

DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS OF INSTITUTIONS IN PAKISTAN.

EXPLORING THE IMPERATIVES AND OPPORTUNITIES



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2017



Accession No TH-16802 W/11

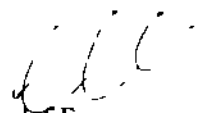
MS  
320.95991  
WAD

1. Democratization
2. Politics & Government

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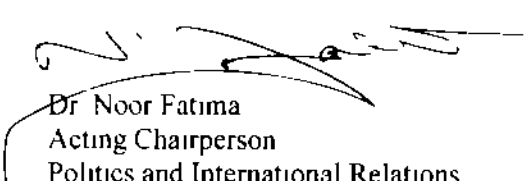


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The research entitled **Democratisation Process of Institutions in Pakistan Exploring the Imperative and Opportunities** is conducted under my supervision and the thesis is submitted to International Islamic University Islamabad in the partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of MS in Politics & IR with my permission

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## **AUTHOR'S DECLARATION**

I, Warda Aslam, Reg. No. 51-155 MS PS/S15, in the Department of Politics and International Relations at The International Islamic University, Islamabad, do here by solemnly declare that the thesis entitle **"Democratisation Process of Institutions in Pakistan: Exploring the Imperative and Opportunities"** submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirement of MS M Phil in the subject of Politics & International Relations is my original work. I solemnly declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted or published earlier and also shall not be submitted in future. It shall also not be submitted to obtain any degree to any other university or institution.

DEDICATED TO

ALMIGHTY ALLAH,

HOLY PROPHET (PBUH)

MY LOVING PARENTS

&

MY RESPECTED TEACHER

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

All praises for Almighty Allah who enables us to know about certain unknown things in the universe and helps us to overcome a lot of difficulties. All respect for Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who clearly mentioned the difference of right and wrong path, to ensure the success in our lives.

I am deeply indebted and wish my utmost appreciation and gratitude to my research supervisor Dr Sadaf Farooq for her encouragement, technical discussion, inspiring guidance, remarkable suggestions, keen interest and constructive criticism which enabled me to complete this research study.

I cannot find proper words to express my heartiest gratitude to my Loving Parents and my friends whose chain of prayers, cooperation have created incredible impression in my life.

In the end I am again much thankful to Almighty Allah who enabled me to complete my research work. Alhamdulillah.

**Warda Aslam**

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## **List of Abbreviations**

<b>EBDO</b>	Elected Bodies Disqualification Order
<b>COAS</b>	Chief of Army Staff
<b>PPP</b>	Pakistan People's Party
<b>IJI</b>	Islami Jomhoori Ittehad
<b>NAB</b>	National Accountability Bureau
<b>NSC</b>	National Security Plan
<b>MMA</b>	Muttedhda Majlis-e-Amal
<b>ATA</b>	Awami League Alliance
<b>BD's</b>	Basic Democracies
<b>PMIL-N</b>	Pakistan Muslim League-N
<b>MQM</b>	Muttedhda Qaumi Movement
<b>ANP</b>	Awami National Party
<b>ISI</b>	Inter-Services Intelligence
<b>RAW</b>	Research and Analysis Wing
<b>WAPDA</b>	Water and Power Development Authority
<b>NRO</b>	National Reconciliation Order
<b>NICL</b>	National Insurance Company Limited
<b>PIA</b>	Pakistan International Airlines

## ABSTRACT

Institutional imbalance has been a part of the administrative system in Pakistan since its inception. In a democratic state, every institution has its role and certain duties that cannot be adopted by any other institutions other than some special circumstances. The troublesome circumstances of democracy in Pakistan are not so simple to figure out with reference to some particular aspect. A number of factors have emerged in continuously occurring constitutional violation and political declines, merged inadequate performance of democratic institutions and procedures. Military interventions followed by military regimes have dominated the political scene in Pakistan. In a state like Pakistan, where democracy appeared for small durations is not suitable for smooth functioning of state organs like Judiciary, Executive and Legislature. Military dictators usually adopt such policies which could bring more and more benefit to their tenures but consequences of such steps can be seen later in the form of institutional inefficiency followed by downfall and breakdown of otherwise stable constitutions. The authoritarians were certainly aware of possibilities how to strengthen democracy but policy making was done for their own benefits to extend their control over state institutions. As a result, smooth democratic evolution slowed down. Pakistan has not gone through a stable functioning of democracy during its seventy years of history. Three constitutions have been made and then suspended without witnessing a smooth way to institutional progress in the country. Security issues with hostile neighbour like India forced civilian leadership of Pakistan to take help of the powerful military and allocated large portion of budget for defence and security purpose.

Such inefficiency of the political leaders lead to military dependence followed by military interference in the state matters and created institutional imbalance leading to dismissal of civilian governments. In 2013, first time in the history of Pakistan a civilian government completed its five-year term. The revival of democracy in 2013 has created the prospect that there might be chances for the Pakistan to attain smooth democratic avenue. Rise of Independent Judiciary followed by rise of independent media and increasing political knowledge among the general public have enhanced the hope for the growth of democracy in Pakistan. However, it will heavily depend upon on the capability of chosen parliamentarians to respond to extreme issues like ethnic and religious controversies, poor economic conditions, security issues etc. The study first provides an overview of Pakistan's political history to outline the repeated failures of democracy and then discusses the major causes and factors that contributed to this problem. It also focuses upon the democratization process with respect to the role of various institutions in the politics of Pakistan especially of the Judiciary, Legislature and Executive during Zardari regime. Moreover, the study also proposes some suggestions which can be useful for smooth functioning of the democracy in Pakistan.

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

The essential for prosperity of democracy is the smooth and effective performance of state institutions and procedure over a long period of time. These institutions must give respect to each other as each institution enjoys sovereignty but cannot perform alone. If an institution tries to maximize its sphere at the cost of others or creates a self-charged plan of rectifying all other institutions, there will be serious institutional imbalance which is harmful to democracy (Rizvi 2012). Democracy is a fragile system of administration that requires careful development over a long period of time (Hattari 2008). In a state like Pakistan where democracy is taking effort to revive itself after many years of military establishment, few institutions and power actors are making their way to maintain their privileged positions while others are trying to expand their domain. The civilian political institutions, mainly the elected civilian federal administration, thereby catch themselves under pressure by the army that has a high trend of overpowering the political procedure and the supreme judiciary that has attained an excessively active role during past few years (Rizvi 2012).

In a democratic structure, no person or institution can make an absolute claim to all insight of the national interest. Such wisdom comes through talk and balanced discussions between the political actors, general public and governing institutions. Politics is observed as the art that can be achieved through political control instead of an activity simply created for including in textbook as a subject of loyalty or justice (Baqai 2012). These principles are part of the corporate beliefs and ethics of democracy but all democratic beliefs are attained through shared taxes and collective hard work. The constitution authorized the state institutions for enforcing these beliefs

and laws because it is a collective duty and no common institution or actor can implement them.

Pakistan brought institutional imbalance at the time of its inception on August 14, 1947. Major state apparatus bureaucracy and Military were more systemized and arranged than ruling organs that lack such organization. However, prolonged abrogation of constitutions and structure strengthened military and bureaucracy. The institutional downfall is most detrimental factor in the breakdown of a working and stable constitution (Cohen, 2005). Three constitutions have been made and suspended without implementing a smooth way for institutional progress. The first one established in 1956 probably a decade later meant or was amended in 1962 and later rejected for future constitution of 1973. General Musharraf worked on the future one (Rizvi, 2000).

The bureaucracy and military kept up their professional nature by order and discipline. The serious authoritative issues in the beginning years of inception forced the civilian leadership to take help of the army and bureaucracy. Pakistan's security issues will be related to the beginning years that were also assisted to enhance the military's situation in the state. All Pakistani civilian administration needed a powerful defence stance so they allocated an important portion of the national budget to defence and security (Shafaat, 1997).

The weak political authorities tried to handle difficult situations themselves without the help and back of the bureaucracy and the military. Such factors created institutional imbalance and resulted in the failure of the civilian governments. Such circumstance provides bureaucracy and the army to influence their performance in the policy making and in the state institutions. They maintained their influence with

strong performance in the politics which automatically established the institutional inequality within a free electing democracy (Gillani 2001)

The desire for democracy prolonged and intensified due to security issues, religious and racial gaps, poor economic condition and long powerful military tenures. There is no doubt that cultural and political issues failed to encourage democratic trends and institutional development in Pakistan (Layton 1995). The society has been increasing and more aware but still not strong despite of many NGOs, lawyers' associations, Human Rights corporations, independent bodies that have appeared from the decades. The members of political parties have also been increased with the passage of time (Anayaullah 1997). The long military tenures 1977-1988 removed democratic norms and culture but struggle for democracy still continues for years (Rizvi 2004). The civilian regimes also incentive the constitution in a biased way by indulging large majority of parliamentary members, ignoring the right requirements to made amendments (Kennedy 2003).

Pakistan has maintained a transformation to parliamentary democracy. It has been a great achievement for a state like Pakistan where democratic norms had never been remembered. In fact any of past civilian regimes have not been capable to complete their five years' tenure in office as completed in 2013 by Pakistan People's Party. First time in the history of Pakistan. It is inspiring to observe that the paradigm of electoral campaigns has been increased. Election commission has attained an independent structure. Instead of presidential intervening (1988, 1990, 1993 and 1996) and dismissal of the assemblies, democratic doctrine has existed in Pakistan. Despite of parasitic democracies, Pakistan is still facing many issues like institutional inequality, ignorance of political harmony, corruption and nepotism, poor

economic condition, less awareness among general public regarding political agencies and weak political party systems (Weiss, 2001).

Government and political parties both are answerable for poor outcome of civilian leaderships which weakened the democracy. The revival of the democracy and political groups in February 2008 national elections has created the prospect that the country might become capable to attain smooth transition again. The increasing performance of Judiciary and media will encourage better working of institutions and governments in the future. The democratic forthcoming in the future seems at stake due to poor administration, shoking economy, deteriorating country's peace and consensus building, religious and cultural ethnicity and amnesia. If Pakistan's politicians and institution can tackle well its downfall and the military shows harmony, democracy has a future in Pakistan (Rizvi, 2011).

### **1.1 Rationale of the Study**

For durable democratic transformation, it is important to demonstrate the factors that made the democratic transition possible in a context like Pakistan. This research will explore the imperatives and opportunities for smooth transfer of democracy in the state. It is important to bring useful discussion those factors which can be useful for smooth functioning of democracy in Pakistan.

### **1.2 Statement of Problem**

Pakistan is a democratic state and the system is based upon three main organs namely Judiciary, Executive and Legislature. For smooth running of political system, it is mandatory that institutions (Judiciary, Executive and Legislature) work according to constitutionally defined limits. However, in Pakistan state's political institutions didn't work properly and always tried to transcend their powers leading to institutional imbalances that affected the democratisation process. Therefore, the



study focuses on the role, working and relationship of institutions in democratic transition and critically analyse their influence over democratisation process during Zardari PPP regime (2008-2013).

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

- To find out reasons behind clashes among executive, judiciary and legislature.
- To analyse how institutional imbalance influenced democratization process in Pakistan.
- To analyse non-cooperative behaviour of institutions due to undue interference by military dictators.
- To study judicial activism and its role in institutional balance in Pakistan.
- To study kind of relationship existed between legislature and executive during Zardari period.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

#### **Primary questions**

1. What were the causes and factors of institutional imbalance and its effects on the democratic system of Pakistan?
2. How intra and inter institutional tensions have played their role in influencing democracy during Zardari period?

#### **Secondary questions**

1. How immense changes brought during Musharraf regime in the political system adversely affected relationship of three organs of state (Judiciary, Legislature and Executive)?
2. How judicial activism played its role in strengthening judiciary and what was the role played by judiciary during Zardari regime?
3. What role was played by Judiciary and Executive during Zardari regime?

4. What kind of relationship existed between Judiciary and Executive during 2008 to 2013?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

In a state like Pakistan where democracy is making effort to restore itself after many years of its establishment, the state organs Judiciary, Executive and Legislature are trying to regain their constitutionally defined powers after being manipulated for several years for smooth democratic transition. The major significance of this study is to highlight the role of three basic organs of the state: The Judiciary, The Executive and The Parliament in transition towards democracy from 2008 to 2013. The study will be a source of information to those who are interested in Pakistan politics. This study will be beneficial for political actors for promoting and playing their role in influencing the process of smooth transition of democracy in Pakistan. This study will also be helpful for academicians, students and future researchers to understand and explore further opportunities related to analysis of smooth functioning of democracy in Pakistan and of course to policy makers so as to deviseing future policies for state.

### **1.6 Delimitation**

This study is delimited to imbalances among three main organs in political system of Pakistan i.e. Judiciary, Executive and Legislature during Pakistan People's Party government (2008-2013) highlighting the impact of military dominance in political system and in policy making process and also over the performance of the who's leaders which ultimately creates institutional imbalance within democracy of Pakistan as such it will exclude detailed history of Civil - Military relations and is delimited to role of institutions mainly The Judiciary, The Executive and The Legislature and how their inter and intra institutional tensions have played their role in strengthen and weakening democracy of Mog Zindagi regime (2008 - 2013). The study is confined to

critical analysis of role working and relationship of institutions in democratization process (2008 – 2013)

## **1.7 Operational Definition of Major Terms**

### **Democracy**

Democracy is the product of two words i.e. 'Demo' and 'Cracy' which signify general public and power in particular. It is a political establishment in which the general public of a state regulate through any kind of governance they selected to demonstrate. In present democracies, higher government is practised by members chosen by voting. The representatives may be improved by the voters according to the legal process of reviving and referendum and at least it flows answerable to the voters. Webster Dictionary explains democracy as governance in which the highest authority is being utilized among the people and execution by them straight or deceitful through a structure of standing for mainly including frequent conducted fair voting system.

