

Military Intervention in Pakistani-Politics and Indo-Pak Relations

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Abstract

The first military coup of Pakistan (1958) became the Precedence and paved the way for further Military Coups in Pakistan. Infact, Z.A. Bhutto was the first democratic civilian leader of Pakistan who courageously suppressed the dominance of Pakistan Military prone to intervene into the matters of elected civil authority. The literally meaning of the term PAKISTAN is a 'land of pure', contradictory to its meaning, Pakistan had turned into the 'land of impure' where impurities such as Conspiracies, Assassinations and Political instability had become the common incidents, frequently occurred into the day-to-day life of Pakistani people. Present paper is an humble attempt to investigate the Military Coup-generating conditions prevailing in the Pakistan.

Key Words: Military Coup, Land of in pure, Genesis, Typology, Conspiracies, Illiteracy, Etiology, Praetorian

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1. INTRODUCTION

Present Paper is an Etiological Investigation of Military Intervention (Praetorianism) in Pakistani Politics. It focuses on Military Intervention's chronological account in Pakistan's Politics, its Causes, and its impact on India's Security. There was always a question striking in my mind that: "Why has there never been a military dictatorship in India while twin Pakistan has observed and experienced Four Military Coups d' état since its birth? "

So Present paper is a humble attempt to investigate the Military Coup-generating conditions prevailing in Pakistan. The Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan and India remained in Stark Contrast since the British Indian Empire's partition in August 1947 into separate nation-state as Pakistan and India. Both adopted contrasting pathways according to their domestic compulsions and circumstances.

Unfortunately, the founding father Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah (1876-1948), died on September 11, 1948, from lungs' Cancer. It caused an irreparable tragedy for a newly-born nascent Pakistan resulted in severe *political instability* and *political vacuum*, which experienced the quick succession of *Seven P.Ms.* from 1950 to 1958. Pakistan took nine (9) years to draft its constitution. It failed to hold a free and fair national election. In India, Democracy quickly took root. After two years, India drafted her Constitution and enforced it on January 26, 1950, and held a successful nationwide free and fair elections upon the universal adult franchise.

The prevailing political instability and leadership syndrome provided the military a chance to think about the possibility of military intervention in Pakistani politics. General Ayub Khan was the C-in-C of armed forces, and Defence Minister saw the political system's shortcomings and weaknesses very closely. Therefore Pakistan witnessed its *first military coup in 1958*.

On the other hand, in India, P.M. Nehru has abolished the post of the Commander-in-Chief (C-in-C) during the initial phase of his tenure; in contrast to India, the center of C-in-C was abolished by the civilian leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on March 3, 1972, appointing General Tikka Khan as the first COAS (Chief of Army Staff) of Pakistan and the tenure of COAS was also reduced to three years from previously fixed at four years. The naval H.Q. was also shifted to Islamabad from Karachi. In this way, Z.A. Bhutto cut the Pakistan Military's mighty wings after the debacle of the 1971 War of Secession of East Pakistan.

The first military coup of Pakistan (1958) became the Precedence and paved the way for further Military Coups in Pakistan. Z.A. Bhutto was the first democratic civilian leader of Pakistan who courageously suppressed the Pakistan Military's dominance, prone to intervene in elected civil authority matters.

2. THE GENESIS OF PAKISTAN

Choudhary Rahmat Ali coined the word 'Pakistan' in a pamphlet titled '*Now or Never: Are we to Live or Perish Forever?*' published on January 28, 1933.

Later an eminent Muslim poet and philosopher Alamma Dr. Muhammad Iqbal (1875 - 1938), Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876 - 1948), and A.K. Fazal-ul-Haq (Sher-e-Bengal) picked up the idea on which the resolution for the creation of PAKISTAN was based during All-India Muslim League (AIML) convention on March 23, 1940. Under the direction of M.A. Jinnah, Muslim League passed the 'Pakistan Resolution' at its Lahore Convention that demanded the creation of Pakistan. These developments deeply pained the Indian National Congress (I.N.C.)

and Mahatma Gandhi. British authorities too had infused a lot of fuel into M.A. Jinnah's formation that the Muslims were different than the rest of Indians in terms of religion, social, cultural, and economic identity and demanded a '*Separate Homeland or Nation*' for Muslims and argued the '*Two-Nation Theory (T.N.T.)*.'

