Constitutional Dilemma: A Misperception of Military's Tangent Role in Pakistan Politics

Zahid Umar¹, Saleem Ullah²

ABSTRACT

Civil Military relations in Pakistan remain a topic of hot debate in Pakistan for a stable government. The military in Pakistan has been malign for intervention in civilian affairs and for dominating the civil government for protecting and securing its interests. In its effort the constitution and rule of law has remained a question for the state of Pakistan. The state of Pakistan has witnessed more often military's intervention in politics. Hence, its constitutional history becomes largely the imposition and lifting of martial law. Civil military relations will continue to define the future course of the political system and the required amendments in the constitution accordingly. The paper has attempted to highlight the impacts of civil military relations on the constitutional development in Pakistan and future role of political institutions in patronizing these relations in a way to minimize the military intervention in politics and realization of supremacy of the constitution and rule of law in Pakistan. This study has taken into account the theoretical model of separation regarding the civil military relations and added an aspect of personal inclination in coup d'état history of Pakistan. This paper tries to analyze causes that resulted in present imbalance of the power structure and possible ways that can lead to the supremacy of civilian authority and constitution. The paper has focused on the positive role of military as well to quell the impression of military as institution that influence the civilian authority for its own institutional interests.

Keywords: Constitution, amendments arrangements, military intervention, civilian authority.

INTRODUCTION

The present research explores the complex relationship between the military and politics in Pakistan. For decades, the military has been a significant role in the country's political arena, leading to numerous military coups and interventions. Despite the existence of a constitutional framework that separates the military from politics, the military has often encroached upon the political space, raising concerns about the health of Pakistan's democracy.

Manuscript Submitted: Oct 14, 2022 Manuscript Accepted: Dec 20, 2022

¹ Assistant Professor, Govt. Degree College Pabbi, Nowshera, Corresponding Author's Email: zumar22848@gmail.com

² Saleem Ullah, Lectturer Govt Degree College Pabbi, Nowshera

The paper seeks to examine this phenomenon in detail, focusing on the factors that have contributed to the military's involvement in politics, the impact of such involvement on Pakistan's democratic institutions, and the constitutional dilemma that arises as a result. It argues that the military's involvement in politics is not a tangent, but rather a deliberate strategy to maintain its power and influence in the country.

The paper uses a mix of primary and secondary sources, including historical records, scholarly articles, and interviews with key political and military figures in Pakistan, to support its arguments. The study concludes by offering recommendations for addressing the constitutional dilemma posed by the military's involvement in politics and ensuring the long-term health of Pakistan's democratic institutions.

Problem Statement

Civil Military institutional imbalance has been discussed differently. Many scholars and analysts have shared their views on civil military relations in Pakistan. Infact, civil military relations have been viewed from the lens of various theories like separation model and concordance model. The focus of the earlier work was short to explain the personal inclination of the different army chief specially those who refrain from indulging in civil affairs.

Research Questions

This study tries to find out the answers of following research questions.

- (i) What was the positive role of different Army Chief in upholding the constitutional supremacy?
- (ii) Which periods of political history of Pakistan are marked by the Army Chief who played the positive role of constitutional supremacy?
- (iii) What were causes that drive the Army to intervene in civil affairs?
- (iv) What are the requirements from political side of the civil military equation to ensure constitutional supremacy?

Objectives of the Study

The study aims to draw following conclusions after analyzing Pakistan's four coup d'états. The weak political system tempts an ambitious military chief to hold on to unconstitutional power for more than due.

- i. Politicians more often seek intervention of the military institutions
- ii. To substantiate the argument that it is not organizational impulse rather than it is personal inclination of the serving army chief of exploiting inherent weaknesses of Pakistan political system to his own personal design

Rationale

Although a lot of literature about the civil military institutional imbalance is available but this research work perspective is different in a sense from existing discourse that it appraises military intervention in the civilian domain purely on personal inclinations of individual Chief of Army Staff rather than an organized military coup d'état. It has been observed that during the time of political chaos, few army chiefs have crossed over to civilian space whereas many amongst the same institution refrained from declaring military rule. So the objective of this work is to clearly differentiate the personal ambitions of military dictators from the disciplined mechanism upon which military institution operates.