The condition of politics in Pakistan is different in many aspects. Ironically, the lasting influence of military regimes and the outcome of poor governing institutions, absence of politically enhanced leadership and U.S dominance in political decision making provided new hopes to the military because of its disloyal national and foreign business. Current suggestions of military influence in politics are held to be an existence because of following elements in the governing machinery along with agitation. Development can be seen in the form of constitutional progress like semi equality among organs, independent judiciary, reviving free and fair elections and independent media.

## **Institutions**

Institutions are buildings and machinery of social management and collaboration ruling the manners of two or more persons. Institutions are generally appropriate to patterns and behaviour customs which are substantial for a society and specific legitimate institutions of state and society. Ruling machine can be judged in Pakistan from relationship with the progress of governing institutions and the decision making order of authoritative persons within the power. Three military rules disturbed the constitution by introducing constitutional amendments resulting into unsteadiness in the connection among different institutions of Pakistan. Due to this factor political actors, bureaucracy and military generals had attained control over state institutions resulting inequality among governing institutions and society.

## **Judicial activism**

Judicial activism occurs when judges stand up for their personal political perspective for the appropriate opinions or when judges behave like a parliament (legislating from the bench) in spite of behaving like a judge of the court. A developed democratic country progresses on the objective of trika powers i.e. The Judiciary, Executive and Legislature have to carry out their defined functions. Anyhow it has been observed that even in developed states, the working of the parliament and executive and judiciary do not respect a sense of being aware of taking action against Executive. Parliament becomes its right hand. Further it tries to enforce laws. To fill the space created due to this Legislative-Executive inadequacy, the judiciary stood up for unblemishing help to the victims of dictatorship by describing laws which are either inadequate or ambiguous. It was heart-breaking that judicial activism had to appear in Pakistan. Anyhow, there is still going to clear constitutional flaws that trespass on the independence of the

judiciary. Reputable judges can be discarded in the Fede al Sheriat Court. Benches of bothersome High Court judges can be alternate by executive proclamation. All these changes need to be cleared from the constitution. Also, there is a desire to maximize the judiciary to deal off with pending cases. Powerful democratic beliefs are emerging in our politics. A powerful judiciary maximises the job of the general public in the state. It also takes a political steadiness and constitutional stability. It needs trustworthy obligations by the government to enforce the rule of law, a fair system of judicial prearranged meeting and to enforced judicial decisions at all levels.

## **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework that will be applied to this research is new institutionalism theory. The approach emphasizes on each aspect of institutions their collaboration influence over state and general public. New institutionalism maintains that institutions work within circumstances including of many governing organizations known as organizational surroundings. Every organization is outgrowth under huge surroundings. In this environment, the organization's basic objectives continue as live. Anyhow, they acquired to do something additional than to accomplish economically. They need to succeed. eg. Law firms, the government institutions.

Most of the study within New Institutionalism tackles with the extensive impact of institutions upon human manners through principle, beliefs, and other core. Significance of New Institutionalism begins from (old) institutionalism, which is directed or counsels one the particular rules and beliefs which are implemented to citizens, interaction of the various institutions within society, and how their gestures, laws and beliefs directs the manner and behaviour of person. The new institutionalism concept has its depths in the beginning to mid-1980s. New institutionalism focused

more on informal institutions rather formal institutions. For Douglass North, informal institutions are informal restraint of conference or rules of behaviour while formal institutions are formal constraints of rules to be made by people. From another point of view formal institutions are laws that are clearly systemized in the view and they are entrenched and enforced through means that are widely approved as effective (Helmke and Levitsky, 2003: 7). While informal institutions are politically common laws usually understood that are formed to correspond and implement aside official authorized means, new institutionalism direct greater on informal institutions (Helmke, 2003).

This theory appropriately fits to this study as Pakistan has never experienced a smooth democratic transition and as such shows a bad image of democratic institutional progress. Its formal political institutions are fragile and its non-political institutions (bureaucracy and military) have been in vogue with dominating powers within the political structure. The state has never being too comfortable with any regimes that have been approved by the common citizenry. The smarter society, religious moderation and growing poverty have impacted on political institutions. The political institution gives a specific type of system in which the military indirectly impacts administration. The military in Pakistan has always been over powering policy making and governance procedure in Pakistan. Anyhow, when it is not straight ruling the state it undertakes a point of view of being politically absent and irrelevant to the political procedure in the country. This makes a political engine for military in Pakistan. The military tends to power the administration procedure but at the same time it urge to be looked at privately as politically useless institution. The political institution of federal state arrangement gives a wide evidence of over power governance. These institutions have created a democratic state of the country in a sense of ways to ex-

encourage connectivity among the stronger military and the executive overpowering electoral politics, define bureaucratic manner and make resource division. As this theory largely directed upon informal institutions so it would be prime to highlight the role of military and bureaucracy are other non-political institutions which always remain as bone on contentions in the way of transition toward democracy. Although Pakistan is a semi-democratic country, this theory may further help to elaborate the roles of political institutions in democratization process in Pakistan.

## 1.9 Literature Review

There is abundance of literature available on interaction between (Judiciary, Legislature and Executive) within lately general politics the democratization process in Pakistan. Scholars from Pakistan as well as abroad have written enough on the role of institutions and democracy in Pakistan. However, an effort has been made to discuss with a new angle some of our scholars' works on the subject.

G.W. Chaudhary (1963) attempts to give detail analytical account of the constitutional development in Pakistan from 1947 to 1956. The main objective of this study is to highlight those factors which made the process of constitution making difficult. Some prime factors were the language issue, Qauid's death and nature of the state, unity and the existence of power, delay in constitution making and how these factors created frustration among people. He also described the act of Governor-General to dissolve constitution assembly as unconstitutional. He argues that no attempt was made to follow the verdict of the highest judicial authority of the country. This book is indispensable to study the complicated constitutional history of Pakistan.

Hassan Askari Rizvi (2012) explained that military is the most formidable and autonomous political actor in Pakistan. The published document a term, the executive

documental analysis regarding army involvement in state politics with society by explaining to what extent army has tendency to overcome states politics. This important theme discussed in this book includes the leading causes of the exposition of the role of military in military takeover, various military regimes and their policies. Rizvi argues that the destruction of weaknes and addition to the incompetence to deal by various interests within the state paved the way for higher ranked general's to increase power though even consider capable. Anyhow army involvement never remains the only solution though incompetent governmental organs and weak constitutional states clear paths for such military takeover.

Khalid Ahmed (2010) has explained that when Musharraf came into power he was acceptable to large portion of population because he was less threatening than the democratic interregnum of 1990's. He ended to divide the nation by his ambivalent posturing including the party he patronized i.e. the PML (Q). Now the judgment on him is more black and white after his exit. It should be useful to see how he conducted the politics of the country. After coming into power in 1999 he approached the superior execution of the Pakistan's agenda on a tenure of legitimizing but the same color was neutralized in 2007 when he dismissed the chief justice. He argues in some ways that he was good for Pakistan because he was a "free agent" but much he did was wrong.

Hassan Askari Rizvi (2009) characterise and label Musharraf. He says that he was the most controversial leader in the Pakistan's history. The judiciary was kept in check by both Nawaz Sharif and Benazir in order to plauge the possibilities of the political parties going to court against their respective governments. Musharraf's



belated against some sixty higher courts judges and chief justice Prakash Chaudhry after he imposed emergency rule was not exceptional in the judiciary's history in Pakistan. Musharraf's career was an important period in history. There were many contradictions in his personal life. His politics changed the fate of Pakistan.

Brig A.R. Siddiqui (1996) argues that generals at large became too sure of their ability always to fix the mess created by politicians' incompetence. All the matter laws in the final analysis would appear to be the result of the general's arrogant ambition and overconfidence in getting things done better than the civilians. The book shows the destructive influence of highly eulogistic possibilities and flattering image building on the professional soundness of a military establishment.

Salder Mehmood (2003) focuses on Pakistan's political history. One of the chapters is chasing the constitution. The book examines constitution drafting along with many characteristics of different constitutions and explores that how and why those do not work effectively. He says, "he's not like Pakistan always held on to laws formulation without any major reasons".

Ayesha Jalal (1995) discussed that both India and Pakistan inherited authoritarianism in legacy from the British. About political system of Pakistan she says that Ayub Khan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Gen Zia-ul-Haq were authoritarian rulers. Domestic, regional and international factors established the fact of military dominance. It created institutional imbalances in Pakistan.

Ian Mohammad Dewood (1994) explained that judiciary plays vital role in political system but in Pakistan the judiciary was made to intervene and rendered its

opinion or judgment. He mentioned various cases decided by Supreme Court of Pakistan in his book.

Paul R. Newberg (1995) analysed that judicial role has never been appraised consistently in Pakistan. This book is a comprehensive study of Pakistan's politics and jurisprudence, and particularly, the distinctive role that the superior judiciary and its judgement have played during past years. Pakistan's crises have provided judiciary most profound challenges. The superior courts have dominated by the authoritarian rulers in Pakistan.

Hamid Khan (2005) covers constitutional developments up to 2008. Before partition constitutional history has been beautifully described. Book's introduction political and constitutional reforms. It covers the whole history of constitutional changes and a down from 1947 to 2008. Hamid Khan also describes prominent cases and amendments in the 1973's constitution. In conclusion, it covers the whole history of constitutions but it is a descriptive study.

Hassan Abbas (2004) has discussed an overview of the military power comes in Pakistan. The army, parliament, actors and the US were the main story of Pakistan's politics. It is an inside account that how these players have shaped the development in Pakistan. One of the chapters is 'Musharraf: the season of hope'. The writer argues that Musharraf's takeover was legalized through higher judiciary. Judiciary allowed a military ruler to amend the constitution and thus Musharraf became an absolute ruler.

Jessie Hazel Kaur (2003) discussed an introduction to Pakistan the constitutional status of judiciary in Pakistan and the judicial system in Pakistan.

M A Momen (1973) argue that Pakistan has proper judiciary in the world. He narrates the judicial history of the subcontinent and also the development and evolution of the powers and jurisdiction of various superior court ever since the establishment of the British rule in India.

While many studies have been previously conducted to study various aspects of democratization process regarding civil-military relationships but this study will examine Asif Ali Zardari's roadmap to democracy outlining the steps taken by him to make transition possible and the role played by some of the judiciary, executive and legislative institutions through his efforts.

## **1.10 Methodology**

This study uses qualitative methods. The nature of research is descriptive, analytical and exploratory. This research has been conducted to describe the democratization process of institutions in Pakistan exploring the imperative and opportunities. The data collection sources are both secondary and primary. Secondary sources include published literature (on democratization process of institutions in Pakistan) such as books, research articles, journals, newspapers, online resources and documents. A primary source includes joint statements, online government documents and organizational reports.

## Chapter 2

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### 2.1 Introduction

Democracy has been defined as "The government of the people, by the people and for the people". In short democracy means people's participation and state should govern by the people or their representatives. (Mehmood, 1994). It is generally accepted that democracy has failed in Pakistan and it doesn't suit the culture of the public. Some Western writers while highlighting the factors responsible for the failure of democracy in Pakistan stated without strong proof that

Islam which is the foundation of this country, does not approve democratic values. Islam is not a centralized organized existence.

Kerih Callard writes

The vision of good government possessed by many Muslims is that of people united under a strong leader and confident about the certain truth. (Callard, 1968)

The true meaning of above statement is if democracy doesn't suit the intellect of the people then it is a serious matter. Generally, people never created hurdle in the growth of democracy. But after the birth of Pakistan, there was no popular and intelligent leader came forward who could make transition possible. Public opinion was never considered. Bureaucracy, military and political leaders always remained prominent in political scenario of Pakistan. In fact, military and bureaucracy remained great team in past years (Mehmood, 1994).

## 2.2 The Early Years of Pakistani government (1947-1958)

Pakistan has been struggling for smooth democratic system since its birth. But democratization process has been slow and weak because the state was in the hands of power brokers and bureaucrats who were not of election regime. Therefore Pakistan has been constantly failed to pursue democratic trends as a result civilian regimes remained weak (Jaffer, 2010). Since its inception, Pakistan has preferred democracy. Its founders had vigorously supported and emphasizes upon foundation that could bring good governance in the state. Quaid Azam himself established framework for minority rule by incorporating Muslim League, eliminating Congress ministries in state. In spite of all, Quaid always wanted free and fair elections in the country. Pakistan neglects to offer what democratic rule provides a sovereign parliament, free and fair election, strong constitution, independent judiciary, rule of law, constitutional freedom without army interference, protection for minority rights, universal fundamental rights for citizens, ensure developmental project, etc. (provinces united) (Jaffer, 2010).

Very poor governance occurred under the influence of bureaucracy (Aziz, 2011). For several years these icons ruled the country to gain their interest over national interest. They always paid deaf ears to public interests. If people's participation is a true democracy then kind of government introduced in Pakistan in last years after independence can never be accepted as true democratic government. In fact it can be called as authoritarian regimes or electoral regimes where administration and state institutions were dominated by the military and bureaucracy and remaining powers were utilized by civilian leaders. Such situations never allowed institutions like Parliament, Judiciary and Executive to develop. Executive somehow

employee privileges, but the democracy remained unaltered. In Pakistan, neither a  
lower class nor a working class emerged (Mehroo, 1994).