On August 14, 1947, British Rule in India ended with PAKISTAN's creation into two parts, east wing, and west wing, at a distance of 1000 miles on a religious basis.

Both nations suffered severe birth-pains as millions of people on both sides turn refugees and suffered large scale killings, lootings, rapes, and abductions (kidnappings). Unfortunately, the founding father, M.A. Jinnah, died on September 11, 1948, of Cancer of the lungs just about 13 months after creating nascent Pakistan. A thankless nation immediately forgot Jinnah's ideas and vision of Secular Democracy. Due to *Political Instability*, Pakistan quickly falls under the control of military-bureaucracy nexus instead of elected representatives of its people on the democratic pattern.

The meaning of the term PAKISTAN is a '*land of pure*,' contradictory to its purpose, Pakistan had turned into the '*land of impure*' where impurities such as *Conspiracies*, *Assassinations*, and *Political instability* had become the common incidents, frequently occurred into the day-to-day life of Pakistani people. A few examples of VVIP's are being cited here: The Rawalpindi Conspiracy against P.M. Liaquat Ali (1951), the Agartala Conspiracy case against Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and 34 others; Assassination of first P.M. Liaquat Ali on October 10, 1951, by a hired Afghan youth, Assassination of first woman P.M. Mrs. Benazir Bhutto considering her as the pro-US and pro-democratic lady on December 27, 2007, and due to having a vision of good-relations with India. On January 4, 2011, Punjab Governor Salman Taseer was slain/killed by his official bodyguard, Malik Mumtaz Hussain Qadri. Due to misuse of Blasphemy law against a poor Christian laborer Aasia Bibi and Minister for Minority Affairs, Shahbaz Bhatti was also assassinated in Islamabad on March 2, 2011, regarding falsely accused outspoken against Blasphemy Law, and '*Judicial Murder*' of Z.A. Bhutto committed by General Zia-ul-Haq on April 4, 1979, at Rawalpindi Jail, etc., etc. Political Instability just after the sad demise of Jinnah caused a quick succession of seven P.Ms. from 1950 to 1958. Pakistan experienced four Military Coups d' that within 40 years (from 1958 to 1999) at an average of ten years per coup.

Pakistan army remained India-centric and suffered from parity-syndrome, insecurity complex, and obsession with Kashmir factor.

The third Military Regime (from 1977 to 1988) under general Zia-ul-Haq was the most disastrous period in which *Islamization*, *Radicalization*, and *Sectarian Violence* were prevalent, and its repercussions and dire consequences were seen in the forthcoming future.

After Al-Qaeda's terrorist attack on US-Soil on September 11, 2001 (known as 9/11), Pakistan turned into the sanctuary of Taliban and al-Qaeda terrorists, subsequently becoming a failing state. Substantial nexus of Pakistan Army and I.S.I. always exported, sponsored, and nurtured cross-border terrorists into the Indian soil.

3. MILITARY COUPS OF PAKISTAN AND ITS TYPOLOGY

Whether it is a '*soft coup*' or '*hard coup*,' the coup had remained a common thing in Pakistan's short history. Pakistan has suffered nine (9) Coups overall since her independence on August 14, 1947, upto October 12, 1999.

Four (4) successful military 'Coups d' État' were occurred by Gen. Ayub Khan in (1958), Gen. Yahya Khan in (1969), Gen. Zia-ul-Haq in (1977), and Gen. Pervez Musharraf in (1999).

Apart from four successful Military 'Coups d' État'; five (5) failed/ unsuccessful military coup-attempts or conspiracies (including Agartala Conspiracy Case) were also occurred in Pakistani Politics.

Therefore, the military coups of Pakistan may be classified into the two main categories mentioned as under:

1. Successful Military Coups, and
2. Failed Military Coup-attempts or Conspiracies.

Four successful military coups of Pakistan are being described as under:

[i] First Military Coup occurred on October 27, 1958: Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza, the first President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, was deposed in 1958 bloodless 'Coup d' État' by General Ayub Khan and took control of the country and P.M. simultaneously upto March 25, 1969. This coup was often locally called the '*October Revolution*.'

