

The Socio-Political Analysis of Transformation from Military to Civilian Rule in Pakistan: 2002-08

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ABSTRACT

The intervention of military in political set up of state is a common phenomenon in third world states. Weak political institutions in developing polities paved the way for military intervention in political process of state. It is seen in study that whenever military takeover the charge of a state, it has to face the crisis of legitimacy. Legitimacy is the legal right to rule. Many political strategies are adopted by the military rulers to gain legitimacy and recognition for their rule at national and international level. After securing their political future, socio-political and economic reforms are introduced commonly to uplift the society. The special focus of this paper will be the era of General Musharraf, the major socio-political transformational policies adopted by him with their consequent results. The study reveals that transformational strategies adopted by General Musharraf are short-termed and cosmetic in nature, which did not contribute positively to make state institutions strong and stable. The success of every political system lies in the capacity building of strong civilian institutions and the level of legitimacy they enjoyed.

Keywords: *Legitimacy, military intervention, democracy, war on terror, transformation*

Introduction

The military intervention in the political process of state is not new to the case of Pakistan. Its influence on important key internal and external matters cannot be neglected. Its impact over significant matters is not integral with its holding of power. Pakistan has experienced four times direct military intervention in politics in her history. Whenever military assume political power, efforts are being made by all military regimes to take political arrangements to transform their rule from military to civilian.

The need to get political legal cover for their rule was realized by all military rulers. In search of legitimacy many political transformational steps were taken, ranges from the introduction of local government system to the introduction of constitution, constitutional arrangements, conduct of referendum and elections.

These political transformational steps possess the quality to effect politics and society of a state for a long period. The concern of this paper will be on the ten year long era of General Pervez Musharraf who assumed political power with reluctant heart but took too long to leave the civilian post. This study will deal with the socio-political analysis of the policies adopted by the General Musharraf with his political allies. The major objective of the study include:

1. To critically examine the social and political consequences caused by the policies of General Musharraf on state's institutions and society.

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This study is purely a qualitative one, based on historical, descriptive and analytical methodology to interpret the results. The data collection sources employed are both of primary and secondary nature.

Background

General Pervez Musharraf assumed the political power on 12th October, 1999 by over throwing the civilian regime of Nawaz Sharif. The military coup of General Musharraf was welcomed by the common masses as they were fed up with the corruption and malpractices of Nawaz regime. Common people were considering the General Pervez Musharraf as their savior who will rescue the nation from malpractices of Nawaz regime.

After coming in power, General Pervez Musharraf has introduced many socio-political structural reforms to reconstruct the society of Pakistan. As every action or policy implemented possess some of its reaction. This is the same way that the policies adopted by General Pervez Musharraf left long lasting impacts on the social fabric and political structure of Pakistan. Major policies adopted by General Pervez Musharraf includes:

War against Terrorism

The indulgence of Pakistan in war against terrorism has carried many grave concerns and consequences for the state and society. After 9/11 happening, General Pervez Musharraf (who was the center of power that time in Pakistan) has decided to join the US war against terrorism. The involvement in the war against terrorism was just like the complete U-turn on Afghan Taliban policy. The Afghan Government was enjoying the support from Pakistan before becoming the ally in the war against terrorism.

Before the happening of 9/11, General Musharraf was the supporter of afghan Taliban's policy by considering it as a shield of protection for Pakistan from her western border. He justified his pro-Taliban stand by stating that, 'national interest and security issues dictated Pakistan's policies and the country could not afford a threat from Afghanistan's side in addition to the one in the East (India).(Abbas, 2005, p.195). But it was difficult for Pakistan to ignore the aggressive posture of US on the issue of terrorism.

General Musharraf in his national address on 19 September, 2001, highlighted four critical concerns which compelled him to be the part of war against terrorism. He stated that,

'Pakistan's stability and security particularly Indian aggression from the east, the recovery of the economy which was in shambles, Pakistan's nuclear and missile assets and finally the Kashmir issue which has been the most pivotal problem between India and Pakistan till date. He also declared that, 'Pakistan comes first, everything else is secondary.' (General Musharraf address to the Nation, 2001)

The cost benefit analysis of this involvement policy in war against terror shows that the benefits which Pakistan got are far less than the cost she has to pay. By adopting this policy, General Musharraf got worldwide recognition of his military rule, and become very close ally of US. The other benefits include, Pakistan was avoided being grouped with Taliban. The unconditional support of Pakistan for war against terror clearly distinguish the Pakistan from Taliban. General Musharraf (2006) stated in his book that Pakistan stole a march on India by promptly offering its territory for bases and overflight rights, thus foreclosing the

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most dangerous possibility of Indo-US security cooperation. (p.200-202) Except that Pakistan gained concessions from the US over economic, nuclear proliferation and security related issues.