Major political developments in Pakistan in the two decades were  
responsible for unsuccessful Parliamentary system. The first constituent assembly not  
only failed to perform its two basic functions, leading to strengthen democratic  
institutions and to create stable responsible government in country but it also failed to  
perform its objectives because their members were mostly from here and country  
Constitution making is not a child's play (Mehroo, 1994). It requires long time to  
constitute but pressure exerted by provincial and religious groups weakened the  
authority of constituent assembly as a result they led to led to crises against these groups.  
Assuming power over many of the parliamentarian was done by forces agencies and  
also giving gifts of ministerial offices and giving judges to their benefits to be  
able to

in 1973 to 1954 process of the constitution were exposed from outside  
which shows lack of alert and leadership in democracy. Greater participation of  
members could be judged through the competition of securing high post of the const.  
The foundations of parliamentary government in Pakistan were further eroded by  
the 1973 constitution which dissolved the constituent assembly (1954). The Govern-  
ment of Mr. Ghulam Muhammad was overthrown by a military coup in 1958 which  
which was designed to form constitution of the country. Constitution was hence to  
implementation 1958 by Governor General's body which received for next two years.  
The basic in state constituent assembly and was passing in the order of the  
powers of the Governor General as a result of the political and administrative  
in the constituent assembly it was a constituent constituent of the  
undemocratic system by a group of officers to set up a system.

Such attitude and behaviour can never be expected from a head of the state. He forced Muhammad Ali Bogra to form a new cabinet at gun point. New cabinet was formed in a single day. During the last days of his life, Ghulam Muhammad was physically unable to work due to serious illness. He neither tried to understand the democratic values nor parliamentary spirit. He just interested in widening his power at any cost like past politicians did. Just like constituent assembly the provincial parliamentary system faced same consequences. Governor of Punjab dismissed provincial ministers. While West wing ministers were civil servants who were busy in protecting constituencies. And those ministers were interested in public prosperity. Their loyalties never remained attached to single political party. They were so busy in attaining more power and they were too busy in dealing with power politics that slowly started poisoning roots of democracy in Pakistan.

The power game was between many parties headed by famous politicians. These groups of landlords constantly damaged the roots of democracy and proved that feudalism and democracy cannot survive together. The prospect of democracy in East Pakistan was bright but religious minorities and leftists support for some group of politicians created situation which was not suitable for the growth of democracy. The struggle for power between constituent assembly and provincial assemblies (1958) ended up in being a spectacle of a kind of democracy where constituent assembly

The political situation became so grave in East Pakistan that in April 1958 two ministers were dismissed by parliament within a week. The Sarsar ministry lasted only for 3 days. As a result government dismissed and president's rule was imposed. Such situations never paved the way to democracy even not close to democracy (Mehmood, 1994).

However in 1955 the ball was in Ghulam Muhammad's court. He succeeded General Iskander Mirza who was also a bureaucrat. Iskander Mirza wanted to remain in power and that's the reason he remained part of every secret plan and conspiracies. There were eighty members of national assembly divided into nine political parties. None of political party was having clear agenda, all were struggling only for power. There was no other option than to make coalition government but such coalition was never successful when parties weren't having any clear goals. As a result coalition remains weak so the government kept on changing. Ch Muhammad Ali took many measures to restore democracy. He took many steps for supporting democracy but those right steps had never been appreciated in a coalition. He resigned as a prime minister not for more than one year. (Memmoor, 1994)

Then Sherwardy was appointed as next prime minister but he too resigned after a year as Republican Party withdrew their support. The next Prime Minister Chaudhry also couldn't last for more than few weeks due to behavior of Republican Party. Under the period of Muhammad Ali the republicanism re-emerged with greater power. An assembly of eight hundred members to twenty-six members in position stronger than others but it was of no use. As a leader of his own he expected to gain confidence of his people or to be got elected. Iskander Mirza was a cunning man. After watching such condition, he decided to take full advantage of this situation. He announced to conduct general elections. As a result of this democratic process several non-elected parties could be removed from power only. But he postponed this issue. General public was angry upon not conducting general elections. At the time Muslim League was given historic welcome all over the country while on the other hand Sherwardy planned to raise alliance between East and West Pakistan groups. The increasing popularity of the Muslim League and



Awami League alliances with Punjabi groups minimized the chance of general elections in the country. So in reaction he did a blunder which shattered the very concept of democracy in Pakistan. Along with the commander-in-chief of the armed forces he imposed martial law on 7 October 1958. His policies wasted the efforts of people who even sacrificed their lives to bring Islamic democracy in Pakistan.

## **2.3 General Ayub Khan and Constitutional Crisis in Pakistan**

**(1958-1969)**

His weaknesses on releasing Iskander Mirza's resignation General Ayub Khan, following Iskander Mirza's government, became next president of Pakistan in 1958. He abolished 1956 constitution on the ground that it was based upon give and take rule and generated disability. Such statement seems bogus as every constitution mostly basis on compromises. The military leadership required some such foolish statements to come into power and to nullify the process of democracy in the country. Karamat Ali Syed has rightly said that:

It was not the weakness of the constitution but weakness of its political system and political parties which not let values of democracy to flourish in a right manner.

General Ayub Khan in his address to the nation on 8 October 1958 said that the declaration of Operation Azam, police and intelligence officers were not in power. They did everything foolish and took every nasty step to fulfill their wishes regardless of harm given to the country. As a result they inherited terrorism and sectarianism intended public against one another. He put all blame on politicians.

Ayub Khan established a system since 1959 in which politicians were used to create a process of corruption. The process was called 'to give'. Ayub Khan's

government emerged as a powerful government in the country. It started a newspaper for criticism against the government. By adopting coercive measures Ayub Khan also stopped the growth of democratic institutions. The introduced Basic Democracy system was a kind of system where 80,000 democrats elected the president and the members of provincial and national assemblies which made bribery easy. This system cut off people's participation and widened the gap between rulers and ruled.

With the help of Basic Democracy Ayub Khan established a dictatorship in the country. He put sanctions on press, political activity, freedom of speech and expression. His bribed administrative machinery and district officers helped him to win against Fatima Jinnah (Mehmood, 1994). In the presidential elections of 1965 Ayub Khan took the help of Ulama's. He tried to force Miss Fatima Jinnah to be a candidate for the second sister of the founder of the country as a presidential election. However, he could not find Ulama's to declare a fatwa opposite to the candidacy of Miss Jinnah that in Islamic law a woman cannot participate for presidential elections or be a president (Nasir, 1996). Ayub Khan elevated the governance-authorizing role of the traditionalists and also promoted the policies of Islamization (Saeed, 1989). However, these efforts played an important role in the 1970s. Ayub Khan's rule (1958-69) (Ansari, 1992) was a period of authoritarianism. Ayub Khan's rule was a democratic institution remained undermined and general public got angry and they came out on streets and started protesting against Ayub Khan and forced him to resign. It happened at the end of the 1968. This indicates that public could not tolerate undemocratic rule in the country. However, Ayub Khan's era was known as a period of industrial growth. He tried to bring more opportunities. During his period country progressed economically and on the other fronts too but he put a barrier on the fundamental rights of the citizens. That's the reason why people revolted against him.

(Khan 2003) Quid-e-Azmi a woman emphasized the role of press. If we look back to last two decades we can't know that democracy is not good. As every time Pakistan's every leader came to power never allowed democratic institutions to flourish. They always were controlling powers of the state institutions for their benefit's law and Zing writes that

The country's priority was survival which needed economic growth and social development. Political survival means well known achievements and a common recognition of the legal procedure. But Pakistan political wholeness was being weakened by disputes and Rivalry. (Zing 1971)

## **2.4 General Elections of 1970 and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Era (1971-1977)**

From 1958 to 1968 two general elections were held but were not free from rigging. People were never given opportunities to express their demands or to conduct political activities. The state repression against masses created against the existing regimes and creation of strong masses of the 70's and 80's led elections in the country in 1970. The 1970's in Pakistan were highlighted by various crises among to us extravagant and antagonistic politicians even Z.A Bhutto (Petro 2015). Public shows keen interest in elections which proved public belief in the democracy. Even people living in the villages and remote areas showed keen interest in political activities and election of the electoral system. Political parties gave the times to every eligible citizens (Sher 1996).

They need to have a free and fair election in the country and announced their manifestos. After elections people's party emerged as a no. 1 party while Muslim League being the no. 2 among masses failed to secure no. 1 vote. (Bajwa 1997)

scats. If free and fair elections could be conducted on time it can strengthen democratic institutions and will make future of democracy better (Rizvi, 1986). 1971 tragedy helped nationalists to emerge in the country. These officers PPP refused to follow their own agenda and followed undemocratic policies. This brought general masses on road. Public rejected feudal lords in the elections and voted for mediocre but they were ditched again. But this is not unusual. Every party and leaders repeats history and during elections rigging is a common phenomenon. Same case was seen in 1977 elections. Public was deceived. They failed to control their anger against PPP. As a result they strongly revolted against PPP. The movement was so strong that even federal control police had to withdraw its control from them. According to estimates hundreds of people were killed during that movement (C.K.O. 2009).

## **2.5 Zia Era and Islamization(1977-1988)**

1985 period became a most important year in the history of Pakistan. It witnessed the longest martial law period in the country. New era of Islamization started under general Zia's who became president from 1985 to 1990. In 1985 non-party based elections were held. These always elected PIs are most influential entities were elected. General Zia favoured elected government. He made many amendments to making president more powerful. President was authorized to nominate the prime minister, government ministers, judges of Supreme Court and other executives. President was also authorized to dismiss assembly or MPs seats. Yet the president was now not in all powerful. Mohammad Khan Junejo was appointed as a prime minister. All was done under martial law protection. In 1985 ethnic and regional provincial tensions emerged in the country. Most prominent symptoms were seen during proposal of saghar dam whereas Punjab supported project but Sindh opposed. The project is still pending without success (Nehmed, 1994).

Zia conferred as head of the state by more powers so that he can remove administration whenever required. Military authorities decided to pass an amendment to register political parties. An amendment was passed relating to that issue with the approval of parliament. Only registered parties were allowed to participate in elections. In the beginning of 1986 when martial law was lifted and emergency was introverted. Jinnah allowed freedom of speech, political freedom and participatory system in spite of president's opposition. Despite he needed president's approval for certain issues. For certain reasons president wasn't happy with the role of a misunderstood him and tension between president and prime minister increased. During his tenure while remaining authoritative president decided not to make other ministries more powerful (Zaidi, 2011).

Under parliamentary system Need of political parties increased. Pir Pagara made a revolution of West Punjab. As a result of this he formed his party called Muslim League so he called it the united league all over the country. Because of his efforts party managed to evolved at grass root level. Offices were established branches were spread. Party was stronger in Punjab than any other province. It then launched its five-point development programme including removal of corruption, poverty elimination, and educational programmes and providing better life style to people. Offices were provided to members to provide development programmes. Housing schemes were announced. Everything was going good but there is a sudden shock was given by removing speaker assembly (Aslam, 2010).

There were two reasons behind this removal. Firstly, refused to promote president's orders for national assembly. Secondly, prime minister and his party members formed a secret committee to monitor the government before getting registered as required by law. This committee was set up to monitor the government's activities as

a result Zia resigned from president and speaker was removed with vote of no confidence. This is a harsh reality of our country (Meerpoor, 1993). We keep on removing persons if they don't work according to our desires then how we could expect democracy to flourish without public support. Zia accepted that "Controlling power is easier than handing over to someone else". Due to which military was first priority to him (Zabid, 2011).

However, Junjo government was having success of president. When Benazir arrived on April 1986, she was warmly welcomed by members. PPP wanted midterm elections but that was not possible. Opposition was not united on ideological differences. Junjo government was heavily affected by issues like religious fanaticism, spreading tribal biases, ethnic elements and most importantly a new culture arrived called "Khalashnikov culture" spread like deadly disease. The deadliest side effects introduced to Pakistan (Afzal, 2008). It took hundreds of lives. General Zia continued defence and foreign policies. He believed that to make his presidency successful he must have to remain in army and under Islamization cover. Junjo remained behind Zia in emerging as influential democratic leader (ibid 23) because he was appointed by military leader so he never welcomed the democratic leader. He tried to organize a strong political party for his back but parties take time to become stronger and other parties didn't encouraged to build a non-party system in the country. Party discipline he was largely dependent on party minister to maintain law and order in provincial branches in this situation some provincial ministers became more stronger and weaker strong system started to collapse. Such reasons created imbalance between president and prime minister power sharing system. Power sharing laws occurred when there was no well-organized party system, weak democratic institutions which could not hold pressure (Junjo, 2010).

With the beginning of 1988 there were gossips about power imbalance between prime minister and president. General Zia ruled for eight years now he could bear that his appointed prime minister exceeded his limits. People also blamed Junjo for some matters where he exceeded his limit many of the decisions he took without consulting president. On the other hand president was not pleased with parliament for not establishing Islamic parliament. Tension was increased among parliament members. Public was unable to mediate the dispute of the Pakistan. Later as expected assembly was dismissed along with the removal of prime minister under article 28. It was a shocking attack for public. President blamed national assembly for their failure of not enforcing Islam. Sarcistically whenever strategies were laid down by ruling authority they never seem to opt for working in society even after 2008.