The early work done on this topic viewed the military intervention as a planned coup d'état by an organized institution. But the focus on personal ambitions or inclinations was not focused much. In this study, a comparison has been made between the two groups of persons worked as Chief of Army Staff to argue that the same institute behaved differently in almost same situation of political chaos under the leadership of different army chiefs.

Theoretical Frame work

Since political scientists who have belief in Plato's ideal state are in search of answer to the question, who will guard the guardian? To understand the broad subject and sub field of political science; the civil military relations with central point to control or direction of the military by civilian authority in modern states. There are three forms of analysis Normative empirical/ descriptive and theoretical.

The causes and implications of civil military problems in Pakistan has been analyzed through separation and concordance model and then it reaches the conclusion that separation model is appropriate to analyze the Pakistan case but with the angle of personal inclination.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Muhammad Hassan (2015) is of the view that the institution of army got strength due to the perception of pursuit of parity with India that put it into an influential position in the power politics of Pakistan. Pakistani political leaders and elite were perceived a threat perception from India in addition to internal political turmoil. This insecurity, combined with the Kashmir dispute, brought the military into the political arena almost from the inception of Pakistan. He further argued that it was a vicious circle that caught Pakistan. Space for military was created by the political instability that started interfering in civil affairs and it was good enough for astrologists to intervene in politics in the name of security of unity of motherland. The civil authority lacked the administrative ability; hence, it had to rely on military that provides an opportunity to self-interest motivated personalities to indulge in political affairs and had experience of administering the civil affairs. There are evidences to suggest that first martial was planned well before it was

imposed as on 20th of September, 1958. Broad tactical outlines were presented to General Ayub Khan for the final Approval.

Hina Altaf (2019) was also convinced that there were deliberate attempts by army to intervene in politics and major cause was the heavy reliance on the military by civilian authority. She emphasized that the direct influence or covert intervention of military will continue perceiving any threat to its interests by elected government.

Meharan Kamrawahas observed that third world political cultures are marked by dichotomy between the political cultures of elite and masses. The weak political nexus between the state and society gives rise to apathetic or extremist approach. The division in state and society is owed to disjunction in culture and territorial boundaries. (Fever, 1999).

Samuel Huntington (2006) has presented the idea that the institutional explanation for Pakistani authoritarianism is set in comparative political context to explain the order and stability through comparative study of post - colonial state. Many scholars of political science have deployed this model of analysis to explain the military intervention in civil affairs of Pakistan.

All above studies has tried to present army as power hungry institute that does not hesitate to take advantage of political chaos in the country. This study will focus on the role of military for upholding the constitution in political crisis at many time in history of Pakistan with special reference to General Jahangir Kramat and General Waheed Kakar who for the sake of political stability and constitutional supremacy ,and for the respect of civilian authority not only did not take advantage of political crisis but one of them(Jahangir Karamat) even opted to resign from his post as he thought the civilian Prime Minister did not want him to continue to serve as Army Chief.

This study focused on the positive role of military and points towards the personal inclination of military leadership as well as weakness in political parties that have resulted in the weakness of civilian rule in Pakistan.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The paper basically employs diagnostic and analytical methods of research. The study is basically descriptive /empirical. The data has been taken from various sources highly relying on books and research papers related to the topic. The data was analyzed using techniques of expert opinion comparison and focused group discussion.

The normative approach draws its conclusions on the basis of empirical /descriptive methods of research to seek accurate detail of any case for describing it. When empirical method is applied to civil military relations and constitutional development in Pakistan, it involves development of typologies of various forms of military intervention or otherwise in same or similar situations to play an influential role by military in shape of advisory representative executive advocacy.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

The discussion part of this paper has three sections in the 1st section there is a history of military intervention and its impacts on the constitutional development in Pakistan. The second section is about the causes of military interventions and third section deals with the current situation of civil military relations and the possible solutions for prevention of military in politics and constitutional supremacy in Pakistan

Brief Sketch of Political History of Pakistan

Democracy could not flourish in Pakistan (Fozia, 2018) due to number of factors including military intervention in politics time and again. The state of Pakistan has to wait for 26 years to frame a constitution passed from National Assembly by consensus but 8th and 17th amendments disfigure it by tilting it towards presidential form from parliamentary .The 18th constitutional amendment have restored its original shape but it is the civil military relations which will define the future course of the political system and the required amendments in the constitution accordingly.