While on the other hand, the involvement in war against terror proved very harmful for Pakistan domestically. The religious community was against the decision to become US supporter of war against terror. "Pakistan's participation in the war against terrorism made it a major victim of terrorism." (Haqqani, 2013, p.313) A large number of Pakistan's citizens lost their lives and properties in this war. A report stated that, 80,000 Pakistani killed in US war on terror. (The Express Tribune, 29th March, 2015)

Pakistan army has initiated many military operations to combat terrorism at its own soil.

1. Operation Rah-i-Haq-I was started on October 2007, in Swat valley.
2. Operation Rah-i-Haq-II was started in early 2008 to curb extremists in Swat valley and Shangla.
3. Operation Sirat-e-Mustaqeem was started in June-July 2008 with special targeted areas of Khyber Tribal Agency.
4. Operation Sherdil was launched in August 2008- Feb 2009 in Bajaur Agency.
5. Operation Rah-Haq-III was launched in January 2009 to secure the main supply lines and consolidate Swat district.
6. Operation Black Thunderstorm was initiated on June 2009 in areas of Lower Dir, Swat and Shanghla.
7. Operation Rah-i-Rast was started in Swat on July 2009.
8. Operation Rah-e-Nijat was started in June 2009 against extremists in the South Waziristan in FATA.
9. Operation Zarb-e-Azb was launched in June 2014 against all foreign and local militants in North Waziristan. These operations are highly supported from Pakistan's defence, political and social sectors.

Above mentioned military operations were the strategies adopted by the state of Pakistan to curb the terrorism from its own soil. The society of Pakistan paid a very high price of Pakistan's involvement in war against terror in the form of large scale loss of life and property. According to the economic survey of Pakistan 2014-15, 'during the last 14 years, the direct and indirect cost incurred by Pakistan due to incidents of terrorism amounted to US\$ 106.98 billion equivalent to Rs. 8,702.75 billion.'

Religious Extremism

Religious extremism is the off-shoot of General Musharraf's decision to join the US war against terror. This phenomenon has posed a serious security threat to the Pakistan's society internally and externally. The emotional attachment of masses with Islam and the lack of accurate understanding of the true principles of Islam facilitates the phenomenon of religious extremism in society.

General Musharraf tried to change General Zia's legacy and attempted to present Pakistan as moderate Muslim state. But his initial years were not different from General Zia. The double policy of General Musharraf spread confusion in society. It is observed that under General Musharraf, religious extremism continued to flourish because of his dual approach.

The other cause of spreading religious extremism in Pakistan's society is the mushroom growth of unregistered madrassas. The madrassas contribute positively

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in socio-political uplift as well as spreading of religious education in society. The role of madrassas remained positive until 1970s when madrassas were involved in the production of jihadis for Afghan war. This was the first step of inclusion of militarization into religious madrassas. Musa Khan Jalalzai (2008) stated that, "it is assumed that there may be 40,000 registered and unregistered madrassas in Pakistan." (p.41)

In Pakistan the madrassas are not established on unified structure, as they are divided on the basis of sects. So they spread division in society instead of unity. General Musharraf took some steps to regulate madrassas but his efforts remained unsuccessful. In 2001, a Pakistan Madrassa Education Board was sent up to establish model madrassas and regulate the existing ones. This board was only remain successful to establish three model madrassas in Karachi, Sukkur and Islamabad, where modern subjects were also introduced with religious education. The government of PPP (Pakistan People's Party) paid little focus to review madrassa curriculum. But these efforts were not enough to curb the deep rooted phenomenon of religious extremism.

The society of Pakistan suffered a lot in the result of suicide attacks. The West look at the case of Pakistan as, Worth and Kras (2007) quoted from the The New York Times that "the bombers were move to safe houses (where they could hide) in the Pakistani border towns and then transferred into Afghanistan government, where they are provided with cars and explosives and sent out to find a target." (p.91).