Opposition were happy on that decision. Benazir Bhutto filed petition against non-party elections and demanded fundamental rights of people. Political parties demanded elections within ninety days. President announced that elections would be held according to constitution but not necessary it would be party based or non-party based. President's decision ruined everything. Public started criticizing him and June 0 received Mazloom. Benazir was not happy but according to facts and figures instances he were respect the prime minister released every day. Some of influential persons wanted extension but June 0 refused to do it. Leaders and parliament were not in support of him. The cause became the reason of the removal of Junjo. But later his position was cleared because public declared him Mazloom. In fact president was in difficult situation and was isolated after he lost the support of general public and political parties of the dissolving assembly and removing prime minister. This was the golden chance of PPP to take over. After dismissing assembly conducting general elections were not possible. President was about to conclude

referendum but it created wide agitation across country even in the political parties. It was the most difficult situation for the president to take decision. Before he could take any step, Zia lost his life at august 17, 1988 during a plane crash (Menmood, 1994).

It was said that general Zia was a kind hearted man. He didn't deserve such kind of miserable death. However, his death was a shock to whole nation. General Ishaq Khan was made next president of Pakistan. Public eyes were on the democratic institutions for the safe transfer of power. Elections were going to be held on 6 November 1988. As the elections dates coming nearer parties were making alliances. Muslim League made alliances with eight parties (National Islamic Front, National Ittehad) Whereas PPP decided to fight alone.

In elections twenty-seven parties were participating. General Zia's eleven years were considered wasted as far democracy is concerned. After him four civilian governments came and gone due to his anti-democratic methods. Luckily Zia's sudden death saved him from public anger, shame and disgrace (Zaidi, 2011). From 1988-1999 was civilian rule period (CRO, 2009).



## Chapter 3

# CIVILIAN AND MILITARY REGIMES (1990-2008) AND THEIR IMPACT ON STATE INSTITUTIONS

### 3.1 The Tronka Politics (The Muddling Nineties)

The history of Pakistan is associated with the expressions of 'security concern', 'strategic depth', 'Indian threat' and the impression that 'strong army associates with a strong nation'. The notion of 'Indian threat' was forged along with the birth of Pakistan. Indian threat was a basic phenomenon which involved military in the matters of foreign policy. In the later period the military possessed an intervention on national foreign policy and security-related issues including the issues related to Kashmir, Afghanistan, nuclear issue and the domestic politics. (Christophe, 2002)

#### 3.1.1 Civilian Regimes and their impact on the State Institutions (1988-1999)

The period 1988-1999 was officially democratic in nature but the true situation was probably set by the military institution in joint effort with civil bureaucracy. The power politics between PPP and DIC led by PMIL of Nawaz Sharif was in fact the widening of 'ecological' war between Bhutto and Zia set up by civil-military establishment (Haque, 2005). The sudden death of Zia-ul-Haq in an air crash on 17 August 1988 directed to new phase in the political history of Pakistan. It was phase of hope and doubt, hope in a new dawn would bring long-term expected democratic, social, economic and political changes in Pakistan. The occurred gave the sense of thinking as to who was the main pillar of strength that turned the whole

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course of events. It was the CIA's Military budgetary who supposed to reverse ending this democratic era.

There were specific foreign policy targets such as Kashmir, Afghanistan and the Nuclear Issue. In fact, the civil-military bureaucracy looked towards these targets through the Interventionist strategy (Caooley, 1999). They used the internal and external affairs only to accomplish the foretasted targets through what so ever expenditure they had to pay for either for internal reorganization or through the scene proceedings of political fluctuations in Pakistan. In fact, the anti-India viewpoint in foreign policy was a life saving boat for the military-centred institution. Due to this approach, it can be judge how pre-planned were the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif respectively. Benazir joined office on December, 1988 and Ghulam Ishaq Khan, chairman of the senate, appointed as president. Like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, she came to power unassisted as a sudden death of Zia. In an era when

Benazir was extremely brilliant, had strong connections overseas (especially the United States) and was the PPP's undisputed leader. After coming into power, Bhutto was smart enough to accept that she had to come as a foreigner in the Pakistani political arena and had to make important adjustments to form the government (Hafiz, 2002). She gave impression that she would save the economic adjustments and decision making that politics required. Satisfying the military, she agreed to let General Aslam Beg to remain as the Chief of Army Staff (COAS) and to give a direct access in foreign policy. She permitted to remain defence committee in the cabinet, she reduced the military budget by 10% but she increased the budget for the armed forces and gave free hand to the military to handle defence. A major policy (Shahzad, 1998). Benazir's government also refused to accept the nomination of Ghulam Ishaq Khan as president.

The military had agreed to the 1988 elections, hoping that the PPP would not be able to extend the polls. They see Benazir Bhutto as anti-establishment, so there was a timeset that a party not core to power whose leadership had created a gap against the military, on the ISI and possibly prevailed between legislators and the military elites. There were certain doubts regarding the settlement the military and increased the gap between the civilian leadership and military elites. The Soviet troops left Afghanistan in February 1989, but the struggle in the neighbouring state did not end. (ISI) under the leadership of Lieutenant General Hamid Gul, had maintained its cooperation to many Afghan essential groups (Haqqani 2005).

ANP leader Wali Khan criticized the action of the ISI, proclaimed that they had extended the war and exciting even greater adversity of both sides between the Afghans and the people of the Frontier province (Fathelove 2002). In May 1989, against the decisions of the COAS, Benazir dismissed the powerful ISI chief Lieutenant General Hamid Gul and appointed Lieutenant General Shams-ur-Rahman. General Hamid Gul was considered not only the creator of ISI but also the important factor in the Afghan war during Zia's years (Kocher 2017). This step not only extended the gap between Benazir and military elite but also involved the difference in the ANP's vision and that of the government.

Apart from the constitutional issues, there were also some social problems. The Pucca Qila incident of May 1990 gave rise to further agitation which had long lasting impacts on her government and thus weakened relations between the civilian and military establishment. There was a serious military operation conducted mainly on the Malakand. The crushing of the MQM by the army was later as planned by the Prime Minister (e.g. the elected president's commission 1998). Due to

unstable political process and establishment-driven goals. Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed the Benazir's government using his power under the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment. The 1990 elections were held in which Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister with a strong government. This time again the Prime Minister was caught in conflict with Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Although Nawaz Sharif was taken as a follower of Zia-ul-Haq in perspective of his Islamization system the power politics again brought him in direct face to face hostility with the president and in 1993 (Haque 2005).

Benazir of the PPP was not the foe to Nawaz Sharif and the 11<sup>th</sup> government but rather the country's established power source – the higher military and bureaucratic establishment. The matter that started the final hostility between the Prime Minister and the President was the appointment of a new COAS after the successful election of General Asif Nawaz of 8<sup>th</sup> October 1993. The president selected General-Genere Abdul Waheed Kakar. The procedure of his election outraged the Prime Minister and he responded by repealing the President's Eighth Amendment powers. It was an outrageous step for getting more support but it demoralised Nawaz Sharif's credibility towards with Ghulam Ishaq Khan (2004).

The coalition between the executive and engaged base with the President Benazir called upon Ghulam Ishaq to dismiss the government and to conduct the next elections. Benazir promised to support Ghulam Ishaq if his president for another term as president if he dismissed her opponents (Christophe 2002). Nawaz Sharif somehow recognized the low behaviour of her movement against him and tried to cope with Benazir by declaring his party's support to the president's nomination. Nawaz Sharif's extraordinary defence however was too little and too late (Chaudhry 2005).

On 8 April 1993 Ghulam Ishaq again used his powers under the 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment to impeach the Prime Minister and his government as well as to dismiss

the National Assembly Nawaz Sharif without a delay submit petition to the Pakistan Supreme Court to restore his government. The Supreme Court in expectedly replied in support of Nawaz Sharif and declared President's action lawless and unconstitutional. Following the election of President Pervez Musharraf in 18 July 1993 both Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Mir Nawaz Sharif contemporarily resigned from their respective offices. The 1990 decade willingly evidences the third phase of the trioka politics in Pakistan. Benazir became the Prime Minister for her second term in October 1993. The PPP government was also found in majority in Sindh and Punjab apart from the centre. This time Benazir Bhutto appeared to be stronger. It was felt that the PPP government would be able to pass several important legislation and advocate a new policy. Pakistan's policies were supposed to be decided by the federal government and the provincial governments were supposed to work together with one another (Zinnig, 1997).

Benazir Bhutto was observed with hatred and doubt by the military elite whenever US pointed finger towards the Pakistan's nuclear program. She was taken as more inclined towards US. Terms with the United States had reached into a new weak term during the Nawaz Sharif administration. Washington was extremely worried of Pakistan's concerns in the nuclear field and was frightened that the country's nuclear weapons ability would only strengthen Pakistan's international status. Such factors pressurized Benazir to stop the country's nuclear program. Though Benazir announced that she was fully committed to continue the country's nuclear program, she could not resist the military institution (Zinnig, 1997).

Benazir brought still another tension in Pakistan's relations with its rival neighbour when the Babri Mosque was destroyed by a frustrated crowd of Indian Hindu extremists (Haqqani, 2005). That incident had aroused revenge among Pakistan's Hindu public. The incident resulted in nasty bombings and communal violence in

both India and Pakistan. New Delhi blamed Pakistan's late-Services Intelligence (ISI) for the bomb blasts in Bombay, whereas Islamabad blamed New Delhi's sneaking service (RAW) of conducting a number of terrorist attacks in Pakistan. The fire that burned a portion of Pakistan's National Assembly building on 9 November 1991 was also blamed to RAW agents (Cohen 2012).

Like her father, she was attacked for supporting India and it was declared that New Delhi's secret intelligence service (RAW) also had herself engaged in banking issues which resulted in investigation to the President's House where President Farooq Leghari was blamed to have personally acted free from the bank property (Hartford 2002). Benazir tried to change attention from herself and her establishments by ordering the arrest of Brigadier Imtiaz who was the Intelligence Chief of the Nawaz Sharif's government. Imtiaz was charged of plotting to dismiss Benazir's first government and the Prime Minister wanted to show her critics that she would not lose hope to corruption agents whom they endured in the strategies of her first government (Hartford 1997).

The two challenges that weakened Benazir Bhutto most were a decline in Pakistan's commercial centre in the largest city Karachi and a secondly distancing with her brother Murtaza Bhutto who returned to Pakistan after a seven years' exile. In the 1993 election, Murtaza Bhutto stands opposite to the official PPP candidate in the family's home district. He showed a superior leadership in the election that media took as the battle of Bhuttos (Haqani 2005). In order to make matters happy, the President again removed Bhutto's government by using the power of 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment (Hartford 2006).

Nawaz second and more significant term began on February 17, 1997, the end of October 2, 1999. Since that time he was elected twice as a chief of the state

in a vote nearly 50 percent of the vote of 60 percent of the seats. Although he was saving the stock of established elites, he never allowed them to work with him. He failed as badly as his ancestors to build his own power base by decreasing the elite's influence. In his second term, he made changes in all three organs of the state. He removed the bureaucracy and systematically shifted judges. Nawaz Sharif's most aggravating step was an attempt to decrease the army's influence by overhauling the army chief Jahangir Karamat. His pro-liberal policies included the military's role in terms of political relations which did not encourage the economic cooperation and trade convenience with India (Collier, 2005). It also sustained the pro-Indian attitude of civilian government in the words of Stephen P. Cohen, military set-aside. India's role in the state's economic growth in 1999-2000 was not as high as it was in the recessionary period of the 1980s or 1990s (Collier, 1988-1999) (Collier, 2004).

### **3.2 Musharraf Regime and its Impact on State Institutions**

Once coming into power in a military-backed country, institutions had to accommodate the changes in the political system to make a new step and to face some military leaders which could not be used to deal with the military's role to control the state. Unfortunately, such changes in the political system did not bring the professional changes in the system, created more disorder even after the end of the ruler. Much the same was the case with Gen. Pervez Musharraf's reforms which did not clearly share the power between civilian and military institutions. Military and the civilian institutions were not clearly defined. The civilian were not to control the military nor were the military were not to control the civilian institutions.

Such prolonged disorder with the laws and change the civilian institutions by military men resulted in the shock to the political system of the state. Pervez

inherited strong political institutions such as the great and well-disciplined army and an arrogant bureaucracy which created a strange distrust for the political leaders of the newly born state.

Further, the war institutions fostered a general corruption and other related problems for the clear transition to democracy (Waseem, 1989). The lack of the power imbalance between the very strong bureaucratic institutions and the very weak elected members and democratic institutions has been one of the biggest causes of political inconsistency in Pakistan since its birth (Yousuf, 2009). The lack of power of the executive branch is due to the direct involvement of the civil and military bureaucracies in its control, which weakened the legislature as well as the judiciary (Wilde, 2011).

### 3.2.1 Manipulation of State Institutions

The institutions can be easily often manipulated by the political elite of the government if changes such as the centralization of power, military intervention, and election manipulation are made (O'Connell, 2010). The important change that has appeared over time is the power and control of the executive branch and this has been changed by the military (Glover, 1965). Since its inception, Pakistan has experienced four military coups which have intervened in the process of the political structure of the state. In the last 67 years of its history, the system of the powers of state institutions were reversed since the military branch of the state has become more assembled and structurally got power than any other branch of the ruling authority. The military now gets the more authority to govern the state as determined than the civilian bureaucracies (Wilde, 2011). This has changed the power balance as it was once after independence when the civilian bureaucracy was the power of the state to maintain socially the democracy, but the military is not



partner, but the changes did by Pervez Musharraf in the system and management of bureaucracy were extremely condemned by the press. On 12 October 1999, PM Nawaz Sharif tried to remove Pervez Musharraf to appoint his follower from his family. ISI Director Lt. General Khawar Ziauddin as a new COAS (Khan et al. 2008). His role before being a powerful military chief Musharraf used his power. National television was forcefully off aired for few hours. Later, it was declared that Nawaz government was over taken by the military. Musharraf with the help of other military persons succeeded in bringing to an military intervention in the country by dismissing civilian establishment (Khan 2009).