[ii] The Second Military Coup on March 25, 1969: This coup took place when senior commanders forced Ayub Khan to hand over power to General Yahya Khan. Ayub Khan resigned under pressure from the opposition and handed over power to Gen. Yahya Khan. It was also a bloodless coup, and political power was transferred peacefully.

[iii] The Third Military Coup was carried out by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, when he ousted Z.A. Bhutto on July 5, 1977 coup, which was also peaceful. As a COAS declared martial law throughout the country, they took over as the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA). The 1973 Constitution was suspended (not abrogated). Federal and provincial cabinets, national and regional assemblies were dissolved. Later described as 'the operation fair play,' the coup did not surprise anyone; Bhutto himself had not ruled out the possibility of a 'Coup d' État.' He was so deeply trapped in the political crisis that he had no option but to capitulate. The rightist-party PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) welcomed the coup and celebrated Bhutto's military removal. The P.M., Cabinet members, and leading opposition leaders were arrested and placed under protective custody. The President of Pakistan, Fazal Ilahi Chaudhary, was allowed to continue titular head of State, and chief-justices of provincial High Courts were appointed acting governors of their respective provinces.

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq took de facto control over the country by leading the 1977 'Coup d' État.' He served as CMLA until 1979. He was killed in a plane- crash on August 17, 1988.

[iv] The Fourth Military Coup was taken place on October 12, 1999, when the COAS and Chairman of the JCSC of Pakistan Army, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, overthrew elected P.M. Nawaz Sharif. It was a bloodless 'Coup d' État.' On October 14, 1999, Musharraf declared a *state of emergency* and issued a Provincial Constitutional order. Musharraf designated himself as Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, suspended the Parliament and Provincial assemblies of the four provinces, and suspended the constitution. However, president Muhammad Rafiq Tarar shall continue in office.

4. CAUSES OF THE FOURTH MILITARY COUP:

Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee traveled to Lahore in February 1999 for better relations with Pakistan, at the same time Pak Army, Gen. Musharraf, and his Coterie of generals were planning the covert (indirect) military operation in the Kargil mountain range on the LoC. In the Kargil misadventure (May-July 1999) aftermath, Nawaz and Musharraf's differences had turned into an extreme and mutual antipathy (deep dislike). Nawaz has alleged that the Chief architects of the Kargil operation—Gen. Musharraf, Gen. Aziz, and Gen. Mahmood – began to plot to topple his government simply to cover their tracks since the Kargil fiasco was their doing. On the other hand, Musharraf has accused Nawaz of corruption through rampant misuse of power. On October 12, 1999, Nawaz removed (dismissed) Musharraf as CAOS and nominated the I.S.I. D.G, Lt. Gen. Zia-uddin Butt of the Engineers Corps as COAS in his place. Musharraf was informed about his dismissal while he was, at that time, on an official visit to Sri Lanka, on a P.I.A. (Pakistan International Airlines) flight back to Karachi from Colombo. To prevent Musharraf's return to Karachi, Sharif first ordered the plane to be diverted to India and Nawabshah (in Sindh). When this failed, Sharif ordered the Karachi airport to refuse to allow the aircraft to land; the airport used civil aviation planes to block the runway. The Pakistani Army, under directions from Lt. Gen. Muzaffar Usmani, seized the control tower and allowed the aircraft to land.

Musharraf was lucky, Nawaz's strategy backfired as key military allies got wind of what was happening and rallied what transpired (which Musharraf has mentioned in his memoir – *In the Line of Fire*), "Lt. Gen. Mahmood Ahmed, the corps commander at Rawalpindi, and Lt. Gen. Mohammad Aziz, chief of General staff, were playing tennis when they heard about Sharif's decision. The two Generals rushed to the G.H.Q. to mobilize their forces for the *Counter Coup*. The situation was delicately balanced. Loyalties were not clearly defined. Entrenched in the P.M. House, Gen. Zia-uddin was issuing orders and making new appointments. He was desperately trying to garner the support of the commanders. He sacked both Gen. Aziz and Gen. Mahmood. But it was too late. Brig. Satti's 111 Brigade had already moved to seal the P.M. house.