Violation of Human Rights:

The era of General Musharraf is characterized with many examples of human rights violation. He observed dual policy over the issue of human rights. Like his predecessors, he introduced his own version of democracy by justifying that the western type of democracy does not suit to Pakistan. Baxter (2004) quoted the statement of General Musharraf about the system of government as, "we should have a system of government that suits our environment." (p.125)

The essential fundamentals of democracy includes the respect for human rights and the value of freedom. But the type of controlled democracy introduced by General Musharraf was full of human rights violations in state. Few examples of human rights violations include:

1. General Musharraf has distinction of having suspended constitutional rule in his tenure.
2. After declaring November emergency 2007 in state, he passed order of detention of his political opponent including most of Supreme Court judges and lawyers. They were remained under house arrest and released when PPP formulated its government. Human rights annual report (2007) identified the concerns of Amnesty International over the imposition of emergency in Pakistan as, there were "widespread arrests and incommunicado detention of lawyers, judges, journalists and human rights defenders as well as the violent suppression of peaceful protests." (p.58) Amnesty International condemned the suspension of human rights (the right to life, and freedom from discrimination and arbitrary detention) through imposition of emergency.
3. During November emergency, General Musharraf undermined the right of freedom of expression by imposing restrictions over media.

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4. Senior leadership of major political parties were exiled in his period which is against the international law as well as the constitution of Pakistan.

Country Reports on Human Rights practices (2008) reported about Pakistan as, the human rights situation in Pakistan remained poor during the rule of General Musharraf. "Military operations in the country's northwest killed approximately 1,150 civilians, militant attacks in that region killed 825 more civilians, sectarian violence in the country killed an estimated 1,125 persons, and suicide bombings killed more than 970 individuals. Ongoing battles with militants left approximately 2,000,000 persons displaced at year's end." (P.XXXV)

These few above mentioned examples shows that a democratic constitutional cover cannot change the attributes of a dictatorial rule. The democratic government cannot take such steps by having the fear of popular resistance in return. But a dictator can use force to crush resisting elements in society to consolidate his rule.

Educational Reforms

Coleman (1965) declares that the education system of a country is the master determinant of all aspects of change" (p.3). The era of General Musharraf in Pakistan is marked with positive educational reforms. During his period, degree awarding universities increased from 74 in 2001 to 143 in 2012. 14,117 new schools and colleges were opened. The remarkable effort of General Musharraf to promote higher education in state is the establishment of Higher Education Commission (HEC). HEC was established through an ordinance, 2002.

The HEC reported 76% increase in PhD faculty members in public sector universities from 2002-2008. Annually more than 14,000 scholarships were granted out of which 5000 were foreign scholarships. These young scholars are making a change in social and economic landscape of Pakistan. The establishment of HEC has proved a revolutionary step regarding spread of higher education in Pakistan. The efforts of this institution has the capability to leave long lasting imprints on the development of state.

The Media Revolution

The roots of the flourishing media industry in Pakistan goes back to the era of General Musharraf. He was a military dictator but introduced a liberal media policy that opened a new avenue to the information revolution in Pakistan. After assuming power, General Musharraf did not impose any restrictions over media as he wanted to present the soft image of his military rule. At that time in electronic media, only PTV and radio Pakistan were operational. Pakistan television (state media) was the spokesmen of succeeding governments. Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) was established on March 1, 2002.

The objective behind formation PEMRA was to regulate and facilitate the private electronic media industry and improve the standard of information. The institution of PEMRA was also utilized by General Musharraf to tame the media during emergency 2007. According to the information Minister Pervez Rashid from 2000 till the start of 2015, PEMRA has issued 91 satellite TV channel licenses and granted landing rights permission to 28 foreign satellite TV channels.

In fact it was the enlightenment policy of General Musharraf in all walks of life including media that broadened the scene of Pakistan's media. The boom in media industry can also be observed in the field of radio networks. According to

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PEMRA, 141 radio networks are working in Pakistan at local, provincial, national and international level.

The independent media has deep rooted impact on Pakistan's society. It provides awareness to masses and play a role of very effective tool of socialization of citizens. Media has supported democracy and highlighted many important public issues. It has capacity to build pressure on government to take certain steps in the best interest of state.