Without going into detail of the causes that drive the military in political field, a view of the constitutional development in Pakistan provides an insight into how military relations in democratic periods have affected the constitutions. During the 1st decade of Pakistan history, the civil and military bureaucracy, taking the advantage of weak political institutions and lack of political leadership, started to intervene and later on dominate the political scene. These basic factors along with other, like Bengali concerns for Bangla and their true representation in federal legislature to avoid any threat of being deprived of their rights in the federations, the constitution could not be framed up till 1956. The failure of 1st constitution was due to many factors but the ambitious military leadership was the major cause. (Choudry, 2006)

During the second decade the military overtly intervened in the politics and the constitution of 1962 was an instrument and mean for the military leadership to supervise the other institutions of the state. For General Ayub Khan, military and its interests were prior to others and the constitution was nothing but a tool to accomplish this task. The 1962 constitution lasted as long as its framers remained in the power and second martial law was imposed in the country on 25th March 1969 without any legal authority.

It was not a shift of political power from a complex of military bureaucracy but an opportunity of exercising their authority without any check of constitution. The country without any constitution has to face dismembership in 1971. The main cause of separation of East Pakistan from the country was constitutional deadlock. Awami League, the winner of 1970 election came up with the demands of maximum provincial autonomy in the constitution that was to be framed by the newly elected assembly.

Yahya Khan maintained two mechanisms in Legal Framework Order to dominate the political set-up in the coming constitutional order. The Chief Marshal Law Administrator could veto the documents passed by the Assembly. This move of retaining an upper hand over the politicians was a clear indication of his desire to remain in power and intensity to his words he made earlier for transfer of power to democratic regime. He thereby, wanted the continuity of Martial Law. Those two mechanisms included:

- a. The assembly was bound to frame the constitution within 120 days otherwise it would be dissolved by itself. It was with the intention that the parties with extreme ideologies would not be able to constitute a constitution acceptable for all
- b. And the constitutional bill if found against the interests of the state would not be validified by Chief Martial Law administrator. It was with perceived fear of absolute majority taken by any political party in election.

The first meeting of the Assembly summoned in Dhaka was postponed because of Bhutto's intense statements he made in public gatherings. PPP emerged as majority party with 81 seats but it was unable to take a single seat from the East Pakistan.

After the fall of Dhaka Yahya Khan had to transfer the powers to Bhutto as the reputation of the military was at lowest ebb and he had no other option. Bhutto took it as a primary concern to frame a constitution for the country. After the 27 years of its birth, Pakistan finally bestow with a consensus constitution by a democratic regime. The period from 1972 to 76 of Bhutto regime is marked with civilian supremacy over military Meena Kukreja has finely enlisted the measures that Bhutto adopted to disengage initially and neutralize military so that it lacks the will and opportunity to intervene in politics. These were as follows:

Designation of heads of forces chief of were changed like C-in-C to chief of Army Staff .Tenure of chiefs were fixed. In the constitution the functions of military were laid down clearly. Federal Security Force FSFs organized as counter military force under direct command of Prime Minister. In the constitution of 1973 an article about the penalty for its abrogator was incorporated (Choudry, 2006)

The last period of Bhutto regime was characterized by political unrest and he followed the same path like that of Ayub by calling army to restore law and order in the country. The seventh amendment was introduced in the constitution to restrain the judiciary from touching the issues pertaining to the armed forces. Bhutto regime witnessed the civil authority over military and former was confined to its constitutional role. But the Pakistan National Alliance movement which started against the Bhutto government turned into agitative movement and worsened law and order situation provided another opportunity to an ambitious army chief to drag the army into politics by imposing third martial law on 5th July 1977 and it was lifted on 27th December 1985.(Ahmad, 2003).