On 14 October 1999, Musharraf declared state of emergency all over the country and occupied the office of Chief Executive. The main motive of his actions was motivated to remove the elected government on the appeal to restore the politico-economic situation of Pakistan. General Musharraf declared that his not interfere by the army to step in, it was the governments responsibility that the military was being managed and trust worthy institution to settle situation (Baohi 0). The circumstances of Pakistan at that time were at its unfavorable despite the military establishment economic downfall, political disturbance in the country. Pakistan's removal from combat wear and conflict with India were the major issues for Pakistan.

Since his appointment as General Musharraf depicted a clear picture of his need to his political rivals, prohibited the political parties, proposing new provincial constitutional amendments especially restoration of (58(2b)) to increase his power. Musharraf administration has been separated into two sections e.g. military regime and civilian regime. From 1999 to 2007, Musharraf relished full powers in military and civil war. From 2007 to 2008, he had to exercise civil and military powers.

standard political establishments have been seen during Musharraf regime. National and international political observers considered his government the discourse of War on Terrorism. Washington accommodated democracy in Pakistan because of strong measures taken by Musharraf on War on Terrorism. On political front he adopted all those steps which his ancestors Ayub Khan and Zia-ul-Haq accepted to increase their powers (Ahmed, 2014). During his tenure (1999-2008) he introduced a number of reforms and raised many institutions which created the imbalance between civil and military establishments in certain manners resulting institutional imbalances in state institutions. President Musharraf appointed working and retired military officers in all the civilian bureaucracies for strong hold. During his rule almost all the important civil service positions were held by military officers (Wilder, 2010).

Every military establishment brought military persons into state institutions who were least interested among officers. They always did what they thought was right instead of giving any benefit to nation. As a result state institutions including parliament, judiciary and executive were probably completely exploited by the military leaders and civilian leaders. In such circumstances state institutions performence deteriorated. The defect can be proved by former President Musharraf's statement "if you want to keep people out you have to know what" (Behrnia, 2009). Public accountability is a very important game plan to remove the monster of corruption. Corruption weakens the roots of society. Keeping this monster in account almost all the developed states have adopted such measures which guarantee the election and progress to receive the trust of a large population. In the case of Pakistan the phenomena with account of corruption has been quite different. Pakistan has faced extreme and widespread rot since its birth at the hands of rotten politician and bureaucrats. In order to remove corruption, a strong institution

came into form in 1999 and this agency was named as National Accountability Bureau (Khan, 2009). Moreover, the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) was formed under the National Accountability Ordinance, 1999 as the further organization of Ehtesab Bureau. The military establishment ensured accountability procedure through which corrupt elements had to be removed (Saeed, 2011). However, accountability procedure of NAB proved defective because NAB never arrested a member of higher judiciary or any official of Pakistan army. Its only focus was on the civilian leadership.

Moreover, NAB did not ensure public accountability in fact it was formed to provide strong support to Musharraf's government (Benjia, 2009). Up to 2001, Musharraf government did not have autonomous power to rule Pakistan. The shocking event of 9/11 not only changed the political scenario of world politics and it also gave favourable chance for military to rule in Pakistan and to get international favour by indulging itself in the war on terror. After the event of September 11, 2001 Pakistan looks like a country that had stray from its path with a strangling economy, military establishment, economic terrorism, declining standard of social institutions. Pakistan always had a deep strategic success because of its poor governance, poor education, weak political parties, domestic violation and crippled economy.

Later, Musharraf introduced devolution of power to local government system and the government objective was to reduce the role of military in decision making of his government and to get favour from opposition state leaders by getting support of general public. Second, he wanted to decrease the role of bureaucracy. Such localization of politics was a move for uncontrolled centralism. There were two factors to introduce the plan. Military authorities had designed

able support so that the country and its plans to develop with general public support for the ruling. Since these institutions increased concentration of power. Usually in a federal type of government, the powers were given from central provinces then to the district and local units. But it is a bitter fact with the local government systems that were proposed by the military governments mostly ignored provincial autonomy and give more powers to the districts. Through these states of institutions, the military of Pakistan becomes stronger. Whenever a military coup takes over, constitution becomes his first goal to abolish, suspend or to amend it for fulfilling their objectives. Ayub Khan promulgated the 1956 constitution and suspended and modified the 1973 constitution by introducing the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment in 1973 which altered the power system of the country (Saeed, 2001).

The military government of Nawaz removed the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment by 13<sup>th</sup> amendment. Musharraf followed the same as Zia did. In the starting he suspended the constitution and later on 24 December amended the constitution by introducing the 17<sup>th</sup> amendment to the constitution (Khan, 2009). The noticeable character of the amendment was that it tilted the balance between the two forces, political force, that was the people's representative, the second was the elites of the President. Article 58 (2) of the constitution was amended through which the President gained the power to dismiss the National Assembly, to dissolve the government.

Moreover, in article 17(2) of the constitution, he dismissed the provincial assemblies who would be later on transfer to the Supreme Court with the intention of balancing power. However, according to the constitution, the executive was the responsibility of the elected government, but the President was given the power to dismiss the President all in all by providing control of entire political system. The series of the single and only one political elections were conducted during his rule for the first time.

of National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies and the procedure of democracy was an extremely observed one. Judiciary is a very important system of a government and democratic structure. Its main responsibility is to act as the guardian of the constitution and to make sure the rule of law is followed. It protects the fundamental rights of the people and it prohibits abuse among state institutions by having a strict eye over the institutions of the country. Unfortunately in Pakistan the judiciary has a diversified history. In Pakistan judiciary has never gained (before judicial crisis and activism) a free role. During the military regimes in Pakistan judiciary was often misused or suppressed for the benefit of states. For example, there is a case to recall the judicial crisis which occurred in 2007. Musharraf

Judiciary was not disturbed earlier by the election but when the scenario of Nawaz tried to threaten Musharraf rule. He took it as serious threat and decided to bring some changes to the superior judiciary. Musharraf decided to took fresh oath of office to all the judges of superior courts on January 26, 2009 (Beynon, 2009). Six judges of the Supreme Court took the new oath and five were set away from the procedure. With respect to the case of Musharraf control the newly established Supreme Court under Justice Ishaq Hasan. Khan came up with the words that Musharraf had unfairly taken control by sources of extra constitutional ways in the interests of the state. However, whenever there is a change in the scenario judicially there are some reasons to consider the judiciary.

On November 3, 2007 Musharraf declared emergency in the country and he promulgated the constitution (18, 2008). It was stated that emergency was a law and order situation in the country and state of emergency needed of extra constitutional actions to make the situation under control. Again the high judiciary was brought under charge. A new PCO was announced and the new scenario of judiciary would

have to take a new oath. It was declared by the military establishment that the judiciary was working for dual purpose with the executive in its efforts against terrorism. So seven Supreme Court judges and of High Court judges oppose to take it and they were removed.

This removal of judges impacted in serious judicial crisis in the country. The crisis pressurised military to regulate the state system. Thus during Musharraf regime even the judiciary was no longer what on the other hand usually considered with final judgment in democratic countries. In Musharraf regime controlled democracy phenomenon had been flourish and parliament was kept under control of the military establishment. Musharraf implemented National Security Council (NSC) to check over parliament. It had been observed that all important issues had been dominated by the military establishment (Mirza, 2014).

He tried his best to dominate all three state institutions including parliament judiciary and executive to legitimize his regime even knowing of aftermaths of all such actions. Military dictators along with civilian leaders always remained unlikely to overpower these three organs while remaining in powers. Applying all tricks to dominating these institutions always resulted in their downfall. Musharraf banned political parties and brought Muttahida Majlis-e-Azad in parliament for assuring more assets under the cover of War on Terrorism. Musharraf started military operations against Taliban in northern areas and former religious Jihadist groups in Punjab and Karachi.

These powerful military operations had increased radicalism and caused detriment in the whole society. The preachers declared that Musharraf efforts on War on Terrorism had agitated Pakistan's political and economic system. The flow of investors and foreign investments had been stopped. No investor was coming

financially supported Pakistan in the case experienced by the Pakistan society were highly dangerous.

With such issues, Musharraf made new election schedule in 2008. Now, the time was not favourable for him. He was directly declared that all political parties will participate in election. The political rivals, Benazir Bhutto and Miran Nawaz Shehry signed Charter of Democracy with new political aims and goals. It was seen that they had learned from history and now together making plans for political battle against Musharraf administration. Judiciary was not happy with Musharraf so the support was not given. It was the agreed fact that Musharraf's ruling Party will not succeed in next election (Ahmed, 2014).

In the company of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto, Muslim League (Q) was not successful. As a result of the economic issues, Musharraf tried to lessen the provincial stress but his attempt to impose development projects on Balochistan without taking into consideration the interests of Baloch leaders enhanced political pressure in Balochistan. The circumstances worsened with the launch of military operation in Balochistan and the killing of Sateen Akbar Khan Bugti (Razi, 2008). Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) event led to the separation of Muslim League and Muslim League (Q). The above-mentioned issues misplayed the political arena. Inflation, unemployment, extremist forces, misperceived security, foreign energy crisis and drowning economic situations had crippled the Pakistan society. Circumstances reached extreme level when Benazir Bhutto was shot dead. It is reported that Musharraf administration was questioned many times to have 'Joo-prove' security but none were received. With these socio-political occurrences, elections were postponed to September (Ahmed, 2014).

The state institutions need proper power and management to work for the benefit of nation and state but they always hijacked by the military corps and civilian leaders due to their social, economic or political corruption. The reason of miss management and over-powered by leaders only because the institutions lacked or absence of smooth democracy in which all get their given rights. Unluckily the military regimes when ever came to power they were all in all to decide the destiny of the nation in the Pakistan history as a result of civil democratic transition could not seen in Pakistan (Khan, 2007). There were specific matters that brought downfall to Musharraf regime: the judge's movement, the red Mosque event and the death of the Benazir Bhutto. In the election of 2008, Musharraf's party Muslim League Qaid-e-Azam group were badly defeated. Every military regime has left long-lasting impacts on the socio-political and economic fields of Pakistan. Musharraf regime provided Pakistan with progressing terrorism, economic disability, and social distribution.

General Musharraf brought the war of America into the boundaries of Pakistan. A number of suicides bombings were occurred all over Pakistan where many civilians were killed. The operation Rahe Rast began in NWFP in 2003. The eventual stress from international community and from insiders forced Musharraf to resign from the office of President. The downfall is primarily recognized as appropriate for sake of directly equals to Pakistan's socio-political structure. Existing government realignment of civil-military relations, the foretelling for significant democratization remains extreme. Due to living on external economic and military aid mainly on America is crucial in accomplishing political freedom in sense of civilian democracy. In fact, Pakistan's relies to the U.S. in war on terror against Al-Qaeda etc. which not let her to release international tension. By holding the elections military exempted itself from the pressure of international community.



## Chapter 4

# PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY REGIME AND ITS IMPACT ON STATE

### 4.1 Institutions

Pakistan has experienced institutional imbalances since its inception. Its decisions have been largely dominated by US and this situation has ruined democratization in the last 40 years. On the other hand, military dominance was another major hurdle in the smooth functioning of democracy in Pakistan. Civilian leaders were remained under stress of dominating military as a result state was helpless to brought smooth transition in the state (Fatman, 2008). Parliamentary democracy failed for four times in Pakistan because of rising political desires of military Generals to strengthen and to secure its political growth (M. Farooq, 2010). The return to democracy in 2008 has seen the process of developing civilian institutions and made transition possible from one elected government to another 30 years after 1973 constitution established a parliamentary system in the country (Report, 2013).

### 4.2 Performance and Prospects of Democracy during Zardari Era

Many people considered it a blessing, some considered it as a blessing in camouflage and few called it as the worse regime in the Pakistani history. The accomplishment of the five-year regime of a civilian democratic government in the country elected in the February 2008 elections is somehow being cherished (Ahmar, 2013). In a subsequent case of intervention by the army, Musharraf was removed from power by his subordinate generals while the street protests led by the

lawyers' community and also brought into focus the question of Musharraf's legitimacy, a question as old as the regime itself.

Each tenure before Musharraf regime was confronted with issues regarding their administrative. Musharraf also confronted with the various issues threatening his regime. On the other hand, he frequently dealt with political pressure faced by his regime despite the acceptability and constitutional legitimacy of his tenure were vigorously questioned from the beginning. The Judicial Activism started in 2007 bringing the matter of acceptability and constitutional legitimacy to the foreground. The Asif Ali Zardari headed Pak star People's Party (PPP) government was elected through a democratic electoral process which was politically and legally was acceptable (Farooq, 2015).

The PPP government was constantly taken as Pakistan's deterioration. Few use such complaint to slightly pave the PPP. Many disagree that failure was so exceptional that it establishes a fact that democracy is inappropriate for Pakistan. The PPP's performance was indeed unsatisfactory. However, the declaration that failure was so intense due to which extra-constitutional measures were legitimized and election process was not fair and free and exaggerated. Majority demanded that the PPP ceased to exist (Munir, 2013).