During difficult times, natural calamities or confronting with critical situation of war against terror it was the media which motivated, inspired and strengthen the nation building process. However media industry of Pakistan is moving through its evolutionary stage. It is motivated but not mature enough. That's why professional ethics are ignored in many situations. Overall media industry contribute positively towards the flow of information in society.

Economic Reforms

General Musharraf's period saw economic progress due to his economic policies. To revive the economy of the state was one of the important plan among his announced seven point's agenda. When the military took over the charge in 1999, the economic condition of Pakistan was not good. The situation quoted by Baxter (2004) as, 'the economic situation was indeed quite grim. GDP growth rate for 1998 to 1999 was only 4.2 percent.' (p.132)

After coming in power the major problems faced by the military government were high fiscal deficit, rising poverty, unemployment and low revenue generation capacity. To confront with these challenges, General Musharraf had announced following four step policy:

1. Restoration of macroeconomic stability and Pakistan's relationship with international financial institutions.
2. Fundamental reforms to remove distortions.
3. Improving economic performance and reviving key institutions.
4. Poverty alleviation through targeted interventions and social safety nets.(Husain, 2005, p.2)

The prerequisites to achieve macroeconomic stability include lowering of inflation, reduction in the fiscal deficit and stability in balance of payments. The assistance of international financial institutions was required to achieve those objectives. Structural reforms were introduced in financial sector to transform this sector into market oriented as well as private dominated sector. The introduction of devolution plan was adopted as an agenda to improve governance till the lower tier of the system.

The purpose behind the devolution plan was to promote transparency, decentralization, accountability and people's participation in their local affairs. To increase in public expenditures, by introducing more employment opportunities and by providing financial assistance (medical assistance and educational stipends) to deserving was the agenda to reduce poverty in society. The above mentioned four point agenda worked well and achieved positive results.

According to senior economist Ishrat Husain (2009), the condition of Pakistan's economy improved and showed positive signs from 2002 to 2007 on following grounds due to the policies adopted by General Musharraf's government:

- The averaged economic growth rate recorded as 7 percent, which was 3.1 in 2001-2002.

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- The rate of unemployment fell from 8.4 percent to 6.5 percent, and approximately 11.8 million new jobs were generated between 1999 and 2008.
- The fiscal deficit remained slightly above 4 percent of GDP.
- The exchange rate remained stable throughout the period.
- The investment rate grew to 23 percent of GDP.
- Mohiuddin (2007) quoted that “The growth rate of GDP in 2004-2005 was reported to be almost 8.5 percent, among the highest levels in the world and the fastest in Asia, excluding China.” (p.88)

But the same pace of economic development was greatly affected by the judicial crisis of 2007. The next elected civilian government could not maintain the same speed of development. The civilian regime of PPP characterized with corruption, nepotism, misuse of power and bad governance. The average growth rate in 2008-2012 period was 3 percent. According to the economic survey of Pakistan 2011-12, total investment has remained 12.5 percent of GDP. While it was recorded 23 percent of GDP during General Musharraf’s period. The fiscal deficit during 2011-2012 was recorded 8.5 percent, while it was about 4 percent during military rule of General Musharraf.

The fact is that the short term policies are adopted in military rules to manage the affairs. That’s why whenever military regime left the rule, all developmental signs started to change within a short time span. This is the same case applied on the General Musharraf’s rule. When General Musharraf resigned from the presidency, the developmental figures started to change quickly. It is also observed that the growth rate usually increase during military rules without adopting sound economic policies.

The reason behind that improvement is the inflow of foreign aid which increase in military rules. The United States had been more happily inclined toward military dictators of Pakistan. General Musharraf by joining US war against terrorism received approximately \$ 10 billion of military assistance. (Husain, 2009) the economic policies adopted in this era made the economy consumer-led and service-focused, while other sectors like agriculture and manufacturing were ignored. Due to these policies the class difference between rich and poor also widened.

Historical analysis shows that the military regimes in Pakistan demonstrate positive results in economic development. On the basis of their positive outcomes of economic development they claim for legal status and legitimacy for their military rule.