The national assembly passed 8th amendment in 1985. Under this amendment the parliamentary system of governance was tilted towards quasi-presidential. The president was empowered to dissolve the National Assembly, appoints services chiefs of the armed

forces, governors and designates the prime minister. The Article 58 clause 2B (incorporated by 8th amendment) resulted in dissolution of four democratic governments from 1988 to 1996. The democratic period that followed the death of General Zia in an air clash from 1988 to 99 was characterized by the intense political rivalry between PPP and PML (N). The military in this period covertly intervene to secure its interest that is finely enumerated by Abid Hassan Askari in his article as follows:

"Interests of military include national security (controlling the nuclear policy), overseas weapons and equipment procurement, military autonomy and civilian non-interference in internal organizational matters, opposition and resistance of any unilateral cut in defense expenditure by civilian leaders, the protection of perks and privileges along with generally improving service conditions and socio-political stability by the civilian government through its effectives political and economic management" (Hassan 2011).

After Zia's death in a plan clash along with team of high military command Ghulam Ishaq Khan and the then army command under Mirza Aslam Beg in those circumstances supported the general elections as announced by General Zia on 16th of November 1988. Benazir Bhutto narrowly won the election and split mandate emerged in the elections. PPP's intolerable attitude towards opposition and the President who was a close ally of army (He was adviser in Zia council of advisers in 1977 and chairman senate in 1988 before Zia's death), the civil military relations in this period (1988 to 1990) are marked with strain relations between the government and military. The intense relations were owed to many issues including over the nuclear policy, Kashmir policy, Sindh operation (pakka Qila), Afghanistan and appointments and thus resulted in the dissolution of Benazir government. Former Sindh Governor in his interview to a monthly journal Herald unleashed the tension between Prime Minister and army, according to the journal. The defense administration allowed the Benazir to come into power on the pressure by the U.S. Waseem Afzal summarized the causes of the differences between Prime Minister Benazir and army which can be summarized as:

"The promotion of Bregdier Latif military secretary of Prime Minister who was rejected twice by army Selection Board and removal of General Gul Hameed as director ISI Intensified the tension between Benazir and military" (Ahmad,1993)

Nasir Abass, reporter of Herald also explained how military promoted its image in media and its professional perception through the military exercise Zarb-e-Momin. The aggressive attitude of military intelligence and Inter Services Public Relation (ISSPR) also played an important role in worsening the situation. (Ahmad, 2003)

Hussain Haqani (2013), Pakistan's former ambassador to the U.S.A in his book 'Magnificent Delusions' described the external causes of dissolution of Benazir government in the words, "Although Bhutto was best disposed towards the United States

among Pakistan's major power players, she did not control the levers of power. The State Department and the CIA did not see any advantage in trying to secure the Pakistan military's subordination to an elected civilian; instead, they effectively leaned in the military's favor by directly discussing major issues with Brigadiers and other generals, assuming that the military could deliver on key issues of US interest—Afghanistan, nuclear weapons, and security in South Asia."

The writer is of the view that president dissolved the parliament and dismissed Benazir's government on 6th of August by exercising the powers under the constitutional amendment introduced by General Zia. The decision was engineered by the army leadership and carefully timed to minimize the U.S support in her favor as it was announced four days after the Iraq invasion of Kuwait. During the Nawaz Sharif first period 1990 to 1993 the military stayed out of politics. Despite political instability that caused due to Prime Minister's differences with President over the appointment of services chiefs army did not intervene in politics. Military rather helped out to resolve the political crises in July 1993 by making all the parties of the conflict to reach an acceptable solution.

During the second term as prime Minister, Benazir carefully appointed General Jahangir Kiramat as chief of army staff and established cordial relations with army. Military did not intervene, despite the political tensions between government and opposition and increasing unpopularity of the government as corruption scandals became public.

Nawaz Sharif introduced the 13th amendment in the constitution in his 2nd term that passed unanimously from the assembly on 4th April 1997 and repealed the 8th amendment The 13th constitutional amendment became effective on April 4, 1997. Through this amendment, the powers of dissolving the assemblies were taken back from the president and vested in the Prime Minister (Kukreja, 2005).

The civil military relations get strained due to Kargil issue. Military took over the government on 12th October 1999. Coup was justified by the Supreme Court under law of necessity and provided three years to Musharaf regime for setting a democratic set-up. In 2002, assembly passed the 17th amendment and LFO thereby validating the amendments made by General Musharaf's Legal Frame Work Order with certain changes, granting the powers of dissolution of assembly to the president. It was 2nd time after the enforcement of 1973 constitution that it tilted towards semi-presidential system through the amendments passed in military regimes of General Zia and General Musharaf. (Kukreja, 2005)

The 2008 elections were held in March 2008. Peoples Party (PPP), taking the advantage of sympathy vote for the assassination of Benazir in bomb attack in a really on 27th December 2007, emerged as single largest party with 124 seats. Musharaf after leaving the slot of Chief of Army staff became toothless and had to resign in August 2008. PPP government followed a policy of appearement towards military and did not tried to interfere in the matters related to military and refrained from taking any step that could

harm the relations between the government and military. The hall mark of the PPP government was the 18th amendment, passed by national assembly in 2010. The 18th Amendment has almost undone the impacts of the 8th Amendment (enacted by Gen. Zia ul Haq) which had altered over 90 Articles of the Constitution, and the 17th Amendment (enacted by Gen.Pervez Musharraf) which had altered 26 Articles of the Constitution (Hussain, 2017).

The May 2013 election brought Mian Nawaz Sharif into power for the third time the role of army chief during the sit inns of PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) and PAT (Pakistan Awami Tehreek) was not supportive of the government and neutrality and impartial role of army did not please the government and even a controversy was emerged over the army chief meeting with PTI leader Imran Khan. Mian Nawaz Sharif was disqualified by Supreme Court after a month hearing over his alleged corruption revealed in panama papers, leak (Hashim, 2017). In 2018, election was held and PTI form a coalition government that stayed in power till April 2022. No confidence was moved in March, 2022 and Deputy Speaker of National Assembly dismissed it. Supreme Court set aside the ruling of deputy speaker and hence, Imran Government was replaced by a coalition government lead by Mian Shabaz Sharif in April 2022(Pakista Country Report, 2022).

Causes of Military interventions

Now to realize that Pakistan is a state of 21st century having its future in democracy where the people of Pakistan not the establishment should have power to rule the country, we shall discuss what are the possible solutions to avoid another martial law and military dictator and continuity of democratic governments and hence, consistency of economic policies for future economic development of Pakistan.

To enlist the causes of military intervention in politics or the influence of establishment in politics one can enumerate these causes as lack of genuine political leadership, weak political parties, lack of political conscience among the people, weak constitutional institutions like parliament ,socio political culture that is marked with selfishness greed and compromises on greater national interests for pity gains, strong institutional structure of army, lack of political wisdom among the politicians who lack the ability to understand military dynamics. Further, most of the political leaders lack the basic knowledge of defense related matters like corpse commander, formation commander defense expenditure how the chain of command works constraints of military against the Indian army and viable alter natives to counter the Indian hegemonic designs, military's political experience are some of the causes of intervention of army into politics. Besides these, the major professional and corporate interests of military include national security (controlling the nuclear policy), overseas weapons and equipment procurement, military autonomy and civilian non-interference in internal organisational matters, opposition and resistance of any unilateral cut or reduction in defense expenditure by civilian leaders, the protection of perks and privileges along with generally improving service conditions and socio-political stability by the civilian government through its effectives political and economic management. (Hassan, 2011). The establishment has become too strong, and

interference in politics of Pakistan has become a requirement for its own survival which takes a long time to revert the things.

The above mentioned causes necessitate the reforms and reorientation of policies, political culture and priorities in an order that our political parties become strong, political forces lead by genuine political leaders having leadership qualities well learned to understand the interests of establishment. The leadership is required to coincide these interests with interests of the people. A political leader should be well equipped with the art of foreign policy and defense- related matters as well as having command over economic policies. The civilian leadership must prioritize education, health, police reforms and judicial system. Also, such leadership must be capable enough to take effective measures to curb corruption from the society and to strengthen the constitutional institutions like parliament and cabinet to an extent that can impede any coup against the democratic setup (Baloch, 2013).

In western democracy, it is the socio-political culture civil society and strong political forces that is the custodian of constitution which is called the law of the land. Constitutional supremacy actually means the rule of law which is supreme over all the interests and pressure groups and power centers. In Pakistan, establishment is the custodian of their professional and corporate interests while political parties are the custodian of the pity and personal interests of the leaders of these parties .As for as superior judiciary is concerned its track record is not encouraging. In this regard, in 1977 and 1999 the Supreme Court not only provided the legitimacy to martial law government but also empowered the dictator with authority to amend the constitution (Baloch, 2013).

There are two groups of personalities of Army Chief in Pakistan. Those who took advantage of the political situation or chaos and impose martial law and the other group is comprised of personalities who did not take the advantage and performed their real constitutional role. First group includes General Ayub Khan, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, General Zia and General Musharaf while the other group includes General Waheed Kakar, General Jahangir Karamat, General Ashfaq Pervaiz Kiani and General Asif Bajwa. The role of the 1st group who abrogated the constitution have been discussed more than the second group who contended themselves to their constitutional role and their neutrality worked to upheld the constitution and the respect of the institution. To discuss their role, it is essential to understand the nature of politics in Pakistan. Pakistani politics is marked by personal interests and the political parties largely are family centered and revolve around the personal interests of the leaders of the Parties.

In 1993 when Benazir was leading a long march against PML (N) to oust it after Supreme Court restored PML (N) government on May 26,1993; Army in the leadership of Waheed Kakar decided to deal with its constitutional role otherwise in his own words he could have **sway** the whole country with the hint of his little finger (Irshad Ahmad Haqani jung july 1993). In 1998, a controversy on the appointment of judges arose and Chief Justice Sajjaf Ali Shah and Mian Nawaz sharif, the then PM, came to confront each other. President Lughari called the Army Chief to discuss the political situation and point

towards the expecting move of Supreme Court on restoration of 58 (2) (b), a clause that authorized President to dissolve National Assembly and was removed by 23th amendment by the National Assembly. It was just to know whether Jahangir Karamat would help President Leghari in ousting the government through the use of 58 (2) (b). It was a chance for Army Chief to take advantage of political dead lock created for political aims by president. But reportedly Jahangir Karamat left the president house after meeting him in anger and the very next day president Farooq Leghari resigned from his office. The political chaos came to an end with a note that army neutrality struggles to deal with its constitutional role upheld the supremacy of constitution (Khan, 2010).

Pervaiz Kiani, the Army chief served in the period of 2008 to 2014 could take the advantage of law and order situation in the country due to war on terror and its affects. In April 2022, PTI government was facing a move of no confidence by opposition. Government understanding the weak position of its national assembly number game moved to advise president to dissolve national assembly. The registrar office of Supreme Court got opened to take a petition to declare the ruling of speaker as unconstitutional for advising president for dissolving the assembly. The assembly was restored and opposition alliance successfully formed the government. Military under the leadership of Qamar Javed Bajwa remained neutral. In March 2022, when the crises was at its peak army could go to take advantage of situation but it remained limited to its constitutional role. (Pakistan Country Report, 2022)

Current situation and Solutions

In the present setup, no political party and institution is in a position to marginalize the establishment to its limits in other words there is no custodian of the constitution. A free and independent media, organized civil society and gradual process of political stability is the only hope for the constitutional safety and its supremacy. The argument that Pakistan is not for constitution but constitution is for Pakistan provided the abrogator with a chance to play with the fate of nation and become the master of the fortune of the nation by being above the law. The case of high treason against Pervaiz Musharaf is still in Supreme Court.

The political stability and economic progress are the main issues for which people of a state strive and remain in search of a regime that can help them to achieve these desired goals. It is why the people in Pakistan did not show any resistance to the military coups in 1977 and 1999. The military regimes also could not prove efficient enough to guide the nations towards a solution of grand problems that it confronted rather the policies of these regimes as influenced by a single person and driven by the motive of seeking legitimacy for despotic rule, proved catastrophic for the state and society. The future of Pakistan is tied with the democracy and constitutional supremacy but how to prevent military in politics is the herculean task for the weak democratic system and need to be address by the civilian leadership with vigor and by considering the ground realities.

The existing pattern of civil military relations required careful strategy to promote democracy and strengthen the political institutions without harming the interests of military on the part of democratic government that has come to power after a peaceful and democratic transfer of power in 2013. A vigilant and aware civil society, an effective and responsible media and responsible and patient behavior of the leaders of major political parties can lead Pakistan towards a strong democratic republic having the military subordinate to civilian authority.

The internal authoritarian and personality centered structure make the main stream political parties, weak political groups to function as Democratic Party to strengthen the democracy in country. The main stream political parties are required to restructure them and promote democratic culture within their parties.

CONCLUSION

For Pakistan to make socio-economic progress, it is essential to have political stability and a continuous democratic process. The only way to achieve this is through constitutional supremacy and the rule of law. The power struggle between civilian and military institutions will only make matters worse and create further imbalance. Therefore, it is vital for politicians to show political maturity, both as ruling and opposition parties, and establishes a new pattern of civil-military relations. One solution could be to establish a CDNS or National Security Council, which provides a constitutional role for the military. Strengthening civilian institutions and improving the performance of democratic institutions is crucial to preventing military intervention in politics and ensuring the smooth running of democracy. Unfortunately, Pakistan's political class has suffered since the inception of the new state, and they lacked the necessary experience and vision to cope with the challenges of a nascent state. This resulted in manipulation and power struggles between the civilian government and military institutions. While personal inclinations played a significant role in military involvement in civil affairs, the same institution upheld the constitution during chaotic political situations.

REFERENCES

- Ahmad.Dr.S. (2003). *History and politics of Pakistan, Nasir* Bakir Printer Raigan Road, Lahore.
- Agha, A, S., (2007) Military in Corporation London: Oxford university press
- Ali, Z. (2014). Contradiction of concordance theory: Failure to understand military intervention in Pakistan. *Armed Forces & Society*, 40(3), 544-567.
- Baloch, J, A.; & Gaho, G, M. (2013) Military Intervention in Pakistan and its implications. *The Government- Annual Research Journal of Political Science*. Vol 2 Issue 2

- Bibi,F, Jameel,S.,&Jalal,S,U.(2018)What is Democracy?Challenges for Democracy in Pakistan. *Global Political Review*. Vol *III* No1 p 66-75
- Clapham, C. (1986). Comparing African States, *Political Studies*, Volume, 34, Issue 4,647-661
- Chaudhury, G.W. (2006), Constitutional Development in Pakistan, Lahore: Law Inn Publishers, Revised editon, 102.
- Huntington, S.P. (2006), Political Order in Changing Societies. Yale University Press.
- Hassan, M. (2011). Causes of Military Intervention in Pakistan: A Revisionist Discourse *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 12 No. 2.126
- Haqani, H. (2013), *Magnificent Dillusions*, Public Affair Books, Newyork.
- Hashim, Asad. (2017), *Pakistan Supreme Court Disqualify Nawaz Sharif*, Retrieved From http://www.aljazeera.com
- Hussain, Dr E. (2017). Failure to Understand Military Intervention in Pakistan: A Rejoinder. Armed Forces & Society. VL 44 DO 10.1177/0095327X17720941
- Islam, F, Dr (2013). The 18th Amendment in the 1973 Constitution, Dialogue, Peshawar.
- Jahan, R. (1972), Failure in National integration. Collumbia University Press, New York, 186
- Khan, N., (2010). Civil-military relations: A case study of Pakistan, *University of Nevada*, *Las Vegas*.
- Kukreja, V. (2005) *Pakistan: Democracy, Development and Security Issues of Pakistan*, Sage publication Pvt Ltd
- Kukreja, V. (1985) *Military Intervention in Pakistan: A Case Study of Pakistan*, New Delhi: NOB, 56-57.
- Narula, T, S., & Wishandas. (1962) *The Gateway to political Science theory*, S Chand, Delhi. Fourth edition.
- Pakistan Country Report 2022 BTI project.org.Retrived from BTI.ORG
- RizviI,H,A.(2004),The Military: Role Enhancement and the Political Process as cited in Causes of Military Intervention in Pakistan: A Revisionist Discourse by Muhammad Hassan *Pakistan Vision Vol. 12, No. 2.125*

- Saleem, A. (1993), Ghulam Muhmmad se Ghulam Ishak tak Adliya Ka Siasi kirdar, Fronteir post Publications.
- Veena Kukreja, *Military Intervention in Pakistan*, New Delhi: NBO Publishers distributors, H green Park Extension, 1986, p. 51.
- Ziring, L. (2004) Pakistan at cross road of history, Lahore: Vanguard book, p. 25.