Democracy has never been fully exercised in the country. The Pakistan's dominant greedy politicians have damaged the infrastructure in several sectors including Water and Power development authority (WAPDA), Railroads, Steel Factories and Pakistan International Airline (PIA) all at the cost of the single man. In five years, the PPP-ruled government went up against 8 trillion rupees from many banks and money borrowed from international institutions along with the State Bank of Pakistan and external borrowing which was 50 billion dollars. However, in 2008 stock of 60

billion dollars. In comparison of rupee value of US\$ which was PKR60 in 2007 later soared upto PKR 100 (e.g. exchange of rupee 100 was equivalent with the State Bank record keeping just \$87 billion). Corruption of millions of rupees in ppp tenure has been a cause of distress and disgrace for Pakistan. At foreign level prices of fundamental goods had increased to record level in the past years and the heavy indebtedness of government days had increased drastically. It was happened for the first time in the history of Pakistan private universities were powerless to give pays to their employees and staff on due period. With such a poor performance of the PPP-driven administration, does it create impression of dignity for 'Pursuing the 5 year tenure of a democratic civilian government?' (Ahmar, 2013). With such a wretched economic accomplishment, no hope left for the PPP being reelected to power in the future election, loss completely ensue (Moinuddin, 2012).

Outcomes of ppp's economic and socio performance, failed to consolidate economic and political decline weakened the federation, giving rise to a non-partisan electoral system, restored the Chief Justice which resulted in its independent yet co-equal branch of the government, created mechanisms for the distribution of power among the office of the President, the office of the Prime Minister, Civilian oversight of the military has also been largely formalized. Civil liberties stand restored. Inclusion of IMA into the political mainstream was another milestone. The media and the judiciary functioned with complete integrity in the 5 years of PPP government (Baqar, 2015).

Anyhow, many questions loomed relating to the administration of the declared federal democratic system. Why a five-year long period of democratic civilian government threw us deeper into a condition of economic catastrophe, lawlessness and growing extortion? The public have allowed all these huge agonies

and the downfall of the state just for the well-being of citizens and democracy. Is there any possibility that upcoming elections if conducted during an approximate change in the socio-economic and political situation of the general public will be needed to aggravate the erosion of the culture?

### 4.3 Judicial Activism and Its Impact on Democratization

In 2005, Musharraf appointed Chaudhry Iftikhar as a new chief justice of Supreme court. Chief justice was a hard working, intelligent and devoted person. He was an ordinary judge. That's why he was a safe choice for Musharraf. The Court began to hear cases on its own through the device of Article 183 but according to that provision, court can't give power to check the military. So, the court's rights however defined the Court as an original jurisdiction of Supreme Court, scriptural human rights cell and began to inquire cases of corruption. As the Court started its operation with rigidity, Musharraf had enough and dismissed the Chief Justice in March 2007. The reaction was unexpected as the Chief Justice challenged this decision against the support of various groups, including lawyers, students, and a coalition of civil society (Kennedy, 2011).

The military dictators were not been enjoying the judiciary, military agreements for their benefits and those who denied were forced to resign. However, when General Musharraf followed the same in 2006-2007, the commoner will have yes to Chief Justice. Chief Justice who was not seen as a threat to the military. In 1999, Chief Justice was overthrown. This was a crucial step of the military as a shift in the election process. After the military dictatorship, his administration was immediately pledged as a serious issue of the judiciary, peace and the society. It was first time in the history of Pakistan that military and general public demonstrated against the military. After Musharraf's deposition, news

elected parliament was also not willing to restore dismissed judges. This created serious demonstration in the country to restore dismissed judges immediately forcing Zardari's acceptance. The government had planned to expand the size of the Supreme Court but it was unacceptable to the core of the court which had refused to take the oath under PCO 2007 to accept those judges who had taken that oath (Kennedy 2011).

The Supreme Court showed no sympathy to those judges who took oath under PCO 2007 even many of them were close friends of Iftikhar Chaudhary. They were ruthlessly charged with contempt of taking fresh oath under PCO 2007 against court decision not to accept such step although it was a harsh decision. Actually judiciary wanted to prove itself as an independent institution. Constitution had been suspended, abrogated and violated four times in the past decades but further no such suspension would be supported by judiciary and public.

National Reconciliation Order was reversed which was providing umbrella to corrupt politicians. Judiciary was working independently and actively to provide safeguard to its citizens against corruption. When NRO was shut down many corruption, illegal workings, money laundering, Pakistan Steel Mill case and murder cases were reopened. On 25<sup>th</sup> February Supreme court declared Mian Shah'baz Sharif elections null and void and Nawaz Sharif was also disqualified from contesting elections. As a result President of the PMF-N Mian Nawaz Sharif encouraged thousands of followers to become part of movement led by lawyers demanding the restoration of Iftikhar Chaudhry and other judges. Lawyers movement gained momentum. Many were arrested, roads were blocked with shipping containers to avoid crowd to cross the bridge of federal capital. Demonstrations of many channels were stopped. Such a worse situation in the same forced Zardari administration to

reached to a final decision (Durrani, March 2009). PM Gilani's office also received Hukumat-e-Dhokha's letter along with the proposed changes. Governor was also lifted from parliament and CM Shaukat was again reported on his seat on stay orders (Report 2009).

Another factor was the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment which excluded presidential power of dismissing legislature also provided with more authority relating to the appointment of court judges. Supreme Court wanted legislature to amend 10<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup> amendment so that power relating to judges appointment should remain in the hands of Supreme court. Parliament constituted 19<sup>th</sup> amendment which showed judiciary had enough authority to convince legislature to amend previously passed amendment. The coalition strength putting at stake the balance of the state amendment executive and judiciary. Governor Khan's letter to the judges between Zardari and Shaukat's letter. Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry and other judges removed by Musharraf were returned to the positions.

In December 2009, the Supreme Court hit down the NRO and dismissed immunity given under it to bureaucrats-politicians along with Zardari (November 2009). It was a new watershed issues between the executive government and judiciary. President Zardari's demand of having authority as the head of state to control the judiciary's pressure including "flexibility" being adjacent to it. This kept pressurized President throughout his tenure continuously altering his government's tenure and administration. The government feared that it might have reasons to complete removal of (Jan 2010). Asif Ali Zardari and Chief Justice Chaudhry's letter to the judges. (Feb 2010). Was (2012). Chaudhry was being nominated 2012 when he had already had Prime Minister Gilani's suspended a court and removed him from office. Gilani had sobayed to write to Swiss government to

go through specific policy-making files awaiting approval. Zardari trusted the Swiss authority's refusal to reopen matters (Hassan, 2011).

This brought tension among analysts and flamed scandals about the PPP government's capability to reach to its tenure. Human rights lawyer Asma Jahangir called Ghani's dismissal 'by a host of soft interventions' a way to messimize the administration and legality of the government and creating ways to brought a 'tax' intervention (Jan, 2010). No one was willing to work for a 'Swiss Authority' as agents Zardari. After removal of former Prime Pervez Ashraf was appointed as new PM of Pakistan. He was given a new name 'Reza Raza' by media because of immense loves of electricity. He was also ordered to write letter of the state over the were causing instability in the light of cap of water was being electricity at worst point. Corruption and nepotism was at its peak. Public was restless due to corruption, inflation, high prices of fuel and electricity, less food and security (Ansari, 2016).

The bringing back of the Chief Justice was a great transformation in the history of Pakistan and a landmark in progress toward a judicial democracy as one of the fundamental impact of the restoration of the state (Baqir, 2015). It marked the role of the (Jan, 2010) of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice of the District and District Courts since 1995 till cases from the year 1995-2013. This is an outstanding achievement of structure of the judiciary. Same as the main reason behind such great movement and boldness of the Chief Justice 2005 judicial activism. The Chief Justice Chaudhry ordered to disassociate himself from pending cases. For this court appointed and to provide services and advice of the state avoid legal process to get low Court ordered that judges should be removed or suspended cases and bribery matters instead of taking more work. Supreme Court also to

action against those judicial officers' workers who were engaged in bribery cases and those who were employing litigants beyond means of income (Mazhar, 2015).

The Chief Justice Pakistan said:

"The objectives of the first division are to provide the overabundance at the level of high courts as well as subordinate courts and to set a time period to transfer of common and ordinary cases (Pollex, 2009).

Later, Supreme Court made a move against an overwhelming overabundance of cases and changed the guidelines and controls of law. The main cases in the Supreme Court in 2009 were 102, 121 and 122. A few more cases were filed with the court in 2007 yet since the date of 15 January 2009, no new cases were filed in the court (Mazhar, 2015).

### **4.3 Role of Institutions: Prospects of Democracy during Pakistan Peoples Party Government**

#### **4.3.1 Democratization Process of Parliament**

Since independence, there was a direct dominance preference case in parliament to a short term, generally weaker institution, damaged its influence, authority, or became a seal of approval for military regimes (Rehman, 2005). Pakistan's constitution of 1973 endorsed many civil liberties and provided the citizens with executive powers to elect a new government. The Constitution of 1973 was a landmark in the progress of democracy in Pakistan. The elected Parliamentary democracy elected four times in Pakistan due to increase welfare goals of military Generals which led to an organized and uneven institutional progress. The different constitutional amendments transferring powers from Parliament to President and other amendments in 1973 Constitution (18) and 17th Amendment (1973) have also developed executive and legislative power etc.



renounced people's rights. After transfer of power from military to civilian regimes in 2008, it was necessary to accelerate the democratic progress by making new 1973 Parliamentary Constitution (Rizwan, 2014).

The first Constitution of Pakistan (1956) devised the chief executive constituent assembly (19 years) to introduced parliamentary framework (Mehmood, 2010). However, hopeless military tenures transformed the political structure against federal legislature into a consolidated administrative government. Those executive tenures (1958-1962 and 1969) did not allow the soul to be grown in a legislative system (Rizvi, 2012).

The successive regimes on the other hand contributed in a very limited way towards growth of democratic process. Both have confirmed to democratic tendencies after assuming power and made little effort in engaging the government opposition dialogue and consensus building. The close extra-parliamentary devices continued to dictate Pakistan politics. This National Assembly has not been able to develop such institutions that could promote democratic tendencies (Shahzad, 1998). The growth of democracy during these tenures has been confined by laws, inspite of speeches on the floor of house (Rizwan, 2014). So, more legislature tools carried out to command Pakistan politics impact legislature has not been capable to continue its original role. It could encourage democratic procedure, however. General Pervez Musharraf's took over in October 1999 shortly destroyed the country's transformation to democratic system. Musharraf removed the democratically elected government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and made himself chief executive by abrogating the constitution and dismissed assemblies to continue military tenure (Behuria, 2009). It is believed that during the Musharraf regime, the Parliament suffered as an institution as it was downgraded to a mere executive tool (Rizwan, 2014).

President Musharraf's rule was transferred from a Parliamentary democracy to a dual presidential structure where decision-making was in the hands of single man (Directorate 2005). The democratic powers of the state remained in tension of conducting independent polls and elect elections in the country under Musharraf's Presidency. However, after the murder of Benazir Bhutto in 2007, the elections were not held till 2008, and the executive's power subsequently reversed the situation again. Musharraf now serves as the PPP vice-presidents with elected majority (Behrati 2009). While it maintained a way to the rise of a formal and a democratically elected government in state of Pakistan. Through the eighteenth Amendment, the parliamentary government was re-established and this expelled large portions of the protected constitutions of General Pervez Musharraf's military administration, promote fundamental rights, enhance fundamental rights and laid the foundations for more transparent and accountable governance. Its most considerable provision was the devolution of power from the centre to the provinces, addressing a long-standing political fault line that had largely contributed to the country's dismemberment in 1971. The shift towards greater cooperation across the state is expected to ensure the survival of a fragile political order, but faced constant challenges from an interventionist military and a hyperactive judiciary (Report 2013).

A few developmental programmes for the areas – including PMA, Agheer-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan, the National Finance Commission Award, and the City-Balistan self-governance – will be recognized as instruments to fortify the league. No elected government ever complete its term in Pakistan's history since from the PPP's regime, the parliament worked in a straight forwardly that is, forefathers, and the information on sessions and procedures through its website, which conveyed records of the day and some of the cost of a non-profit business and a section, "business"

elements of the question here when individuals put inquiries to the officials including ministers (N.A. 2016). In spite of few financial and security challenges, the parliament was strengthened, numerous laws were passed, particularly rights-based laws strengthening fundamental rights of the citizens, especially, freedom and independent election commission (Khat 2016). The 18<sup>th</sup> amendment has provided balance of power at the federal level. It has organized the way for Pakistan to the path of democratic central parliamentary system which is most for stability of democratic values. The framers of the amendment under the guidance of Senator Mian Raza Rabbani have seen a smooth and equitable parliamentary democracy for the future of Pakistan (Baily 2012).

Although the political aspects of a stable democratic system were realized, the political system still has some challenges. So, therefore, it needs political will and commitment on the part of leadership to implement it in due spirit. The implementation commission has been formed which needs to be cooperated and coordinated for its true implementation. The political process should be allowed to evolve with the development of vibrant society in compatibility with parliamentary system (Rizvi 2014). The PPP government neglected to complete with some challenges. For instance, in May 2012, President Zardari manifested a bill for formation of a national commission on human rights which has yet to be seen (Interview 2013). The promise to constitute a Truth and Reconciliation Commission was not fulfilled. I could not see any good attempt at healing the wounds, in particular of Baluch people (Finn 2012).