After this, troops took control of the state-run T.V. station in Islamabad, encircled the PM house, gained International Airports control, and cut International phone-lines. There was utter confusion in the country as the state-controlled Pakistan T.V. went off the air."¹ The entire military High Command refused to follow the newly appointed Zia-uddin Butt as COAS.

The corps commanders took over all key state buildings throughout the country, placed the entire cabinet, including the PM and his powerful brother, under House arrest, arrested Nawaz Sharif and Zia-uddin Butt, and announced the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif as PM.

"The Supreme Court of Pakistan declared the coup to be legal but ordered that the army rule be limited to three years. Pakistan's Anti-terrorism Courts, which, in 2000, handed down a life sentence on him for kidnapping, attempted murder, hijacking, and corruption – the hijacking charges were based on Nawaz allegedly not allowing the plane to land at Karachi. Rumors were in the air that the death sentence would be passed on him. Still, since Nawaz enjoyed considerable goodwill with the Saudi Royal family, who intervened on his behalf, the court gave a life imprisonment sentence on him. Later the military government agreed to exile him to Saudi Arabia. Nawaz has made the incredible assertion that he was willing to go to prison, but, as a Muslim, being sent to the holy land in exile was a blessing he could not refuse, and so he

accepted that option. Nawaz reportedly gave an undertaking that he would abstain from politics for the next ten years, but he does not mention any such deal".²

5. FAILED MILITARY COUP-ATTEMPTS OR CONSPIRACIES

Apart from four overt successful Military Coups that occurred in 1958, 1969, 1977, and 1999, Pakistan had also experienced at-least four failed Coup-attempts/Conspiracies since her independence August 14, 1947, mentioned as under:

I. Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case against P.M. Liaquat Ali on February 23, 1951.

The Rawalpindi Conspiracy was an attempted Soviet-backed 'Coup d' État' against the govt. Of Liaquat Ali Khan, the first P.M. of Pakistan in 1951. Major-Gen planned the coup. Akbar Khan overthrows the then Govt. at his residence on February 23, 1951, alongwith other military officers and left-wing activists, e.g., prominent poet-intellectual Faiz Ahmed Faiz Syed Sajjad Zaheer (Secretary Gen. of Pakistan Communist Party). Eleven (11) military officers and Four (4) civilians were involved in the conspiracy. The mastermind behind the Rawalpindi conspiracy, Maj. Gen. Akbar Khan was the chief of Gen. staff of the Pakistan army. He was disagreed with P.M. Liaquat Ali Khan on his policy on Kashmir and believed that a military solution to the problem was possible. Although he was in service, he openly advanced his views and developed ties with the communists.

P.M. Liaquat Ali announced the foiling of the coupon on March 9, 1951. The Govt. passed the Rawalpindi conspiracy (Special Tribunal) Act to set up a special tribunal to investigate the scheme. The secret trial was conducted in 18-months in secrecy. It was held for the 15 individuals accused. There were three leading causes of this coup such as:

- a) Some of Pakistan's army officers were not satisfied by Liaquat Ali Khan's Govt's performance. They consider it as corrupt and incompetent.
- b) Most of the high ranking Pakistani Generals thought of the continuing presence of British army officers in the Army as a security threat and a hindrance in the path of their speedy promotions.
- c) The immediate cause was their discontent with the Liaquat regime's handling of the Kashmir war with India (1948). Army officers thought Govt's acceptance of U.N. mediation/Ceasefire as a 'tame surrender' and 'flouting an opportunity to capture the whole of Kashmir.' Several Pakistan Army officers who had fought the Kashmir war were ethnic Kashmiris and owned land.

During the 1947 war, Maj. Gen. Akbar Khan had led Pakistani forces under the pseudonym (changed name) of 'General Tariq,' also known as the Kashmir war hero. Maj. Gen. Akbar Khan's wife, Naseem Shah Nawaz Khan, was also believed to have motivated her husband to undertake this plot. Maj. Gen. Akbar Khan and Faiz Ahmed Faiz were both convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Their defense lawyer was the notable Bengali Muslim politician Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy; when H.S. Suhrawardy became the PM of Pakistan in 1957, he obtained a reprieve of the conspirators.

