Bhutto, Mujibur Rehman insisted on fulfilling the public pledges and implementation of his demands. The East Pakistan also looked up to the execution of the demands put by their leader, however, understanding the sentiments of the masses, Bhutto declared anti-India stance to move the circumstances in his favor. Nonetheless, the situation exacerbated and neither of the leaders conceded to backing down.⁴³⁴ These circumstances seemed to benefit Yahya Khan, who visited Mujibur Rehman in Dhaka, in East Pakistan, to mediate and assure him to find a way out to resolve the issue between the Awami league and the PPP. In the West Wing, Bhutto was seen actively highlighting his popular support base and favoring socialist form of government to work for the prosperity of East Pakistan and addressing their grievances. It is presumed that both the leading parties tried their best to find the best solution for establishing government, however, their negotiations did not bear fruit and ended up in a deadlock.⁴³⁵

The exit of Yahya Khan took place in extraordinary circumstances as the country was on the verge of a split between the East and West Pakistan. The PPP's leader, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto struggled to get rid of the military dictator, therefore, the guerrilla war between Pakistan and India gave an opportunity to Bhutto to campaign in West Wing of Pakistan, for the smooth transfer of power to civilians.⁴³⁶ Yahya Khan could sense the rapidly changing situation in the country, therefore, he announced about the change of authority

⁴³⁴ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 31-34.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-38.

⁴³⁶ Ziring, L. (1974). Militarism in Pakistan: The Yahya Khan Interregnum. *Asian Affairs*, 1(6), pp. 418-419.

in October 1971. Around the same time, Bhutto, along with his team visited the UN in December 1971, to highlight the crisis in East Pakistan and seek support from China and the U.S. in response to India's military action in Pakistan. A message from the military Commander in East Pakistan shocked Bhutto and his delegation as it contained a proposal for surrendering terms. The address of Bhutto to the UN Security Council was shocking for everyone else as Bhutto refused to be a party to surrender part of the country and tore up his papers before walking out from the session in protest. The month of December in the year 1971 was full of surprises for Pakistan as the East Pakistan got independence on December 16, 1971. The war between India and Pakistan was called off on December 17, 1971, after President Yahya Khan accepted a ceasefire in West Pakistan.⁴³⁷ The resignation of Yahya Khan as the president came on December 20, 1971 and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the President on December 21, 1971.⁴³⁸

Bhutto faced major challenge when the alliance of opposition parties, Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), accused the Prime Minister of rigging the elections of 1977 in Pakistan. The negotiations of the government with PNA failed, which demanded the implementation of Islamic principles. Amidst rising tensions, Bhutto announced the establishment of Shariat Law and a ban on non-Islamic activities. This did not calm down the tensions and hence "limited Martial Law" was imposed in major cities. All this ended up in a military coup by the then Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) General Zia-ul-Haq on July 5, 1977, who assumed power and reshaped Pakistan's political landscape.⁴³⁹

In 1988, Zia-ul-Haq dissolved the national and provincial assemblies and announced non-party-based elections for that year in October. The matter was already under judicial review when Zia died in an air crash in August, therefore, the Lahore High Court, in its

⁴³⁷ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 90-98.

⁴³⁸ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/asiapacific-region/pakistan-1947-present/>

⁴³⁹ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 238-263

final verdict, declared Zia's actions unconstitutional, leading to the initiation of party-based elections.⁴⁴⁰ This was considered to be a turning point in the political development of Pakistan. According to the Constitution, in the absence of the president, the serving Chairman of the Senate assumes charge. Consequently, shortly after Zia's unexpected death, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, an experienced bureaucrat, was sworn in as the seventh President of Pakistan. As Zia was also the Chief of the Army Staff (COAS), a General was appointed to take over that position.⁴⁴¹

In the period between 1988 and 1999, the state and the military played a secret role in forming political parties and alliances, supporting specific candidates and also engaging in ousting leaders. Hence, this decade saw a succession of electoral contests with accusations of rigging and tampering, and no government seemed to be genuinely powerful. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) involved itself in creating a political party called Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) in 1991, which allied with Pakistan Muslim League (PML) for Nawaz Sharif to take office as the prime minister, therefore, it can be said that the actual decision-making power was placed with those who neither valued democracy, nor possessed any experience. Most of those who gained from Zia-ul-Haq's economic policies became Nawaz Sharif's political partners and these business entities belonged to various parts of the country whose primary wish was to gain economic interests and political influence.

The relationship between Benazir Bhutto and the military during her first tenure from 1988-1990, deteriorated gradually due to the military establishment's indirect involvement in politics. In response to the military's interference, Benazir took steps to curtail the influence of the Inter-Services Intelligence agency by removing its Chief

⁴⁴⁰ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <http://www.humanrights.asia/resources/journals-magazines/article2/focus-innaccessible-justice-in-pakistan/effects-of-pakistans-legal-framework-order-on-the-judiciary/>

⁴⁴¹ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 135-138.

General Hameed Gul, who had played a key role in establishing the IJI,⁴⁴² and shaping Afghanistan policy during Zia-ul-Haq's regime.⁴⁴³ Moreover, while the appointment of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC) was traditionally the president's prerogative, Benazir attempted to challenge this authority.⁴⁴⁴ She argued for the prime minister's discretionary powers regarding the retirement of the JCSC chairman under executive orders and the Army Act. This contention further strained her relationship with the military and the president.⁴⁴⁵ The military covertly tried to remove Benazir through vote of "no-confidence" in 1989, but was not successful.⁴⁴⁶

A police operation against alleged terrorists in a Muhajir settlement at Pakka Qila, Hyderabad, Sindh, ended in the deaths of more than twenty-four people in May 1990. The incident accused the Sindh police for being involved in ethnic cleansing. The incident followed differences between prime minister Benazir Bhutto and the COAS, who happened to be a Muhajir. The COAS was also under institutional pressure, however, matters were exacerbated in June 1990, after Benazir made a failed attempt to extend the term of an army Corps Commander. This action was considered interference by a civilian to influence the army's selection board and a breach of the military's autonomy.⁴⁴⁷

The military's attitude towards Nawaz Sharif was no different because when he became the prime minister of Pakistan the first time, he tried to control Punjab through the Centre. The then President Ishaq Khan did not allow this to happen as there was no constitutional provision to support Sharif's action. This complex situation called for the intervention of the COAS who helped the president and the prime minister in signing an agreement that

⁴⁴² Lamb, C. (1991). *Waiting for Allah. Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy*, New Delhi: Viking Penguin Book, 86, p. 36

⁴⁴³ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 142.

⁴⁴⁴ Shafqat, S. (2019). *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. Routledge, p.230.

⁴⁴⁵ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 142.

⁴⁴⁶ Yasmeen, S. (1994). Democracy in Pakistan: the third dismissal. *Asian Survey*, 34(6), p. 574.

⁴⁴⁷ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 143

led to the resignation of both from their respective offices. Although during her second term in office, Benazir enjoyed cordial relations with the military, however, she was not successful in completing her five-year term as prime minister.

The second term in office for Nawaz Sharif was no different, but this time his priority was to bring certain amendments into the Constitution which could prevent the president and the military of Pakistan from stepping over the supremacy of the parliament. The planned strategy of the Sharif irked the military and under unknown circumstances and in an unprecedented move, the then COAS of Pakistan resigned in October 1998. The new COAS took charge as the military head and until May 1999, the severed relations between the military and the government remained covert. However, the Kargil War between India and Pakistan, from May to July 1999, brought to the fore the tensions between the two institutions. The same year when Nawaz Sharif tried to remove the COAS General Musharraf, the military backed the COAS and martial law was imposed on October 12, 1999. This paused the budding democratic process in the country as military again got a chance to rule the country.

The period for Pakistan between 1988 and 1999 witnessed two main political parties' leaders becoming prime minister alternately. The military supported the political leadership as long as their interests were taken care of. The military was unhappy with the unsatisfactory performance of Benazir as the prime minister and this displeasure became the reason for the institution to launch Nawaz Sharif for the same position. However, the military planned such a setting that the Muslim League could form government in the Centre only with the alliance of another political party. Therefore, Muslim League joined hands with the military backed party called Jammat-i-Islami, forming a coalition named Islamic Democratic Alliance (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad). The alliance strengthened military's control in governance and politics of the country. The coalition of the two parties gave them two-thirds majority in the Centre and formation of government in all the four provinces of the country.

In order to gain goodwill of the public, the military regime of Musharraf on October 17, 1999, initiated a seven-point agenda to confront the multiple challenges faced by the

country and to encourage stability and prosperity in the country.⁴⁴⁸ The objectives of the agenda were to rebuild national confidence, devolution of power, and strengthen the federation. It also covered the common goals of every new government in the country, such as ensuring economic stability, law and order, and accountability. Since all the governments in Pakistan know that the use of religion helps them in gaining public trust, therefore, the Islamic provisions of the Constitution were restored to reconfirm state's commitment towards the nation's Islamic identity. In order to reduce international pressure on Pakistan for restoration of democracy, the military regime of Musharraf made announcement for local elections. The stakeholders remained skeptical about the government's decision as they worried about the military's role in governance at local level, therefore, they called for an organic return of democracy.⁴⁴⁹ The military's obsession with governance during Musharraf's rule was so high that they formed a party backed by the institution named the Pakistan Muslim League - Quaid e Azam (PML-Q), also called the King's party. The PML-Q was victorious in the general elections of 2002, which were held under direct supervision of the military. Despite the party's loyalties with Musharraf and the military, the prime minister elected was unable to complete his full term and was replaced by an unelected finance minister. The change in power positions did not bring any change to the powerful status of Musharraf.

Apart from external hints, Musharraf started getting pressured from inside the military institution for holding on to the position of COAS, as a result, he retired from the role of the military head and was sworn in as president, following his step down as COAS on November 28, 2007. Musharraf could sense his diminishing powers, therefore a month before his re-election as president, he came up with an ordinance to mend ways with his political rivals. The ordinance called the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO), facilitated the politicians in doing politics without fear of any revenge or victimization

⁴⁴⁸ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://presidentmusharraf.wordpress.com/2007/07/10/address-nation-7-point-agenda/>

⁴⁴⁹ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 182-184.

and its objective was to encourage reconciliation and healthy politics in the country. In order to follow the ordinance in its essence, a committee was formed to review the cases on politicians, and it was decided that the cases found to be fake would be discarded. However, the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) continued with its operations and a parliamentary committee on ethics was designed to stop political victimization and safeguard the election process from rigging and manipulation. The chairperson of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) became the beneficiary of the NRO and returned to Pakistan to contest the upcoming elections,⁴⁵⁰ after being in self-exile for eight years.⁴⁵¹

The elections of 2008 brought democratically elected government of PPP into the parliament, however, Pervez Musharraf remained in power as the president. The two main political parties, the PPP and the PML-N worked on the exit of Musharraf through an impeachment motion set on August 7, 2008. Like the previous military dictators, Musharraf was adamant to stick to power, however, after his refusal to step down himself, a charge-sheet was prepared against him mentioning his actions against the Constitution of the country. The charge-sheet was presented in the parliament and since there was no escape, Musharraf finally resigned on August 18, 2008, by the efforts of elected legislators.⁴⁵²

The period between 2002 and 2018, is known as the fusionist model for Pakistan, as the two elected governments successfully served five-year terms, but the prime ministers failed to complete their tenures. The two elected prime ministers were dismissed by the Supreme Court in 2012 and 2017. Even Imran Khan could not survive as the prime minister of Pakistan for long, although, he was regarded as the “blue-eyed boy” of the

⁴⁵⁰ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 197-198.

⁴⁵¹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/pakistan/benazir-returns-to-pak-after-8-yrs-of-self-exile/articleshow/2472086.cms>

⁴⁵² Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/embattled-musharraf-resigns-as-pakistan-s-president-1.732943>

military and the judiciary.⁴⁵³ The difference between the removal of previous prime ministers and Khan is that the latter was constitutionally removed in April 2022, through a vote of no confidence.

It is widely believed that Imran Khan had a fair chance of completing his full-term in the office as the prime minister and making history as the first premier to remain in office for five years, as he had the utmost support of the military and judiciary, however, he was over-confident to be touched by any force. He disregarded the mistakes committed by his political companions but preferred not to show mercy to his political opponents. The government led by Imran Khan also overlooked the fact that they needed the support of opposition parties to pass legislations. This egoistic approach by Imran Khan severed his relations with his coalition partners and seasonal politicians within his party. The coalition parties and the opposition united against Imran Khan and decided to oust him through vote of no confidence, and the process was initiated on March 8, 2022. Imran Khan, fearing his untimely exit, held meetings with the then COAS and Director General-ISI (DG-ISI) to save him from the political turmoil. It is learnt from certain quarters that the COAS and DG ISI excused themselves from meddling into politics and instead asked Khan to resign, announce fresh elections or face the vote of no confidence.⁴⁵⁴

4.19.1. The Military's Business Endeavors

The increased corporate presence and economic participation by the military is one of the important elements concerning the country's political economy. Consequently, this growth and broadening has resulted in special interests inside the nation's social, political and economic framework. After independence, the primary role of Pakistan's military like any other country in the world was to protect its borders, however, with the passage

⁴⁵³ Saddiqa, A. (2019). Pakistan—From hybrid-democracy to hybrid-martial law. *Journal of south Asian and middle eastern studies*, 42(2), pp. 52-72.

⁴⁵⁴ Ali, J. (2022). Legitimacy Crises in Pakistan; A Study of Imran Khan Regime. *Zakariya Journal of Social Science*, 1(2), pp. 28-29.

of time, the military started believing that it is their duty to protect the state, its politics, economy and ideological boundaries.

Soon after independence, Pakistan's military has been successful in expanding its authority over changes in economic and political landscape. Each year, a major portion of the country's budget is allocated to defense, hence, the military plays a key role in managing the economy. According to Ayesha Saddiqa, the Pakistan military owns diversified corporate groups which makes them own 23% of assets held by the corporate sector. Business entities like the Army Welfare Trust and Fauji Foundation, which are considered major corporate holdings in Pakistan are possessed by them. Ayesha Saddiqa believes that democracy in Pakistan has failed to evolve and mature because the institution of military has gained exponentially in the last seven decades, hence, to maintain economic well-being, it needs to keep constant control over the country's economy so that the likelihood of sustained political stronghold of the military can be increased.⁴⁵⁵

The institution of military in Pakistan has always enjoyed an upper hand over democratic governments because of its uninterrupted participation in the country's governance and its comprehensive political influence and therefore, this advantage diminishes the possibility of the military giving up their authority. The institution has the benefit of apportioning resources, occupying non-military positions, and taking a significant share from civilians' budget to spend it on serving and retired armed officers. This is the root cause of the separation between civilian and military spheres, but which continues to keep the military interests and political authority intact.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ Zaidi, S. A. (2005). State, military and social transition: Improbable future of democracy in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 5177.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

4.20. Islamization

The civil war of 1971 which saw the formation of Islamist militias who backed the state for its Islamic ideology and the Kashmir dispute against which Pakistan's stand has been that it is a predominantly Muslim region, led to the change of its doctrine to theocracy after the creation of Bangladesh as an independent state. Pakistan retreated from SEATO and CENTO agreements, however, the state encountered multiple issues internally as well as around its border. The ethnic insurgency in general and by Baloch in particular, and the conflict of Durand Line with Afghanistan added up tensions for Pakistan. The social pressures and religious movements in Pakistan pushed the state and the political elite to contemplate and engage in forming unity based on national identity pertaining to Islam, and overlooking ethnic, linguistic or cultural diversity. This strategy strived to promote a spirit of togetherness, alongside achieving the foreign policy objectives. The Muslim fundamentalists in Pakistan exploited the opportunity and advocated for the compliance of Islamic obligations, sought the adoption of Islamic Constitution and called upon the political leaders to practice religion so that the country can stay intact. In response, all the political parties agreed to abide by these rulings which impacted the Constitution, educational curriculum and the foreign policy of Pakistan.⁴⁵⁷

Before the events of 9/11, a number of individuals from the military joined militant groups, who received training in madrassas to be the source of non-state actors for the military. However, after Pakistan's call to wage war against terrorism, these recruits, including some army officers, perceived that the state's actions against the Taliban were, in fact, directed against the country's ideology. They interpreted the situation according to their belief and took up arms against the state to fight foreign invaders on Muslim soil, which cost money as well as human lives on both sides.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁷ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, p. 10.

⁴⁵⁸ Crawford, N. C. (2018). Human cost of the post-9/11 wars: Lethality and the need for transparency. *Costs of War*, pp. 1-11.

4.20.1. Woman Accused of Blasphemy while Shopping

Like any other day, people were shopping in a crowded bazaar of Lahore, Pakistan on February 26, 2024. The passersby and some of the shopkeepers were seen joining a crowd which had turned into a mob in a matter of few minutes. The mob had gathered to punish a woman after a word spread that she was wearing a shirt bearing Quranic verses. The woman was instantly accused of blasphemy and the mob was prepared to lynch her. Despite the local shopkeepers' pleas that the shirt had nothing but a normal calligraphy print, the mob refused to back off.

The woman was sheltered in a shop and the police were called to handle the deteriorating situation. Before the arrival of higher officials, the police had already arranged multi-level security in the area to avoid any unfavorable incident. A senior female officer finally arrived at the scene and requested the crowd not to take the law into their hands and trust the police. After the crowd cooled down, the police officer escorted the woman out of the crowd.⁴⁵⁹ This is how an ugly situation was controlled by the wisdom of the security personnel and a few civilians.

When the pictures and videos of the incident went viral on social media, it was learnt that the calligraphy on the woman's shirt read "hilwa" meaning beautiful in Arabic. This sad incident made global headlines and the female police officer's bravery and efficiency were acknowledged internationally.

4.21. The General Elections, 2024

After the completion of five-year term, the previous government retired, and fresh elections were held on February 8, 2024. The election results were marred by allegations of rigging by the majority of the political parties, and there were countrywide protests.

⁴⁵⁹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1817188>

Since no political party was able to secure simple majority, a coalition government has been formed, led by the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N). The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) contested in the elections as independents, as the party symbol was taken away in a decision by the Supreme Court, citing irregularities in their intra-party elections. However, PTI-backed independent candidates were able to get the highest number of seats in the national assembly. The PTI did not want to be party to a coalition; therefore, they are not part of the current government. Moreover, the co-chairman of Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), Asif Ali Zardari, has been elected as the President of Pakistan, the second time on March 9, 2024.

The PTI chairman, Imran Khan, has been incarcerated on account of corruption charges. Moreover, the majority of the party leadership and workers are in jail or on bail for their involvement in riots of May 9, 2023, following Imran Khan's arrest in a corruption case. There were huge protests held around the country, primarily targeting army property and installations. A number of party leaders announced quitting the party, while some said goodbye to politics altogether.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁶⁰ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1786066>

FINDINGS

5.1. Interviews

In order to conduct an in-depth analysis of the research, a total of twelve professionals belonging to the diverse fields of bureaucracy, journalism, armed forces, politics, and law, were interviewed. A set of questions was asked from interviewees, and their answers are provided without any alterations. Following are the questions asked from the participants:

1. How do you see Pakistan's political system?
2. Would you consider it as a democracy?
 - a) If so, Why?
 - b) If not, Why?
3. How do you see India's political system?
4. When you compare India to Pakistan, what do you see?
5. What do you think about religious extremism in Pakistan?
 - a) What are the causes for the rise of religious extremism?
 - b) When do you think it began?
 - c) Do you think it is related to the 1977 coup?
6. Do you think the revocation of the Eighth Amendment strengthened the legislative assembly in Pakistan?
7. With the recent statements by the Pakistan military asserting its non-involvement in politics, do you view this as a positive development for democracy?

Dr. Amber Darr is a Lecturer in Competition Law at University of Manchester and a Senior Research Fellow at the UCL Centre for Law, Economics and Society. She holds a PhD in law from UCL and is also a Barrister Lincoln's Inn and an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. She is the author of "Competition Law in South Asia: Policy Diffusion and Transfer" (Cambridge University Press 2023).

According to Ms. Amber, the political system of Pakistan is in transition. In the 76 years of since its creation, Pakistan has struggled with maintaining the constitutional democracy it claimed to have established through its Constitution. However, with greater social consciousness which seems to be developing gradually, the people of Pakistan may yet arrive at an understanding of the political system they wish to be governed by.

Pakistan has democratic institutions, but it is not yet a democracy in a true sense of the word. This is because people have not fully understood the power of individuals to choose their own leaders. A very big reason for this is that political representation is still an elite enterprise and elections take place at the highest level. For democracy to become a part of the Pakistani culture it is important for the country to invest in its local elections.

As compared to Pakistan, India is a much more evolved democracy. The Indian democracy is not perfect either, but it has a much more democratic culture, and its democratic institutions have not been suspended except in instances of national emergencies. India has also never seen military rule. Overall, India has demonstrated more patience with its democratically elected personalities than Pakistan has.

Religious extremism is linked with Pakistan's core identity as a country built in the name of religion and is therefore baked in its DNA. Over the years, as other policy initiatives in Pakistan have failed to deliver, different political parties have deliberately encouraged religious extremism to keep the public preoccupied, without making any real effort to truly create Islamic institutions in the country. The 1977 coup is certainly a turning point in the country's slide towards religious extremism, but it is only one moment in a downward trajectory.

Amber's op-ed "The Islamisation Project" was published on July 20, 2023, in Pakistan's English newspaper DAWN, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1765764>.

It is difficult to say what the Eighth amendment has actually achieved. However, its revocation as a part of Eighteenth amendment has made an important contribution to bringing the political process to the provinces, and therefore enabling them to exercise their authority over their provinces. This is an important part of creating a democratic culture in Pakistan.

It does not seem possible that Pakistani politics will be entirely rid of the influence or the considerations of the army in the near future. However, the fact that the army is not looking to play a direct role is likely to allow political institutions to gain strength and eventually to become independent of the army. This is also largely up to the politicians.

Himayat Ullah Khan is retired as Secretary to the President of Pakistan. He is a graduate of Public Policy from Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government. He has served as Special Secretary: Ministry of Water & Power, Additional Secretary: Economic Affairs Division, Senior Joint Secretary (Foreign Trade): Ministry of Commerce, Director General (International Relations): Auditor General of Pakistan, Accountant General Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Joint Secretary to the Cabinet Division of Pakistan. He also served as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's minister in the last caretaker setup.

Mr. Himayat Ullah is of the view that Pakistan has a fragile political system. It is susceptible to frequent breakdowns, manipulations and extreme oscillations from one end of the spectrum to the other. During the first nine years (1947-1957), the Government of the India Act 1935, was adopted as an interim Constitution. The first indigenous Constitution was formulated in 1956 but that too was based on the 1935 Act. In 1962, General Ayub Khan imposed a presidential system of Constitution based on indirect elections of the president by an electoral college, ostensibly to facilitate manipulation of the system. The first time Pakistan saw a Constitution based on the universal will of the people having widespread support and legitimacy, was the 1973 Constitution. Although there have been 25 amendments in the last fifty years, the Constitution still retains its

fundamental structure of: parliamentary democracy; a federal structure; and separation of judiciary, legislature and executive.

It must be kept in mind that the above is a de jure status. De facto and absolute power is exercised by the military establishment. All institutions in the country are subservient to the establishment. As such, Pakistan's political system can be considered democratic, as per law but not on a de facto basis. India's political system, on the other hand, is a democratic parliamentary form of government, both de jure and de facto, having widespread legitimacy and acceptability.

India gained independence after a long struggle against the occupying British colonial power. Its leaders suffered long and frequent imprisonment and other numerous hardships. Similarly, the people also gave sacrifices. As a result, the people appreciate and value their hard earned freedom. The same cannot be said about the Pakistani experience.

The cause of religious extremism can be attributed to the use of the religion card for attainment of political objectives. The seed of religious extremism can be traced back to the partition of Bengal on religious grounds in 1905 and introduction of separate electorate for Hindus and Muslims by the British raj, with the clear objective of divide and rule. Therefore, religious extremism can be traced prior to 1977, however, the coup of 1977, followed by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the use of religion card once again, sustained by American military and economic power acted as catalysts to religious extremism.

The revocation of the Eighth amendment strengthening the legislative assembly in Pakistan is de jure, not de facto and the military's latest statement on its non-involvement in Pakistan's politics is a mere statement. The events of the last few years and the recent elections are self-evident.

Mr. Faisal Yousaf is a retired army officer, holding M.Sc degree in Military & General Sciences. He served at various Command and Staff appointments during the course of 25 years' service. He is Intelligence Staff Course qualified, having instructional tenure twice

at the premium intelligence institution of Pakistan. He has also been conferred with “Tamgha e Imtiaz” (state organized honor of Pakistan).

Mr. Faisal is of the opinion that Pakistan’s political system is based on Adult Franchise which is in contradiction with its tribal system in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, ethnicity in Sindh and baradari base of Punjab. Only the voters of bigger cities are somewhat free of this strangle hold due to education and relative awareness. Centre of gravity of this system being the armed forces makes it even more so. Around 40% of the population living in cities and exercising their right to vote out of freewill, give Pakistan a semblance of democracy.

India’s political system has matured over the years primarily due to land reforms in 1956 and progressive education level. The embracing nature of their culture has also worked wonders to their society, to interact and accept diversity.

India has segregated religion from governance right in its early days but for the last one decade of Mr. Modi. The economic renaissance started by Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh also became the defining moment in its history. Again, quashing separatist movements with full might of the state, disguised under nationalism and India Shining syndrome conceptualized their nationhood. Pakistan on the other hand remained sandwiched between self-serving civilian rulers, bigoted religiosity and power hungry Generals, ensuring stagnancy in almost all facets of cognitive development.

The religious extremism is a reality in Pakistan and a clear/present menace, destroying the very fiber of a much pluralistic society till 1970s. One of the causes of it is the rise of Taliban in neighboring Afghanistan, the inflow of almost unaccounted US \$ aid to Afghan Jihad and the changed role of Molvi from a meek prayer leader to the decision maker at the mid-level society. The religious extremism began in the late 1970s / early 1980s, with the advent of Russian invasion in Afghanistan, rather with the participation of Pakistan in resistance to Soviet invasion. Moreover, Zia-ul-Haq’s era was instrumental in promoting religious bigotry.

The annulment of unilateral power of the President, stabilized democracy enhanced the parliamentary supremacy. The recent statements by Pakistan military asserting its non-involvement in politics is a positive development for democracy, coupled with streamlining of higher judiciary by the incumbent Chief Justice of Pakistan.

Mr. Jahangir Arshad is a qualified Associate Mechanical Engineer and retired from military setup of Pakistan after completion of 25 years' service as civilian technical expert. He is currently working as General Manager in a private Aviation company.

Mr. Jahangir asserts that Pakistan is composed of diversified cultures and languages. Society is more or less unified through Islamic values and fundamentals. Despite some grey areas in the early years of its inception, Pakistan society evolved itself into a democratic structure governed by a broadly acceptable constitutional bindings. Present Constitution was made and implemented by the elected parliament in year 1973. Democratic political system was derailed in 1977 and 1999 by military coups which prevailed for a period of 11 years and 9 years, respectively. Due to the non-acceptance of martial law regimes by the masses, the military rulers too during the era of their governance were forced to create arrangements of elected bodies through which federal and provincial governments were framed and run under partial constitutional arrangements derived from 1973 Constitution, so hybrid political arrangements were resorted to by the military rulers associated by their political allies. Fresh elections at federal and provincial levels are being held in February this year and the country will continue to move forward in a democratic manner.

Pakistan is basically a democratic country. People clearly understand and insist on implementation of constitutional rule. Existence of parliament and judicial system helps play a vital role to streamline and abide by the democratic values. There is no doubt about derailing of the established constitutional governance temporarily and periodically by the military regimes, but masses never liked and endorsed their actions and ultimately they had to revert back to normal democratic life under Constitution. Confusion at certain level does prevail, caused by periodical disruption by military regimes, despite this, people

respect each other's rights for co-existence. Another factor which promoted undemocratic regimes in Pakistan has been conspiracies by international players supported by Pakistan's neighboring country India which never accepted existence of Pakistan right from the beginning.

India is a large country with population above 1000 million people. The government works at three different levels in India. They are local government, state government and central government. Every state in India has a legislative assembly.

As compared to Pakistan, India has evolved itself into a stable democratic political system. India is much more diverse, mostly in religion and culture. It is comprised of a diversified range of cultures, languages and religions, Hinduism and Islam being major components. Initially for several decades, it successfully demonstrated as a secular society but with the passage of time its secular role started weakening and diminishing primarily due to the hatred against Muslims which appears to be getting India joining and aligning with western trends of hatred against Islam. By and large, Indian political system and society is demonstrating intolerance towards other religions specially Islam, although, Muslims ruled India for over 1000 years.

Indian cultural and political system is rapidly changing into a singular dominating society of Hinduism with escalating intolerance and non-democratic values. Today, minorities in India feel unsafe and find little opportunities to exist and flourish.

For a better understanding of intentions and future designs of Indian upcoming political system, Indian PM's following recent speech presents and paints a clear picture:

Narendra Modi, the elected Prime Minister of India addressed the nation, and Indian Parliament and gave a speech about the tensions with minorities in India in passing CAA Citizen Amendment Act:

"In India, live like Indian Hindu. Any minority, from anywhere, if they want to live in India, to work and eat in India, they should speak an Indian Language like Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Bengali, any South Indian language and should respect the Indian Laws. If they

prefer Sharia Law and live the life of Muslims then we advise them to go to those places where that is the state law.

India does not need Muslim minorities. Such minorities need India, and we will not grant them special privileges, or try to change our laws to fit their desires, no matter how loud they yell “discrimination.” We will not tolerate disrespect of our Vedic Hindu Sanatan culture. We better learn from the suicides of America, England, Holland, and France, and the Kashmir - Jammu holocaust of Kashmiri Pundits, if we are to survive as a nation. The Muslims are taking over those countries and they will not take over any part of India. We have shared our land in 1947, creating West and East Pakistan. The Indian customs and traditions are not compatible with the lack of culture or the primitive ways of Sharia Law and Muslims.

When this honorable legislative body thinks of creating new laws, it should have in mind the Indian national interest first, observing that the Muslims Minorities Are Not Indians."

The politicians in the Indian Parliament gave PM Modi a five minute standing ovation.

India and Pakistan are nuclear states holding almost equal range of nuclear assets. By virtue of acquiring nuclear status, Pakistan now have better defense capability and deterrence against India.

One cannot find any significant difference in constitutional and democratic principles and their application in the masses. When viewed at micro level, India has exercised these principles in much better way probably due to noninterference policies by the international players in India's internal political affairs. On the contrary, Pakistan's internal politics has been influenced by external interferences by international players through military periodical coups due to which Pakistan's democracy suffered a lot and still going through instability in financial and political affairs.

Primarily, people of Pakistan are by nature and default very humble and friendly. Certain tribal areas of the country do have cultural values of arming themselves but at large, 95 percent of people of Pakistan are not familiar with any sort of arms and never indulge themselves into any use of arms in their normal daily life.

The term religious terrorism was not known to Pakistani culture before Russian invasion in Afghanistan. Some sections of the tribal areas did associate with Afghans and participated in jihad against Russia, supported by US/NATO led armies. These sections of the tribal society from Pakistan and Afghanistan when left behind by the Western forces in an unplanned and scattered manner after the war, adopted the course of their choice. Subsequently, after 9/11, Afghanistan turned into an anti U.S. slogan which encouraged the fighting elements to uncontrollable force.

The 1977 coup in no way connects to the terrorism. It was a purely local peaceful activity in Pakistan without involving use of any force. Terrorism started mostly during conflict between US led forces and Afghanistan jihadists and found its way deep into Pakistan. Pakistan had to pay heavy price due to associating itself with Western forces and providing them material help and had to face anger of fighting Jihadists.

This revocation of Eighth amendment paved the way to strengthen the parliament reverting to the original design of the Constitution and prevented any more fear of dissolving of the national assembly on flimsy grounds. The assemblies elected subsequently completed their tenures without any interference by the president whose role was limited to constitutional framework.

The present Constitution of Pakistan of 1973 does not allow whatsoever any type of involvement or interference of any magnitude by the military. Notwithstanding this, Pakistan's democracy witnessed involvement of the military in different shapes and forms. Recent statements by the military are positively viewed by the people, however, time will prove this to be realistic and effective. Mostly, people do not believe this as any extra constitutional activity while remaining behind the curtain playing hybrid politics cannot be overruled.

Mr. NN Ojha is a retired civil servant from India. He was selected for Indian Defence Estates Service in 1973. He is presently leading a retired life in Darjeeling hills in the Indian State of West Bengal.

Mr. Ojha sees Pakistan's system of governance and polity as a struggling but evolving democracy with optimism. In its current state, the country can be considered as a democracy in the process of evolution. Presently, it has a written Constitution (of 1973) that enshrines (though not fully guarantees) basic rights of freedom, equality, and safeguards against arbitrary detention by authorities. A judiciary largely independent of executive pressures manned by erudite jurists is also there to ensure that its citizenry is not subjected to extra judicial treatment by executive authority.

The above statements are subject to two caveats; first lack of easy and affordable access to higher judiciary by common men and women and, second the extra judicial acts of its security agencies who remain dreaded and almost invisible within the system including judiciary. Because of these two factors inter alia democracy in Pakistan is struggling but evolving.

Religious extremism is not on the rise among common ordinary Pakistani. The rise perceived by analysts world over is due to the emergence of organized groups like TTP, JeM and many others with state (mainly ISI) patronage for use as strategic assets. If this system of patronage and this approach of using brainwashed religious fundamentalist groups is withdrawn, religious extremism shall vanish, and no Hillary Clinton will have to accuse Pakistani state of “rearing snakes in your backyard.”

Religion (Islam) has been an integral part of Pakistan since inception as it was created as a “homeland for Muslims of South Asia.” Under watchful eyes of Pakistan's Quaid MA Jinnah, religious affiliation was not allowed to degenerate to extremism.

The seeds of religious extremism were sown in the objective resolution inserted in Pakistan's first Constitution. The spark was fanned into a fire by over ambitious military leaders in cahoots with myopic clergy. By 1977, the fire had spread too wide to be controlled. Silver lining in the entire story is that all along this while vast majority of

Pakistanis have been upholding Islamic tenets of ethical social behavior with no malice towards one another or even towards their compatriots from other faiths. Exceptions for the worse are always there in any society and shall always be there including in Pakistan. The revocation of Eighth amendment in 2010 does strengthen legislative assembly as through this revocation the shift of power from prime minister and assembly to President in 1985 has been annulled.

Prima facie, the latest statement by the Pakistan military about its non-involvement in politics is a positive development as armed forces' interference in governance cannot but disrupt democratic process. One has to nevertheless watch with fingers crossed if this statement by the present setup in army is honored by all their successors. However, going by Pakistan's chequered past with reference to military interventions the best safeguard against recurrence of military coups in future is a strong civilian government with high level of credibility among masses. And the best guarantee for such strong civilian govt is a set of mature, diligent and incorruptible political leadership. Will that be possible in near future, say 5-10 years? "Well your guess is as good as mine or anyone else's for that matter."

Jameel Aziz is an Aeronautical Engineer who has served in a defense setup for more than 25 years.

According to Mr. Jameel, the political system of Pakistan is shaped in such a way that it benefits a few families who have been ruling the country ever since Pakistan was founded. The interventions of military elites added fuel to fire. The overall system is corrupt and eating up its very existence. Pakistan is not even a democracy as contestants are selected through election rigging. The illiteracy of people is primarily the reason as the votes of the masses can easily be bought for a small amount of money. The military's interference helps in the manipulation of election results.

In contrast, India's political system is better than Pakistan, even though they do face the challenges of corruption and poverty. The military has never interfered in political matters in India and although there are religious enmities in the country, still, the civilian

government is successful in pulling off the country economically to stand amongst the strong economies of the world. Pakistan, in comparison with India, is seen as a complete disaster. India has the tendency to resolve its issues, which may have a negative impact on the stability of Pakistan.

The main reason for religious extremism in Pakistan is illiteracy and poverty. Unfortunately, it is likely to be persisting and is giving an ugly look in the international community. The religious extremism has emerged in last few decades. One of the major factors is Jihad card played by the West in war against Russia in 1979.

The revocation of Eighth amendment has given political leaders leverage to continue corruption and transfer their money in other countries. Despite this amendment, the political stability in Pakistan is still not there and the similar actions are being taken through other means.

The fact is that military establishment has always interfered in the political system of Pakistan since its creation and would never stop interfering despite the statements. It is in the interest of the military establishment to ensure a weak political setup is present in the country so that they can achieve their objectives.

Safeer Ahmad is Director Civil Audit at the office of Director General Audit, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He has also served as Additional and Special Secretary Finance Department: Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Additional Account General, and Additional Secretary Finance: FATA Secretariat among other significant positions.

Mr. Safeer assumes Pakistan's political system is confronted with a number of challenges, such as governance and regional issues, corruption, religious and ethnic dilemmas. He thinks that the best way to evaluate the status of democracy is by observing the recent developments and elections. India's democracy is also marred by various challenges, such as corruption, economic disparity, and random occurrences of political instability. The discussions regarding religious extremism should be viewed from broader perspective. Even though, Pakistan faces challenges of religious extremism, nonetheless, many

organizations and people on individual level are trying their best for a more inclusive and tolerant society.

Mr. Mohiuddin Kamal, a Commissioned Officer in Pakistan Air Force served as a Professor of Aerospace Engineering. He was the head of Training Division of Pakistan Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Organization. He worked in Pakistan International Airline as special assistant to MD, Manager Coordination to Chairman, Senior Instructor Flight Operations. He also served as Executive Vice President at AeroFalcon Inc, President in Canada West Aviation Inc, Executive Consultant at Ceritar Technologies, Canada-France-Middle East and at K-DOT, Saudi Arabia. He was CEO at Iconair (private.) Ltd, before becoming the CEO at HFK Consulting Inc. Canada.

Mr. Mohiuddin says that Pakistan was born with an inherited federal parliamentary republic system, as a constitutional democracy which stems out of 1935 British India's Government of India Act. The founders decided to keep it as such, however they didn't realize that the constituting units of the country have tribal and local governance system based on mixture of cultural traditions and religious edicts. Imbedded in the psyche of these inhabitants are the martial race, chivalry, and male dominance which is in direct contrast with universal suffrage concept. Also, many inhabitants staunchly believed in the ill perceived idea of the head of state as the army's chief of staff, and president as one as per Islamic dictates. This is a mis-interpretation of Islamic governance concept and twisted presentation, disregarding "Shoraa Bainahum" and "follow the leader as long as the leader does not disobey Allah SWT guidance in accordance with Quran and Sunnah." Shoora Bainahum is clear-cut democratic injunction as long as such democratic process is within the four walls of boundaries laid down by the Quran and Sunnah.

Unfortunately, the above stated factors imbedded in the Pakistani culture, which itself was a heterogenous culture, only kept together with the doctrine of "commonality of belief," and centuries old Hinduism. Other religious cultural practices still prevailed, constituting the sociological and psychological mesh of the people. The "Martial Race" concept provided a catalyst to the people of certain regions of undivided India to join the

armed forces and take pride in being a professional soldier, considering other trades and professions as non-martial and looked down upon. That mindset also regarded such other professionals as not suitable to protect and run the affairs of the state as compared to themselves, giving them a cardinal right to "lead the country" if these lesser capable people fail to provide good governance.

Pakistan's armed forces, which inherited the secular traditions and training of British armed forces, which was a colonial power, inculcated a sense of superiority, authority and dislike for others, as in local caste system, among officers and to certain extent in Jawans (unranked soldiers) as well. This attitude resulted in many capable candidates from so called "low-grade professions" to leave or get drummed out during training or even afterwards.

This peculiar blend of cultural, religious, colonial superiority complex mindset got further deepened with the inception of Pakistan in 1947 and military struggle in Kashmir, where retired and active-duty officers and soldiers were involved in the capturing of parts of the valley and northern areas. "Young Turks" were detected among the senior as well as junior officers as early as the time of independence and the first attempt to overthrow the civilian government was captured in 1951, subsequent to Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case. After becoming Islamic Republic in 1956 it only took one year for the army take over and declaration of the first Martial Law in the country.

The above factors gave birth to what we call the present political system of Pakistan which is basically a test tube experiment conducted by the elite troika of generals, judges and bureaucrats of the country in connivance with each other to further move the system towards a one person's rule behind the cover of controlled democracy. This experiment was also infiltrated by the foreign elements and intellectual interventions of different "isms" globally prevalent at different times.

Subsequent to the first Martial Law, a concerted effort was made at all levels to defame the politicians and make way for military rule under controlled democracy by Ayub Khan and it also enhanced the military elitism doctrine as them being de-facto superiors. From

adult franchise to basic democracy, Majlis Shoora, to Grass Root Democracy and finally Hybrid Regime Doctrine, all were the experiments designed by the military laboratory for political engineering. Hence, Pakistan's present political system can be considered as a "Controlled Democracy for the people, by the Elites who are Superiors."

India and Pakistan both inherited the same governance system from the British colonial rulers. Indian military also had some generals like General Kriappa who were ambitious and politicized and with a desire to rule and overrule the politicians. Jawaharlal Nehru made sure that such generals do not stay in service to command the armed forces. The vastness of Indian territory and spread as well as multi-ethnic composition of its military command did not let any Indian general to try the adventure of imposing martial law or toppling the elected government. This ensured a continuity of political process of democratic government's election and change since its independence. The system in India became mature over the period of time and regardless of rampant corruption, political rivalry and all other menaces in the system, it is a robust democratic system governing itself.

The comparison between India and Pakistan should not be done because India secured its independence as a federation with secular democracy and Pakistan came into being as a Muslim state to be based on Islamic religious principles. Pakistan, over the period of time, strived to determine its true identity as a Muslim's secular state or an Islamic republic to be run on the Islamic law of Shariah. The struggle became confused due to its political failure in evolving a Constitution for the country and once it was promulgated in 1956, its abrogation was quick with a coup. Since then, Pakistan has been a laboratory for pseudo-democratic experimentation and controlled rule doctrines.

India, on the other hand, boasted itself as a secular republic and had a continuity of political process for decades which deeply rooted the democratic values in their system. Recently, Hindutva and India for Indians doctrine of Modi government deviated the country towards extremism, however, the democratic traditions are still strong in the country.

Pakistan was a religiously tolerant society since its inception and accommodated all faiths and beliefs with an open heart. Though Pan-Islamic brotherhood or Ummah concept was interwoven in its fabric from the day one, the "Fort of Islam" was very tolerant towards all other faiths and schools of thought. The first glimpse of intolerance was seen among people when in 1951 the "Khatme E Nabuwat Movement" resulted in the imposition of limited martial law in three cities. However, that movement was focused on a minority school of thought which already had a controversial background. Major religious extremism emerged after the Afghan Jihad when external powers like Saudi Arabia and UAE as well as other Muslim countries got involved in providing fighters and finances for the war in Afghanistan. Apart from recruiting the fighters from international sources, Pakistan's indigenous resources were also tapped from local religious schools and religious parties.

The intermingling of fighters from different Islamic countries with hardline beliefs created a new dimension and set of beliefs among the local youth and others, particularly deviation from local cultural tolerance practices to converting into a hardline approach. Anybody not endorsing those set of values or beliefs was declared apostate or nonbeliever. Decades of such indoctrination to prepare fighters of Islam created those youngsters' mindset which gradually seeped into our entire culture and created an entire generation of people who were not only religiously extremist but also intolerant towards any other point of view. Historically, it began with the arrival of first Muslim fighter on the Indian soil. The emotions were nurtured over a period of time in different form and shape and came to maturity during Afghan War. The sentiments of extremism were always present in one form or the other among certain segments of Pakistani population. Religious identification became strong during General Zia's regime, but it was strengthened during Afghan Wars until its maturity in the present form. Afghan Taliban revolution is a catalyst in this process and Pakistan played an important role in its upbringing. These individuals were at one point considered to be a strategic asset.

The spirit behind revocation of eighth amendment was to strengthen the legislative assembly by taking away the dissolution authority from the president. However, those

who wanted to encroach on the seat of power still found other ways with the connivance of judiciary and bureaucracy to dissolve the legitimate elected governments.

An expression of impartiality and non-interference by the Pakistan military is a welcome stand. However, for Pakistanis to assume that the military will assume a total impartial role, will be naive. In Pakistan, military, specifically army is not a subservient department of the ministry of defense but an "institution" with a mind of its own. This mindset has been present since the inception of the country and armed forces regarded themselves as an equal stakeholder in authority and power. Now at this stage, any move from the armed forces to separate themselves from the governance of the country should be a welcome gesture and a gradual change of position in their stance shall be anticipated instead of an abrupt change. Elected government should try to facilitate this process and streamline this gradual departure from political interference.

Omar Quraishi is a journalist based in Karachi. He has previously worked with Dawn, Express Tribune, The News in senior editorial positions. Headed ARY News Online and Samaa online and served as media adviser to Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians' Chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardari. He has been extensively quoted in foreign media, especially in the US and India on Pakistan-related news and issues.

Mr. Quraishi considers Pakistan's political system as a hybrid democracy and it is somewhere between democracy and martial rule because of the influence of military establishment. India is more democratic, however, its political system is susceptible to manipulation. When comparing India with Pakistan, the former has a large population, but both the countries are poor and need to invest in human development.

The religious extremism in Pakistan started in General Zia-ul-Haq's era, after the 1977 military coup. The state of Pakistan uses religious extremists as and when needed, and the governments have been unsuccessful in implementing law or Constitution in this regard. The revocation of Eighth amendment has a positive impact on the political system of Pakistan as it has taken away the President's powers to dissolve the parliament. The

recent statement by the Pakistan military on its non-involvement in politics is a positive development for democracy.

Amer Zafar Durrani is the founder and President of Reenergia, and a former World Bank Group professional, with over 36 years of experience spanning 26 countries. He is the Senior Fellow at Pakistan Institute of Development Economists (PIDE). He is on the Advisory Board for the Center for Global and Strategic Studies (CGSS) and is the CoChair of Corporate Advisory Council on Energy at National University of Science and Technology (NUST). He frequently appears on national media (TV and Radio and SM spaces) as a socio-political and economic analyst on issues relating to public policy, trade, and economy. He is a regular speaker on various other international and local fora, including, as a speaker to discuss the regional collaborations, security, energy, politics, trade, and economy.

Mr. Amer is of the view that Pakistan's political system is reasonably robust but not yet democratically evolved. Primarily, it was created but never thought of the political system it requires until much later because it inherited India's rules and regulations. The country had a very confusing journey in politics, going through multiple evolutions. On the surface, Pakistan is a robust enough democracy given its location, however, there is no actual democratic political system existing in the country. It has always been governed like a company, run by bureaucracy or management and that management has swayed hand occasionally, starting from bureaucracy to army to then a little bit back and then again back to army. Essentially, the rest of it is more of a cover, so once Pakistan's politics is unwrapped, there is actually no politics to be seen. Fundamentally, underneath the guise of politics, there is absolutely zero governance as per important democratic nation state. The country still follows rules and regulations that are designed for a unitary kingdom which is what was inherited from the British raj. Pakistan's political system as it stands today, is a system that is totally guided by the establishment. Excluding the Nordic countries, this system prevails everywhere in the world, including the more evolved economies, with regard to their level of income, awareness, and literacy. It is the elite that

manipulates governance in a country. Pakistan's social position starts with the feudal, feudal become bureaucrats or join the military. Feudal system in Pakistan has been functional since the country's inception. The role of feudal, then the bureaucracy and then the army plays a crucial role in Pakistan. The influence of army now permeates into the executive branches, including the judiciary. Pakistan, in a nutshell is under the control of feudal establishment.

In the case of India, Nehru had a socialist heart inside, within that social heart, he happened to be a democrat. India brought about changes after independence and as compared to Pakistan, India got its Constitution much earlier and also implemented the land reforms. Pakistan glided over all these important initiatives. Though India cannot be called a perfect democracy; however, it enjoys state/ provincial autonomy, similar to what a good federation should be like. The Indian Constitution defines the third tier of democracy which is something Pakistan has failed in. India has never been afraid of the evolving part, despite all the shortcomings, India now has a nursery for its politicians. For example, Narendra Modi started from councilor level, he was the head of the state of Gujarat before becoming the Prime Minister of India. This is partly the beauty of democracy and India has by and large an unquestionable democracy and hence, there can be no comparison between the political system of India and Pakistan.

The seeds of religious extremism in Pakistan were planted in its Objectives Resolution in 1949. It was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who flared up extremism, General Zia-ul-Haq only hammered the nails in the coffin of secularism. The revocation of Eighth amendment has been a positive step towards strengthening the legislative assembly in Pakistan. The statement coming from the Pakistan army about its non-involvement in politics just shows that democracy is a sham in Pakistan, had they really not been involved, they would not have come up with this statement.

Dr. Javaid Pervez is a practicing doctor and hails from a political family. He had contested in the recent elections but did not win. His brother had been a member of the national assembly and his niece was the cabinet member in the PTI government.

Dr. Javaid says that the political system has never really taken off for the reason that the father of the nation passed away soon after the creation of Pakistan without the opportunity to develop a viable constitutional framework and civilian administrative setup, rather whimsical decisions were taken right at the beginning like dismissal of the duly elected government in the erstwhile NWFP which resulted in the deep resentment of the Pashtun populace persisting till date. Thereafter, the constituent assembly passed the Constitution of 1956 which was abrogated in 1958 with a Martial law which nearly lasted a decade with the sham presidential election of 1964, which further eroded the foundations of democracy in Pakistan, resulting in the breakup of Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh. The Bengali population resented the political and economic dominance of West Pakistan vs East Pakistan, the linguistic issue of Urdu vs Bengali further strengthening the case of the separatists in East Wing. The Constitution of 1973 was a ray of hope since it was passed unanimously and provincial autonomy was guaranteed, but no sooner had it passed when the elected government in Balochistan was dismissed without the necessary constitutional means and the government in erstwhile NWFP resigned in protest, plunging the country into an autocratic dispensation which caused a deep resentment in Balochistan, resulting in the current wave of insurgency.

Once again, the Constitution was suspended through a military coup in 1977 for a decade and several amendments were made to the Constitution, with addition of Islamic laws totally defacing the secular nature of the Constitution with far reaching consequences which are being borne by the populace till date. Another period of unstable democracy followed which was again disrupted by another military coup in 1999, Pakistan Constitution was trampled upon again and the concept of hybrid regime was given shape whereby the foreign and security policies were to be controlled by the military and the rest were left to the elected representative and is still in practice till date with no prime minister ever completing his/ her term of office. In conclusion, it can be said that a

dysfunctional democracy is in place since the inception of Pakistan and persists till present time.

In case of India, it is a democracy in the true sense with a wide spectrum of ethnic and linguistic groups. It has had a continuous run of democratically elected government for more than seven decades. The success primarily depended on the founding father of India who successfully allowed the populace to choose their leadership on merit.

If one is to compare India and Pakistan, it would be like comparing two entirely different scenarios. India is on a trajectory of high economic growth, a stable democracy, and availing all the international attention. Pakistan, on the other hand is teetering on the edge of bankruptcy, having a dysfunctional democracy as well as deep seated religious and communal issues, resulting in a quasi-civil war.

The rise of religious extremism is directly linked to the Soviet-Afghan war, whereby Pakistan was a proxy for the US and the rest of the Western world. The person in power in those days was unfortunately a gentleman whose only aim was to stay in power in Pakistan. The madrassas flourished at an incredible rate and the secular forces were overpowered through state oppression. Religious outfits were given access to the refugees to preach their brand of Islam, whereas the political forces were forced out of the equation. The global Carter Doctrine of human rights was trampled upon and Islamabad became the biggest station of CIA outside the US for the support to the Afghan fundamentalist groups who in turn started recruiting and brainwashing the young madrassa students of Pakistan and so the genesis of extremism started in Pakistan as well. The coup of 1977 was a dominant factor in the development of extremism in Pakistan and over the years, the Constitution was also defaced to accommodate the views of a violent minority over the major section of the liberal Pakistanis.

The revocation of the Eighth amendment as a part of the Eighteenth Amendment was a step in the right direction, but unfortunately, it did not result in a robust democracy and the unseen forces still controlled the legislature and the judiciary and no government was

allowed to run the foreign or the security policy. Recently, the judges of the Islamabad High Court have raised the issue of interference.

The statements including the recent about military's non-involvement in politics have come and gone but nobody is ready to believe, nor do the ground realities support this.

Muhammad Nawab Khattak is a lawyer and a politician. He served as Nazim, Hayatabad Town, Peshawar. He has also served as media advisor to Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Chapter.

Mr. Nawab is of the opinion that the political system in Pakistan, despite being a democracy, is unsatisfactory due to significant involvement of the military establishment. In contrast, India's political system does not involve the military or any other institution, but it is influenced by religion, with politics often revolving around an anti-Pakistan narrative. India has a well-established democratic system, while Pakistan is gradually moving towards stability in democracy.

With regard to religious extremism, Nawab believes that extremism is largely confined to newspapers and politics, and in reality, he does not believe it exists. The minimal extremism observed in the country is attributed to the Soviet-Afghan war and the involvement of the US and Russia in Afghanistan. The repeal of the Eighth amendment has somewhat bolstered the authority of the parliament. Nawab hopes for a reduced military involvement in the country's politics; however, he has not witnessed any positive outcomes from the military's statement thus far.

5.2. General Yahya Khan and the Fall of Dhaka

The elections of 1964 in Pakistan were held with electoral college of 80,000 basic democrats, who decided the fate of the country under the presidentship of Ayub Khan. In the East Wing, elections on provincial level were not held since 1954. The first general elections in the country were held in 1970, therefore, there was a wave of joy among the masses as well as the two main political parties, PPP and the Awami League. The PPP's

declaration revolved around regional and international issues, and advancement of Islamic socialism as a tool for economy. It also covered the anti-India stand and an autonomous foreign policy. The PPP's leader, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, started off with an assertive campaign by sharing his party manifesto. He criticized the governance of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, and spoke against the opposition parties. The popular Bhutto slogan "roti, kapra, aur makaan," influenced the gullible masses and his popularity took an upward turn. The government and intelligence agency were not happy with Bhutto's widespread acceptance and this period was considered to be under deep turmoil and significant transformation.⁴⁶¹

The Awami League was a popular regional party of East Pakistan whose leader, Shaikh Mujibur Rehman, was looked up to by the masses. The party successfully attracted a substantial support base as it empathized with the masses and focused on territorial autonomy because the political leaders of the West Wing showed restraint in helping East Pakistan, when just before the elections it was hit hard by cyclone and floods. The elections were held in December 1970, after a delay of two months due to the calamity in East Pakistan.⁴⁶²

The Awami League secured majority of the seats in the national assembly and the PPP won a decent numbers of seats in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh. These elections changed the political dynamics of West Pakistan,⁴⁶³ as PPP won seats from well-reputed politicians, large landowners and religious party leaders. Since Bhutto was now representing the West Wing, he extended his hand of support for the resolution of issues

⁴⁶¹ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 18-21.

⁴⁶² Ibid., pp. 21-28.

⁴⁶³ Sisson, R., & Rose, L. E. (1990). *War and secession: Pakistan, India, and the creation of Bangladesh*. Univ of California Press, p. 56.

in East Wing and invited Mujibur Rehman to collaborate for one Pakistan. The East Wing reacted to good intentions of Bhutto with criticism and resentment.⁴⁶⁴

The Awami League presented Six-Point constitutional plan, the objective of which was to implement an independent federal system in Pakistan. The agenda of Awami League conflicted with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's vision who insisted that Pakistan's foreign policy will be adversely affected, and the economy of West Pakistan will also suffer. The Plan of Awami League required the control of two important ministries i.e. foreign affairs and defense. During the same period, an Indian Airline was hijacked by Kashmiri freedom fighters in Lahore, Pakistan, which exacerbated the situation. Moreover, Pakistan failed to find a solution for constitutional issues as Bhutto refused to join the national assembly session in Dhaka, because of which the demands of East Pakistan remained inconclusive.⁴⁶⁵

In the aftermath of all this, circumstances did not seem favorable for Pakistan and therefore, President Yahya Khan postponed the national assembly session. This was followed by the resignation of the Governor of East Pakistan and announcement of a general strike in East Wing by the leader of Awami League. The strike hinted at the right of self-determination, and Bhutto stressed on the sharing of power between the Awami league and PPP, as both these parties had a lead in East Wing and West Wing, respectively. Meanwhile, the departed governor of East Pakistan was replaced by a Lieutenant General, by the President of Pakistan.⁴⁶⁶

A futile exercise of negotiations took place between Yahya Khan and Mujibur Rehman in March 1971, which infuriated the president who directed the newly appointed governor to get ready for an operation. Yahya Khan neither invited Bhutto for the negotiations, nor let him meet Mujibur Rehman, however, the PPP leader could not hold himself and met

⁴⁶⁴ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 28-30.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 38-47.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 47-54.

with the Awami League leader the same month in Dhaka. Before the meeting, Bhutto apprised Yahya Khan about the close monitoring of events by the PPP, but the situation did not favor Bhutto who was hounded in East Pakistan and who had to ask for help from the military as a result. Despite the tense state of affairs, the leaders of the Awami League and PPP gave their consent on forming two committees on behalf of East and West Pakistan. The Awami League leader wished for forming a government in the East Wing and offered Bhutto to take the position of prime minister of the West Wing, but Bhutto refused to accept this. Due to the deadlock in negotiations, Mujibur Rehman announced the independence of East Wing on March 26, 1971, with the hoisting of a new flag. Since, the Governor of East Wing was already prepared for acting against any unfavorable situation, therefore, the call for independence which disturbed the country's power dynamics, was succeeded by a military operation in East Pakistan.⁴⁶⁷

The political leadership in West Wing did not raise any voice against the violence and exacerbating situation in the East Wing, partly because India was perceived to be behind the Awami League's unrealistic demands and the hostility of masses towards West Pakistan. Although, Bhutto backed the military action in East Pakistan, however, he had reservations regarding its repercussions. As tension in the region was rising, the PPP leader realized he did not have a significant say in the government and that he was being ignored. At the same time, he continued sending letters and memos to the government to highlighting the consequences in case the crisis was not handled wisely. Concurrently, the East Pakistan was successful in forming Bengali forces and China offered its support for peace and unity in Pakistan.⁴⁶⁸

The situation in the West Wing was completely different from the East Wing, where federation was preparing for the formation of new government and drafting of the Constitution. Consequently, the crucial issue of East Pakistan was buried underneath, but

⁴⁶⁷Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 54-61.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 66-72.

the circumstances did not favor even Yahya Khan or Bhutto as the PPP leader alleged the government of overlooking his right of power. The main reason for differences between the President and the PPP leaders was the establishment of a democratic government and the finalization of the Constitution, alongside the resolution of issues in East Wing.⁴⁶⁹ Moreover, Bhutto accused the government of undermining PPP's election mandate.⁴⁷⁰ These grievances forced the government to initiate talks with the PPP leader, however, those ended up in a deadlock due to inflexibility on both sides. At the same time, there was no respite for East Pakistan to come out of the worsening situation.⁴⁷¹

The West Pakistan's perception of India's involvement in East Wing's crisis could not be ruled out as in the end of October 1971, with the help of the Soviet Union, it managed to persuade the international powers to intervene for the rights of people in East Wing and offered its assistance as well. The government of Pakistan was convinced that the growing tensions were going against the benefit of the country and that India could attack Pakistan anytime, therefore, a delegation headed by Zulfikar Bhutto was sent to China because a ban on arms was imposed on Pakistan by the U.S. at that time. After Bhutto's return to Pakistan, he was instructed by the government to mobilize masses and to turn public's perception of a potentially imminent attack by India in the government's favor. Despite playing a key role in building a positive image of the government, Bhutto continued to show his reservations regarding the government's unjust reaction in East Wing. The exacerbating situation in Pakistan made the country vulnerable to external threats and this is when India carried out an attack in the East Wing on November 22, 1971. In these circumstances, Bhutto suggested for a diplomatic solution between India and Pakistan instead of calling superpowers for help.

⁴⁶⁹ Copies of ZAB's letter of 16 June to the Secretary, Ministry of Information, Government of Pakistan, and telegrams of 21 June, are in the possession of the author, Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*.

⁴⁷⁰ Copy of ZAB's letter of 8 September is with the author, Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*.

⁴⁷¹ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 72-74.

The government's pursuit of sending Bhutto to China for a dialogue and request for mobilizing the masses for government's goodwill broke ice between them and despite the worsening situation in East Pakistan, the PPP initiated discussions with the President on constitution-making.⁴⁷² The PPP, however, did not accept the proposal put forward by Yahya Khan which included an overpowering presidential system and centralization of authority. The unwarranted conditions by the President irked Bhutto as he wanted to resolve the crisis in East Pakistan and also deal with India's aggression, therefore, he declared the establishment of a new government on December 4, 1971. He wrote a letter to President Yahya Khan and highlighted the conditions for government formation based on coalition. The appointment of ministers from East Wing and West Wing, alongside their portfolios was also mentioned. Nonetheless, these recommendations did not save Pakistan from breaking up as on December 16, 1971, the East Wing formally announced its autonomy and named the new country "Bangladesh." This did not happen overnight as the independence was preceded by chaos, misunderstandings, wasted chances and internal political strife.⁴⁷³

5.3. General Zia-ul-Haq and the Soviet-Afghan War

The Soviet-Afghan war which started in 1979, was a blessing in disguise for Pakistan as it not only helped in securing its western border but it also lost significance in the Muslim world. The U.S. urgently required to control the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in Afghanistan. On the global platform, Pakistan's significance was heightened with the appointment of Zia-ul-Haq as a spokesperson for the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), which is an Islamic bloc and was then comprised of 45 Islamic

⁴⁷² Copy of ZAB's letter of 28 November 1971 is in the possession of the author, Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*.

⁴⁷³ Raza, R. (1997). *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 84-90.

countries. The Soviet-Afghan war made it possible for Pakistan to resolve grievances regarding the United States' irrational support for India during the 1971 Indo-Pak war.⁴⁷⁴

Pakistan not only achieved substantial gains through the Soviet-Afghan war, but the advancement of Islamization project also became possible due to the United States' invasion in Afghanistan. While the Middle-Eastern countries supported Pakistan financially, the U.S. backed the country by providing technical assistance to address regional challenges from Afghanistan and India. This situation facilitated a mutually advantageous position for Pakistan and the Western bloc, led by the U.S. The rich countries of the world showed their generosity towards Pakistan which resulted in financial support to allow the country to acquire modern military equipment and obtain oil from the oil-rich Persian Gulf countries. Gulf's economic growth and Soviet's attack on Afghanistan greatly influenced the country as significant amount of money was sent home by overseas Pakistanis which in turn fostered economic progress in rural settlements of the country. The standard of living of most of the people living in the remote areas was enhanced since the economy supported by remittance income helped individuals moving up thereby developing middle-class population.⁴⁷⁵

Pakistan was successful in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan after Zia's representation at the OIC helped him achieve various diplomatic victories including the facilitation of talks in Geneva.⁴⁷⁶ During the invasion of the USSR, Pakistan supported the Mujahidin in Afghanistan to fight against the invaders and the latter became a safe haven for the militant group called Taliban after the subsequent withdrawal of Soviet troops. On the one hand, the Taliban which was assisted by Pakistan's army and intelligence institutions became a valuable strategic resource of the state and on the other, the heritage of an Islamic state was carried forward by prime ministers Benazir Bhutto

⁴⁷⁴ Ahmed, N. (2012). Pakistan Taliban Policy 1994-1999. *Dialogue* (1819-6462), 7(1).

⁴⁷⁵ Zaidi, S. A. (2005). State, military and social transition: Improbable future of democracy in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 5175.

⁴⁷⁶ Burki, S. J., Baxter, C., & La_Porte, R. (1991). *Pakistan under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia ul-Haq* (p. 212). Boulder: Westview Press, pp.142-146.

and Nawaz Sharif. While the latter played a substantial role in the consistent enactment of Sharia Laws,⁴⁷⁷ Pakistan's identity as an Islamic state remained to be the major goal of the military and religious leaders who were a partner with the state.

5.4. General Musharraf and the U.S. War in Afghanistan

The superpower U.S. was hit by attacks on the Pentagon in Washington and Twin Towers in New York, on September 11, 2001. The incidents shook the foundations of the country which possesses the best security infrastructure. The attack had repercussions for Pakistan as the Taliban, who were believed to be the mastermind behind the incident, were sheltering in Afghanistan. As Pakistan shares border with Afghanistan, therefore, the U.S. President George W. Bush gave a deadline to Pakistan to be an ally of the U.S. The ball was in Pakistan's court now and Musharraf who was the president at that time finally announced about joining hands with the U.S. The decision came as a major shift in the country's foreign policy as Pakistan gave its consent to provide its three airbases to the U.S. to carry out Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF).⁴⁷⁸

The major move by Musharraf was followed by an address on the television where he took the public into confidence by informing them about the consequences Pakistan might have faced, in case it went against the wishes of the U.S.⁴⁷⁹ He went on by apprising people about the expected threats and attacks from the U.S. and India. However, Musharraf disclosed after many years that he decided to side with the U.S because he was intimidated and that he had weighed the pros and cons of being an ally or otherwise, respectively and concluded that to be with the U.S was a relatively wise decision.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁷ Ahmed, N. (2012). Pakistan Taliban Policy 1994-1999. *Dialogue* (1819-6462), 7(1).

⁴⁷⁸ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 202.

⁴⁷⁹ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Musharraf

⁴⁸⁰ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, p. 202.

One of the incidents before 9/11 that brought a change in the regional dynamics of India and Pakistan was the Kargil conflict, which took place in the year 1999. It all started when militias entered into the Indian held Kashmir to fight Indian soldiers. Those fighters were believed to be sent from Pakistani soil, however, these allegations by India were rejected by Pakistan and it was asserted that the infiltration was made by Kashmiri freedom fighters. Nonetheless, the presence of Pakistan's para-military forces backing separatists was later revealed. The Kargil conflict, which resulted in a heavy loss of lives on both sides ended after Pakistan recalled its troops,⁴⁸¹ because of the growing international pressure.⁴⁸² According to a few political analysts, Kargil operation was the brainchild of COAS Musharraf who forced Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif into initiating a step that caused regional unrest.⁴⁸³

Musharraf apparently worked on reviving the lost glory of Muslims and eliminate the perception of them being conservative and extremists. He addressed international media in 2002 and called for the recognition of Muslims having rich Islamic history and humane values. Musharraf asked the Muslim world to treat Islam and violence differently in letter and spirit and reminded them that the fanatics are responsible for maneuvering the religious sentiments of the Muslims to oppose Western policies.⁴⁸⁴ In order to stand by his words, Musharraf tried to implement policies for building a positive image of Pakistan and to bring improvements in the society. In order to convince the outside world on his liberal approach, Musharraf introduced reforms on women empowerment and advanced education. Moreover, his focus on counterterrorism operation, science and technology, and freedom of media also included some of his initiatives.

⁴⁸¹ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 202-203.

⁴⁸² Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Musharraf

⁴⁸³ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Musharraf

⁴⁸⁴ Aziz, A., & Khalid, T. (2017). Enlightened moderation under Pervez Musharraf regime. *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 56(1), pp. 113-122.

The popularity of General Musharraf reached new heights after Pakistan became an ally of the U.S. in 2001. It is the same period when Musharraf turned into an expert on terrorism and extremism in a few years' time and delivered lectures world-wide on ways to counter it. In September 2003, the United Nations organized a conference on global terrorism in New York, where Musharraf rolled out a plan on counterextremism and repeated his stance on the elimination of proscribed outfits and their funding. He called for the reformation of educational syllabus and restructuring of religious schools. Musharraf also requested for the restoration of rich Muslim legacy and volunteered Pakistan to lead it. He also stressed to put a ban on the written materials spreading hatred and terrorism and highlighted the importance of mosques for community building. Musharraf insisted on preparing a detailed strategy for promoting peace in Pakistan.⁴⁸⁵

A year later, Musharraf set the foundation for holding talks with India in order to discuss Kashmir issue, apart from other important matters. This alluded to a shift in the traditional hostile relations between the two countries. These talks were seen with skepticism on both sides, but despite the opposition from certain circles, Musharraf and his Indian counterpart, tried to normalize relations. Musharraf read the overall situation with optimism and affirmed that there was no going back from here and called the efforts for normalization “irreversible.”⁴⁸⁶

Although Musharraf apparently played his role well in preaching the message of peace and improving the image of Islam, however, Muslims still faced a number of challenges as terrorism was unfairly linked with Islam. Since Musharraf perceived himself to be the torchbearer of Islam, therefore, he invented the term “enlightened moderation” for Muslims as he wanted them to follow moderation. As Islam is the religion of humanity, harmony and peace, therefore, for Musharraf, adopting moderation was the best way to

⁴⁸⁵ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/fighting_terrorism.pdf

⁴⁸⁶ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Musharraf

fight the wrong perception of the Western media which perceived Muslims as terrorists and extremists.⁴⁸⁷

It is no secret that Pakistan has a strong history of supporting militants in order to safeguard the interests and security of the country. However, the policy of supporting Islamic militants abruptly changed in the aftermath of 9/11 attacks and Pakistan's alliance with the U.S. to fight terrorism. The U.S. and other Western states had joined hands in eliminating traces of the Taliban, therefore, Musharraf's government was tasked to carry out military operations on terrorist groups hiding and functioning inside the country. Pakistan also had to fulfill the objectives of its foreign policy, as a result, a series of armed operations were conducted in the country. These operations clearly demonstrated the collaboration of military and religious leaders going in downward direction.⁴⁸⁸

There is no denying the fact that the critical moment in Pakistan's history was the period when 9/11 incident happened. This is when the U.S. presented its policy of fighting terrorism, which was without ifs and buts and the superpower categorically stated that the countries supporting the U.S. will be considered friends, while the rest will be called enemies. Since Pakistan shares a border with Afghanistan where those accused of leading the attacks sheltered, therefore, the country faced an unparalleled situation and had limited choice to decide independently. Moreover, nothing was black and white, and Pakistan was being closely watched for picking a side without any delay.⁴⁸⁹

As the superpower, the U.S. successfully gathered global support despite religious, economic and diplomatic differences, to establish a coalition to counter terrorism. A resolution was passed by the UN Security Council in two weeks after 9/11, to engage in international initiatives to combat terrorism through a UN Counter-Terrorism Committee.

⁴⁸⁷ Ahmad, S. (2021). The Post 9/11 Enlightenment of Pakistan: An Analysis of Musharraf's Policy Perspective. *sjesr*, 4(1), pp. 61-71.

⁴⁸⁸ Khalid, I., & Roy, M. I. (2016). Pakistan's military operations: the counter terrorism strategy (2001-2013) prospects and implications. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 53(2), p. 240.

⁴⁸⁹ Ahmad, S. Post-9/11 Foreign Policy of Pakistan, pp. 2-3.

Pakistan was assumed to have deep connections with the Taliban, therefore, there was an extensive anger toward Pakistan from the U.S. government as well as its public.⁴⁹⁰

Pakistan, without any ambiguities received a message from the U.S. that collaboration with them is the only choice that the country has and that they will play the role of the allies of U.S. in combatting terrorism. The military dictator and the President of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf, was informed about the repercussions for the country in case of failure to cooperate with the U.S. In his address to the nation on September 19, 2001, Musharraf conveyed U.S. message to the masses by emphasizing on Pakistan's dedication and collaboration in the fight against terrorism. This signified a distinguished deviation from the decades old national narrative constructed by the state, bringing with it both benefits and downsides.⁴⁹¹

This situation for Pakistan was not easy to tackle both on domestic and international fronts, as it needed the approval of its local allies i.e. the religious groups for maintaining national unity and it also needed to focus on improving the international image by practically taking steps to eliminate the stigma associated with terrorism. The diligent efforts by Pakistan in its fight against terror were internationally acknowledged, which obliged the U.S. and the European countries who granted economic and military aid to Pakistan to support its long-term strategic and economic goals. The U.S. streamlined loans, grants, and debt restructuring projects for the country through international economic institutions like the IMF. Pakistan was sanctioned five-year aid plan of \$3 billion. The U.S. grants also included an assistance program introduced by the U.S. which covered a multitude of domains i.e. healthcare enhancement, education, encouragement of democracy, food security, law enforcement and counter-narcotics initiatives.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹⁰ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁹¹ Ahmad, S. Post-9/11 Foreign Policy of Pakistan, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁹² Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, p. 24.

Musharraf was a military dictator, however, the proponent of democracy, that is the U.S. did not bother about the absence of democracy in Pakistan, it instead focused on the war against terror which benefitted Pakistan, as alliance with the U.S. helped in attaining global recognition. This alliance offered Pakistan a strategic advantage in crucial areas related to nuclear weapons and the Kashmir conflict. The U.S. lifted sanctions on Pakistan which were imposed under “Section 508” of the U.S. Foreign Operations Appropriations,⁴⁹³ due to the nuclear tests conducted by the country in 1998, and the military coup in 1999. Moreover, Pakistan obtained access to U.S. grants and military equipment to strengthen its military capabilities because of its inclusion as the major non-NATO ally of the U.S. in 2004. The acquisition of military capabilities strengthened Pakistan in the context of India as the latter being Pakistan’s historic adversary.⁴⁹⁴

Musharraf, undoubtedly, received immense appreciation from the Western world specifically the U.S. for its efforts against War on Terror, however, the situation on domestic level entailed challenges. The religious and political parties strongly criticized the U.S. war in Afghanistan, although efforts were made by Musharraf to convince them for the government’s indispensable support to the U.S. There were nationwide protests against the involvement of US military in Afghanistan and the U.S. on Pakistani soil for the same purpose. The religious parties and their leaders began to sense their insignificance in relation to the state. The state was forced to initiate a military operation against the militants, and in response, these groups announced war and began targeting state installations. Surprisingly, despite the state’s operations against these militant groups, widespread radicalization influenced the public, making it hard to accept the change in narrative.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ Shah, A. (2002). South Asia faces the future: Democracy on hold in Pakistan. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(1), p. 68.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Khan, M. K., & Wei, L. (2016). When friends turned into enemies: The role of the national state vs. Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in the war against terrorism in Pakistan. *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 28(4), p. 619.

The state faced a major setback during its military operations in the tribal areas against War on Terror (WoT) as the militants were secretly supported by the locals due to their opposition to the U.S. In the beginning, this favored extremist groups, as they could justify their position to a significant portion of society by portraying themselves as fighting against foreign invasion. They also convinced people that the state was cooperating with foreign forces due to cowardice and a desire for U.S. dollars.⁴⁹⁶

Pakistan's support to WoT brought about a number of internal issues including ethnic uprising. This followed a pattern where the Islamic militants who are believed to be non-state actors, successfully maintained control of any such uprisings as they exercised influence on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (including former FATA) and Baluchistan provinces, as well as on the formal and informal religious institutions of the country. The alliance of Pakistan with the U.S. did not bode well with these militants and their loyalties began to shift from pro to anti. Hence, the militants found it convenient to integrate themselves with ethnic-based separatist groups. The primary target of the military operations was Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where Pashtuns are in majority as the terrorists were believed to be hiding in that area. The Pashtuns felt deprived by the WoT in the region as they were not taken into confidence and this resulted in ethnic uprising against the state. The presence of Taliban and Al-Qaeda elements came to the fore in the year 2004, with the re-emergence of Baloch movement. The separatist movements took advantage of the militants' differences with the state and started to gain momentum. The state i.e. the military, on the other hand, was concerned about the alliance of Baloch and Taliban/ Al-Qaeda groups. Although, Pakistan enjoyed international support for its WoT, however, it was a crucial time for Pakistan as the public became frustrated with the terror attacks on the masses and security personnel.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶ Hussain, Z. (2008). *Frontline Pakistan: the struggle with militant Islam*. Columbia University Press.

⁴⁹⁷ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, pp. 28-29.

The military wanted the Islamist groups to be part of the political establishment, therefore, it became convenient for the political Islamists to form governments in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan after the general elections of 2002, as the two main political parties, PPP and PML-N, were temporarily shelved. These Islamist groups were made to actively play their part by sitting on opposition benches of the national assembly.⁴⁹⁸

The state understood the disappointment among the public regarding WoT, therefore, the Taliban were divided in two categories; good and bad. This was a move to prove to people that the state was fighting against the bad Taliban since only they were believed to be involved in carrying out terrorist attacks. The state faced pressure from international observers, who blamed the country for double dealing in order to please the allies and civilians simultaneously. However, Pakistan did not accept the accusations.⁴⁹⁹

The rule of Musharraf was marred by controversies and in one such incident, the Pakistani nuclear physicist, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, who is also known as the father of Pakistan's atomic weapons program, was alleged to have sold nuclear assets. In reply to these charges, Musharraf rejected having any involvement of the military or the government in the proliferation, however, the public showed disapproval for how he dealt with such a sensitive issue. The WoT and the imposition of state of emergency were also the major reasons for which Musharraf was held responsible by the locals, and which adversely affected his reputation and governance.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ Nasr, V. (2004). Military rule, Islamism and democracy in Pakistan. *The Middle East Journal*, 58(2), pp. 202-206.

⁴⁹⁹ Siddique, H. (2021). *Current identity crisis in Pakistan; a clash of western interest and national identity discourse*, p. 29.

⁵⁰⁰ Kamran, T. (2008). *Democracy and governance in Pakistan*. Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, pp. 204-205.

5.5. Martial Rule versus Hybrid Regime(s) versus Democratic Rule in Pakistan

5.5.1. Establishing a Nation-State and Fostering Democracy

The Muslims living in the subcontinent gained independence from the British colonial rule in August 1947 and split into East Pakistan and West Pakistan because of the distance between the two Wings. The country possessed ethnic diversity, however, the presence of Mohajirs (immigrants from India) and Punjabis of West Pakistan was prevalent in government in the Centre and also in its institutions. These predominant ethnicities felt threatened by the politically aware Bengali majority in East Pakistan. Since the founding political party of the country, the Muslim League, had no presence of social or organizational foundation in the country, therefore, the party was unsuccessful in establishing a single national identity. Moreover, the government also failed to encourage ethnic diversity and declared Urdu as the national language of Pakistan, overlooking the fact that majority of the natives in East Wing spoke Bangla. These grievances gave rise to a sense of discrimination in the locals of East Pakistan and resulted in a number of movements, the language movement being one of them.⁵⁰¹

The first Governor-General of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, followed a governing formula called “viceregalism” from the British raj, which authorized the governor-general to enjoy complete power. This approach adversely affected the constituent assembly as with military backing, the cabinet was dissolved in 1953, on charges of infringement. Moreover, there was a long delay after independence, in the finalization of the Constitution and when the document was being finalized in 1954, the parliament was dissolved before its approval. The autonomously elected government in East Wing was also dismissed in that year. Also, in 1955, the provinces of West Wing were combined together to form one unit, similar to the East Wing, however, the aim was to merge state

⁵⁰¹ Shah, A. (2014). Constraining consolidation: military politics and democracy in Pakistan (2007–2013). *Democratization*, 21(6), p. 1009.

authority. The Bengalis were deprived of ethnic recognition, which resulted in the adoption of an “imagined community” where they could criticize about economy and politics. These grievances could not long forever and hence, a civil war in 1971 steered the way for the independence of East Pakistan and a new state named Bangladesh was founded.⁵⁰²

5.5.2. The Kashmir Conflict and Power Politics

Soon after Pakistan was founded, it was confronted with internal struggle of nation-building and external threats from India, especially with regard to the disputed territory of Kashmir. These circumstances provided an opportunity to the military to gain political power, and be successful in getting a significant proportion of budget for defense purpose. An average of 60% of the annual budget was allocated to the military in the first decade of Pakistan’s independence. The prioritization of militarization had a negative impact on the political institutionalization and economic development of the country, enabling the military to exercise its might. In other words, the war facilitated the warrior to overpower the state as is phrased, “the state made war” by Charles Tilly.⁵⁰³

The centralized rule led to executive-legislative conflicts and issues in constitution-making efforts and at the same time, the military started to reflect deeply on the status of parliamentary democracy in a country surrounded by ethno-regional divisions and external military threats. The ambitious and first native Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan, General Mohammad Ayub Khan (1951-1958), was transformed into a kingmaker, playing a significant role in the country’s power dynamics. The higher civilian bureaucracy and

⁵⁰² Shah, A. (2014). Constraining consolidation: military politics and democracy in Pakistan (2007–2013). *Democratization*, 21(6), p. 1010.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., p. 1012.

the Generals began to dream about a new form of democracy that best suited the people of the country.⁵⁰⁴

5.5.3. The Cold War, Aid and the Military

The U.S. provided Cold War aid to Pakistan which built a perception of “guardian” around the country’s military institution. Although the military was heavily funded for its defense efforts, still it could not compete with the armed forces of India. Therefore, the Generals of Pakistan sought solution in backing the U.S. containment policy and barter it with the US military aid. The U.S. needed a strategic partner for anti-Soviet efforts, therefore, as early as 1950s, the relations between the U.S. and Pakistan touched a new height and in 1954, both the countries agreed on a security assistance pact. This proved to be a major development in the military institutional development which boosted their confidence and strengthened their war-fighting potential.⁵⁰⁵ With the military successfully modernized, army officers began to contemplate that them, rather than the politicians, were best equipped to run Pakistan. The military officers’ belief materialized soon after, and in 1958, General Ayub Khan took control from the elected government to safeguard the country against the perceived chaos resulting from universally franchised elections. The military was successful at halting the democratic process from being evolved. This coup set a trend in Pakistan for the acceptability of such undemocratic steps in 1977 and 1999, however, with the passage of time, the military interventions facilitated the institution to develop a huge commercial empire.⁵⁰⁶ Hence, what started as a political influence transformed into maintaining political power and enjoying the economic incentives.

⁵⁰⁴ Khan, M. A., & Friends, N. M. (1967). *A political autobiography*. Oxford UP, pp. 217-219.

⁵⁰⁵ Shah, A. (2014). Constraining consolidation: military politics and democracy in Pakistan (2007–2013). *Democratization*, 21(6), p. 1011.

⁵⁰⁶ Khawaja, M. I. (2007). Ayesha Siddiqi. *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan’s Military Economy*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007.

5.5.4. The Entry and Exit of Pervez Musharraf (1999–2008)

The civil-military relations during Nawaz Sharif's third term in power had similarities with the military rule of Zia-ul-Haq between 1977 and 1988. Zia followed the footsteps of his predecessors and as the Chief of Army Staff (COAS), used his unconstitutional powers to remove an elected prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in the year 1977. Since the military had always enjoyed more power than the civilian governments, therefore, with the military coup, the institution enhanced strength and with the implementation of Article 58(2)(b) of the Eighth amendment, Zia-ul-Haq was able to fortify presidential powers and the military became more influential in making high-profile appointments within the institution. The opposition, though suppressed by the military, tried to restore civilian supremacy; however, the military overpowered them.⁵⁰⁷

The political leaders got some relief after the death of Zia-ul-Haq in 1988, to establish a democratic government, but little did they expect that the military's influence will result in their premature exit. The Article 58(2)(b) was used three times by the presidents in the decade of 1990s to depose the elected governments, apparently for challenging the military authority. Although, the president's prerogative of removing a democratic government was withdrawn by Nawaz Sharif's led parliament through the revocation of the Eighth amendment in 1997, following his second term in office, however, his government was dissolved through a military coup by the COAS General Pervez Musharraf in 1999. The coup by Musharraf was justified by the government's mismanagement in handling the Kargil conflict. The military dictator took over the prime minister's powers by giving himself the title of "Chief Executive" of Pakistan. Musharraf, under the guise of political liberalization, strengthened the military's dominance by founding the National Security Council.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁷ Shah, A. (2014). Constraining consolidation: military politics and democracy in Pakistan (2007–2013). *Democratization*, 21(6), p. 1012.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

The military intervention by Musharraf needed legitimacy to exercise his power without any obstacles, therefore, the Supreme Court of Pakistan facilitated him through the “doctrine of necessity,” but as per the superior court’s directives, he was supposed to hold parliamentary election within three years. The first election under Musharraf was manipulated through the coalition of political parties, and it was made sure that the King’s party (military led political party) wins the election. Despite his efforts to secure his position as the president, Musharraf could not sustain himself as the opposition against him grew with time and he was directly challenged by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Musharraf dismissed the chief justice in March 2007, on the pretext of misuse of authority but his actions backfired as countrywide protests took place against the government.⁵⁰⁹ The Supreme Court reinstated the Chief Justice of Pakistan in June 2007, which was the beginning of the end of Musharraf’s ouster.

The Chief Justice’s restoration made Musharraf understand that his exit from power corridors was inevitable and that the only way to leave the office respectfully was to honor the Constitution. He began with his resignation as the COAS and announced the date for upcoming general elections. However, the elections were postponed due to the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, who was also the prime minister candidate. The election results were in favor of the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), which successfully formed a government in the Centre, and it was followed by the resignation of Musharraf as the President of Pakistan. The only difference between Musharraf’s rule and the previous military governments was the separation of military from civilian governance, therefore, less control of the military was exercised over the functions of civilian government.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁹ “Daylong Running Battles Across Capital,” Dawn, March 17, 2007. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/237850/daylong-running-battles-across-capital-no-bar-on-iftikhar-s-movement-sjc-reference-still-not-provided-defence>

⁵¹⁰ Shah, A. (2014). Constraining consolidation: military politics and democracy in Pakistan (2007–2013). *Democratization*, 21(6), pp. 1014-1016.

5.5.5. The Civil–Military Politics after Musharraf

A positive transformation between civilian government and the military was observed after Musharraf left office of the President. After the resignation of Musharraf as the COAS, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, became the new COAS in October 2007. General Kayani rebuilt the broken trust between the civilian government and military by distancing the latter from politics. The majors steps taken by him were banning the army officers from keeping contact with politicians, calling back the army officials working in civilian bureaucracy,⁵¹¹ and refraining from manipulation in the elections of February 2008.⁵¹² The civilian supremacy was restored, especially with the implementation of Eighteenth amendment by the senate and national assembly, which also apparently led to the minimal influence of the military.⁵¹³

The reforms and amendments passed by the parliament apparently protected the civilian government, however, these enactments did not help in safeguarding their rights. The military refused to let go its powers as their perception regarding their role in governance remained unchanged and they were actively involved to intervene in the country's interests. This was confirmed by media reports and a leaked US diplomatic cable which gave proof of certain unpleasant incidents during PPP's government when the military was ready for another coup. The civilian government, on the other hand, seemed helpless to question the military unconstitutional prerogatives.⁵¹⁴ Another reason for the PPP-led government to refrain from locking horns with the military was that it was already battling with a number of challenges related to economy, Taliban's insurgency and ethnic

⁵¹¹ Sappenfield, Mark. "Musharraf Successor Kayani Boosts Pakistan Army's Image." *Christian Science Monitor*, February 5, 2008. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2008/0205/p04s02-wosc.html>

⁵¹² "The Man, Who Rigged the Polls, Spills the Beans," *Middle East Transparent*, March 3, 2008. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://middleeasttransparent.com/pakistan-the-man-who-rigged-2002-polls-spills-the-beans/>

⁵¹³ Shah, A. (2014). Constraining consolidation: military politics and democracy in Pakistan (2007–2013). *Democratization*, 21(6), p. 1016.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1017.

conflicts, to name a few. All these circumstance went in military's favors and therefore, Pakistan experienced a dual rule between the PPP-led coalition government and the military. The superior court also became active during the same time by revoking the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) in December 2009, and convicting the elected Prime Minister in 2012, on account of disobeying the judiciary's order. This is indicative of the fact that the continuity of a prime minister or democratic government is hindered by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, where the military avoids direct intervention.⁵¹⁵

5.5.6. The Institutional Independence

The military of Pakistan can be equated with a corporation organization whose goal is to strengthen internal control and restrict external meddling. The civilian governments in the country have not been able to take control from the military because of the latter's presence in the internal matters of the government. Although, Musharraf's legacy ended in 2008, however, the transition from dictatorial to democratic rule still did not alter the military's influence. The extension in the service of high-profile military officers such as the Director General of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) was done independently by the military. Moreover, General Kayani's tenure as the COAS was also extended for three years in 2010, by the then prime minister. The elected government's constitutional privilege to make appointments according to merit and choice was overstepped, giving a frail look of the government.⁵¹⁶ Moreover, when the government tried to exercise civilian control over the ISI in 2008, it faced opposition from the military and the response was so loud that the government had to reverse its decision. The government's initiatives in reducing the military's influence all ended up in clipping the civilian powers.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁵ Shah, A. (2014). Constraining consolidation: military politics and democracy in Pakistan (2007–2013). *Democratization*, 21(6), p. 1018.

⁵¹⁶ "General Kayani Gets Three Year Extension," *The Nation*, July 23, 2010. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.nation.com.pk/23-Jul-2010/general-kayani-gets-3year-extension>

⁵¹⁷ National Assembly of Pakistan, "Resolution on Unilateral U.S. Forces Action," May 14, 2011. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.voltairenet.org/article170133.html>

5.5.7. Independence from Executive Authority and Parliamentary Supervision

The coveted positions in the military include the service chiefs of all the three forces i.e. army, air force and navy and the constitutional authority to make these appointments rests with the prime minister of Pakistan. Nonetheless, the military seems to own the selection process and hence, exercises authority to pick candidates of their choice. The military also wields its power on the parliamentary oversight which consists of one Standing Committee each for the upper and lower houses of the parliament. The military refrains from giving clarifications to the parliamentary oversight and prioritizes secrecy. In 2008, a committee was established by the name “Parliamentary Committee on National Security” (PCNS), in order to control the defense policy. The Committee’s objective was to make military follow the parliament’s instructions on key security policies such as counterterrorism.⁵¹⁸ The committee prepared the policy with new guidelines after a U.S. air attack on Salala, Mohmand Agency, Pakistan, in November 2011. The draft was readily approved by the parliament, but there is no information regarding its implementation as it also requires the approval of the military.

Earlier that year, in May 2011, the Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden was killed by the U.S. special forces after a raid in Abbottabad, Pakistan. This was considered an attack by the U.S. on Pakistan’s sovereignty since the government was kept uninformed. The incident badly dented the superior image of the military, and it was forced to give an explanation before a special joint parliamentary session. The case was tactfully represented by the Director General-ISI and Deputy Chief of the Air Force as they did not want any harm to the military’s image. The DG-ISI did not run away from accepting the agency’s responsibility on bin Laden’s whereabouts. The incident was called “intelligence lapse” by the DG, however, the case did not end here as the DG moved his

⁵¹⁸ National Assembly of Pakistan. “Consensus Resolution,” October 22, 2008; “Resolution of Parliament,” October 22, 2008.

defense from being unaware to inciting anti-American sentiments and skillfully put the blame on the U.S. for deceiving their ally and carrying out “sting attack.” The DG successfully played with the hostile feelings of civilians towards the U.S. and the joint session had no choice but to condemn the U.S. for stepping over Pakistani soil. The strong defense of the DG-ISI led to a complete support by the parliamentarians who showed confidence in the defense forces of Pakistan.⁵¹⁹

5.5.8. The Foreign and Defense Policies

The country’s foreign policy is primarily run by the military, although, it is against the constitutional prerogative which resides with civilian government. The military does not encourage civilian interference in the country’s foreign policy matters and the policy issues related to India are entirely controlled by them. The civilian governments have long tried to mitigate hostility towards India and promote trade since Pakistan shares its border, however, these attempts have never been appreciated by the military. According to them, the disapproval is purely out of security concerns,⁵²⁰ which cannot be compromised for economic gains. With regard to Pakistan’s nuclear policy against India, the military traditionally follows the “first use” rule. Asif Zardari suggested a change in the nuclear policy,⁵²¹ when he became president the first time. The divergency in the policy irked the military, especially the army Generals who expressed their dissatisfaction over Zardari’s comments and refused to accept a proposal shared by civilian leadership.⁵²²

⁵¹⁹ “Denying Links to Militant, Pakistan Spy Chief Denounces U.S. before Parliament,” The New York Times, May 13, 2011. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/14/world/asia/14pakistan.html>

⁵²⁰ “Civilians, Military Consulted on Trade with India,” Dawn, November 4, 2011. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/671385/civilians-military-consulted-on-india-trade>

⁵²¹ “There is a Bit of India in Every Pakistani: Zardari,” Hindustan Times, September 17, 2018.

⁵²² Embassy of the United States, Islamabad, “Scene-Setter for General Kayani’s Visit.” Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/630177/pattersons-scenesetter-for-gen-kayanis-us-visit>

In short, the military has never shied away from controlling the country's foreign relations or participating in negotiations, especially those with the U.S.⁵²³

5.5.9. The Ministry of Defense and Administration

The ministry of defense in Pakistan functions under civilian bureaucracy, whose head (minister of defense) is usually the elected representative of the government. The military works under the supervision of the incumbent minister. However, the military is not completely subordinated to the minister of defense and is only answerable for its basic functions such as the official audit of the military which normally includes expenditures. The military personnel are officially designated in the ministry of defense; therefore, they work as mediators for military demands and proposals.

Starting from the year 2008, the military of the country has been kind enough to practice transparency in disseminating information regarding budget and releasing its details in the parliament. Despite the existence of ministry of defense, the military avoids accountability in letter and spirit and connects it with a threat on national security and source of disclosing sensitive information to Pakistan's enemies. The military also does not encourage the government's concerns regarding defense budget's spending and sweeps the questioning under the carpet by requesting the government to focus on improving civilian spending instead.⁵²⁴

5.5.10. The Role of Inter-Services Intelligence

The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) in Pakistan is supposed to formally report to the prime minister, however, this organization operates as a military intelligence agency. The

⁵²³ "First Secretaries' Meeting Chaired by Army Chief," Dawn, March 17, 2010. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.dawn.com/news/857741/first-secretaries-meeting-chaired-by-army-chief>

⁵²⁴ "ISPR Chief Decries Criticism of Defense Budget," The News, March 14, 2011

ISI is run by active-duty armed forces officers and it is supervised by a three-star army Lieutenant General. The agency enhanced its power during the Soviet-Afghan war, when it served as a channel for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Saudi Arabia's support to Afghan Mujahideen. Therefore, the powerful entity named ISI has an important influence over politics and policy of the country.⁵²⁵

With the passage of time, the ISI has not limited its role to intelligence gathering, in fact, it has a role in interfering in domestic politics with the support of military establishment. The ISI has been alleged with hindering the efforts of civilian law enforcement agencies and it is demonstrated by the independent investigation carried out into the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, which weakened the civilian law enforcement efforts due to the disclosure of selective information.

The ISI is also profoundly involved in the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy, specifically with respect to India and Afghanistan. The agency has been accused of backing militant groups, namely the Haqqani network. The apparent purpose of the support is to sustain "strategic depth" in Afghanistan, against India's influence in the area. The military has avoided taking conclusive action against the militant groups' presence in Pakistan, despite international pressure.⁵²⁶ The country has also faced internal security challenges in this regard; however, the military leadership believes militancy is a means of effectively conducting the foreign policy.

⁵²⁵ United Nations. "Report of the UN Commission of Inquiry into the Facts and Circumstances of the Assassination of Former Pakistani Prime Minister Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto." p. 60. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://bhutto.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/UN-Report-on-Mohtarma-Benazir-Bhuttos-Assassination.pdf>

⁵²⁶ Bumiller, Elizabeth, and Jane Perlez. "Pakistan's Spy Agency is Tied to Attack on U.S. Embassy." The New York Times, September 22, 2011. Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/23/world/asia/mullen-asserts-pakistani-role-in-attack-on-us-embassy.html>

5.6. The Democratic Rule in India

The factors shaping democracy need an in depth analysis of the class-based systems, political institutions and the conceptualization of societies in managing democracy. It stems during the period of elections, from the pressures of the unity of wise and free individuals, possessing differing interests and diverse cultures. According to Ernesto Laclau, the foundation of democracy is based on the contradictory relationship between the imperceptible concept of free individuals and the cultural diversity and political framework of regular politics.⁵²⁷ This contradiction can be observed in India, ever since the country gained independence in August 1947. The democratic structure of the country is not in line with the universal concept because of the two significant reasons.⁵²⁸

The foremost reason is the interplay between politics and law in India, and then the formation of an individual in the Indian society. The Constitution of India requires the judiciary to supervise electoral procedures in order to affirm the sanctity of the universal concept of sovereignty and of the local political groups. The judiciary is therefore responsible for prioritizing the voters' choice, irrespective of their cultural or political associations. The idea of free people which follows a universal pattern of values without overlooking the cultural diversity has been normalized by the concept of Indians' individual identity, which is described by the basic abilities of balanced enthusiasm and control. The hypothetical structure which is affected by the South Asian culture and history of British colonialism helps in determining the democratic institutions of the country. Therefore, the legacy of democracy in India entails the social segments of the society, the judiciary and the idea of identity.⁵²⁹

The caste system in India is prevalent for centuries and there is a deep contradiction in the country's governance with regard to judiciary and Indian democracy in dealing with

⁵²⁷ Laclau, E. (1992). Universalism, Particularism, and the Question of Identity. *October*, 61, p. 90.

⁵²⁸ Gilmartin, D. (2010). Rule of Law, Rule of Life: Caste, Democracy, and the Courts in India. *The American Historical Review*, 115(2), pp. 406-407.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., p. 407.

different castes. Although, the country constitutionally follows the universal democratic norms, however, the identity of caste plays a crucial role. The key indicator of India's social system which also impacts the electoral processes of the country is caste. The influence of caste in India is so much so that it continues to be the major factor for winning elections. The leaders of different castes have tried to follow universal behaviors so as to improve their social well-being according to the political environment that tends to develop. Nonetheless, the legal status of caste cannot be changed, and it continues to maintain a gap between the universal standards of impartiality and the local ethos of inequality. The Indian democratic objectives pertain to castes having equal electoral rights, however, as per the country's Constitution, the castes and communities are recognized through reserved seats. There is a stark difference between the democratic universal concept of a free individual exercising his right to vote and India's Representation of the People Act of 1951, which disallows the election petitions related to castes.⁵³⁰

The Constitution of India reveals that caste can adjust itself according to electoral politics but at the same time, its cultural and traditional constraints can restrict democratic norms. A former judge of India brought this fact to attention that caste has a significant role to play over decision-making process, which may be in contradiction with the democratic norms of the country. The history of caste system in the subcontinent is centuries old and can be associated with Hindu and Islamic beliefs of social classes and exercise of power. However, Indian leaders, Gandhi and Nehru, inculcated the qualities of equality and discipline among people, setting an example of building a state based on impartiality and inclusiveness. The Constitution of the country attempts to deal with these pressures so that a system based on universal ethics and diversified identities based on caste, can function. The development of democratic and legal institutions in India reflect how the

⁵³⁰ Gilmartin, D. (2010). Rule of Law, Rule of Life: Caste, Democracy, and the Courts in India. *The American Historical Review*, 115(2), pp. 407-410.

country is taking its course of action in keeping harmony with its history, constitutional values and social segments.⁵³¹

In India, since independence, the country is dealing with a complicated interplay of electoral democracy, judicial influences and politics based on caste. The Indian leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, had his reservations regarding elections, which in his opinion were the integral part of democracy, however, they could also hamper unity between castes which could pose a threat to the country's democratic process. The judiciary in India is ruled by the superior caste of the country, still, the courts have tried to deal with election appeals related to caste so that the gap between universal norms of elections and the political organization based on caste, could be bridged. The understanding of electoral law has not been uniform among the courts, therefore, the judgements in response to the caste-based petitions either announced the continuation of elections or declared them invalid. In the former case, priority was given to exercising free political will, while in the latter, the significance of democratic processes and an inclusively healthy political process was given precedence.⁵³²

The social segments of India are deeply rooted in caste-based system; however, the judiciary has maintained to uphold the rights of a free and rational voter, despite knowing the fact that it is not easy to educate individuals and implement policies which suit all individuals. The courts still attempted to keep a balance between universal standards of democracy and the local caste-system, since the judiciary tried to entertain the genuine electoral petitions and discard insincere appeals. In a nutshell, the situation for the judiciary is challenging as democracy cannot mature without a balance between democratic ideals and social traditions of caste system.⁵³³

⁵³¹ Gilmartin, D. (2010). Rule of Law, Rule of Life: Caste, Democracy, and the Courts in India. *The American Historical Review*, 115(2), pp. 411-412.

⁵³² Ibid., pp. 412-414.

⁵³³ Ibid., pp. 417-418.

The judiciary of India is accused of being under political control but regardless of the allegations, the courts have never shied away from aligning the universal democratic norms and political truth revolving around caste. In one such judgement passed in 1975, the court ruled that it was not easy to interpret electoral law in cases that involved universal petitions to identify castes. These circumstances highlight the stark difference between theory and practice of rule of law and life in India. The electoral system and courts' judgements in India define the limitations between the general rules of democracy and individuality of caste system. The democratic institutions of India are marred by the difficulty of seeking a middle ground for the universal ideals of democracy and the unfair treatment of castes in the country, even though, castes have developed and adjusted with the political environment, nevertheless, they play an important role in electoral organization and have a significant impact on the meaning of democracy.⁵³⁴

The political downfall of the Congress party gave opportunity to political forces of Hindu nationalism, regionalism and representation of the lower castes of India, thereby hinting at a significant political development in the country. Though, these changes impacted the Northern and Southern parts of India differently, however, it helped in defining political discourse based on caste. The South of India is known for caste divisions and its lower castes entered into electoral politics in the decade of 1960s which made them through the provincial politics. The people's right to vote revolutionized the society as a whole which not only gave an opportunity to the politicians and parties of inferior castes to ascend to power, but it also challenged the inherited power positions.⁵³⁵

Currently, caste divisions clash with democracy in India, however, caste on one hand signifies impartiality and levels, but on the other, the inferior castes have managed to organize themselves politically through their integration with the country's democratic

⁵³⁴ Gilmartin, D. (2010). Rule of Law, Rule of Life: Caste, Democracy, and the Courts in India. *The American Historical Review*, 115(2), pp. 422-426.

⁵³⁵ Varshney, A. (2000). Is India becoming more democratic?. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 59(1), pp. 5-6.

procedures. This has resulted in them equating their power with the superior castes, thus gaining strength to confront the powerful segments. All these events not only reformed the political environment of the country, but it also helped the inferior castes to exercise their power and attain social justice.

In the Northern India, the superior caste was empowered with the authority to govern until the rise of leaders from inferior caste in early 1980s, which transformed the political dynamics of the region. This represented the country's politics moving to commoners and a shift from the domination of superior caste. This transformation has made it possible for democracy to be accessible to each individual, irrespective of caste or class. Nonetheless, these developments carry the burden of challenges and complications, therefore, it is yet to be confirmed whether these improvements have actually been made in letter and spirit.⁵³⁶

In the North of India, the inferior castes and other groups which make up a huge number of the population and voters have gone through vital changes with regard to their political loyalties and organizational policies. These inferior castes initially allied with the Congress party, until the founding of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in the year 1984. The goal of BSP was to ensure the rights of inferior castes as well as their representation in politics. The party grabbed significant support which can practically be noted with the emergence of middle class within the inferior castes, which consisted of government employees. These individual were unable to escape from the continuous discrimination of the Congress party. The BSP became a ray of hope for many as the party insisted on self-esteem and enhanced the marginalized groups' participation in politics. These pledges helped the BSP in achieving good result in elections and upgrading the political identity of inferior caste.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁶ Varshney, A. (2000). Is India becoming more democratic?. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 59(1), p. 7.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., pp. 8-10.

The inferior tribes, which are generally populated in certain regions of India, also got the chance to profit from democratic participation as they were politically mobilized and pursued development as could be witnessed by the movements carried out by these tribes in support of separate states based on their majority. This facilitated the formation of a middle class within the scheduled tribe which in turn enabled the strength of these tribes. While this is perceived as a positive development as the inferior groups of the Indian society managed to become politically aware and gained relevance, however, those against this development blame these scheduled groups for the deteriorating political norms of the country. The apparently offensive narrative in politics and the entry of politicians with stained history, add up to the decay of ethics and civility of democratic norms. These circumstances could lead to a downward movement in the country's political structure, which could in turn affect its overall political well-being.⁵³⁸

According to Jalal (1995), democracy in India is representative only in words but not in essence and argues that behind election formalities, there exist profound socioeconomic disparities. This shows that the social and economic justice goes hand in hand with real democracies and in order to accomplish true democracy, the state will have to do away with the authoritarian system of governance which has its roots in the British colonial regime.⁵³⁹ The critics of “democratic authoritarianism” contend that no matter what the status of democracy is, it has its ups and downs due to differences and involvement of individuals, however, democracy cannot be made conditional with socioeconomic equality.⁵⁴⁰

The overall impact of democracy in India has been positive in reshaping the society, especially with regard to confronting the deep rooted social disparities and hierarchies. Even though, the scheduled class is on the move to achieve respect and equality, still

⁵³⁸ Varshney, A. (2000). Is India becoming more democratic?. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 59(1), pp. 10-11.

⁵³⁹ Jalal, A. (1995). *Democracy and authoritarianism in South Asia*. Cambridge University Press, p. 249.

⁵⁴⁰ Varshney, A. (2000). Is India becoming more democratic?. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 59(1), pp. 13-14.

democracy in the country has motivated the deprived segment and authorized them to confront the typical clientelistic politics and strengthened them to ask for their representative and authoritative rights. These developments have brought improvements in the social status of the marginalized group which can be observed in their dignified treatment in public places. These events have increased confidence in electoral participation within the deprived class which can be seen in their high voter turnout. This evidently shows the fight of marginalized class against socioeconomic challenges and elimination of the myth that democracy benefits only the elite. Moreover, the decision-makers of the country also need to pay attention to formulate policies which could bring economic prosperity for the marginalized groups of the society.⁵⁴¹

5.7. The Role of Anti-Colonialism in the Rise of Islamization

The official arrival of Islam in the Indian subcontinent began when Muhammad ibn al-Qasim stepped on Sindh after taking control of the territory, who founded Islamic culture and learning centers soon after. The spread of Islam was enabled by the invasion of Mahmud Ghaznavi in the eleventh century which paved the way for sustainable Islamic centers for practice and learning. The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw a boom of Persian-writing Muslim poets in Lahore, however, when the Ghorids from Afghanistan conquered the region, their reign not only brought about political changes, but the cultural center of poets was also affected. The beginning of thirteenth century witnessed the setting up of Delhi Sultanate, under which, the Muslim rule was integrated which led to the strengthening of intellectual and cultural progress. The city of Delhi transformed into a scholarly center and in order to encourage unity, Persian was declared the official language. The religious life and scholarship thrived during the period of Sultanate which

⁵⁴¹ Varshney, A. (2000). Is India becoming more democratic?. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 59(1), pp. 18-20.

set the groundwork for a unique Indo-Muslim civilization which promoted urbanization, cultural unity, and intellectual diversity, following Islamic values.⁵⁴²

The mystical (spiritual) leaders played a significant role in spreading Islam in the Indian subcontinent, especially in the thirteenth century after the fall of Abbasid caliphate. The rise of Sufiism due to prominent personalities like Ibn 'Arabi and Jalaluddin Rumi, greatly influenced the Islamic thought in the Muslim world. The message of sufiism penetrated in India with the works of mystics who devoted their lives in spreading the message of Islam through their empathetic teachings and encouraging habits of vegetarianism and breath technique. The Sufi school of thought promoted music and poetry in the region which drew them followers and which also established the Indo-Muslim culture. The Islamic sufiism was incorporated with the region's local customs and traditions with the help of long-lasting spiritual centers and practices. Sufiism in medieval India became so widespread that its roots began to sprout with conventional and nonconventional mystic groups. pp. 36-43. The expansion of sufiism influenced Hindu bhakti movements and developments in Islamic mysticism which resulted in a synthesis of religious traditions.⁵⁴³

In Kashmir, the establishment of Islamic influence became possible after the arrival of Shah Mir from Swat (now in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), who married into the local families and preached Islam. Other key figures carried on the message of Shah Mir, making significant developments in literature and arts. It was only with the emergence of different sects of Islam that conflicts began to surface. The province of Bengal saw the spread of Islam through Sufi saints which helped in the rebirth of cultural traditions with the fusion of Islamic and local customs. The different regions of India were influenced by the spread of Islam differently, however, the major religious tensions remained between the sunni and shia sects. The independent states of India sustained distinctive cultural and religious identities. The central part of Deccan, Bijapur, possessed a fusion

⁵⁴² Schimmel, A. (1980). *Islam in the Indian subcontinent* (Vol. 4). Brill, pp. 1-15.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., pp. 23-25.

of Persian, Indian and European influences which facilitated in the founding of a diverse center of art, music, and literature in the Deccan. These vibrant centers became a commonplace in other parts of early modern India.⁵⁴⁴

The state of Gujarat saw the emergence of Ismaili sect and with the arrival of the leader of the sect, Aghan Khan in 1840, there began a new period for this community which has its followers in large numbers in India and Pakistan even today. The Mughal empire largely influenced the religion, culture and politics of the region, as its rulers tried to incorporate Hindu traditions with Islamic. The Mughal ruler Akbar especially worked hard to bring harmony among the different faith practices in the region.⁵⁴⁵ Akbar was a fan of Hindu philosophy and an advocate of Persian literature and miniature painting. However, his varied views on religion clashed with conventional Islam.⁵⁴⁶

A prominent figure during the Mughal era, commonly known as Mujaddid Alf-e-Thani, was critical of Akbar's liberal take on religion and focused on individuals adhering to Islam. His influence in the region was so deep that it impacted the Mughal empire with context to religion. The Mughal emperor Shah Jahan ruled with religious conservatism and grandeur as he adopted a strict religious governance, all the while living a luxurious life. There had been feuds between his two sons, typically due to their distinct religious beliefs. One of the sons wanted to blend Hinduism and Islam, while the other son, preached conventional Islam. The latter took the reigns and ruled according to his religious beliefs, which became the cause of regional conflicts between the diverse religious groups.⁵⁴⁷

The Indian subcontinent still follows the tradition of arranged marriage, usually within the kin and caste. It is an elaborated event where the bride's family prepares dowry. These events used to be the major source of entertainment for women who happened to be

⁵⁴⁴ Schimmel, A. (1980). *Islam in the Indian subcontinent* (Vol. 4). Brill, pp. 43-57.

⁵⁴⁵ Jackson, R. (2010). *Mawlana Mawdudi and political Islam: Authority and the Islamic state*. Routledge, p. 9.

⁵⁴⁶ Schimmel, A. (1980). *Islam in the Indian subcontinent* (Vol. 4), Brill, pp. 66-86.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 87-105.

confined to their homes. The marriage ceremony is conducted according to Islamic tradition and local culture till date. The other festivities like Ramadan, Eid and Muharram, are also celebrated even today following the religious teaching and local culture. The religious obligation of doing pilgrimage in Makkah is still rigorously practiced. The rituals pertaining to death, the law of inheritance and the respect paid to the saints, happen to be ingrained in the society.⁵⁴⁸

There are numerous shrines and tombs of saints that are visited by common people from diverse religious backgrounds to pray and seek blessings.⁵⁴⁹ The religious outlook of the medieval and early modern Indo-Pakistan was a depiction of a complex but rich blend of saints, poets, and mystics from different background which sowed the seeds of spirituality and cultural milieu. The visits to shrines and mystical poetry developed tranquility in the region and abridged social divisions. The influence of sufi mysticism was responded with conventional literature written by theologians of those times. The respect paid to saints and sayyids (those belonging to Prophet Muhammad's lineage) was done through poetry to help the illiterate villagers and tribes living in mountains understand the Islamic principles. The vibrant poetic tradition is a contemplation of the deep-rooted faith and trust of millions in providing comfort and spiritual guidance to the locals.⁵⁵⁰

The death of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb at the turn of eighteenth century witnessed the crumbling of the empire due to internal feuds and external threats. Amid the chaos, a political and religious reformist in the image of Shah Waliullah emerged who tried to unite Muslims from unforeseen dangers. The teachings of Shah provided a guideline to the Muslims, which not only influenced the contemporaries but also impacted the thinking of architects of Pakistan, namely Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Allama Muhammad Iqbal. The path to preaching spirituality by mystics was not smooth and these

⁵⁴⁸ Schimmel, A. (1980). *Islam in the Indian subcontinent* (Vol. 4). Brill, pp. 106-126.

⁵⁴⁹ Jackson, R. (2010). *Mawlana Mawdudi and political Islam: Authority and the Islamic state*. Routledge, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁰ Schimmel, A. (1980). *Islam in the Indian subcontinent* (Vol. 4). Brill, pp. 126-149.

figures faced opposition from among the people from same faith but different sects. One of these spiritual leaders named Dard was very well-respected as a saint and scholar, however, he not only confronted animosity from Shia sect but was also killed during a conflict. In the province of Sindh, now part of Pakistan, the spiritual figures successfully established religious authority to mark the beginning of religious reform and defiance against the feudal class.⁵⁵¹

In the mid-1800s, the power struggle between the Muslim rulers in the independent states and the British Empire started with a few instances of the rise of Sikhs. These events brought changes in the social, cultural and political setup of the region, since the British incorporated reforms, however, their hegemony was countered through religious movements which shaped the path of the future of Indian society. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw the sons of the reformer, Shah Waliullah, playing active role in the preaching of Islam through Quran and Hadith. One of the sons joined politics and disapproved the British rule in India. This was the period when the resistance movement against the British rule was welcomed and extensively spread across the region.⁵⁵²

After the rebellion of 1857,⁵⁵³ a Muslim leader named Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan tried to rescue the debilitating situation of the Muslims, by encouraging them to take British education to progress and integrate under the British rule.⁵⁵⁴ He faced criticism for his liberal views from orthodox Muslims, however, he did not deter from his views and continued to hold the belief that Muslims needed contemporary education without giving up on their cultural identity. In 1875, Sir Sayyid founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (the Aligarh University) and promoted English as the language of higher education.⁵⁵⁵ He worked for building a Muslim society that retained Islamic practices but

⁵⁵¹ Schimmel, A. (1980). *Islam in the Indian subcontinent* (Vol. 4). Brill, pp. 150-171.

⁵⁵² Ibid., pp. 171-188.

⁵⁵³ Jackson, R. (2010). *Mawlana Mawdudi and political Islam: Authority and the Islamic state*. Routledge, pp. 11-14.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

accepted modernity at the same time. Sir Sayyed's struggle bore fruit as the intellectual and educational outlook of Indian Muslims was shaped through his efforts.⁵⁵⁶

By the end of nineteenth century, the approach towards Islam varied between moderation and extremes. These variations resulted in an intricate relationship between conventionalists and modernists among the Indian Muslims. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Muslims of the subcontinent were divided into various groups and sects, following their respective movements, namely Shia, Sunni, Sulaimani Bohoras, Ahmadiyya,⁵⁵⁷ Khoja, Deoband, etc. The founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, arose through these movements and played a major role in the creation of an independent country.⁵⁵⁸

This period also witnessed a transition in awareness and political participation by the Indian Muslims. The Muslim League tried to safeguard the interests of Muslims without rebelling against the British, while some groups intended to pursue anti-British sentiments, through publication of newspapers. The Khilafat movement which began in 1920, developed a hope of unity between Hindus and Muslims against the British colonial rule. The national poet of Pakistan, Muhammad Iqbal, was a proponent of Islamic values and pan-Islamism whose philosophical poetry visualized the revival of Muslim world and paved the way for an independent country.⁵⁵⁹ As the independence movement was going on the right track, the annulment of Ottoman caliphate in 1924, gave a major setback to the Indian Muslims. A number of educational institutions for teaching Islamic education and inculcating Muslim identity was established around the same period.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁶ Jackson, R. (2010). *Mawlana Mawdudi and political Islam: Authority and the Islamic state*. Routledge, pp. 14-16.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 32-36.

⁵⁵⁸ Schimmel, A. (1980). *Islam in the Indian subcontinent* (Vol. 4). Brill, pp. 199-215.

⁵⁵⁹ Jackson, R. (2010). *Mawlana Mawdudi and political Islam: Authority and the Islamic state*. Routledge, pp. 51-54.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

While Muhammad Iqbal longed for an independent state exclusively for Muslims of India, Maulana Azad concentrated on a unified India, where Hindus and Muslims could live together in peace and harmony.⁵⁶¹ The mid of twentieth century saw the emergence of Muslim movements with varied goals and ideologies as some endorsed the fundamentalist form of Islam and founded educational institutions in this regard. Others espoused for a society based on social welfare, however, the All India Muslim League party focused on an independent Muslim state, which was made possible by the efforts of its leaders, especially Muhammad Ali Jinnah.⁵⁶²

The partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 was perceived to be the panacea to communal conflicts, however, the mass migration from and to both the countries resulted in killings and refugee crises. On the one hand, Pakistan struggled to prepare and implement its first constitution, and on the other, conflicts between the modern and traditional clerics reached the peak, which deteriorated the peace of the province of Punjab in 1953.⁵⁶³ The Muslims of India accepted their minority status and tried to find a middle-ground between secular politics and modern Islam. A substantial amount of changes were made in the social tradition, status of women, and the interpretation of Islam which showed a multifaceted approach towards the challenges faced by Muslims in the twentieth century, as the partition had a deep impact on the religious and political dynamics of India and Pakistan.⁵⁶⁴

5.7.1. The Jihad Movements

Starting from nineteenth century till independence of India and Pakistan in 1947, two schools of thought of Muslim leaders including clerics surfaced. One, who were

⁵⁶¹ Jackson, R. (2010). *Mawlana Mawdudi and political Islam: Authority and the Islamic state*. Routledge, p. 32.

⁵⁶² Schimmel, A. (1980). *Islam in the Indian subcontinent* (Vol. 4). Brill, pp. 226-244.

⁵⁶³ Jackson, R. (2010). *Mawlana Mawdudi and political Islam: Authority and the Islamic state*. Routledge, p. 36.

⁵⁶⁴ Schimmel, A. (1980). *Islam in the Indian subcontinent* (Vol. 4). Brill, pp. 245-247.

modernists and followed contemporary values and they were comfortable with the British rule in the region as long as their principal identities remained intact. The other type were proponents of jihad, who were involved in resistance movements against the British raj. The modernist leaders discouraged the masses from anti-colonial jihad movements and presumed the imperial rule of Great Britain to have brought peace in the region. These leaders also did not endorse the 1857 revolt, which was carried out against the British by the Indian Muslims and Hindus, since the modernist leaders stressed on peaceful coexistence. Nonetheless, the resistance leaders and some of the clerics considered the 1857 revolt a jihad because they feared that the British would make Christianity common in the Indian Subcontinent. The secret movements which were led by a Muslim cleric were ended between 1860 and 1870 as the British authorities perceived these activities as a threat. As a result, the imperialists became cautious,⁵⁶⁵ and suppressed those segments of the Muslim society who were presumed to be behind the resistance movements. However, this did not prevent certain groups from pursuing jihad due to their anti-colonial sentiments.⁵⁶⁶

The late nineteenth century saw the circulation of mutinous literature among the common people in the British India, which led to a discussion on the significance of jihad. There were instances when the masses were incited to make war against the colonists through the use of pamphlets and fatwas (religious rulings) on jihad. It was revealed that some Muslim scholars doctored the actual Quranic verses on preaching peace, by replacing with verses on jihad, encouraging militancy among the common people. The British were unaware of the concept of jihad from the perspective of Muslims therefore, they started getting interested in it. A book by W.W. Hunter in 1871, titled “The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen,” discovered the possibility of Muslims of British India taking up arms against the colonial rule. According to Hunter,

⁵⁶⁵ Pearson, M. N. (1976). Separatism among Indian Muslims. The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923, pp. 100-103.

⁵⁶⁶ Rahman, T. (2018). Jihad as Anti-Colonial Resistance in India: 1831-1920s. *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies*, 3(2), pp. 7-9.

there was a split between the opinions of different Muslim schools of thought. Some of the scholars considered India as the land of Islam for as long as the presence of Islamic practices existed.⁵⁶⁷ Other scholars took India as the land of war; however, this school of thought did not encourage jihad as they believed Muslims were safeguarded under the British raj. Hunter believes that majority of the Muslims of India, with the exception of minority, did not show animosity towards the British, provided they were treated without discrimination and were given opportunities for education.⁵⁶⁸

The Indian Muslims had different views about Jihad against anti-colonial resistance, some of the scholars were of the opinion that jihad against the colonial rule was defensible, while others felt more secure under the British administration. The Muslims and Hindus of British India through the Khilafat movement supported the Turkish caliphate and tried to resist the colonial rule. It was because of the religious and political inspirations that the movement led to many Indian Muslims migrating to Afghanistan in 1920 for the cause of freedom. However, there were contradictions and varied viewpoints among the Muslim leadership regarding jihad as a number of religious leaders supported the British due to vested interests. The only force behind anti-colonial resistance was not religion, in fact, the multifaceted culture, ethnicities and regional identities were the major motivations behind the anti-imperialist sentiments. There had been instances when a religious scholar did not spare Hindus and called for a jihad against them, which exposes the intricate relationship between faith and politics in India under the British empire. However, this was not welcomed by the educated Muslims, and when the same scholar announced for jihad against anyone taking over the holy places of Islam, his calls were opposed by many known scholars of that time, which showed that the Muslims had disagreements over religious discourse.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁷ Hunter, W. W. (1871). *The Indian Musalmans: are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?*. Trübner and Company, p. 163 (Appendix 1).

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., p.103.

⁵⁶⁹ Rahman, T. (2018). Jihad as Anti-Colonial Resistance in India: 1831-1920s. *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies*, 3(2), pp. 9-16.

Another prominent scholar who had his influence among the North Indian and Pakistani Muslims passed a fatwa, condemning migration and underscored the support of fellow Muslims within one's ability. He also did not approve the alliance of Hindus for Khilafat movement and opposed the comparison of Quranic text with that of Hindus. Moreover, he did not accept Ottoman ruler as the caliph of Muslims. However, these condemnations did not impact the influence of the scholars belonging to Deobandi school of thought who not only exercised their power among the anti-colonial groups but retained their influence in Pakistan after its independence in 1947. This particular school of thought was politically active with the groups advocating Islamism or having political inclinations. The recent historians are of the view that the Deobandis played a significant role in jihad against the British imperialists.⁵⁷⁰

The resistance movements against the British rule were commanded by another prominent scholar named Azad and the Wahabi school of thought, who had a substantial influence on the Pashtun tribesmen living in Pakistan and Afghanistan. These movements were led by the mullahs, pirs and faqirs who exercised their influence through preceptor-disciple relationship (a lucrative profession in Pakistan even today). One such cleric was Haji Sakhib, who belonged to the family known for its active involvement in movement against the Sikhs. He was called Haji for performing Hajj and so when he returned from Makkah, he replaced the British courts with local justice systems under the guise of social reforms and anti-colonial jihad.⁵⁷¹ This initiative was a direct challenge to the tribal chiefs propagating the message of the British empire. Soon after the first quarter of twentieth century, Haji Sakhib was successful in creating a substantial armed force, capable enough to fight against the British.⁵⁷² The competence of these forces ended up in several military conflicts. There were also other clerics who were involved in the independence uprisings

⁵⁷⁰ Rahman, T. (2018). Jihad as Anti-Colonial Resistance in India: 1831-1920s. *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies*, 3(2), pp. 16-17.

⁵⁷¹ Haroon, S. (2011). *Frontier of faith: a history of religious mobilisation in the Pakhtun tribal areas c. 1890-1950*. Oxford University Press, pp. 51-52.

⁵⁷² Qadir, A. Anti-colonial Movement: The Struggle of Hājī Šāhib Turangza'i to do away with the Authority of the British Rāj. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 56, pp. 113-118.

i.e. campaigning for jihad, mobilizing the tribesmen and attacking British garrisons. A tribal cleric called the Faqir of Ipi, was known for his bravery and posed a threat so fierce on the British raj that even during World War II, the empire had to keep a decent military in the Frontier.⁵⁷³

In the decades between 1920 and 1940, the anti-imperialist scholars shared their own interpretation of jihad which was different from the older versions. One of those intellectuals named Sindhi, concentrated on the importance of the Quran and described the importance of Sunnah to be limited to Prophet Muhammad's times.⁵⁷⁴ He was inspired by the Marxist style of Islamic-state and called for the mandatory participation of Muslim men and women in jihad to fight against the colonial rule. He encouraged the acceptance of all kinds of support, including the alliance of non-Muslims for independence from British raj. He interpreted the Quranic verses according to his belief and for the denunciation of the scholars who were pro-British. In a nutshell, Sindhi interpreted the teachings of Islam according to his own will and advantage.⁵⁷⁵

The scholar named Azad also followed his own approach of striking a balance between Islamic interpretation and contemporary views, especially with regard to anti-imperial resistance. He was a proponent of Ottoman caliphate, and maintained that for attaining global peace, the concept of jihad should be dealt with offense as well as defense. He had utmost regard for victories of early Muslims and for him the colonial rule and Islamic conquests were comparable. He intended to build a strong bond between Hindus and Muslims for their fight against the British raj and made public pronouncements for a united jihad of Muslims against the imperialist ruler. Although, Sindhi and Azad shared the same views on jihad, however, Sindhi adopted an extreme approach compared to

⁵⁷³ Rahman, T. (2018). Jihad as Anti-Colonial Resistance in India: 1831-1920s. *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies*, 3(2), pp. 17-19.

⁵⁷⁴ Brown, D. W. (1999). *Rethinking tradition in modern Islamic thought* (Vol. 5). Cambridge University Press, pp. 67-68.

⁵⁷⁵ Rahman, T. (2018). Jihad as Anti-Colonial Resistance in India: 1831-1920s. *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies*, 3(2), pp. 19-22.

Azad, who advocated for Hindu-Muslim unity and fusion between traditionalism and modernism in order to get rid of the British empire. Both these scholars participated in the resistance movement against British imperialists for the creation of an independent state.⁵⁷⁶

At the turn of the twentieth century and during the Khilafat movement, the Indian Muslims united under the Ottoman caliphate and accepted the Sultan as the religious leader of Muslim world. The religious ruling by Deoband School of thought made the mention of Sultan compulsory in Friday sermons. Also, in order to gain support of the non-Muslims, the Hindus were requested to make speeches in mosques. The Muslim scholar, Azad, highlighted the use of jihad only against the antagonist non-Muslims and insisted on the strong defense capabilities to fight off tyranny of the British colonial rule.⁵⁷⁷

The role of anti-colonial leaders is also significant in involving religion with resistance movement against the colonial rule. Mohamed Ali was once such leader who connected the movement as a religious obligation and ranked divine law over all other laws even with respect to military situations. However, the use of Islamic discourse to educate Indian Muslims was different from that of traditional Muslim scholars, resulting in confusion among the masses. The bewilderment benefited the Muslim League as a result of which the influence of anti-colonial leaders diminished. In contrast, the movements based on non-religious standings such as the Gadar Party, were not seen as a threat to the British empire.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁶ Rahman, T. (2018). Jihad as Anti-Colonial Resistance in India: 1831-1920s. *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies*, 3(2), pp. 22-26.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 28-31.

5.8. The Importance of a Lack of Nationalism for the Perseverance of Pakistan's Military

The concept of nationalism came to the fore in Europe during a protest against imperialism, feudalism and church. The idea was later modified according to one's own school of thought with some esteeming their spirituality and civilization, some believing in technological innovation and global integration. There were others who refused to accept either of the two and concentrated on ethno-national movements, while the proponents of Marxism considered nationalism an instrument of the elite for serving their vested interests.⁵⁷⁹ The advent of nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of various ideologies like, Democratic Socialism, Fascism, and Marxism in the Indian subcontinent, making its way to a nationalist thought among the masses.⁵⁸⁰

The nationalist movement under the British colonial rule of India began in the nineteenth century and after the war of independence in 1857 and in the twentieth century, the four periods when the socio-religious movements were at peak were between 1905 and 1907, 1919 and 1922, 1930 and 1934, and in 1942.⁵⁸¹ These movements bore fruit and resulted in the crucial developments such as the constitutional reforms, including separate electorates for Muslims through the 1919 grant. The Muslim League was specifically established in 1906, for promoting a separate identity for Muslims. The Western nationalism was not welcomed by the Muslims of British India, however, the Deobandi school of thought, which called for a political cooperation with the Congress, confused the Muslims, the after-effects of which still exist.⁵⁸²

Nationalism demands love for one's country and the national identity is impossible without the existence of factors such as language, ethnicity, religion, ideologies and socio-political values which have impressions on literature, art, culture and living. An

⁵⁷⁹ Irshad, M. British imperialism, its impacts on Muslims and nationalism in British India, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁸⁰ Jones, K. W., & Johnson, G. (1989). *The new Cambridge history of India*. Cambridge, p. 185.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., p. 184.

⁵⁸² Irshad, M. British imperialism, its impacts on Muslims and nationalism in British India, p. 3.

active leadership and value for equality and economic development help in evolving the process of nation-building.⁵⁸³

The independence of Pakistan was based on the concept of nationalism with respect to religion and communal division, which was endorsed by the Muslims of British India and some foreign supporters. The Muslims under colonial rule did not possess historical or territorial unity, still the Pakistani nationalism revolved around religion and a separate Muslim identity. The folding of events in Indian subcontinent in the first two quarters of the twentieth century included the political representation of Muslims, Allama Iqbal's dream of a separate country for Muslims, and the Pakistan resolution in 1940. These milestones established the basis for evolution of Muslims nationalism.⁵⁸⁴

The Muslims of British India were not happy with the attitude of Congress towards them, hence the movement for Pakistan was motivated by the aim to safeguard their interests and identity. Moreover, the Muslim elites longed for their due share in political power, however, they felt marginalized and culturally isolated under the presence of Hindu majority.⁵⁸⁵

The Muslim leaders understood that their elite-driven politics was not successful, therefore, they mobilized the masses to gain their support through a social program. This was initiated after the Muslim League felt threatened of their irrelevance due to the growing popularity of the Congress, in response to their socialist program which gained acknowledgement among the masses of rural settlements. The Lahore Resolution in 1940 cemented the significance of partition which was effectively communicated to the common man by Muslim elites. The Muslim League's leadership recognized the effectiveness of Islamic ideology and two-nations theory in shaping Muslims' perception towards independence. The Muslim League comprised of leaders who were secular and

⁵⁸³ Irshad, M. British imperialism, its impacts on Muslims and nationalism in British India, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁴ Qureshi, S. M. (1972). Pakistani nationalism reconsidered. *Pacific Affairs*, pp. 556-558.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 559.

Westernized,⁵⁸⁶ nonetheless, they used religious slogans as a tool to confront the idea of Congress' socialism. In the beginning, the Muslim religious scholars had reservations against Muslim League, but with the passage of time, the party won the support of these scholars through the establishment of an organization, Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Islam, in 1945 which enjoyed a huge support for Pakistan movement.⁵⁸⁷

The movement, which did not possess an enlightened content, and which primarily emerged due to the deprivation of aspirations of the Muslim elites, enhanced significance after the scholars added religious legitimacy to the cause. However, the founding of Pakistan diminished religious ideology's relevance and the Muslim League began to dominate the power echelons of the country. The non-inclusive approach adopted by the party was similar to the pre-independence days, which prompted the elite and masses of the East Wing to establish a political party representative of their region.⁵⁸⁸ The Muslim league leadership focused more on freedom from India than the colonial rule, the fear of which has always influenced Pakistan's foreign policy and it continues to create a conflict as it seeks to express its identity.⁵⁸⁹

The series of events following the independence of Pakistan resulted in the failure of a unified Pakistani nationalism. This included the annulment of the country's first constitution, the military takeover in 1958 and the postponement of general elections in the country. The failure in progress with regard to education which could have helped in promoting unity and nationalist sentiments amongst the masses, resulted in regional and political conflicts.⁵⁹⁰

The history books of Pakistan that went through revision in the 1950s, glamorized the rule of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, who had conservative Islamic inclinations. In contrast, the content related to Emperor Akbar, who encouraged the fusion of Hinduism

⁵⁸⁶ Binder, L. (1961). *Religion and politics in Pakistan*. Univ of California Press, pp. 183-207.

⁵⁸⁷ Qureshi, S. M. (1972). Pakistani nationalism reconsidered. *Pacific Affairs*, pp. 559-561.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 561-563.

⁵⁸⁹ Khan, I. (2006). Contending identities of Pakistan and the issue of democratic governance, pp. 53-54.

⁵⁹⁰ Qureshi, S. M. (1972). Pakistani nationalism reconsidered. *Pacific Affairs*, pp. 563-566.

and Islam, was cut down. Other changes in the history books underscored the past of West Pakistan's Muslims and connected it with pre-Hindu civilization. However, the East Pakistan's history of Muslims was linked with Buddhism and animism, before them converting to Islam in the thirteenth century. The higher education reforms that were prepared under the leadership of military dictator Ayub Khan were confronted with hostility from students and teachers, which in turn hindered the cause of national integration.⁵⁹¹

The idea of nationalism failed to echo with the vibrant population of Pakistan and leaders like Muhammad Ali Jinnah or his successors were unable to solidify it. The armed forces of Pakistan managed to succeed in establishing a national perspective and commitment to the nation, building the narrative of Islam and defense against India, but, mainly in the West Wing. In the East Wing, the military did not pay much attention and hence had little success in gaining approval from them. The East Wing retorted to the discrimination by West Pakistan through increasing sentiments of nationalism, which led to the founding of Bangladesh in 1971. After the split of East Wing from the West Wing, the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto tried to promote nationalism through economic reforms which focused on improving the lives of masses, however, he failed to establish an integrated national identity due to the challenges based on provincialism, sectarianism and ethnicism.⁵⁹²

One of the major reasons behind the non-formation of national identity in the country could be traced back to the history of the Indian subcontinent, when the region was divided into small kingdoms and tribal societies, which were ruled by their respective chiefs. In Pakistan, the unfair distribution of resources in the country alongside political

⁵⁹¹ Qureshi, S. M. (1972). Pakistani nationalism reconsidered. *Pacific Affairs*, pp. 567-568.

⁵⁹² Ibid., pp. 568-571.

neglect of small provinces and military dominance worsened the cause of a consolidated national identity.⁵⁹³

The most economically developed province of Punjab in Pakistan plays a significant role in the country's politics and military. During the colonial rule, this province made advancements in infrastructure and institutionalization due to their placements in military and bureaucracy. The dominance and elitism of the province have developed sentiments of disempowerment among other provinces. The ethnic and regional conflicts increased during the military rule in Pakistan. The use of force to settle interprovincial issues by the military dictators exacerbated the situation, which, instead of promoting a cohesive national identity, strengthened the country's regional identities.

The political outlook of Pakistan has been significantly determined by the military's overpowering influence because of which it is also known as "one institution state." The power exercised by the military has allowed the institution to influence the decision-making processes of civilians, thereby impacting the ethnic politics spanning the provinces of Pakistan. The military rule in the country not only undermined the importance of democratic institutions,⁵⁹⁴ it also aggravated the provincial disparities. In order to centralize power, the military dictator Ayub Khan modified the demographics of Karachi, which remains the hub of ethnic conflicts till date. The East Wing of Pakistan, now Bangladesh, was isolated by Ayub Khan due to his economic initiatives. Another military dictator named Yahya Khan was no different as the regional grievances intensified during his rule, leading to the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan. The governance of General Zia-ul-Haq worsened ethnic tensions by toppling Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government who was executed during the dictator's rule, which directly hurt the Sindhi⁵⁹⁵ sentiments. The last military dictator to rule the country was General Pervez

⁵⁹³ Qaiser, R. (2015). Nationalism and political identity in Pakistan: the rise and role of indigenous identities. *SAIS Rev. Int'l Aff.*, 35, 105, pp. 105-106.

⁵⁹⁴ Jaffrelot, C. (2015). *The Pakistan paradox: Instability and resilience*. Oxford University Press, p.11.

⁵⁹⁵ Zulfikar Ali Bhutto belonged to Pakistan's province of Sindh.

Musharraf, who was responsible for the ethnic uprising in the province of Balochistan after the assassination of Nawab Akbar Bugti, who was the head of the Bugti tribe. The country's military has often been the reason for ethnic tensions through the use of force and continuous interventions which in turn negatively affects the perspective of a unified national identity. Therefore, the relatively smaller provinces of the country, in search of an alternative, prefer to unite under the umbrella of sub-national identities.⁵⁹⁶

The use of religion in determining Pakistan's political identity remains contentious due to the struggle between secular nationalism and Muslim identity. Although the idea of Muslim nationalism aimed to establish a modern country, the growing influence of religion by leaders, particularly Zia-ul-Haq, has exploited the religious application of Pakistan's identity.⁵⁹⁷ Pakistan came into existence with the vision of a separate homeland for the Muslims of Indian subcontinent and to lead the Muslim world. Therefore, religion played an instrumental role in the formulation of domestic and foreign policies of the country which were in line with the U.S. approach to counter Soviet Union and the support for Islamist movements in Kashmir and Afghanistan.⁵⁹⁸

The ruling elite of Pakistan which included civilian bureaucrats, military officers and feudal politicians considered Islamists as their allies against ethnic nationalism which was believed to be influenced by India and considered to be a threat to the country's honor. The secular elite of the country envisioned to unite masses with the use of Islamic ideology, nonetheless, the Islamist leaders needed their share in power, therefore, they dictated that the country be ruled as per Islamic principles. This situation facilitated the alliance of the military with religious factions who are believed to be used against the secular, democratic and nationalist elements.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁶ Qaiser, R. (2015). Nationalism and political identity in Pakistan: the rise and role of indigenous, pp. 108-110 and 114.

⁵⁹⁷ Alavi, H. (1988). Pakistan and Islam: ethnicity and ideology. *State and ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*, pp. 64-111.

⁵⁹⁸ Khan, I. (2006). Contending identities of Pakistan and the issue of democratic governance, pp. 54-56.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 56-57.

The military continues to exercise its dominance in the country's decision-making, especially while preparing security policy, thereby leading the domestic and foreign policies of Pakistan. The military's control is justified by the apparent threats from India, especially on the issue of Kashmir, which forces the institution to protect the country's Islamic identity. This dominance began in General Ayub Khan's era who envisioned the establishment of a pro-Western Islamic state to counter communism. The military, which aligned with the religious parties, considered secularism and communism as threats to Islamic identity. When East Pakistan demanded independence in 1971, the religious factions backed the military against Bengali nationalists, demonstrating the collusion of religious elements with the secular state.⁶⁰⁰

The military-religious nexus was fortified especially during Zia-ul-Haq's rule, who implemented strict Islamic laws and the influence of which persists. The federal power in Pakistan was further centralized and the federal structure was weakened after General Musharraf's modernization project and implementation of administrative reforms.⁶⁰¹

5.9. The Similarities and Dissimilarities between Forms of Governments in India and Pakistan

India and Pakistan adopted unparallel roads of governance after gaining independence from the British colonial rule. The two significant factors that shaped the forms of governments of India and Pakistan were national identity and social class. The urban middle class of India was inclined towards democracy, while the large landowners or the feudal class of Pakistan preferred the governance of the country to be no different than the colonial rule. The advantage for India was that the country had already anticipated for an ideology, therefore, the planned doctrine and systematic coalition by the Congress

⁶⁰⁰ Khan, I. (2006). *Contending identities of Pakistan and the issue of democratic governance*, pp. 58-60.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

party helped in brining stability to India. On the other side of the border, the absence of nationalism led to political instability in Pakistan.⁶⁰²

A theory by Schumpeterian holds election rigging and political domination in Pakistan responsible for the failure of democratic evolution. According to him, the majoritarian principle explains the fundamental rights of people and follows rule, “one individual, one vote.” If the governing process follows this rule, it will help in the implantation of key characteristics representing democracy. Such a government will be equipped with a robust Constitution, which will safeguard the right of individuals as well as minorities. The definition of a stable regime for Schumpeter is the adoption of a course of action which empowers the Constitution to establish and facilitate the transition of power.⁶⁰³

The two political parties of the Indian subcontinent, the Congress and the Muslim League, are considered to be responsible for choosing the fate of democratization in India and Pakistan, respectively. These parties also played an active role in the movements for independence during British colonial rule. After the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, the Congress was a dominant party in India, which not only possessed an orderly system of governance, but it also had sufficient number of qualified leaders who facilitated smooth operations. On the other hand, Muslim League was the leading political party of Pakistan, the command of which was with Muhammad Ali Jinnah and which did not have a competent leader to succeed him.⁶⁰⁴ The building of a nation is not limited to political elites as the social groups are also equally responsible. The elites play the role of a mediator between political establishments and social segments of the society. The government is technically run by political elites; however, the vote of social groups gives them the authority to continuously monitor political leaders. Hence, the level of autonomy

⁶⁰² Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-7.

⁶⁰³ Schumpeter, J. A. (1976). *Ii. capitalism, socialism, and democracy*, 1942, p. 269.

⁶⁰⁴ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, p. 23.

for political elites is restricted because their social class is interdependent on the old concept of balance of power.⁶⁰⁵

The post-independence of India and Pakistan accompanied same conditions, although, there were dissimilarities in growth rates and rewards of capital,⁶⁰⁶ but with respect to bureaucracy, both the countries received same manpower and competence. The Pakistan Muslim League in Pakistan was unable to govern the complexities of a nascent country, hence, the civil service and military found a reasonable ground to influence the governance structure of the country. On the other hand, India experienced stability because of the qualified leadership of Congress party.⁶⁰⁷

The issues of Pakistan after gaining independence began to pile up with the passage of time. It started with the legitimate representation based on class and the appointment of a Governor-General. The West Wing of Pakistan was represented by multiple ethnicities and each one of those possessed as much importance as the Bengali ethnicity in East Wing, however, the Bengali identity was deliberately disregarded. Moreover, the focus on economic prospects and importance only on Urdu language, were also the challenges faced by the country. The precedence of economic and political deprivations forced the East Wing to call for freedom of language with respect to ethnicity, and recognition of various national languages. Hence, the first military coup in Pakistan was the result of the threat associated with the acknowledgement of Bengali language.⁶⁰⁸

It is widely believed that for a country to have robust democracy, it has to be a Muslim-minority state, however, this is not true for Pakistan,⁶⁰⁹ since the women of India and Pakistan enjoyed equal rights before mid-1950s. This proves that the social and political

⁶⁰⁵ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰⁶ Binder, L. (1961). *Religion and politics in Pakistan*. Univ of California Press, p. 161.

⁶⁰⁷ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, p. 28.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 31-34.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 34.

standing of women in Pakistan is not comparable with countries having Muslims in majority. Nonetheless, the progress in empowering women became common only after the introduction of secular nationalism in politics in these countries. The spirit and basic structure of independent movements during the British raj was the deciding factor behind the destiny of democratic arrangements in India and Pakistan. The establishment of political parties and the struggle for freedom movements are mutually inclusive. The movement for an independent Pakistan shows that the issue of discrimination between social classes was entirely ignored which influenced the political regimes and resulted in a deadlock. The situation favored non-political elements and hence, bureaucracy was the first institution successful in openly grabbing power, followed by the military.⁶¹⁰

The independence movements for India and Pakistan were impacted by the multiple social strata of the society that enjoyed their own respective values and interests. This establishment of democratic political organizations was supported by the existence of the social classes as had been the case with the emergence of the Indian National Congress party. The educated middle-class belonging to the urban areas of the Indian subcontinent needed improved representation, therefore, the Congress party was formed in 1885. The party was confronted with a number of challenges, still, the struggle for achieving democratic political goals continued. However, this was not the case with the objectives behind the establishment of the Muslim League Party in 1906, which had more to do with the preservation of rich Muslims' influence rather than attaining freedom for Muslims from the colonial power. The democratic reforms did not suit the feudal landlords and the affluent living in Muslim majority areas of the subcontinent as it contradicted with their existing power and authority. Therefore, this wealthy genre used the Islamic identity as a tool to maintain status quo and formed the Muslim League party, exclusively for achieving their interests. The party, which exclusively represented the Muslims, set the

⁶¹⁰ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 35-36.

foundation for Pakistan's movement of independence after getting significant support and approval by the British colonial regime.⁶¹¹

The state structure defined by the British raj did not deter the social classes of Muslims and Hindus to pursue their interests based on nationalism. The representation of this ideology by India and Pakistan carried contradictions as Pakistanis held on to the stance of anti-Hindu rule and Indians associated themselves with anti-Muslim raj. Although, India had worked hard on gaining independence from the British raj and successfully formulated basic values and rules of governance. The Indian nationalism was acknowledged by its supporters which facilitated the implementation of extraordinary decisions and effective understanding on issues of state-building. The Muslim League, however, suffered from the absence of a proper theoretical base, which resultantly failed them in getting a positive response on matters related to nation-building and stable government. It can be said that the approach behind the adoption of nationalism played a significant role in the dissimilar forms of governments in India and Pakistan.⁶¹²

The dominant political parties of India and Pakistan were democratically authorized to decide about the kind of nationalism they wanted to implement in their countries. The nationalism of India insisted on political equality and focused on citizenship rather than individual representation, moreover, the ideology promoted equality in letter and in spirit. These ideals united Indian leadership when the British were still in power. The state of affairs in Pakistan, however, showed a completely different picture as the authority to make key decisions rested with the elite and there was a lack of conviction to encourage the powerful individuals to agree to settle with less for the sake of upholding democracy. The Congress party was successfully able to rule India because of the principle of equality, but the inequality and prejudice practiced by Pakistani elite resulted in weak

⁶¹¹ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 65-66.

⁶¹² Ibid., pp. 98-99.

democratic setups.⁶¹³ The negotiations for the transition of power for an independent India held in 1945 and 1946, ended unsuccessfully but helped in catalyzing the founding of India and Pakistan. Ironically, the growing religious and ethnic hostilities also contributed to the struggle for freedom. The objective of Indian independence movement was to attain political authority, while Pakistan's movement was based on safeguarding the rights of the elite and did not promise autonomy until 1946. The public uprisings in India emerged after the proposal for creation of an independent but united India was not accepted and after which the partition of India became inevitable.⁶¹⁴

The objective surrounding Indian independence movement was to set a solid foundation of political autonomy in India based on legitimate and non-legitimate measures, and also the formation of political parties with respect to well-conceived ideas and organization. The movement for independence of Pakistan largely disregarded the obligation of national autonomy and did not intend to let go the privileges conferred by the British colonial rule. The difference in the willingness to accept self-rule and govern set up the grounds for India and Pakistan to establish entirely different forms of governments.⁶¹⁵

The first constituent assembly governed Pakistan from 1947 to 1954, but as luck would have it, the assembly was confronted with a number of internal challenges which included demographic inequalities between East Wing and West Wing, and the power-sharing issues between the Centre and the provinces. The ruling party, the Muslim League, was not qualified enough to run the country's complex affairs and failed at making a fair distribution of power among the different social classes. The issue of renouncing power by the feudal landlords of West Pakistan, especially from Punjab, promoted socio-economic inequality. The East Wing of Pakistan, despite having wealthy landowners exercising power, was in a relatively better position due to the successful implementation

⁶¹³ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, p. 99.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., p. 157.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 156-162.

of land reforms which improved the social and economic structures of the region.⁶¹⁶ The Muslim league as a governing entity, was also unable to resolve the issues concerning provincial leaders, which gave an opportunity to the civil bureaucracy and military to take over the country's administrative authority.⁶¹⁷ The inequality in East Wing and West Wing with regard to the disbursement of capital and socio-economic system, represented one set of issues. The other set of challenges included differences among the public based on language and culture, all of which exacerbated the situation post-independence. The economic discrimination and supremacy of Punjabis on lucrative positions, added to the miseries of an already divided Pakistan.⁶¹⁸ Since, the country lacked a unified national identity, therefore, the constitution-making process in Pakistan faced consecutive failures before being finalized in 1956.⁶¹⁹

The recommendations regarding the parliamentary structure in the Centre were categorically opposed by the Bengalis of East Pakistan as the plan contained unequal representation of ethnicities. This resulted in a deadlock over the constitution-making process, and the issue was aggravated by a tussle between the frail national leaders and influential provincial figureheads. Thus, the emerging state of Pakistan was marred by historical disputes and disunity among the political leadership. Moreover, a religious clash arranged by large landowners of Punjab province in 1953, confirmed the unabated control of the country's elite and the regional power associated with it since independence, and also alluded to the subversion of government's authority in the Centre.⁶²⁰ It started with the occurrence of a serious fighting incident, mainly in Punjab, which prompted the prime minister to call for the arrest of frontrunners of Ahmadiyya community while the movement against them was underway. The orders by the premier

⁶¹⁶ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 173-174.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., p. 184.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 175-176.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 180-182.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., pp. 182-183.

opened the prospects for a military intervention in Lahore,⁶²¹ which resulted in the removal of the chief minister of Punjab. In the aftermath of the conflict, the Governor-General dismissed the Prime Minister on grounds of economic crisis and delayed the implementation of the Constitution, drafted by the ousted prime minister. The same year, a civilian bureaucrat overthrew the national and provincial governments in collusion with the military, endorsing the fragility of political governments in Pakistan.⁶²²

The deposed prime minister was replaced by a new premier who presented a formula, which focused on equality between the East Wing and West Wing in both parliaments, with the intention of resolving the issue of constitution-making. However, this could not be materialized as the civilian establishment and rich landowners belonging to West Wing did not want their interests to be harmed. In the outcome of provincial elections held in East Pakistan in 1954, the Muslim League badly lost, however, the victorious coalition government was dismissed and taken over by the civilian establishment. The series of events signified lust for power, and civil and military coups.⁶²³ However, the power struggles did not stop here as the period between 1955 and 1958 proved to be the moment of political chaos in the country, primarily as a result of everyday change of prime ministers. The failure of the Muslim League to unite and to reach a consensus turned it into an opportunity for the civilian bureaucracy to grab power and dissolve the first Constituent Assembly, in 1954. This was followed by an indirectly elected constituent assembly, which successfully integrated the provinces of the West Wing with the help of an approved Constitution. This set the precedence for a robust administration in the Centre, entirely governed by civilian establishment.⁶²⁴

In December 1957, a coalition government with significant representation of Punjabi feudal landlords and civilian establishment came into force because of the erosion of

⁶²¹ Khan, M. A., & Friends, N. M. (1967). *A political autobiography*. Oxford UP, pp. 70-71.

⁶²² Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 183-184.

⁶²³ Ibid., pp. 184-187.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., pp. 187-188.

Muslim League's authority.⁶²⁵ The new government ignored the sanctity of the first Constitution as authority of the leading bureaucrats was enhanced, especially after the first constituent assembly's disbandment. The Muslim League was officially sidelined, however, the infighting between the ministers kept the attention away from critical issues facing the country like the non-implementation of One Unit Scheme, which brought an alliance based government. These conflicts, feuds and imbalance of power marked an end to the civilian supremacy and in 1958, the country came under the control of a military dictator General Ayub Khan who was strongly supported by the then President Iskander Mirza. This was the first successful martial law in Pakistan which facilitated the open intervention of the military in civilian government's affairs.⁶²⁶ The events between 1947 and 1958 shaped the future power dynamics of the country which witnessed military, democratic and hybrid regimes in the next six decades.⁶²⁷

The India Act of 1947 Independence continued to be functional in India and Pakistan until the finalization of the first Constitution by constituent assembly of the respective countries. The Act authorized the governor-general to exercise executive power, however, the leadership in India chose to operate the government according to the Westminster model. The model empowered the prime minister to run the country's governance and the president to perform the role of ceremonial head. The initiatives taken by the Congress in India reflected the party's eagerness to encourage centralized control of the party for the realization of independence from the British raj and to achieve the objective of enhancing parliamentary democracy in the country. As opposed to India, the governor-general or the president in Pakistan enjoyed significant powers and it reflected on the lack of commitment by the Muslim League, due to which India and Pakistan took opposite directions for democratization. The advantage with India was that the Congress

⁶²⁵ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, p. 188.

⁶²⁶ Khan, H. (2005). *Constitutional and political history of Pakistan*. Oxford university press, pp. 121–122.

⁶²⁷ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 188-189.

party expected a reformation of governance system, therefore, the party's leadership had a well-organized plan to pursue. Moreover, in order to encourage uniformity and unity in decision-making, the party stressed on the independence of the Congress Working Committee. The Congress was committed to establish an autonomous, centralized and representatively accountable administration, all the while trimming the powers of the president.⁶²⁸

The constituent assembly of India, in response to the reservations shown by its members about possible threats from an autocratic president, made modifications in the powers of the executive in order to secure the country's democracy from external intervention. The Congress party aimed to develop a governance system and a ceremonial president which could minimize conflicts and eliminate domination of the state. The drafting committee proposed the nomination of the prime minister by the president as per the parliamentary procedure through Instrument of Instructions. Accordingly, the amendment for restricting the presidential powers was unanimously passed by the constituent assembly.⁶²⁹ However, the first president of India, Rajendra Prasad, tried his luck by challenging the parliamentary legislation on a few issues. The president was responded with a cold shoulder, which strengthened the country's democratic process as no other president dared to challenge again. The Congress party practically displayed discipline which successfully helped India in consensus building on critical issues of the functioning of the country's constitutional establishments. The accepted procedures, decision-making processes and the will to succeed contributed in effectively dealing with constitutional matters.⁶³⁰

The lack of discipline in the Muslim League and the overt and covert interventions of non-elected entities in the country's governance became the reasons for Pakistan's

⁶²⁸ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 189-194.

⁶²⁹ Ibid., p. 193.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., pp. 193-194.

democratic descent. The surprise termination of the first constituent assembly was preceded by the disagreements over the first Constitution's approval and the unwarranted authority of civilian and military establishments in the power echelons. The leading political party, the Muslim League, neither possessed the strength to overcome challenges nor a well-defined structure for running the government. The party was entirely dependent on its leader and first Governor-General, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, however, Jinnah enjoyed ruling like an autocrat. The culture of prioritizing individuals over formal party procedures created difficulties for Pakistan and the Muslim League. The Governor-General Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as an unelected representative, strengthened executive powers over the prime minister. The excessive authority of governor-general was approved by the constituent assembly which relegated the power of elected representative. The dominating style of Jinnah as the Governor-General of Pakistan eclipsed the role of legislative assembly which had after-affects for years to come.⁶³¹

The power enhancement by unelected representatives of Pakistan became possible due to the absence of a strong political backing for Muslim League party in the nascent state. The elected representatives were under constant fear of the regional leaders' powers, therefore, in order to avoid conflicts, they preferred to confer the unelected appointees with non-constitutional authority. This was because of the tenuous governance of the Muslim League which remained such even after Jinnah's demise, as the leaders succeeding him followed a despotic path to cover up their shortcomings and remain in power. The period between 1951 and 1953 demonstrated infightings between the then Governor-General and Prime Minister of Pakistan. The regional leaders also created issues that added to the increasing imbalance in the country. In 1954, the waning power of political parties and the soaring of opposition factions concluded in a bureaucratic takeover. Since the Governor-General had already locked horns with the Prime Minister,

⁶³¹ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 194-195.

therefore, with military's backing, the premier was dismissed alongside the constituent assembly, consequently resulting in the fortification of power extra-constitutionally.⁶³²

The establishment of a centralized system in India became possible due to the reasonably centralized structure of Indian National Congress which became possible due to the unified coalition of different social groups. The Congress party's foresightedness regarding India's independence and its organized processes of sharing power helped the country in the peaceful transfer of power to democratic Constitution and formation of a stable government. The same rule was adopted for every Indian, irrespective of their party associations. In Pakistan, the power-sharing procedures possessed partiality by the Muslim League, such as the removal of huge illegal possessions by influential landlords from official records. The dominant party of Pakistan was ill-prepared for post-independence and it also failed to establish itself as a robust organization. The presence of a frail party organization affected the successive governments that had been just a step away from military or bureaucratic coup. There were also issues related to class conflicts which added to the misfortune of the current state of affairs in Pakistan.⁶³³

The evolving democracy in Pakistan was dented by the military and bureaucratic interventions, due to the failure of the leading political party in creating the basis for a secure support and garnering agreement over the procedures of power distribution. The Indian National Congress gathered its strength from extensive representation of the party which included urban and rural middle-class. The party successfully gathered support of the masses from different demographics because of the prudent establishment of coalitions and fulfilment of pledges for individuals' benefit. The alliance encouraged the unity of various segments of the society to help in the evolution of democracy. The scenario was quite the opposite in Pakistan where the Muslim league itself required a strong organization of the party. Moreover, the party established weak coalitions,

⁶³² Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 194-198.

⁶³³ Ibid., pp. 203-204.

confronted hurdles and did not possess the urge to unite the various social groups of the country. The Congress party in India followed the ideology of Gandhian nationalism, which focused on the development of national unity based on essential principles to help in the establishment, implementation and assessment of the processes. On the other hand, the Muslim League displayed inconsistency and followed the path completely opposite to how the Congress operated. Moreover, the structure of Congress was complex, however, it functioned with a centralized system. The Muslim League party failed to establish a structure; therefore, it was too fragile to stand on its feet.

The logical procedures followed by India and Pakistan are comparable as far as the route to democracy is concerned. The political parties in India were adaptable to change, as was displayed before gaining independence, regarding an agreement over resource distribution, hence, democracy in the country prevailed. However, in Pakistan, the absence of institutional adaptability resulted in an ambiguity with respect to democracy and this could be ascribed to class differences and complicated distribution of resources in the country.⁶³⁴ The elements of power-sharing such as tax obligations and job prospects, set the precedence for the development and character of political parties in India and Pakistan. The various factions in India were unable to prosper socially and economically before gaining independence. However, after the country became a sovereign state, the same social groups gathered extensive support which helped them in the establishment of robust political organizations. Nonetheless, the enthusiasm for building strong entities diminished where the influential class was sponsored by the British raj.

The political parties which were established in India and Pakistan post-independence, intended to fulfill the demands of influential and structured social groups that wanted to climb up the ladder of power. The new parties possessed accurate institutional systems, agendas and power-sharing settlements, due to which a transition was witnessed in the

⁶³⁴ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 205-212.

distribution of resources albeit the uninterrupted functions of social and political systems post-independence. The power-sharing formula between different groups was decided before India gained autonomy, which facilitated the country to strengthen its democracy. The Muslim League, on the contrary, showed indifference towards sharing power with the dominant rural aristocracy, which resulted in the departure of this powerful group from the party. As a consequence, the following governments lacked durability because of disagreements on organizational alliances. These circumstances facilitated the military to intervene and impose martial law.⁶³⁵

The current argument correlates with the contemporary research by Collier and Collier (1991),⁶³⁶ Riedl (2008),⁶³⁷ Smith (2005),⁶³⁸ and Mahoney (2001),⁶³⁹ who focus on the crucial phases of colonial autonomy and democratic progress after gaining independence, in order to understand the paths that the regimes adopt post-imperialism. According to these empiricists, the different arrangements of sharing power are usually decided among the political parties during the transition stage of independence. The structure, mobilization and institutionalization of significant political support in advance of the transition stage, guarantees stability of a regime. On the other hand, the instance of an unstable regime occurs when the leading political party is unsuccessful in developing an agreement over arrangement of power sharing, before gaining autonomy.

⁶³⁵ Tudor, M. (2013). *The promise of power: The origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 212-215.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., p. 217.

⁶³⁷ Riedl, R. B. (2008). *Institutions in new democracies: variations in African political party systems*. Princeton University.

⁶³⁸ Smith, A. (2012). Indigeneity, settler colonialism, white supremacy. *Racial formation in the twenty-first century*, 66.

⁶³⁹ Mahoney, J. (2001). *The legacies of liberalism: Path dependence and political regimes in Central America*. JHU Press.

However, scholars such as Huntington (1968),⁶⁴⁰ Brownlee (2007),⁶⁴¹ North (1990),⁶⁴² and Magaloni (2006)⁶⁴³ propose that the focus should not be on the political parties, instead the circumstances under which these parties primarily developed and established the support of the elite needs to be thoroughly examined for the comprehension of regime stability.



⁶⁴⁰ Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*.

⁶⁴¹ Brownlee, J. (2007). *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁶⁴² North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance*. Cambridge university press.

⁶⁴³ Magaloni, B. (2006). *Voting for autocracy: Hegemonic party survival and its demise in Mexico* (Vol. 296, p. 30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CONCLUSION

The independence of India and Pakistan was gained in the year 1947, after being formally ruled by the British for two hundred years. The undivided India had well-organized state institutions and standardized procedures which helped the East India Company (EIC) and the British raj to use and revise to domineer the administration of the colony. The EIC penetrated its control by overpowering the military and public entities of relatively larger Indian regions, but the Company was dissolved in 1874 and its power was transferred to the British raj. The British rule in India was skillfully designed to add those rules which were missing in the Mughal system.

In the early 1700s, an attempt was made by a few EIC officers to change commonly held belief of India being under the control of religious leaders but because the existing laws of the colony had a legal standing, therefore, no changes were made. Those laws were translated into English by hiring the services of Hindu pandits to facilitate the British judges in civil tribunals. The British officers eventually identified the shortcomings in Hindu and Islamic laws and made up for it by the introduction of British legal system, which facilitated in keeping the local laws intact alongside the British effect. There arose several issues due to the gap between local and English laws, nonetheless, the British legal system is still in use in India.

The idea of having an independent state was first conceived by the Indian National Congress party which also struggled for reforms in the British colony. The elite of India founded the party in 1885 and within no time it became popular among the masses as its objectives resounded with the common man, therefore, the Congress transformed into a strong movement. The common perception prevails that the real reason for a demonstrative democracy in India is its governance systems which were established by the British raj, and also the huge involvement of Indians in gaining autonomy. The Congress party is credited with the peaceful materialization of these efforts. The Muslims of undivided India also got the chance to be represented by a party which safeguarded

their freedom, and which also helped the Muslims in the implementation of a separate electorate system by the British colonial rule. The party was called the All India Muslim League, which was founded in the year 1906. The British, however, were successfully able to create an elite group in the region that followed English values and worked as intermediary between the British regime and the locals.

The partition of India and Pakistan (East Wing and West Wing) did not happen under ideal circumstances and the independence was overshadowed by a heavy loss of lives and mass migrations. According to estimates, around 12 million refugees moved to Pakistan, which was struggling with innumerable issues and had nothing to offer to those migrants. The insistence of Muhammad Ali Jinnah for an independent country for Muslims resulted in a haphazard demarcation of the borders of both countries. After independence, it did not take much time for India to implement its Constitution and conduct general elections within five years of independence. However, Pakistan's first Constitution came into effect nine years after gaining independence and the first general elections were held in 1970. The Constitution of India is influenced by sovereignty, democracy and social state of the society. Pakistan's Constitution on the other hand, takes inspiration from the rulings of Holy Quran and Sunnah, which in a way serves the political elite of the country. The foundations of governance structure in India were solidified by the Indian National Congress party, while, the Muslim league which was also the leading political party of Pakistan, lacked a durable political system.

The pre-established military in India benefitted the newly independent country, however, Pakistan built its own military from the ground up. India also enjoyed the complete transition of civilian control over military matters and because the country inherited a unitary Centre, therefore, it succeeded in experiencing peaceful transition of governance. On other side of the border, Pakistan had to undertake a herculean task of establishing different institutions from scratch but overlooked the various elements responsible for shaping the nascent country. Moreover, Jinnah avoided to explicitly declare Pakistan as secular, democratic or Islamic state. On the economic front, India took an edge as the country prospered from the produce of agricultural land. Pakistan got busy into protecting

its borders soon after partition, with frontiers of Kashmir carrying major significance as Kashmir has always remained a crucial case of conflict between India and Pakistan.

The state of India promoted an inclusive society and successfully controlled the regional and class distinctions in India, after partition. In contrast, Pakistan failed to get along with diversity and faced a number of challenges in striking a balance between the East Wing and West Wing. The Congress party's leadership, Jawaharlal Nehru in particular, eliminated obstacles including feudal system, and led India to the path of democratization. However, the Muslim League's leadership in Pakistan failed to strengthen democracy as those in power did not think beyond their personal interests and wished to uphold status quo. Moreover, Jinnah's death directly affected the Muslim League as he not only possessed political expertise but also held the leading political party intact. The real power was in bureaucracy's hands, while the feudal landlords had cordial connections with them and the law enforcement. The affluent individuals whose families had a strong association with the East India Company and the British rule in India played their part in Pakistan's politics in multiplying their wealth. This forced the professional and educated members of the Muslim league party to be shelved and resulted in the formation of nine fragile governments in the country between 1948 and 1958.

The first prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru prioritized economy and poverty alleviation over defense spending, which also sent a powerful message to the military to keep the institution away from overpowering the civilian government. The military was given authority in carrying out operational decisions after the war of 1962 with China, however, the power of taking critical decisions still remained with the civilian government. The ministry of defense in India plays the major role and is actively involved in the country's defense policy, which makes the military bound to be subordinate to it and adhere to the Constitution. The political parties in India have also always allowed the ruling party to run the government for effective evolution of democracy. The Congress party can be attributed to promoting the progressive culture of democratic norms and decentralization. The party was also successful in developing a mutual trust between the government and military which fostered a relationship of civilian rule by the military. The

Indian leader who is believed to have been an autocrat was Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who for saving her premiership, imposed a state of emergency through the president and adopted undemocratic means of incarcerating political opponents and imposing a ban on freedom of speech. However, the democratic backsliding can be said to begin in India in 2014, when Narendra Modi became the prime minister after the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) came to power. The ideology of the BJP is centered around Hindu nationalism, hence, the segments of the society assumed to be loyal to the country possess superior rights. The judiciary also seems to be in cahoots with the BJP led government.

The first decade after the creation of Pakistan saw the country surrounded by innumerable challenges, starting from power imbalance in the Centre to a delay in drafting the Constitution. The series of unfavorable events resulted in the dissolution of the constituent assembly due to the military intervention through a coup in October 1958. The first Commander-in-Chief trampled on the Constitution and ruled for over ten years, however the military rule remained till December 1971. The separation of East Pakistan into an independent state led to the resignation of the second military dictator after which the power was transferred to an elected leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The imposition of another military coup ousted the government and Bhutto was sentenced to death on charges of murder and was executed in 1979. The military dictator, Zia-ul-Haq's era came to an end due to his death in a plane crash in 1988.

On March 6, 2024 the Supreme Court of Pakistan passed its verdict on the presidential reference filed by Asif Ali Zardari, on April 2, 2011. The reference sought to revisit the sentence and execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court read a short order saying, "We did not find that fair trial and due process requirements were met."⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴⁴ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/1165049-zulfikar-ali-bhutto-didnt-get-a-fair-trial-sc-says-in-consensus-ruling>

In an interview, the late Benazir Bhutto reiterated her last meeting with her late father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the day before he was hanged on April 4, 1979. She said, “At the end of the meeting, I said I’d like to hug my father goodbye. He’d been the president, the prime minister, he’d dropped them back from the camps of India. They wouldn’t even open the cell door for me to kiss him goodbye.”

In an address to the US Congress on June 7, 1989 Benazir Bhutto said, “And for dictators across the world, democracy is the best revenge.”⁶⁴⁵

The Zia-ul-Haq’s regime made an alliance with religious parties and used the Islamist card to put a curb on civil liberties and freedom of speech which set the precedent for containing the voice of civilians in Pakistan. The rule of Zia empowered the civilian bureaucracy and military, who played an active role in the country’s politics and economy, and opened business ventures. The military also placed its officers on lucrative positions in the public and private sectors of the country. The blasphemy law in Pakistan was modified by Zia-ul-Haq, who used religion for his benefit which had serious repercussions in the years to come. In the period between 1988 and 1999, four general elections were held in the country which brought Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s daughter, Benazir Bhutto, and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif to power to alternately rule as prime ministers, two times each. These elected leaders exercised limited powers, even then their governments were dissolved prematurely, thrice by the then presidents and once through military intervention.

In October 1999, the Chief of the Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf seized power by dismissing Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and imprisoning the deposed prime minister and his cabinet members. The tradition of ruling dominantly like his predecessors continued by Musharraf, who despite conducting general and local body elections in the country, kept control with himself. He implemented policies in favor of the military, turning it into the most powerful institution of Pakistan, both financially and authoritatively. The

⁶⁴⁵ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSF38qwqU/>

politically tragic incident of the assassination of Pakistan People's Party chairperson Benazir Bhutto, during an election campaign in 2007 took place during Musharraf's rule as president. The resignation of Musharraf in 2008 was a consequence of the struggle of democratic parties for the supremacy of civilian government, which made it unavoidable for the military dictator to step down.

The first government in Pakistan to enjoy its full-term in office was the coalition led by the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), which made certain amendments in the Constitution for empowering the legislative assembly. Still, no prime minister has been able complete his/ her five-year term in office as those elected in 2008 and 2013 were disqualified by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The prime minister elected in 2013 was disqualified for life and was sentenced to ten years in prison. The Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) led coalition government was formed in 2018 and was believed to have a strong support of the military and judiciary. However, that government was dissolved through a vote of no confidence in Prime Minister Imran Khan, who is facing multiple charges of corruption alongside his wife and is imprisoned, while his spouse is under house arrest. The elections in February 2024 brought another coalition government to power in Pakistan, nonetheless, the presence of unelected members in the prime minister's cabinet has created doubts about the sanctity of the current democratic government.

The military dictators in Pakistan have always escaped persecution, unlike the civilian politicians whose prosecution is usually a step away from their dismissal. The military dictator, Pervez Musharraf, was sentenced to death on charges of high treason by a special court in Pakistan, however, the judgement remained pending while Musharraf was allowed to leave the country, where he stayed till his death last year.⁶⁴⁶ The successive democratic governments after Musharraf's rule have been partly or completely influenced by the military, which is why they have been dependent on the military before taking major decisions. Moreover, when an elected government perceives a threat from

⁶⁴⁶ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-50819772>

democratic forces, it usually runs to the military for help instead of resolving the issue amongst themselves.

The military of Pakistan possesses a sense of entitlement to safeguard politics, economy and ideological boundaries of the country, together with protecting borders. The military takes major chunk of the annual budget and owns large corporate organizations. The highest civilian positions are occupied by the serving and retired military officials which shrinks the share of opportunities for civilians. The lack of resources and reduced job opportunities creates a vacuum of professionals in the country as civilians are pushed to seek better job opportunities elsewhere.

The interviews taken by the legal, political and military experts from Pakistan and India reveal that Pakistan is not a democracy in the true sense and it is taking baby steps towards evolution. The absence of awareness, low literacy rate, and poverty add up to the country's dilapidating state of democracy. The actual power consistently remains with the military establishment, which enjoys 360-degree control over the country. The coup of 1999 led the military to stay at the backfoot and instead tried for hybrid regime formula as the international and local pressures keep the military away from direct intervention. Moreover, Pakistan is a country for the elite, where a few rich families with majority belonging to feudal backgrounds, decide the fate of over 240 million population. The international players with the significant role of India, are also responsible for democratic instability in the country.

The death of Pakistan's founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, can be one of the reasons for the country's unstable democracy since it did not get time to reorganize itself post-independence. However, the armed forces of Pakistan were trained under the British military before gaining independence, therefore, they exhibited a sense of superiority in their ranks. In Pakistan, politics is not limited to democratic governance as it is largely controlled by the feudal, civilian and military establishments. The judicial authority also seems to be compromised most of the time. The country under Zia's military rule suffered through transition from secular to an Islamic state. Moreover, Zia was the architect behind a number of amendments made in the Constitution which included those limiting the

supremacy of parliament and the undue use of religion. The coup by Musharraf facilitated the military's crucial role in areas of foreign and security policies of Pakistan.

In India, the democratic system was prioritized by the unique vision of their founder, Jawaharlal Nehru, who respected public's mandate and safeguarded democracy by disallowing the ambitious Generals to further serve the institution. The country was also fortunate to have an ethnically diversified military which made the Indian Generals refrain from overstepping a democratic government. Despite the fact that India's democracy is far from perfect, its political system is mature and displays a healthy democracy which is bound to thrive. The hardships endured by the Indian leaders, especially during the freedom movements, may be the reason for the country's firm belief in democracy. The Indian political system has also matured because of the country's land reforms, achievement of advanced education, and an inclusive society. The last decade has seen a transformation in India's governance system which traditionally operated under the banner of secularism, however, with the BJP government in the Centre, the inclusion of religion seems to have become a necessity. The Modi government has blended Hinduism with patriotism to take advantage of the Hindu majority population in the country.

The political structure of India is similar to a robust federal system, but it still needs improvement as the country is under the influence of corruption due to economic disparity. Nonetheless, the civilian government made it possible to turn India into the world's leading economies. The Indian politics has the advantage of getting mature leadership that start their career from grassroots level and gradually make it to the top. The politics of Narendra Modi is no different, as he started off his political career as a counselor before ascending to the position of prime minister of India.

The religious extremism in Pakistan is believed to have begun when the first Muslim stepped on the subcontinent, however, some interview experts are of the opinion that it started as late as the military coup of 1977. It is the same time when Soviet Union attacked Afghanistan, yet, the military dictator Zia-ul-Haq intensified religious intolerance in the country through his extremist approach. The Islamic organizations in the country have

not been formally established but political parties have occasionally used religious extremism in order to cover up their weaknesses. There are other factors such as the military aid to Pakistan for Jihad (fighting) in Afghanistan, the sudden rise of the Taliban and the empowerment of clerics as decision-makers of the country which have fueled religious extremism in the country. The 9/11 incident in the U.S. worked as a catalyst in nurturing the roots of extremism.

The other major factors which contributed in the rise of incidents related to religious intolerance in Pakistan include poverty, illiteracy and unregistered madrassas. The children from poor backgrounds are usually sent to madrassas for receiving sustenance and religious education as the parents cannot afford their financial responsibility. The military has been seen colluding with certain religious outfits to fulfill their institutional interests. Moreover, the Mujahideen (Muslim fighters), who took part in the Soviet-Afghan war became unemployed after the end of war which gave an opportunity to certain elements in the society to manipulate them as and when needed.

The Eighth amendment was enacted in Pakistan's Constitution in 1985, during dictator Zia's rule and it granted authority to the president of the country to dissolve an elected government. This amendment was repealed in 1997, but annulled in 2002 when another military dictator, Musharraf, was the president. The amendment was finally reversed in 2010, through the introduction and implementation of Eighteenth amendment. The abolition and reversal of Eighth amendment facilitated the establishment of a democratic culture which strengthened the legitimate powers of the legislature. Still, the possibility of influencing the parliamentary authority cannot be ruled out as the military always has backup plans to overpower democracy, at times with the help of judiciary and civilian bureaucracy. The unseen forces also do not let the democratic governments operate smoothly and are often on the run to influence the legislature and judiciary.

According to the Constitution of Pakistan, the supremacy of parliament is to be upheld and the military interference in politics is disallowed. In April 2023, the Director General of Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) categorically announced the military's non-involvement in the country's politics. This statement has been welcomed and appreciated

by all quarters, however, there are doubts regarding its accuracy, since general perception of the military being the major influence on power politics, discounts the possibility. Still, the political institutions in the country must work together to establish significant powers in order to reduce its dependence on the military. It is crucial for the successors of the current military setup to respect the stance, nonetheless, the final responsibility falls on the country's political leadership which should mend its internal issues. A weak political setup means giving leverage to the military to get their demands fulfilled without noise. The Pakistan military falls under the scope of the ministry of defense, but that does not let the institution forgo the possibility of wielding power, hence, to consider the military to completely back off from political interference may be limited to statements only.

The political setups in India also did not rule on bed of roses and the process of democratization went through tumultuous times, especially when some of the coalition governments failed to complete their tenure. However, these circumstances did not compel the military to intervene, even in times when the political or external security situation of the country was at risk. The adaptation of India to the already established structures by the British raj could be the major reason for a thriving democracy in India as this promoted the integration of electoral politics with little challenges. The ideology of the Indian National Congress party which focused on a unified and inclusive nationalism is also the reason for a flourishing democracy in the country.

The Congress party of India believed in representative democracy which helped the country in formulating its Constitution and establishing a unified state. The Congress successfully dominated Indian politics and promoted centralized government soon after India gained independence. But, with the passage of time, an inclusive approach was adopted by the leading political party, in order to respect the demands and interests of individuals from various regions and social segments of the country. The Indian democracy is credited with embracing the languages, religions, castes, and social classes of its diversified country. The minorities were given an opportunity to be included in the democratic process, in order to enhance democracy in the country. There have been instances of violence and unrest also, but the size and diversity of India have encouraged

democratic tolerance among individuals. The strong federal system in the country can be credited to the regional identities in India as the representatives from all social groups play their part in the resolution of political conflicts. In short, India can be considered a strong democracy, despite the presence of patronage democracy, which may not be favorable for its governance on macro level.

The history of Pakistan reveals that the military dictators of the country have tried to stay in power for as long as they could drag and assumed the President's office to give it the appearance of democracy. The military dictators trampled over the Constitution, incarcerated political rivals and got involved in ventures which benefitted them as well as the institution. In the quest to exercise and maintain power, the military personnel are appointed on significant civilian positions. The armed forces of Pakistan have built business empires for which they have been successful in getting subsidies and paying paltry taxes.⁶⁴⁷

The military coups in Pakistan, after the first one, witnessed unprecedented events inside or in the neighboring country Afghanistan. The separation of the East Wing from the West Wing took place in 1971, during the second martial law rule. The third martial law in the country was followed by Soviet War in Afghanistan and during the event, Pakistan sent its trained fighters called Mujahideen to the neighboring country for a combat with Soviet forces. The fourth martial law was followed by 9/11 incident in the U.S. which forced Pakistan to be an ally of the superpower in its war against terrorism. The incident followed a full-fledged war in Afghanistan in the Taliban-controlled regions; however, these attacks pushed the Taliban forces into Pakistan who initiated terrorist attacks against the country for its alliance with the U.S. The War on Terrorism (WoT) in Pakistan displaced hundreds of thousands of people from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (now merged in KP). Pakistan continues to pay

⁶⁴⁷ Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://theasianobserver.com/why-how-military-business-survived-in-pakistan/>, Retrieved on May 11, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2008/2/17/pakistani-armys-20bn-business>

the price for its active participation in the WoT, which has cost thousands of lives and loss of property as well.

The religious parties of Pakistan have often been the source of obstruction for the evolution of democracy, and the actual use of religion in the country can be said to be limited to symbolism. The rule of the first and only female prime minister of Pakistan was stigmatized by the religious factions for Benazir Bhutto being a woman. She was accused of having certain political affiliations inside and outside the country and was perceived to be the West's agent, mainly because of her education from the U.K. and U.S. The role of religious parties is not into maligning the politicians only, since, any unpleasant incident in the country or outside gives an opportunity to the religious fanatics to take to the streets and bring the whole country to a standstill. These religious elements also play the significant role of non-state actors who rush in support of the powers that be, as and when needed.

The regular interference of civil and military establishments in politics and the unjustified allocation of the military budget have led to a relatively weak democracy in Pakistan. The late Benazir Bhutto gave an interview to a foreign channel, in which she talked about Pakistan and said, "I found it to be a state within the state. I was the Prime Minister of Pakistan and while I was the Prime Minister of Pakistan, I found ISI officials approaching my parliamentarians and asking them to defect from me, asking them to vote against me. In my second term, I have heard about ISI officials approaching the Chief Justice of Pakistan and offering him the interim prime ministership in case he helped topple my government. There was money coming into Pakistan in suitcases, this money was used by the retired Generals who were there serving in Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) to set up schools. They have endowments of their own and now they can recruit and train and do what they want independently. It is the agenda of certain retired Generals who then make and break governments to get their favorites appointed in the ISI and even to some

extent in the judiciary and the civil administration and then they work through these to turn Pakistan into a theocracy.’’⁶⁴⁸

The theory of civil-military relations by Samuel P. Huntington on “objective civilian control,” stresses on the clear separation between civilian government and the military. The theory weighs significance with regard to the study on trajectory of democratization in India and Pakistan. The research analysis shows that democracy in India seems to have successfully evolved in the last seventy-seven years of its existence. The country took the path to democracy, primarily because of the visionary leadership of the founding father of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, who as prime minister of the country, limited military’s control and kept it subordinate to civilian government. Moreover, the Indian politicians also deserve to be credited as they have always respected the winning party’s mandate and refrained from creating hurdles for democratic governments.

On the other hand, military of Pakistan is considered to be the country’s most powerful institution. The military’s responsibility is to control the borders and keep a check on external threats, however, their involvement is well beyond their domain and to control the country is as important for Pakistan’s military as are the borders. The sense of entitlement makes them overlook sanctity of the Constitution and civilian government’s commands. The civilian governments in Pakistan have always maintained a respectful relationship with the military and abstained from interfering in its operations, decisions and knowledge. However, the imposition of martial laws in the past and the existence of weak elected governments in the country, have empowered the military to keep vested interests above public interests. All these actions by the Pakistan military could be the contributing factors in weakening the prospects of democratization in Pakistan as its military activities contradict with Huntington’s theory of objective civilian control.

⁶⁴⁸ Retrieved on May 11, 2024,
<https://twitter.com/FarhatullahB/status/1775177358238265687?t=tBbAEp8OW7GRjk47rk6AhQ&s=08>

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Result of the Evaluation by the Ethics Committee

Result of the Evaluation by the Ethics Committee is available in the printed version of this dissertation.