Furthermore, parliament failed to work on important amendments giving open doors to the judiciary and different political actors to determine the political procedures. Such direction was particularly clear in coming 2013 election. The new

parliament must change a defective constituent political and legitimate structure that generally could undermine electoral process. Further, Legislature failed to provide quick and satisfactory relief to the victims of the flood of 2010. In reality, the civilian government was not really expected to complete its tenure. Without the mere support of the armed force, the concerned catastrophe could have been far more terrible. On financial front, the PPP-lead government badly failed with dealing with the finance. It depended intensely on borrowings and credit. Government of State Bank needed to have saved the balance reserve assets and the foreign assets strategies to address more any case since PPP should have reduced the absence of approval of suffering the democratic government under Mr Zardari. It is one to view as cycle of derailed democracy and constitutional deviations (godzilla 2006). In November 2009, the Supreme Court shut down the National Reconciliation Ordinances of October 2007 which had allowed immunity to those authorities and legislators who had been accused of corruption and different offenses. Majority members of his party were caught in corruption cases. On 26 April 2012, the Supreme Court sentenced Prime Minister Gilani of contempt of court after his refusal to ask for the Swiss authorities to revive an IRS evasion argument against President Zardari and on 19 June 2012 the Supreme Court removed Gilani from his office. Parliamentary members were caught in corruption cases (Rana 2016). Despite these exceptions, PPP completed their five-year tenure and paved the way for democracy of 2013, therefore was

### 4.3.2 Democratization Process of Executive

In perspective of authority, the elected parliament is strong while the executive organs are inferior to it. In division of power, every organ was provided with a specific extent of powers to fulfill its aims. According to constitution, no executive institution is allowed to overpower other state institution (Barric 1997). The president

who heads the executive organ act as the head of country, headed the military and makes political consultation under the inspection and security structure. The executive has the authority of embargo over the legislative organ. The members of the judiciary are selected by the executive, which also has the authority to pardon (Sultana, 2014).

The 1956 constitution of Pakistan suspended the post of the Governor General and handed over the same authority to the office of the President whose executive authority expanded to elect the elected Prime Minister. The 1973 constitution made the prime minister all the other heads of state and also the executive power moved even greater authority. The legislative system was unchanged in name, but it needed only a nod of the authorities linked with such institutions. An ongoing system in Pakistan has been that each head of country and administration wants to have all executive power vested in his/her grip (Report, 2005).

The 2013 elections resulted in first ever democratic transition in Pakistan's history. 40 years after the 1973 constitution built up an elected parliamentary majority rules system. While the past parliament missed numerous open doors for change apart from all factors, the completion of five year term by a civilian government passed a significant example to re-establish law based and strong administration. Their biggest achievement was 18th amendment. It was a noteworthy achievement was the evolution of power from the centre to provinces. The move owes no outstanding participation after a long time guaranteed the survival of a fragile parliament that confronted consistent difficulties from an interventionist military and a hyperactive judiciary (Report, 2013).

Despite all above mentioned developments, executive and parliament stipulated with some gaps which are a poor governance of PPP. Corruption was division of power which remained absent the year both of the ex-Minister of the executive

branch of the state remained the main judge of policymaking and approach execution both in presidential, military and parliamentary sorts of government. The Prime Minister (PM) has intrinsically unchallenged power over the assembly. By and by non-elective establishments of the state, for example, the common organization and the military, accepted direct control over legislative issues and the state, in this way guaranteeing the additional secured supra-parliamentary nature of rule in Pakistan. Moreover, the judiciary, which till 2007 acted passively as far as legitimization of bureaucratic and military lead, began to act in an independent way (Hussain, 2015).

The board of executive when headed clearly with the troops share of its individuals drawn from the PPP and its allies. Mr Zardari's administration, in its documented qualities was a relic of the old one presided over by parliament only. Practically speaking, it would be through and through presidential, if he somehow managed to utilize his vast office and to merge suddenly only a small majority over the elements of the executive and the bureaucracy. He did not receive any of broader scope. Zardari and his group came to power in 2008, after a give way to the military, which was the National Reconstruction Office (NRO), that granted immunity to hundreds of politicians and soldiers in foreign legal cases. Many of them had returned from self-imposed exile (Khan, 2012).

As president he would not be ever specifically responsible for any treaty in his tenure. The PM and the executive would be the ones safeguard his activities on their own which they will doubtlessly did with equality later. After seven months of his or the seven months of his existence, the performance of parliament, even as a debating forum has been perfunctory. The burning issues relating to terrorism, economic decline, financial bankruptcy, development planning, lawlessness and crime are all

placed under the control of lawyers who are not members of parliament and accountable to it (Kunwaridis 2008)

The head of the executive PM Yousaf Raza Gilani was always depicted as a puppet of president as a result executive remained helpless throughout his tenure. Gilani's tenure was full of corruption in the government, inefficiencies and controversies in which most of issues were created by himself through his actions. Indeed even generally a brisk flow of corruption charges and examples of the administration demonstrate that the Prime Minister Gilani was not that honest politician. Rather there were many instances of corruption and poor administration which were more associated with Gilani than Zardari.

If we discuss any corruption charges or even of the minister, head of the government or poor administration Gilani would be there one way or the other. It may be President Zardari's decision to choose his trusted man as Chairman of Pak-Steel mill to increase the fortunes of his companions, yet legitimately the responsibility was of the chief executive for giving over Pak-Steel to a wrong person. And when the FIA was exposing the Pak-Steel's corruption case under the organization's rumored Chief Lame Khoso, it was again the head who expelled Khoso to secure the contract who professedly looted Rs22 billion of general society. As against Pak-Steel's scam, the NICL cheat is associated with a Dubai based money lender who was exposed by the PM's own investigation as a wrong chief executive. The national watchdog apex court that took suo moto notice of NICL's trick received lost 200 million of rupees. Moreover the name of PM's son Agha Qasim Gilani likewise resounds in the scandal. The head gave over the FIA to a dubious resigned cop to get these cases settled agreeable to him.

The multi-billion rupees Haj scandal too includes each one of those people having Gilani's Muslim-essence. The imprisoned ex-DG HAJ Rao Shakil and also the sacked minister of Religious Affairs Minister Iqbal Hussain were the selection of Gilani and not of President Zardari. Again the DG HAJ attempted to ruin the Haj scene for showing loyalty to party. In this trick too once again the Chief Executive son was resounded.

One of the nearby associates of president Ahmad Riaz Sheikh previous Additional Director General of HAJ's case was considered for advancement notwithstanding being a NRO-recipient. The Supreme Court paid heed to the issue on the records of the case. Ahmad Riaz Sheikh was again arrested by the police. Ahmad Riaz was sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment in 2001 on charges of corruption. However, he got advantage from the NRO. While he was in prison members of PPP met him as well as the president orders indirectly to get the Riaz Sheikh out of prison immediately. All the avenues were provided to the Sheikh and to the president it was the same minister who used his authority to favour the candidate to effect from his reinstatement to his promotion and from his one-step higher appointment as deputy DG HAJ to his corrupt release from jail (Report 2016).

However, Gilani appointed NRO recipient Adnan A Khawaja as Chairman Oil and Gas Development Council. Khawaja was a very competent and an intermediate but Chief Executive chose to reward him in a strange way as though Pakistan is Communist country. As the chief executive of Pakistan was not taking notice of this appointment and got the Khawaja dismissed and jailed.

In his standard design and as for fulfillment of his own impulse and was as he promoted 50 government officials. Seats were over allocated and the youngsters were awarded on the basis of "haves" and "haves not" rather than merit.



and rule of law. The Gilani-designed advancements were tested in the peak court and as justified were nullified. The Gilani administration's three years turned to Pakistan much more corrupt than any other. Restructuring of public sector entities was promised two years back by the premier but as yet not even a single corporation has been restructured. The three-year tenure of Gilani demonstrates him incompetent and pointless. He laid a trap for himself to expose what existed. It's clear you are here his weakness. In power the Gilani should realized that the states not run the way he administered Pakistan. Would be change himself and his system of administration. If no then the change of executive would be only a pointless work out (Report 2016)

Pakistan's return to democracy in February 2008 after eight years of military dominated authoritarian rule was supposed to rekindle hopes for a country affected by an economic slowdown, an ethnic rebellion and the escalating threat posed by terrorist activities. None of these challenges have yet been successfully addressed and public faith in the capacity of democratic institutions to deliver the goods is eroding (Boatman 2009). Despite civilian rulers have demonstrated monarchial propensities (CIR 2016)

The goal of a democratic form of the form of the overwhelming future it has accomplished (Wickham 2006). Democracy can only be achieved through courageous withdrawal and abandonment of the old and a new balance of power among political institutions. In Pakistan while connecting to the administrative structure there ought to be a division of power with respect and a clear strategy to secure that Executive power does not erode. Assertiveness is needed to ensure that democracy delivers goods and operates with an efficiency that can only come with the strict application of rule of law, adherence to processes and procedures and stringent accountability wherever power administrative and fiscal is placed. An

executive with enhanced powers supported by a cabinet with greater professional and intellectual wisdom can assure such fidelity to functioning (News, 2014).

### **4.3.3 Democratization Process of Judiciary**

Strained by adverse societal situation that make the history of judicial independence of Pakistan in encouraging democracy has been combined at best. Judiciary has frequently not been in an authority to blame the country to maintain the rule of charter and support democratic traditions for narrow purposes. The background of constitutionalism in country like Pakistan and state is not strong. Judiciary is an organ of the country system and exchange of average political process with other state organs. It relied on others for assists required for its institutional progress and imposition of its wisdom. It is rather a victim in extent of reliable institutional freedom which can't get assurance its liberty from other political players and organs. Liberty it has acquired is less the outcome of its own hardship or affirmation and more the result of alteration happening in the state and community (Gillani, 2014).

An independent Judiciary should be treated like an important component of democracy. The organ of the judiciary in Pakistan has an acceptable history. Even the military regimes have given some authority to the judiciary. However, many judges of Supreme Court and High Court have shown boldness and autonomy in exercising the rule of law (Ikram, 2010).

The constitution of Pakistan entrusts judiciary with the responsibility to uphold the constitution and imposing the rule of law in a state and anyhow providing security to the oppressed and powerless. The judiciary is severely affected by mismanagement. Pakistan judiciary has revealed a declining performance in the current situation. It has provided the rule of law, safeguarded the fundamental rights of the

public their rights to freedom of association with political parties and devoted to the democratic procedure to oust them (Baker, 1969).

Besides the judiciary in Pakistan has many times negated the executive power of backing the welfare of the country against its public. The military has governed the state by presence and move by scattered exact policies and persons. It administers over the national efficiency in the 1960s over the East Pakistan issue and all during the late 1970s and 1980s and cannot discharge itself of completely from specific crucial and enabled progress of the history (Malik, 1983). The quagmire performance of the judiciary in activities can be copied back to 1955 as Chief Justice Mohammad Munnir backed Governor General Ghulam Mohammad's unconstitutional effort to dismiss the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan when tried to lessen the Governor General authority (April, 2004). According to Alea McGrath (author of the *Destruction of Democracy in Pakistan*), she

When Munnir denied the continuation of a factious and boisterous body to become the constitutional base of the current Pakistan.

In the case of Pakistan, the political leaders, career politicians and bureaucrats made amendments in constitution to supply their individual benefits. President Asif Ali Zardari's tenure may well be remembered mostly for a tussle with the Supreme Court that works with a messianic zeal. Zardari and his group came to power under an imminent gay by a quest in the law shown as the National Reconciliation Order (NRO) that allowed immunity to several lawmakers and officials confronting corruption cases. A hefty portion of them had come back from self-imposed exile (Khan, 2012). President Asif Ali Zardari and the Pakistan Peoples Party-led coalition government suffered a further blow to their power and prestige as they failed to establish governmental impromptus (Peters, 2013).

The Supreme Court had shown the NRO is a private organization and the court was determined to bring down the government as it came into power illegally. The executive claims that presidential immunity should be granted and avoided all criminal cases against him can't be re-opened. The Judiciary demanded that Executive had to write letter to the Swiss authorities for reopening of corruption cases against the president. The judges convicted a key minister, the president pardons him. The court puts a sicked high official behind the bars, the executive sets him free, he along with him hundreds of other convicts (Zard 2010).

Later Zardari appointed a few judges in the Supreme Court and in the Lahore High Court. In doing such he neglected to consult with Chaudhry about the appointments. Within hours, the Supreme Court struck back. It pronounced the legal emergency unlawful on the grounds that they had been received without consulting the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and requested the Attorney General to show up at a hearing on the matter. February 18. The conflict between the legislature and judiciary gained momentum and was later joined by various judicial counsellors who had taken an interest in the crusade to restore Chaudhry and the other higher court judges who had been removed by the US-sponsored despot General Pervez Musharraf in November 2007 (Peters 2010).

The movement was rejected by an immense section of the former PPP administration announced to put a conclusion to the dispute and Gilani declared the administration's surrender. The president annulled the appointments. In February Chaudhry again demanded that the NAB and government should appeal to Switzerland to receive the extradition of Zardari. The successive PMs have so far the court's request. Younis Raza Gilani was removed with the court on account of not writing letter. The new PM Raza Pervez Ashraf, another Zardari follower, was twice

the court's guidelines to show up before it on August 27 and informated it whether he would execute its request and keep in touch with the Swiss powers. Zardari was willing to put at stake his PM's job rather than to permit a fresh letter to Swiss authorities. Government declared this state-to-state issue so judiciary should stay away from this matter. However, Chief Justice could not be convinced by Zardari's administration. Zardari's ministers even let the Chief Justice announce their exit, judges of being involved in presidential issues without valid reasons. According to supporters, they were amazed why non-political organs were carrying out politics. They were just adding to color their tenures (Rodriguez, 2010). NAB officials were too supporting PPP, they were keen on dodging the supreme court or were telling only half truth (Amicus, 2013).