II. Failed Coup-attempt against Z.A. Bhutto on March 30, 1973:

Due to the creation of FSF (Federal Security Force) and as the reform policies were unfolded, some junior and middle-ranking army and air force officers began to meet to discuss the situation

to overthrow the govt. Of Z.A. Bhutto, but through Military Intelligence (MI), the plot was foiled, and several officers were arrested on March 30, 1973.

There was resentment against president Z.A. Bhutto among some junior and middle-ranking army and air force officers because Bhutto had retired Yahya Khan and his close associates but retained many senior commanders involved in the East Pakistan debacle, including Gen. Tikka Khan. Secondly, their dissatisfaction grew, over the months, as the (land) reform policies unfolded (were not stopped). In 1972, Bhutto retired Brigadier F.B. Ali, who took the leading role in the officer's agitation that resulted in Yahya Khan and his stepping down. It added to the frustration of the brigadier's admirers in the armed forces. Thirdly, the FSF creation convinced them that Bhutto was on the way to consolidating a personal authoritarian rule and dictatorship. Initially, FSF was established directly under civilian control to assist the govt. Deal with smugglers, black marketers, and other criminal elements, but it served as 'Bhutto's Private Army' in practice.

"Consequently, they began to meet to discuss the situation but were penetrated by military intelligence, and the plot was foiled, resulting in the arrests of several officers on March 30, 1973.

The arrested men were put on trial in Attock Fort. Bhutto selected Maj. Gen. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq to head the military tribunal to try the alleged conspirators. As a balancing gesture, Bhutto undertook a set of measures purported to appease the military – for example, he increased their pay scale and permitted the Army to expand its recruitment, and Defence Expenditure was raised, in nominal terms, from ` 3725 million in 1971-72 to ` 8210 million in 1976-77.³

III. *Failed Coup-attempt to topple Benazir's Government in 1989. (Operation Mid-Night Jackal):*⁴

During the first term of P.M. Benazir Bhutto's government, it was a high-profile political scandal to topple her government in 1989. The mastermind of the plot was an I.S.I. rogue agent, Brig. Imtiaz Ahmed "the cat" Ahmed. The judge Advocate General Corps launched the full-fledged military inquiry against the Brig. Imtiaz Ahmed and Major Amir Khan subsequently ending their military careers. The investigations revealed that some establishment members wanted to pay hefty bribes to Benazir Bhutto's peoples Party's senior leadership to vote for the parliament's no-confidence motion. The military lawyers of prosecution also reported that the objectives of the 'Midnight Jackal' were to support Nawaz Sharif as the establishment was said to have "liked" or preferred Sharif as a country's P.M., and was a part of his political camp. Major Amir Khan told his military lawyers that: "Nawaz Sharif was more acceptable to the Pakistan Army than Benazir Bhutto, and the establishment was against of every leader who had people's mandate behind them. They prefer weak leaders like Sharif, which the Army could control", Major Amir Khan maintained. A videotape was obtained from the Intelligence Bureau (I.B.) containing a conversation of two active-duty army officers and a rogue I.S.I. operative regarding toppling down Benazir Bhutto's government. The videotape exposed the discussion of a rogue agent Major Amir Khan, who revealed that COAS Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, with the backing of the conservative President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, had ambitions to topple the Benazir Bhutto's govt., and to bring a more conservative Nawaz Sharif and other conservatives in power instead. Due to lack of sufficient evidence against the COAS, his court-martial could not take place. Allegedly, in 1989, the Al-Qaeda leader, Osama bin Laden, offered money to members of Parliament, including those from the P.P.P., to pass a no-confidence vote to make Benazir's govt. Fall. When some of them

informed her about the conspiracy, Benazir used some of them as 'Trojan horses' in the 'ISI-IJI' camp. Benazir wrote: "I used another group to videotape Brig. Imtiaz Ahmed asking my members to defect because *"the army"* did not want me." The no-confidence vote failed, and Benazir continued in office.