Enlightened Moderation

The term of ‘enlightened moderation’ was coined by General Pervez Musharraf during the summit of organization of Islamic cooperation (OIC) in Malaysia on 2002. The policy of enlightened moderation possess two sides. General Pervez Musharraf wrote as ‘it is a two pronged strategy. The first part is for Muslim World to shun militancy and extremism and adopt the path of socio-economic uplift. The second is for the west, and the United States in particular, to seek to resolve all political disputes with justice and to aid in the socioeconomic betterment of the deprived Muslim world.’ (Washington Post, June 1, 2004)

In his essay he declared that political unjust characterized with deprivation, illiteracy and poverty are the root cause of extremism in society. In fact

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enlightened moderation was a strategy to combat extremism in society. Some measures were adopted to implement the enlightened moderation policy. Haider (2013) wrote, “some tentative steps were taken in spirit of enlightened moderation, Musharraf eventually faltered. Measures such as banning a number of key militant groups and beginning the process of registering madaris and reforming their curricula proved tentative: militant groups sprung up under other names, the registration process came to a grinding halt, and longstanding deficiencies in the public education curriculum remained largely unaddressed.” (p. 32).

The policy of enlightened moderation is closely linked with the measures adopted to present the soft image of Pakistan and Islam. Kalia (2012) wrote this situation as, “enlightened moderation got bogged down by the impression that it was created to cope with the debilitating image problem of Pakistan and to satisfy foreign actors impatient to see the containment of violent political Islam.” (p.191).

This policy was just for international consumption as domestically it was not much successful. The policy of enlightened moderation received vast scale criticism from the religious political parties. The political position of religious parties in the form of MMA was much strong. Their criticism was not easy to ignore. These parties fill the vacuum which was created in the absence of moderate political parties.

The policy of enlightened moderation was little successful to improve the image of Pakistan at international level. But internally this policy gave birth to social division and confusion in society. Haider (2013) wrote, “In sum, Musharraf failed to successfully anchor enlightened moderation in Pakistan, largely due to policies that empowered the Islamic parties and tolerated militant groups” (p.33). Enlightenment in Pakistan is being observed by society as inclusion of western culture in social norms and traditions of Pakistan’s society. Generally which is not acceptable for Muslim community.

Center- Province Relationship:

A federal and parliamentary form of government was proposed in state according to the constitution of Pakistan 1973. The system of federal form of government is adopted in heterogeneous societies to manage the relationship between center and federating units. In the case of Pakistan, the true spirit of federation was spoiled by the frequent military takeovers.

All military rulers in Pakistan were interested to centralize powers in their own hands. A system of local government was installed by all military rulers in Pakistan but to award provincial autonomy was never remained their priority. The federal character of the constitution is frequently disturbed by the 8th and 17th amendment in the constitution. These amendments centralize the powers within president and made the president more powerful.

The period of General Musharraf is not remarkable regarding center-province relationship. While announcing his seven point agenda, he stated his desire to strengthen federation and remove inter-province disharmony to restore national cohesion. But its implementation was not as successful as promised. The root cause of all problems lies in the government’s failure to accommodate its ethnic diversities, economic disparities and provincial autonomy.

In the context of center province relationship, the case of Baluchistan is serious one. General Musharraf try to respond the reservations of Baluchistan by initiating many development projects. Since 2000, major developmental projects were the

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Kachi canal, Mirani Dam, Gawadar Port, Makran Coastal Highway, Saindak Copper project and Quetta Water Supply scheme. National budget also increased for developmental projects in Baluchistan.

General Musharraf adopted three set of strategies to deal with the matter. Those strategies include centralized development, counter insurgency and inclusion of modern Baloch leaders into power system at center level. Parliamentary committees were set up to negotiate with Baloch leadership on the matters relating to confidence building measures and provincial autonomy. These committees come up with positive recommendations but those were not implemented.

Mr. Mushahid Hussain Sayyed (who was leading a negotiating committee) stated that, "hawks in the military establishment had sabotaged the two parliamentary committees' reports by the party in power which had made valuable suggestions to the government for a peaceful solution to the crisis in Baluchistan" (Daily Times, 10 June, 2008). These negotiating efforts remain unfruitful and the situation become worst with the murder of Nawab Bugti on August 26, 2006.

The era of General Pervez Musharraf left the federation of Pakistan in more critical situation. He mishandled the Baluchistan issue by ignoring the sentiments of Baloch people. The policy adopted by General Musharraf was like 'one step forward and two step back.' He remained unable to understand the intensity of the situation. Trust deficit between government and Baloch leadership was not tried to bridge up.

The demand of Baluchistan's people and leadership were the power and authority over decision making. The military government ignore the fact that the use of force to crush your opponents is not the solution of any issue. The use of force make the situation even worst instead of solving the matter.

After the period of General Musharraf, the civilian elected government of PPP declared peace and reconciliation as one of its primary objective. To lesser the grievances and deprivation, a Baluchistan package was announced by the civilian government. The Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani termed this package as, "beginning of the rights of Baluchistan." (Dawn, 25 November, 2009). This package was like a 'road map' than any final or absolute resolution of the grievances of Baluchistan. (Dawn, 26 November, 2009)

The 18th amendment 2010 in the constitution is another step of PPP's government toward provincial autonomy. The concurrent list in the constitution was abolished and provinces were exclusive entitled to legislate on those matters included in the said list. These efforts were proved as positive signs toward strong federation and harmonious center province relations.

Political Participation

Political participation involves the freedom of expression, to assemble, to associate, to vote, to contest election and to hold public office. Elections are considered the most accepted source of mass participation. Unfortunately the democratic norm to conduct elections frequently never be the part of Pakistan's political history. Pakistan remain under the military rule more than half time of her existence. That's why effective electoral politics is not the culture of Pakistan's politics.

The era of General Musharraf is known for some good points regarding political participation.

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1. The role and participation of women increase in political process of a state. As the reserve seats in Parliament for women were increased from 20 to 60.
2. The introduction of local government system was a good step to devolve power and authority to grass root level. Due to that system political participation increase at local level.
3. Increase in voter turnout was observed. It was quoted by Baxter (2004) that voter turnout increased by 6 percent to 41.4 percent from a low of 35.4 percent in the 1997 elections, although it was lower than in 1990 (47.1 percent) and 1988 (43.1 percent). (p.122)

These were the steps taken during the General Musharraf's period. Only seats for women were increased. But no significant contribution in legislation was observed from the women side. The intention to initiate local government was positive but the real essence of the system was not achieved as it was dominated by the bureaucratic authority. Local government Acts 2013 have been passed to bring local government system in provinces by the civilian regime of PPP. These acts of Local government were challenged by opposition parties. The civilian regimes in Pakistan always hesitate to devolve powers.

To maintain the legitimacy of the regime, it is very essential to overcome the crisis of participation. Participation crisis develop when people do not trust on the system. They feel alienated themselves from all political activities. This situation brings gap between the ruler and the ruled. That gap effect the performance of the government. The third force which is military most of the times always take the advantage of the vacuum.

The role of Political Parties:

Strong political parties are essential to open and competitive democratic politics. In democracy sustainable political parties are required with the capacity to represent citizens and provide policy choices. Norris (2005) wrote, "In early 1970s, third wave of democratization, political development is transitional and consolidating democracies has focused principally on three general goals:

1. Fostering free and fair competitive elections held among multiple parties and candidates,
2. Building civic society with programs designed to assist grass roots organizations, citizen advocacy groups and independent media.
3. Strengthening the core institutions of the state, by encouraging independent judiciaries, effective legislatures and efficient bureaucracies. (p.3)

In democracy, the active participative role of the political parties is much important. Unfortunately the working and structure of political parties in Pakistan are not up to the democratic requirement. The frequent military takeovers and restrictions over political activities does not allow to flourish participatory norms in society.

In Pakistan no political party can claim to be the national party. Instead of providing policy choice to citizens, political parties were used as a device to legitimize the military role. During General Musharraf's period, PML-Q performed a role of a puppet in the hands of a dictator. Other big political parties PML-N and PPP were suffered with restrictions during dictatorial rule of General Musharraf. But after his tenure, analysis shows that the capacity of political parties

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to deliver does not increase. Personalities are more important than institutional frameworks. The way to impress public is to criticize your opponent instead of educating about party policy. Party manifestoes are outdated documents those does not match with the real practices of political parties.

The State Building and Nation Building process in State:

State building is the process which includes the capacity of state institutions to function. Through State building process the strength and capacity of political institutions are increased to promote long-term social political and economic development. If state's institutions could not perform well then the goal of development could not be achieved. While nation building includes the structuring or constructing a national identity by using the power of the state.

After assuming power in 1999, General Musharraf adopted many strategies to transform his rule from military to civilian in search of legitimacy. He adopted extra constitutional measures to stay long in power. During his rule, constitution was suspended two times. Instead of promoting real democracy and shifting powers to civilians, he introduced his own version of controlled democracy.

By introducing 17th amendment in the constitution, the parliamentary status of the state was diluted. Constitutional arrangements (LFO and 17th amendment) made the president more powerful and dominated over all institutions. Political maneuvering was at its peak. Judiciary provided legal cover to all decisions of a dictator. The constitutional arrangements developed a system where all governmental organs were revolving around the presidency.

The introduction of devolution plan was a good step towards decentralization and good governance. But its implementation could not achieve desired results due to the executive bureaucratic interference in local affairs. The judicial crisis 2007 made the situation worst. So the rule of General Musharraf is characterized with the institutional tussle.

The decision of General Musharraf to join US war against terror has created division in society over the issue. Religious political parties were against the policy adopted by the General Musharraf. Religious extremism spread in the whole society due to mishandling the issue. The society of Pakistan has suffered a large scale lives and material lose. The era showed positive signs regarding economic development. But economic development is not the substitute of democracy, political stability and strength of institutions. It is observed that long military rules has hampered institutional development in Pakistan by imposing restrictions on political activities. So the period of military rule contribute negatively towards the process of state building and nation building.

Legitimacy Crisis

Aron and Pierce (1990) define the concept of legitimacy as, "Legitimacy is the recognition of the right to govern. In this regard, it tries to offer a solution to a fundamental political problem, which consists in justifying simultaneously political power and obedience." (p.24)

The concept of legitimacy based on two levels or methods i.e. traditional method and modern contemporary method. If government works according to the constitution and elected through fair elections then governing body achieve traditional standard of legitimacy. While modern style of legitimacy denotes that if government works according to the constitution, performed well according to the popular demands and deliver social justice then ruling elite will be legal, just and legitimate.

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The level of legitimacy would be high if people feel satisfied with the performance of government. The government with high level of legitimacy do not face any problem regarding enforcement of law as people by themselves understand that the ruling government have right to govern them. The crisis of legitimacy develop in society if people does not feel satisfied with the performance of governing authority.

In the case of Pakistan, it is observed that many governments have succeeded to secure legitimacy for their rule but only for a short period of time. The military governments in Pakistan are observed more concerned to get legitimacy for their rule. When a dictator or military ruler assume political power, he adopts different strategies as to conduct referendum, to launch local government system, to conduct elections and formulate a political party. General Musharraf also adopted these strategies to gain legitimacy. But these strategies proved short term measures to justify the rule of General Musharraf.

The military rule of General Musharraf was converted into civilian rule but with his own prescribed political system or constitutional provisions. The rigging in presidential referendum and general elections is difficult to ignore during General Musharraf's rule. The source of power always remained military even during his constitutional political rule. The only purpose behind adopting those strategies were to get popular support and recognition for his rule and specific personal objectives.

By getting the title of popular mandate make the autocratic ruler as more confident to rule. The military ruler understands well that they assume power on the basis of force instead of popular demand. So they try to adopt political strategies to satisfy themselves. Rulers try to get legitimacy as they think it reduced public resistance and made law enforcement process easy.

The legitimacy crisis is not only the attribute of military dictators, but civilian regimes also faced that phenomenon. The civilian regime face legitimacy crisis when ruling elite not performed well according to popular demand. It is happened when people lose trust over administration and state institutions. The credibility of governing body challenged when gap arises between input and output functions of a political system.

Conclusion:

The analysis of General Musharraf's regime shows that the political strategies adopted by the government did not contribute to make the political system strong. The capacity and credibility of the governance was cosmetic and short-lived. Social reforms were not sustainable. The capacity of political parties did not increase. Positive signs were observed in economic development which can never be the substitute of political development and stable democracy. To deal with all these challenges, it must be realized that the assimilation and exclusionary policies adopted by the government are not the best choice to address the problems of heterogeneous society. The pluralistic approach must be adopted by the state to preserve different identities in society.

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