The move of 18th Amendment was more than last amendment in the sense that it was introduced through all biased ways. The PPP-led Federal Government during 2008-2013 have not accomplished well in other areas but on constitutional matters. It accomplished a prime step in embracing the 18th Amendment by withstanding hurdles. The judiciary and state media were sources of the change which impeded the passage of 9th Amendment in the constitution. Oppositionists' concern provincial independence and transferring of authority balance to the selected and chosen Prime Minister will make new democratic period in Pakistan. In fact, the embracing of 18th Amendment will be taken as a huge moment in the polity and a 'fundamental' past experiences of Pakistan (Hafiz-ul-Islam, 2013). Government had not made effective policies to be addressing issues of the masses or collapsing economy, increasing poverty level of the people etc. The main reason behind Zardari's five years' disgrace was incompetency, lack of political skills and political members who kept on proceeding him from court trials like secrets.

#### 4.4 Analysis

Institutions are apparently fundamental bodies accomplishing laws and rules (mentioned) they are the pillars of the political system. Some laws and rules are official (constitutional) and a few are non-official (regulatory rules). But in practice, in institutions there could be to systemize policies. The concept of a 'working' of the political circle is to check division of powers with proper accountability system. And these types of efficient understandings need to be an important belonging of constitutional arrangement. However, ruling institutions in Pakistan did not a fact to be authorities assigned to them, in fact exceeded the part by appearing ignoring it or attacking it, and their personnel (officers) are dismissed or the Prime Ministers of Pakistan by Supreme Court is the new outcome of a hard case since. It is not the army but in fact the judiciary which is straight forwardly encountering the constitutional by elected government.

The army of course has been always at limelight in performing and the institutions (executive and judiciary) in particular has been under the gun and in the traps. According to the observers, if we review the past, we can show that Pakistan remains unsuccessful to provide both the sovereignty of parliament and of the Constitution. Actually, if conveyed, these two approaches go badly too maintained as a political structure in the state. The argument of confrontation between the institutions over the authority matter remains political and immature. The actual matter revolves around the scope of the civil vs. over the military. In a powerful and strong democracy, the military remains under the supremacy of civilian regimes. The military might take control if the confrontation among two civilian institutions emerged.

Institutional growth is commonly a time consuming and tough effort. This procedure needed long by complications if such growth has constitutional or sensible hopes to be fulfilled in a developing or transition state social surroundings as Pakistan. Institutional growth needs courageous obligation by the political members extremely persistent to affect along systemic fortification as well as extension. On the other hand, such continuity must be free of corruption and embezzlement and it must be strongly rooted in constitutional objectives and principles.

The legitimacy of executive and judiciary would have to control their actions and attached to particular situations like serious indignity, just for the well-being of efficient peace, stability, development. Above all, any specific insatiation creates his cowardice and creates disparity in the state. Some institutions would have to demonstrate persistent enthusiasm to find solution or to cover the space and revive balance to the structure. In fact, it is when a state institution decline the hopes of a state which have to be re-evaluated in terms of responsibility and relevance to be established. An attempt to organize among state institutions and bring out each other in the time of challenges is insufficient.

Unfortunately, in country like Pakistan institutions kept on. It is good to see one main example was of judicial activism. As a result, judiciary legitimized its role as a state institution. It was expected to receive the message as a result. Musharraf dismissed Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary along with other five judges. This resulted into huge resentment in the state. It created a civil war between various groups and general public came on the roads and gained huge momentum. A rift among two ruling institutions was portraying bad image of the state at the international level. Further sudden assassination of former PM Benazir Bhutto was a massive shock for the state. The state was in great need to PPP as consequence.

lower. Sympathy vote (e.g. PPP) intelligible. Zardari was successful in  
man who has been in a hot seat ever since on charges.

Anyhow, the Musharraf's "maximalist" form of government was to  
appoint more judges and was a race of restoring Hukhuk Chahuy. Due to high  
pressure by lawyer's movement and public opinion, announced restoring of dismissed  
judges. 13 legislature took support of NRO (National Reconciliation Order) which  
provided immunity to corrupt politicians and officials. Zardari was lucky in the sense  
that his party members were very loyal to him. Executive head PM Gilani was like a  
puppy to him. In fact, parliament and executive was completely in his control. When  
judiciary reversed the NRO, many pending corruption cases were again reopened.  
Chief Justice ordered executive head to write letter to the Swiss authorities. PM  
Gilani kept on achieving goal to make Zardari happy. As a result, he was allowed  
to go to office by the court. However, since PM Rauf Pervez Ashraf was not  
much different than former PM, instructions were issued to cases only for the sake of  
one corrupted persons Asif Ali Zardari. Main reasons behind disputes among judges  
always keep on revolving around inexperienced, corrupt and less educated politicians.  
Benefit of judicial activism is that it helps judiciary is playing its role more  
independently than other two institutions. It's disposing all pending cases one by one.  
Executive head was doing its job very well by encountering corrupt judicial officials  
and other government workers who were enjoying lifestyles beyond their income.  
After judicial activism Pakistan People's Party very cleverly completed its tenure by  
keeping ruling institutions satisfied so perov. Zardari gave them more money by  
contracting his wife's name. Now they are fully enjoying their life. Completed five  
years and promoted democracy in the country. Justice of the court and their offices  
they created behind the nation. (source: GDP rate was better economic condition



reached at its worst: prevailing poverty, shortage of food, no purified water in most parts of the country, in spite of those areas where elite class was residing, corruption at its peak. Most worrying situation was that only judiciary could be seen working properly, otherwise two other institutions, Legislative and Executive were at their worst. Despite tension with the powerful military and superior judiciary, the PPP managed to remain in power for its five-year term, a rare feat for an elected government in Pakistan.

Mr. Zardari also had the distinction of presiding over a successful transition to another elected government in Pakistan's second, a remarkable accomplishment indeed for one often described as an "accidental" leader. The 2013 elections were held under the supervision of the caretaker government headed by interim Prime Minister Mr. Haseeb Khan Khoso. PPP gave the election to Mr. Nawaz Sharif a majority. Mr. Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League-N secured 32%, the PPP only 14% and the PML 18%. Independent candidates secured 17%. Mr. Imran Khan was seen as the reversal of fortune, strong enough to weaken Pakistan's two party system. A peculiar example of a candidate elected under a party's whip, mainly of celebrity attraction, he could snatch the vote bank of PPP, the PML-N. Most analysts observe that Mr. Imran Khan mostly scared the votes of Mr. Sharif and vice

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Conclusion

Pakistan's history of institutions, beliefs and political acts had a long-lasting outcome on the regimes. A number of happenings and series of matters created the direction of ruling in Pakistan. Repeated failures of civilian regimes and military's interference resulted in weak political institutions and hence the slowest change in political circumstances on the way of establishment of democracy is not enough. It has to be maintained and organized. The civilian politicians have proven themselves as having less gained morale at national level. While military declined in taking up country's fiscal situation, the prevalent extortion increasing day by day displayed a peculiar image of the state. Depletion of public sources, general public distress and everyday business of the economy is a vital

The general public demands a strong state besides a strong nation and necessary needed obligations for them including medical support, educational institutions etc. Being citizens of Pakistan they remained concerned by whom country will run. In general sense institutions are appreciated but the citizens are not so appreciative. In fact they need the foundation to be provided state. Some laws are not taken seriously or at all while others are not fully recognized. In fact, but without institutions there could be no managed politics. However ruling institutions in Pakistan did not stick to their essential tasks. They exceed the plan by appended it, distorting the content to the need of their necessity. The dismissal of the Prime Minister of Pakistan as its Supreme Court was the event of the case as it was not the military but judiciary which is the gateway to the constitutionally chosen government and

discussed its Prime Minister. The military again had been on the limelight in accomplishing its task but other institutions Executive in specific and Executive in common were also responsible all else in the game.

Institutional progress is generally a long way to go and tough effort to do. This procedure requires more intricacy if such progress has constitutional and sensible assumptions to be fulfilled in a developing country as in the matter of Pakistan. In addition institutional progress needed fearless obligation by the political players to smooth functioning of system. Basic institutions Legislature Executive and Judiciary would have to stand over the heads of the political players in respect of even indignity for the well-being of order's calmness enduring progress. If any specific institution creates problems and unable to solve the problems, others would have to demonstrate persistence eagerness for the solution and to stand the space and regeneration to be able to solve the problem.

Demonstration of equity among important alignments factions and groups of one another at the time of conflicts is congenious and if situation gets intense a few try to maximize their authority resulting into institutional imbalance. Unfortunately Pakistan it did not occur or more absolutely was stopped from occurring some time in the history and some elements of the Executive Executive Executive Executive Executive instructions could not work effectively but we still struggle even collapsed resulting into national social changes economic depression. We have to see how to make our institutions is an outcome of poor backing by the military the bureaucracy and continues decline of political parties in the state. The factors that have shield the military was a tragic legislature. Secondly we see a military in the case of the force evolution regime involved in the security and defence and the military was historically and consistently of security's power political players.

democratic institutions thus preventing the introduction and continuation of any cohesive political framework. Finally, the failure of politicians to develop a culture of tolerance has ripped the social fabric of Pakistan.

Such factors destabilized the country constitutionally. At four military periods have stayed considered with enforcement of Martial laws, restriction on political parties, prohibition on media and suspending and abrogation of constitutions, as a result they crumpled political foundations and unsettled media, political gatherings that upheld smooth convergence of popular government. Basic reasons of downfall of democracy in Pakistan rested in our socio-political structure.

Feudalism, nepotism, corrupt, self-organizing politicians are here the major pointers. The causes are the military coup of civil regimes in Pakistan. Pakistan political system remained deficient in honest, educated, qualified, loyal and liberal politicians. Secondly, political demerits like greediness, lust for autonomy, nonprofessional and selfishness have shaped career of bureaucracy who was appointed in poses of authority and had option to export the structure for the benefit of selected. The downfall of civilian governments was due to their total reliance on army. For smooth democracy they have to strengthen the state institutions so to keep the army away from the government matters. Corrupt, nepotism, nepotism, sectarianism, social ignorance and illiteracy are the key reasons of Pakistan's downfall. The responsible for making bad image of nation. It is essential to the politicians, military and bureaucracy to work within constitutional defined limits and should stop interfering into each other's matter. Nation needs a collective, courageous, social and political leadership to save the country from its present by promoting democracy and strengthening state organs.



towards matters of state and politics also affects the working of institutions along with the democracy. So, there is a dire need that youths should actively participate in state matters, register themselves as new voters and actively participate in free and fair elections. The state's main political parties of their choice after completing of their education, because planning and decision making for democracy are made and implemented by political parties.

7. Institutions in democracies are cornerstones of society. The way an institution is managed and the way it deals with the matters of the state and nation are important area. However, institutions have a basic and creative relationship with the society. They are nothing without the support of society. Steps to revolutionize or making one powerful without altering the order will not function well. Powerful social groups, ethnic issues, jihadist elements, authoritarian elites, tribalism, regionalism, extremism, intolerance etc. are the subversions and threaten internal security and national sovereignty. Awareness among general public is needed regarding the functioning of institutions within the constitutional framework as well as to educate the society relating to its substance and without considering its challenges and issues. Institutions will be weak and fragile. Steps should be taken to resolve above mentioned challenges. Institutions should be made physically strong enough to perform on their own behalf and they need a broad space to be behalf of public. Institutions should function within defined constitutional limits to curbed the hold of strong societal powers to gain strength and mobilize and to protect their state from internal and external threats.
8. Basic institutions like Executive, Legislative and Judiciary would have to work within constitutional limits and at the same times to protect the realme.

9) The economic consequences of demoting the dignity for well-being of progress of society and national sovereignty.

9) If any organic crisis flows inevitably challenges to national integrity and demonstration of equity among governing institutions creating hazards for one another in time of conflicts, the other organs would have to show eagerness to solution and to filling the gap in order to regain equality to the structure.

10) One major hurdle in the way of smooth democratic transition is weak role of parliament. Powerful army and bureaucrats never allowed the parliament to flourish in its true meaning. It was kept fragile. Authoritarians didn't allow any organ to progress if it was harming to their vested interests especially parliament. Even a democratic regime, where judiciary and executive branches keeps on exercising their mandate successfully. Parliament and some of prominent legislative committees may exercise their powers to keep check and balance on executive and to engage people in public legislative procedures. Democratic reforms should be introduced to restore legislative supremacy and to maintain executive's role. Parliamentary system, National People's Assemblies and Senate need to show their leadership over democratization. For this purpose special institutions should be established with assist legislatures in continuing long term democratization process. Moreover, parliamentarian need awareness regarding enhancing greater cooperation with people and to establish them in political activities. Such steps can help create a more stable

11) Six years after the military was a powerful ally in the formation of new establishments during and after judicial activism in 2009 judiciary emerged as strong independent institution without any pressure from parliament. So

pledge as well as well.<sup>11</sup> Anyhow negative impact of the military on the democratic transition. Judiciary should emerge as a powerful platform for democratization process in Pakistan. maintain justice, accountability and transparency. A fair electoral process should progress before the state. It is the requirement of the time that judiciary should expand to the District Courts grass root level to develop the democracy at lower level too.

12. If governing institutions in state are not functioning properly, the military will keep on interfering in state matters like past interventions. Moreover, Islamists had also used military establishment for their benefit and for further annexation. So civil institutions need to be stronger so that to keep military and Islamists elements in check. It is the need of the time that Pakistan should have patriotic, courageous, honest, educated and dedicated leadership which should try to strengthen institutions, monitor good governance, try to regain people's confidence to make Pakistan a better and stable democratic state.



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