This assertion of Benazir's- subsequently confirmed by Brig. Imtiaz, during an interview on 'Dunya T.V.,' was called operation Midnight Jackal. Imtiaz revealed that COAS General Aslam Beg wanted to replace her as her policies were deemed contrary to those of the Army. (The Daily Times, August 28, 2009)

The Pakistan Military, as well as I.J.I. (Islami Jamhoori Ittihad), were against and critical of Benazir's following policies:

- a) At the 4th SAARC summit in Islamabad in December 1988, Benazir and the Indian P.M. Rajiv Gandhi seemed to have struck a friendly rapport. Benazir believed that Pakistan should re-orient its foreign policy towards democracy, and since India was a democracy, relations with that country should improve.
- b) It was agreed that the two countries would not attack each other's nuclear facilities during their meeting.
- c) Some understanding also emerged on increasing trade and resolving the dispute over the Siachen Glacier. (Shafqat, 1997; 234-35)

In any case, a Rumour began to circulate after the SAARC Summit that Benazir had, handed over the names of the Khalistani Sikhs who had, hitherto, received sanctuary in Pakistan.

IV. Failed Coup-attempt to overthrow Benazir's Government in September 1994.

"In September 1994, the M.I uncovered a plot to overthrow Benazir's govt. The masterminds of the Conspiracy were Maj. Gen. Zaheer-ul-Islam Abbasi, Brig. Mustansar Billa, Col. Azad Minhas, and some other officers, to assassinate Benazir Bhutto, Gen. Kakar, Senior Cabinet Minister and top commander in the G.H.Q. and to declare *Pakistan a Sunni Religion state*".⁵

'The new director of the I.S.I., Lt. Gen. Javed Ashraf Qazi, did his job with determination and courage to punish the plotters. The ringleaders and their followers were court-martialed and sent to jail; others were retired.'

Benazir's reputation continued to be tainted by Rumours that she and her spouse (A.A. Zardari) were relentlessly looting the national treasury once again. Her brother Murtaza's daughter (Fatima Bhutto) has affirmed the corruption charges in ample measure, giving many examples. Benazir's appointment of 21 new judges of the Punjab High Court caused considerable controversy on September 20, 1996. Benazir's brother, Murtaza Bhutto, was gunned down in a spray of bullets, Murtaza had established a separate P.P.P. faction. According to Benazir, she and Murtaza had reconciled their differences two months earlier. However, the Intelligence agencies began spreading RUMOURS that her husband, Zardari, had masterminded the murder. A judicial inquiry set up to investigate the crime, Benazir informs, cleared Zardari of any involvement.

6. ETIOLOGY OF MILITARY COUPS OF PAKISTAN

[I] Political Instability:

The Etiology of Military Coups d'etat of Pakistan is a *multi-factorial* which cannot be explained through a *mono-causal theory*.

'Political instability' in Pakistan prevailing since its birth from August 14, 1947, is responsible for the occurrence of its military coups, but 'political instability' is itself caused due to several *other actors and factors* which can be identified as under:

Pakistan leadership after the death of Quid-i-Azam, M.A Jinnah on September 11, 1948, and first P.M. Liaquat Ali on October 16, 1951, shifted to the shoulders of inapt, inefficient, inexperienced, divided, corrupt, feudal landlords who never allow a sustainable democracy in Pakistan to safeguard their vested interests.

Illiteracy: Illiteracy played a significant role in destroying the roots of Pakistan's nascent and fragile democracy. 'The literacy rate in FATA is 17.5 percent compared with the Pakistan average of 44%.'¹ About Pakistan's fragile democracy, Gen. Musharraf's views are similar to that of Gen. Ayub Khan that democracy is not workable in the illiterate masses of Pakistan. Pakistan is a mostly feudal society with a *high illiterate population* inherently unable to practice unfettered democracy. Gen. Ayub Khan expressed his views in favor of controlled democracy in place of unfettered democracy: 'Our people are mostly *uneducated* and our politicians not so scrupulous (sincere). The people are capable of doing great things, but they can also be easily misled.'²

Grinding Poverty: Pakistan is a very developing country. 'In Pakistan, where it is variously estimated that between 30% and about 50% of people in the rural and urban areas live *below* or just barely on the *Poverty Line (BPL)*, sharp disparities become a glaring contradiction of progress on other fronts.'³

According to Human Development Report on South Asia, at least 28 million (2.8 Crores) people in Pakistan live *below the poverty line (BPL)*, two-thirds (2/3rd) of its adult population is *illiterate* necessary health facilities available to *only half* the population. (Ayesha Siddiqa, 2005, *Pakistan: Political Economy of National Security*)

Rampant Corruption: Democracy in Pakistan could not take deep root due to rampant corruption. According to Javed Jabbar (2012) 'In its Corruption Index for 2010, Transparency International (T.I.) placed Pakistan at no. 143, in its index of 180 countries. *In other words: out of 180 countries surveyed, Pakistan is ranked as the 38th most corrupt country out of 180.* It is disturbing to realize that the Index gives countries like Nigeria (134) and India (87) better ratings than Pakistan even though both the above two countries are widely perceived to have *as much corruption*, if not more, as exists in Pakistan'⁴

[III] Leadership Crisis after the death of M.A. Jinnah and Liaquat Ali:

Pakistan had witnessed a '*leadership vacuum*' after the death of the founding father of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah on September 11, 1948, only 13 months after he had assumed the office of Governor-General. Like Mahatma Gandhi, Jinnah also had such charismatic leadership qualities that none other Pakistani leaders possessed. After Jinnah, leadership had gone into the hands of Jinnah's loyalist and trusted fellow Liaquat Ali Khan as the first P.M. of Pakistan. Unfortunately, he was assassinated by a hired Afghan agent on October 10, 1951, in Rawalpindi for his authoritarianism and bias, further augmenting the leadership deficit of newly born Pakistan. The inter-party rivalries and intra-party power politics in the Muslim League caused a succession of *Seven P.Ms* from 1950 to 1958. The country's prevailing political instability gave the military a chance to think about the possibility of *military intervention (praetorians)* and change in

the political system. As the C-in-C of armed forces, Gen. Ayub Khan took charge of Defence Minister in 1954 and remained very close with the political system and aware of its shortcomings and weaknesses. The quick succession of seven P.M.s gave the Pakistan army and the public that Pakistani politicians were too weak, corrupt, divided, inefficient, ill-experienced, quarreling, and looting the country both hands. Therefore the Parliamentary System was flawed. *Tolerance of opposition is the essence of democracy*; this intolerance in opposition leaders' mindset encouraged the military to intervene in politics. Gen. Ayub Khan and generals loyal to him forced Maj-Gen. Iskander Mirza, President of Pakistan to resign through a peaceful coup d' etat on October 27, 1958, and Ayub Khan took charge of President and P.M.

Substantial Nexus among Army, Civil Bureaucracy, and I.S.I.: Punjab form 60 percent of Pakistan population and 80 percent of its Army. Punjab's feudal lords have always been dominating force in the upper hierarchy of Pakistan's civil and military establishment. West Punjab is called the *grain bowl of Pakistan* because of its highly fertile plains.⁵ As characterized by the British, the Punjabi's are considered a *Martial Race*. Therefore, the military does not hesitate to *intervene* Whenever its peoples' interests are challenged or threatened. First Governor-General of Pakistan M.A Jinnah and P.M. Liaquat Ali Khan relied very heavily on Civil Servants. It is rightly often said that *Politicians may come and may go, but the bureaucrats control the real power in their hands*. Jinnah appointed Chaudhary Mohammad Ali as the Secretary-General of the Govt. of Pakistan, which became an overlord of bureaucracy with vast powers. According to Aatur Rehman Khan, ' a powerful clique in the bureaucracy did not want democracy to function in Pakistan. To take roots in the Country'⁶ Gen. Ayub Khan too have no faith in political parties and politicians and became heavily dependent on the bureaucracy. Gen. Ayub appointed a civil servant named Akhtar Husain as the head of the *Land Reforms Commission*. *Half-heated attempts* were made to appease feudal landlords, elites class of military and civil bureaucrats, and corrupt politicians. Ultimately the nexus of civil bureaucracy with the military junta became a permanent feature of Pakistans political system.

[III] Delay in Constitution-Making & Weak Enforcement of the Law:

While India had drafted and enforced her Consitution on January 26, 1950, *but contrary to India*, the task of Constitution-making in Pakistan took about nine (9) years as it could be framed upto February 1956. Till the new Consitution could be prepared, