

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

A Survey of Power Politics of Pakistan: From Genesis to the End of Twentieth Century

Dr. Mazher Hussain

Lecturer, Department of History, The Islamia University, Bahawalpur, Pakistan

Mian Saeed Ahmad

Research Scholar, Department of History, The Islamia University, Bahawalpur, Pakistan

Dr. Aftab Hussain Gillani

Associate Professor, Department of History, The Islamia University, Bahawalpur, Pakistan

Abstract:

The Pakistan has a unique political history about dictators & constitutions. The Government of India Act 1935 has been considered a role model in Pakistan politics by the power brokers who wanted to centralized powers into one hand. Hence; under the Act Governor General of Pakistan enjoyed continuity of the unlimited powers. From Jinnah to Musharraf politics of Pakistan revolved around the personalities in Pakistan. Governor General was a symbol of Federation having supreme authority over the appointment and dismissal of the prime minister and shuffling the cabinet. What Governor General Ghulam Mohammad done with Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin on April 17, 1953 and in with Muhammad Ali Bogra in 1954 became a legacy and it passed on in forthcoming decades till the end of 20th Century AD and resultantly Democracy turned into the puppet playing in the hands of few personalities or the champions of uniform. it was no longer remained a sequence of continuation of the process in which every individual of the society would surely have its share. Since the independence, the political parties and workers gave way to the politics of scuffle and intolerance. Therefore; the power brokers assumed control over the power corridors. The article in hand throws light on the advent and sway of the power politics from its genesis to the end of twentieth century AD.

Keywords: *Legitimacy, abrogated the constitution, constitutional deviation, oligarchy*

Since, the Day of Independence, Pakistan has faced so many problems and crisis. A huge list of problems was waiting for new Pakistan. Pakistan got independence according to 3rd June Plan, soon after independence Pakistan implemented Indian Act 1935 with some amendments which was called interim Constitution of Pakistan 1947. Constitution framing was the major problem of the country; interim constitution does not fulfill the requirement of the new country which was demanded on special ideology. With reference to the separate identity of the Muslims in India the emergence of Pakistan was due to the great sacrifices, political complications and difficulties. The Two Nation theory became the logic of the Pakistan Movement. Since the day of independence Pakistan have face so many problems and crisis. A huge list of problems was waiting for new Pakistan. Pakistan got independence according to 3rd June Plan, Constitution framing was the major problem of the country; interim constitution does not fulfill the requirement of the new country which was demanded on special ideology. When Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947, then it was facing a lot of problems with the issue of legislation was basic and on top of priorities. For the time being, the Government of India Act 1935 was implemented with amendments in some important sections in supplementary and subsidiary articles and was named as Government Act of Pakistan 1947. It was implemented and declared as an interim Constitution of the Pakistan. This Act was not the reflection of national and religious objectives of the state, but was the starting point for the legislation of Islamic State. The Act was itself could not fulfill the requirement of the principles of Islamic State. While a country which has been founded on Islamic ideology was in need of such constitution, which should be in accordance with the ancient and modern Islamic demands.

As in an Islamic society Allah the Almighty is considered to be the only origin of power and this law can't be changed in any circumstances. The united power of public and rulers and even the emperor and the parliament are not above divine law and neither can they overrule them. Hence, for the achievement of this destiny the nation embarked on the journey of legislation. Pakistan as a newborn country was a victim of difficulties from the very first day, in which included constitution, system of government, religion, language, regional representation and the leadership crisis and all these issues kept the soil of Pakistan as without legislation. Without any doubt Pakistan was given numerous problems in inheritance which included border disputes, water crisis, defiance issue, the big issue of the rehabilitation of the refugees, currency, communications, state infrastructure, borrowed constitution, untrained democratic society, economic misery and uncertain situation with an addition of a long list of problems. The preparation of Constitution is always a difficult task for any nation. During its compilation the social, political and religious demands are taken into consideration; whereas

the peoples and politicians of Pakistan were not acquainted with any such democratic or constituent experience in the past. Hence, a constitution for an Islamic ideological state like Pakistan was not an easy task. This fact was also acknowledged by the Father of Nation, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) in his own words that "This is an extraordinary deed and I guess that it will take 18 months to two years for accomplishing this uphill task."¹[Chaudhary, Muhammad Ali, 1984]Unfortunately the prediction of Quaid-e-Azam could not be fulfilled and Pakistan remained the victim of slow going constituent process and with the passage of time, this crisis further became worse. The political crisis and failure of systems was the result of conflict between democratic and undemocratic forces. Dismissal of Khawaja Nazimuddin, Mohammad Ali Bogra, Chaudhary Muhammad Ali, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, Feroz Noon, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Muhammad Khan Junejo, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were victims of this power game system. In British India, the Governor General decided the political fate but after independence in Pakistan, the power had been transferred to Bureaucrats and Military Generals. We can see the solid example since the Pakistan established, right after the Nine day the NWFP government was dismissed in 1948, on the charges of corruption and bribery. Chief Minister Sind, Ayub Khuro Ministry was dismissed; the Punjab was not also remaining safe from those effects and in 1949 Chief Minister Punjab, Iftikhar Mamdot dismissed by the Governor General. Moreover, Ghulam Mohammad dismissed the Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin cabinet on April 18, 1953 and later the Governor-General dismissed again Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra's cabinet and Legislature Assembly of Pakistan on October 24, 1954. This tradition led to the Pakistan in political black hole. Keith Collard mentions in his analysis about the damages inflicted to the political and democratic process: "The consequences of night attack of the Governor General were extremely grave and in this process three significant traditions of parliamentary government were either destroyed or received irreparable loss. The most important tradition which was smashed was the impartiality of the Governor General."²[Keith Collard, 1969]. The traditions were continued by his successor Major General Iskander Mirza. Governor General Ghulam Muhammad and Iskander Mirza as much damage Pakistan's politics; they are the pioneer of all illness in political system of Pakistan. I suggested these peoples highly deserve for strict accountability. These two men belong to civil services but due to the malpractices, conspiracies and weak political system they reached at the rank of the Governor General. We can say it was the Bureaucracy Coup, Iskander Mirza, with the help of Ayub Khan imposed the First Martial Law in Pakistan. It also to be noted that Ayub Khan was extra ordinary obliged by Governor General Iskander Mirza who extend his services twice times.³[Feldman, Herbert, 1970] If he was not awarded such kindness may be the traditions of our politics could be in right direction. President of Pakistan overturned the table of Constitution and Democracy on October 07, 1958 by imposing Martial Law and appointed to General Muhammad Ayub Khan as Chief Martial Law Administrator. In Pakistan's history it was great deceit that President expresses grief on the dismissal of Prime Minister and repents in his letter: I am very sorry that this decisive revolutionary step had to be taken by me in your tenure of Prime Minister. I have great respect for you in my heart and whatever will be necessary for your personal pleasure and welfare, I will do without any delay for you.⁴[Ahmed Saleem, 1997] Ayub Khan was not feeling comfortable in this situation, although he was CMLA, he decided to play the final round with Iskander Mirza, after 20 days on the night of October 27th Lt. General Wajid Burki, Lt. General Azam Khan and Major General Sher Bahadur Khan comes to the President House, they have some negotiation with President, They forced to resign, with a little hesitation and fear President was convinced. The course of entire dictatorship was clean up.⁵[Munir Ahmed, p. 1997]. General Ayub Khan dismissed the President of Pakistan, Iskander Mirza and sent him on exile to London and holds the complete control of the country. General Ayub Khan, while addressing the nation said that: The country was facing total destruction and its solidarity was also in danger. If we had allowed the present unrest and anarchy to continue, then the history would never have forgiven us.⁶[Ahmed Saleem, 1997]. He cancelled the Constitution of Pakistan 1956 and declared new Constitution on June 08, 1962, which continued till March 25, 1969. Ayub Khan managed the country politically over a decade. When the decline of Ayub Khan was started, while he was celebrating 10 years ruled the country. Combined Opposition Parties (COP), forced to pull down the Ayub Khan by nationwide strikes. On March 14, 1969, Ayub Khan agreed for civil political set up. Ayub Khan made a biggest blunder in his life, according to the political tradition "Transferred of Power" must be hand over to the political personality but he deviate and gone against the constitutional and political culture, he handover the Govt. General Yahiya Khan. He was appointed as COAS on June 18, 1966. He was also promoted out of turn as Rank of General while, Lt. General Malik Abdul Qadir and Lt. General Rana Bakhtawar were the senior most officers. General Ayub Khan blessed him as Brigadier over thirteen was seniors ⁷[Shahid Mukhtar, 2003] because he was blue eye General Ayub Khan. Yahiya Khan took charge from Ayub Khan as CMLA; he also again abrogated the Constitution of 1962 and issued the LFO on March, 28, 1970, which continue till April 17, 1972. Yahiya Khan established an Executive Council to look after the state affairs and includes General Abdul Majeed, General G. M. Pirzada, General Khudadad, General Mitha, General Umer and Major General Kiani was added.⁸[Asghar Khan, 1983] The Pakistan had faced the worst damage of its birth on December 16, 1971, when East Pakistan was becomes Bangle Dash in Yahiya Khan Era. In this worst political situation, Z.A Bhutto was one and only popular political figure in Pakistan, so the Govt. was handover to him on December 20, 1971. When Z. A. Bhutto gets the power, he was facing acute political and constitutional issues.

¹Chaudhary, Muhammad Ali, Emergence of Pakistan, Maktaba-e- Caravan, Lahore, 1984, p.195

²Keith Collard, Pakistan, A Political Study, London, 1968, p.220

³Feldman, Herbert, From Crisis to Crisis: Pakistan 1962-1969, London, 1970, p. 89

⁴Ahmed Saleem, Assemblian, Ihtesab Aur Adlia, Sarang Publications, Lahore, 1997, p.81

⁵Munir Ahmed, General Muhammad Yahiya Khan Shakhshiat-o-Kirdar, Lahore, 1997, p. 141

⁶Ahmed Saleem, Assemblian, Ihtesab Aur Adlia, Lahore, 1993, p.90

⁷Mukhtar Shahid, Pakistan Main Fuji Hakumatyain, Lahore, 2003, p.44

⁸Khan, Asghar, Generals in Politics: Pakistan 1958-1982, New Delhi, 1983, p.117

After the great tragedy of 1971, the first time ever political and military power combine in public figure Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto hold presidential powers and COAS. Bhutto joined Pakistan's politics in 1958 and earned a unique place. Indeed, the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 was the legendary achievement. Moreover, the public was demanding the accountability of General Yahiya Khan, some emotional were demand for hanging of Yahiya Khan.

As a President and Civilian CMLA, Bhutto just retired the most of Generals which were close to Yahiya Khan. Bhutto focused on the political and constitutional issues. Firstly, he takes votes of confidence in parliament and elected president by voting 114 and Sardar Sherbaz Mazari score 38 votes only.⁹[HamidKhan,1996] Bhutto passed the Interim Constitution 1972 and lifts the Martial Law on April 10, 1972. After the bitter experiences of the past to stop the wave of Martial Law in Pakistan, moreover for the protection of the Constitution a new article was introduced in Constitution of Pakistan 1973, Article: 6; It was promised that now Pakistan would never face Martial Law again because of this Article, the conviction of the article was declared high treason and awarded the death penalty. Maulana Kausar Niazi (1934-1994) mentioned in his book, Air Force officers Mr. Blatti, from the American Embassy told to, Air Chief Marshal Zulfiqar Ali Khan (1930-2005) that Lt. General Zia-ul-Haq would be the expected new Army Chief.¹⁰[Maulana KausarNiazi, 1987]This disclosure was thought to be vicious at that time, as according to the seniority list General Zia was a junior most office, so Air Chief Marshal Zulfiqar Khan didn't take it seriously and laughed it out.

However, when General Zia-ul-Haq was appointed as Army Chief, Air Chief Marshal was extremely shocked. Mr. Z. A. Bhutto especially appointed to General Zia-ul-Haq as COAS by overturn promotion by seven General were senior at that time General Zia was blue eyed of Mr. Bhutto. On March 01, 1976 Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto surprised everyone by nominating Lt. General Zia-ul-Haq as Chief of the Army Staff including General Tikka Khan, Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General, Muhammad Sharif, Lt. General, Muhammad Akbar Khan, Lt. General, Aftab Ahmed Khan, Lt. General, Azmat Bax Awan, Lt. General, Agha Ibrahim Akram, Lt. General, Ghulam Jilani Khan and Lt. General, Zia-ul-Haq himself. Bhutto selected a junior most General for the post and also applied his special authority to nominate General Muhammad Sharif as Chairman Joint Chief of Staff Committee, but the time proved that Bhutto's selection was absolutely wrong.

Brigadier Irshad Tirmizi mentioned in his book that the selection of Zia-ul-Haq as Army Chief by Bhutto was not an ordinary thing, and there were some factors which motivated him, as out of 21 army rebellions against Z.A. Bhutto, 15 were Court Marshaled by Zia-ul-Haq from 1971 to 1976.¹¹[Irshad HussainTirmizi, 2004] Furthermore, the humanity and humbleness of Zia-ul-Haq were obvious which influenced and inspired Bhutto very much and he became the victim of this coquetry. From March 01, 1976 to August 17, 1988, Zia-ul-Haq spent a very hectic time and as COAS and overthrew the Government of Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on July 05, 1977through "Operation Fair Play"¹²[Faiz AliChishty, 1992] and imposed 3rdMartial Law in the history of the country. It was dark time in Pakistan for democracy. The Constitution of Pakistan 1973, which were practices successfully, soon it was also amended, suspended and Martial Law continue from 1977-85. Muhammad Khan Junejo was giving indications of an ending the Martial Law. He ultimately demanded to remove the Martial Law from the President. Junejo said that, "Our government can't become a part of your Martial Law" so time frame may be finalized for the elimination of Martial Law."¹³ [Shahid Javed Burki, 1988]The demand of the Prime Minister was shocking. According to Shahid Javed; this thing produced an ordinary quake in the mind of Zia-ul-Haq.¹⁴ [Ghafoor Ahmad, 1988] Due to this reason the gulf between both the leaders further widened. Similarly, Junejo took another step and dismissed a very reliable comrade of Zia-ul-Haq, the Secretary Information and Broadcasting. Lt. General, Mujibur Rahman from his post and Major General, Agha Naik Akhtar was also replaced from DG Intelligence Bureau, Junejo fired the Foreign Minister, Lt. General Yaqub Khan, and he also sacks Dr. Mehboob-ul Haq, Dr. Asad. And moreover he refused to give extension to Joint Chairman Army Chief General Akhtar Abdul Rahman, General Rahim Dad and Vice Chief of Army Staff, K.M. Arif. He appointed Lt. General Mirza Aslam Beig as Vice Chief of Army Staff. The President was too much disappointed with all these action of Mr. Junejo. By the end of 1986 the differences had converted in to hostility. This conflict was also influencing the internal and external affairs, but the President was forced to defend his Prime Minister, but Junejo would never spare any opportunity to challenge the authority of the President. This was not acceptable to the President as the world nations had focused their attention on the Afghanistan War and inside the country the Afghanistan issue was also a source of difference between the President and the Prime Minister, as both of them were insisting on their individual plan of action.

The President's stance was that Junejo was deliberately keeping him unaware of the process of the finalizing of the foreign policy on Afghanistan issue and he was taking these steps at a time when the Afghan issue had entered its last phase. Now Zia-ul-Haq realized that Junejo was a politician of local level and through his courtesy he was raised on the high rank of the country and now he was not

⁹Khan, Hamid, The Constitutional & Political History of Pakistan, Karachi, 1996, p. 349

¹⁰Niazi, Maulana Kausar, Aur line Kat Gai, Jung Publishers, Lahore. 1987, p. 86

¹¹Tirmizi, Irshad Hussain, Hassaas Adarey, Zahid Basher Publishers, Lahore, 2004, p, 71

¹²Operation Fair Play, General Zia-ul-Haq and his team arrange a Operation against Z.A. Bhutto's Government on July 05, 1977. Lt.General Faiz Ali Chishty, X- Crop Commander Rawalpindi was in charge of the Operation. Further Details he mentioned in his book, Bhutto Zia Aur Mein, Jang Publishers, Lahore, 1992, Faiz AliChishty.

¹³Burki, Shahid Javed, Pakistan under Bhutto 1971-77, Hong Kong, 1988,p. 245

¹⁴Ghafoor Ahmad, Phir Martial Law Agya, Lahore , 1988, p.56

only doing act of ungratefulness with him but also proving unfaithful him. He was not worth the position of the Prime Minister even.¹⁵ [Ahmad Saleem, Zia Key Baad, 1990]. In May 1988 the differences between Zia-ul-Haq and Junejo had become rivalry. When Zia-ul-Haq sensed this fact, that Junejo might not become more damaging, so he planned a strategy to get rid of him. Prime Minister Junejo returned from the official visit of China, Korea and the Philippines on May 29, 1988 at the Islamabad Airport, President Zia-ul-Haq also called a press conference at 6.45PM. President's House Rawalpindi, he announced the dissolving of the National Assembly and Federal Cabinet and dismissal of Junejo's government. It was the first assembly and government which were dismissed under the 8th Amendment. The order issued by the President for the dismissal of assembly and the cabinet had the following contents:

- The objectives for which the National Assembly was elected could not be achieved.¹⁶ [The Daily Jung, May 30, 1988].

The dismissal of the Junejo government was a ruthless and in the process he also dissolved National and Provincial Assemblies. Although their action was according to the law which gave discretionary powers to the President. In last 11 years of General Zia's rule, does the political system in Pakistan were strengthened? The answer is very simple absolutely "No". Only Just General Zia's rule was safe and stronger. The Political system of Pakistan was just more than a rubber stamp. General Zia has no respect and regard about constitution, what is the Constitution, if I tore the book of 10/12 pages tomorrow I can start a new system, under the new ruling who can stop me.¹⁷ [Zafar Iqbal, 1994] Such statements of General Zia-ul-Haq's disclaimer, that he is bound to military principles and regulation, they don't care about any other law of the country or any other ethics. After Zia-ul-Haq death new General Elections was held on November 1988 and Benazir Bhutto becomes first lady Prime Minister of Pakistan. COAS arrange a meeting with Benazir Bhutto before taking oath at GHQ, they make it clear, she would not interfere in Afghan Policy, Foreign Policy, Army Affairs and not disturb the 8th Amendment and not to be adopted the revenge policy against Zia-ul-Haq family. She was compelled to carry out the previous political structure. Moreover, Care Taker President of Pakistan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Yaqub Khan and V. A. Jaffrey were part of new political set up. She was highly uncomfortable in this situation, and finally after 18 month President of Pakistan, exercises his authority and dismissed the Benazir Bhutto Govt. on August 6, 1990. Benazir Bhutto reacted on the decision, said; termination of my Govt. was decided in GHQ. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Charges on the Govt. corruption, mishandling in law and order and Country was not operation according to the constitution. New General Elections were declared on October 1990 and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif becomes Prime Minister of Pakistan. Mian Nawaz Sharif had worked twice time as Chief Minister of Punjab. He was popular names among the politicians and part of Islami Jamhuri Ittehad, (IJI). This political Alliance was combined by 9 political parties. Ex DG, ISI, General Hameed Gull specially launched it by the order of COAS General Mirza Aslam Beig on 1988. Mian Nawaz Sharif arouses difference of opinions and further converts in to clashes with President of Pakistan. After the retirement of General Mirza Aslam Beig, General Asif Nawaz Janjua becomes new COAS. Political situation were going worst to worst in Sind, he started operation for the criminal elements but mysteriously he was died on January 8, 1992. Later on General Abdul Waheed Kakar becomes new COAS unexpectedly.

When the clashes were enhanced and opposition parties were demanding resignation of PM. Mian Nawaz Sharif was reached at point of no return. The President had decided to play final round, so he again utilized his powers and dismissed the Nawaz Govt. on April 17, 1993. The Speaker National Assembly challenged the decision in Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, full bench started hearing day by day on May 26, 1993, The Supreme Court restored the Mian Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister. PM started fiction but political crises were going to be serious, the relation between Prime Minister and President just like a time bomb, which could be explode at any time. Finally with involvement of COAS both personalities resigned from their post and disappear. In this event COAS played a very decisive role and save the country for more political destruction. Again new General Elections were held on October 1993 and Benazir Bhutto elected second time Prime Minister of Pakistan. After framing the government, parliament elected Sardar Farooq Ahmad Laghari as President of the Pakistan. It was second chance the PPP had elected their President of Pakistan since 1973, first was Chaudhary Fazal Elahi and second Mr. Laghari. Again the difference started between President and PM. Mr. Farooq Laghari was stressing to operate the government on the constitutional patron. While, she had learnt nothing from the past politics and she again and again made mistakes, Mr. Laghari warned her, if she will violate the constitution, he would be no hesitation to use his authority. It is irony of the fate, the President of Pakistan, hits the final stroke with Article 58-2b and dismissed the Benazir Bhutto's government on November 5, 1996. The extremely close and reliable companion of Benazir Bhutto, President Farooq Ahmed Khan Laghari, once again using his constitutional powers dismissed her government. Behind the screen the Army was not in favor on Benazir Bhutto. On her dismissal, she reacted hidden forces does not wanted my government,¹⁸ [Aisha Jalal, 1990]. So that they compelled to the President to dismissed my government. She was pointed about COAS Jahangir Karamat, who was appointed by Benazir Bhutto. The new General Election was scheduled.

Mian Nawaz Sharif took oath as second time Prime Minister of Pakistan on February 1997. In an interview, he said, in the presence of 8th Amendment no elected democratic government would not be able to complete its tenure and if he gained majority in the parliament

¹⁵ Ahmad Saleem, Zia Key Baad, Lahore, 1990, p. 189

¹⁶ The Daily Jung, Lahore, May 30, 1988

¹⁷ Zafar Iqbal, Aain say Enharaf, Meraj Printers, Lahore, 1994, p. 129

¹⁸ Jalal, Aisha, The State of Martial Law Rule, Cambridge, 1990, p. 175

he would abolish it.¹⁹ [The Daily Jung, Lahore, March 23, 1997]. Nawaz Sharif had learnt lesson from the past events and during the initial days of his government, he proved himself as the strongest Prime Minister of Pakistan by abolishing the constitutional powers of the President. He passed the 13th Amendment and eliminates the fatal powers of the President of the Pakistan and restores the Constitution of 1973 in original shape. Nawaz Sharif confrontation with the judiciary on the appointment of five judges demanded by CJP and the situation extended to the point of no return. CJP frame charges the contempt of court on Prime Minister of Pakistan, the Pakistan Muslim League PML (N) workers launched an invasion of the Supreme Court and as a result many leaders were awarded punishment. The drop scene of this drama was produced in the form of the suspension of the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Sajjad Ali Shah and he was replaced by the new Chief justice of Pakistan, Mr. Justice Saeed-uz-Zaman Siddiqui. Actually, President House was the center of conspiracies. President Farooq Laghari resigns the post. In all the circumstances, COAS General Jahangir Karamat supported the PM instead of President, so Nawaz Sharif survives in Judicial and Political crises. Rafique Ahmed Tarrar was elected as new President of Pakistan, through the choice of Mian Nawaz Sharif, it was in the mind of PML (N) that it would complete five years of its term and no one was not much powerful who could not send them to their homes. The issues and crises rise but the Nawaz government continued to overcome these with force and in the intoxication of the getting heavy mandate. Over the Pak-India Friendship and Kargil issues, GHQ has some serious reservations, but intoxication of heavy mandate, PML (N) was bulldozing the institutions. General Jahangir Karamat was resigned over the issue of Security Council with Government.²⁰ [Murtaza Rizvi, 2009]. Mian Nawaz Sharif by applying his discretionary powers, appointed Pervaiz Musharraf as new COAS on October 07, 1998. General Pervez Musharraf was at number three in the seniority list and General Ali Kuli Khan and General Khalid Nawaz were senior to him, but Nawaz Sharif appointed Musharraf as Army Chief, which proved to be a big political blunder. Nawaz Sharif in an interview replied to a question about the selection of Pervez Musharraf as Army Chief that other Generals were recommended for the post while Corps Commander Mangle, Lt. General Musharraf had no lobby and moreover he was Muhajir and Urdu speaking, so he selected him for only this reason.²¹ [The Daily Jung, October 20, 2005]. On October 6, 1999, Nawaz Sharif also handed over the post of Chairman Joint Chiefs of Committee. By the start of October of 1999 the differences had converted in to hostility. This conflict was also influencing the internal and external affairs of the state.

Even PM appointed as COAS & Chairman Joint Chiefs but the relation between PM and COAS was not ideal and cordial. They have lack of confidence. Eventually, on October 12, 1999, Nawaz Sharif departed from Islamabad to Shahabad to address a public meeting but suddenly he rush to Islamabad, about 4PM. the Prime Minister issued the removal orders of the Chief of Army Staff and appointed Lt. General Zia-ud-din Butt as new Chief of Army Staff. General Zia-ud-din Butt was serving as Director General ISI. Nawaz Sharif appointed General Butt as COAS due to nepotism. However, it also significant to be noted that General Butt was the nephew of General Ghulam Jilani, who brought up Nawaz Sharif as a politician during the previous Martial Law regime. The dismissal orders of General Pervez Musharraf were issued by Mian Nawaz Sharif and Special news bulletin was telecast on Radio & TV Broadcast and others media sources. It spread all over country. General Musharraf, who was on official visit to Sri Lanka, received this information on his return on flight No.Pk-805. General Butt, arrival at GHQ for Gourd of Honor, he was received by Lt. General Aziz Ahmed, Chief of General Staff, very respectfully asked him to let him finalize the arrangements. But under the cover of arrangements he discussed the prevailing situation with X-Corps Commander Rawalpindi, Lt. General Mahmud Ahmed, Corps Commander Peshawar, Lt. General Ali Jan Orkzai and Corps Commander Gujranwala, Lt. General Khalid Maqbool and duly informed General Zia-ud-din Butt about their decision that the army didn't recognize him as Army Chief and would also not obey the dismissal orders of General Pervez Musharraf. Lt. General Aziz had also explained to the Military Secretary of the Prime Minister, Brigadier Javed Iqbal that the ambiguous and illegal change of the military high command would not be acknowledged.

General Butt returned to the Prime Minister House and apprised the P M about the latest situation, because their "Mission Impossible"²² was failed [Maqbool, Irshad, Jernail Beeti, , 2006]. On the night of October 12th before imposing the Martial Law, in retaliation Lt. General Ali Jan Orkzai and X-Crop Commander Rawalpindi, Lt. General Mehmud Ahmad comes to Prime Minister's House, they were try to pressurized to withdraw the dismissal order of COAS,²³ [Maqbool, Irshad, 2006]. But Nawaz Sharif refused to do so. On other side the "Operation Solidarity"²⁴ [the Daily Jung, Lahore, October 22, 1999] under the Command of Brigadier Salahuddin Satti, 111 Brigade of X- Corps with the help of 200 soldiers had become active and after getting the control of the Prime Minister's House and other important installations, also arrested very significant personalities.

The reign of General Pervez Musharraf was extremely tumultuous and several changes appeared on the international scenario. In the most significant event of 9/11 and afterwards the Afghanistan war and The war against terrorism, General Musharraf became the dire

¹⁹The Daily Jung, Lahore, March 23, 1997

²⁰ Rizvi, Murtaza, Musharraf; The Year in Power, New Delhi, 2009, p. 49

²¹The Daily Jung, Lahore, October 20, 2005

²²Operation Mission Impossible; Mian Nawaz Sharif govt. & DG ISI General Zia uddin Butt make a plan to removed the current COAS General Pervais Musharraf, in that case General Butt will be the next COAS, but the plan was failed due to the joint decision of all Crops Commanders.

²³ Maqbool, Irshad, Jerneal Beeti, Lahore, 2006, p.96

²⁴Operation Solidarity; The Pak-Army reacted against the illegal termination of COAS, so high military officers joint adventure is called Operation Solidarity, the Daily Jung, Lahore, October 22, 1999

need of United States and later on, he spent a very successful time, but on the internal front several political changes initiated. General Pervez Musharraf first enforced Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) in 1999 and then LFO. He was elected as President in 2002. He introduced Local Government System in March 2001 and conducted a Referendum in April 2002. General Elections 2002 were held and Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali was elected as Prime Minister by this Assembly. In December 2003 the 17th Amendment was corporate in the constitution and was elected President for the second term in September 2007. In addition he approved NRO Ordinance in October 2007. While he had a clash with the judiciary on November 3, 2007 and once proclaimed emergency and PCO. This controversy brought bad name for the Musharraf government. Later on, the judiciary declared the PCO defunct on December 16, 2009.

Conclusion

Some political experts believes the political power cycle run in a Tri-angle base President, Prime Minister and COAS. Every angle of this tri-angle consists of the 33 per cent power, but the COAS has 34 per cent power sharing in Pakistan political history. Whenever, two angles merge third angle suffered, but in this power game Prime Minister is always under hand and the most loser. Since the day first the conflicts of the power sharing many prime ministers were clean bold in this game. In this situation our political system will not progress in future. The political and constitutional history of Pakistan is collection of co-incidents, in different eras different political setup was experienced here. Every Sovereign Authority introduced his own ideology about democracy and power sharing formula not transfer of the powers. The political system they had introduced that was temporarily strong due to their uniform but in the long run was not in the favor of Pakistan stability. Pakistan is a versatile country in this regard through the day 1st the civil and military bureaucracy increased their power due to the lack of leadership and bureaucracy become the part of dictatorship. It is tragedy of Pakistan political history, suspension of the Parliament, dismissal of Prime Minister, suspension of Constitution, PCO, Emergency are well known word and common traditions for the Pakistani politics. It is the common traditions in Pakistan all the Dictators had suspended the Constitution of Pakistan, and fabricated the Constitution of Pakistan on their desires. The political analyst has pointed out in up, they could not develop good relation between GHQ and Prime Minister or President since the history. Events have proved that the dictators of Pakistan preferred to be a president not to be the prime minister because they feel more comfortable as. It is interesting to be note the post of COAS in Pakistan is fix for the tenure of three years and Prime Minister post is fix for term of five years but since 1973, but Army Chief replaced just seven, due to the fragile political system, repeated Martial Law and extra ordinary interference of army in politics 15th Prime Minister had been changed in last four decades. It proved that how much the post of COAS stable and strong in Pakistan in Martial Law or civilian period.. It is the common observation all the dictators in Pakistan they never transferred the power they just share the power in limited scale.

References

- i. Chaudhary, Muhammad Ali, Emergence of Pakistan, Maktaba-e- Caravan, Lahore, 1984, p.195
- ii. Keith Collard, Pakistan, A Political Study, London, 1968, p.220
- iii. Feldman, Herbert, From Crisis to Crisis: Pakistan 1962-1969, London, 1970, p. 89
- iv. Ahmed Saleem, Assemblian, Ihtesab Aur Adlia, Sarang Publications, Lahore, 1997, p.81
- v. Munir Ahmed, General Muhammad Yahiya Khan Shakhshiat-o-Kirdar, Lahore, 1997, p. 141
- vi. Ahmed Saleem, Assemblian, Ihtesab Aur Adlia, Lahore, 1993, p.90
- vii. Mukhtar Shahid, Pakistan Main Fuji Hakumatyain, Lahore, 2003, p.44
- viii. Khan, Asghar, Generals in Politics: Pakistan 1958-1982, New Delhi, 1983, p.117
- ix. Khan, Hamid, The Constitutional & Political History of Pakistan, Karachi, 1996, p. 349
- x. Niazi, Maulana Kausar, Aur line Kat Gai, Jung Publishers, Lahore. 1987, p. 86
- xi. Tirmizi, Irshad Hussain, Hassaas Adarey, Zahid Basher Publishers, Lahore, 2004, p. 71
- xii. Operation Fair Play, General Zia-ul-Haq and his team arrange a Operation against Z.A. Bhutto's Government on July 05, 1977. Lt.General Faiz Ali Chishty, X- Crop Commander Rawalpindi was in charge of the Operation. Further Details he mentioned in his book, Bhutto Zia Aur Mein, Jang Publishers, Lahore, 1992, Faiz Ali Chishty.
- xiii. Burki, Shahid Javed, Pakistan under Bhutto 1971-77, Hong Kong, 1988, p. 245
- xiv. Ghafoor Ahmad, Phir Martial Law Agya, Lahore , 1988, p.56
- xv. Ahmad Saleem, Zia Key Baad, Lahore, 1990, p. 189
- xvi. The Daily Jung, Lahore, May 30, 1988
- xvii. Zafar Iqbal, Aain say Enharaf, Meraj Printers, Lahore, 1994, p. 129
- xviii. Jalal, Aisha, The State of Martial Law Rule, Cambridge, 1990, p. 175
- xix. The Daily Jung, Lahore, March 23, 1997
- xx. Rizvi, Murtaza, Musharraf; The Year in Power, New Delhi, 2009, p. 49
- xxi. The Daily Jung, Lahore, October 20, 2005
- xxii. Operation Mission Impossible; Mian Nawaz Sharif govt. & DG ISI General Zia uddin Butt make a plan to removed the current COAS General Pervais Musharraf, in that case General Butt will be the next COAS, but the plan was failed due to the joint decision of all Crops Commanders.
- xxiii. Maqbool, Irshad, Jerneal Beeti, Lahore, 2006, p.96
- xxiv. Operation Solidarity; The Pak-Army reacted against the illegal termination of COAS, so high military officers joint adventure is called Operation Solidarity, the Daily Jung, Lahore, October22, 1999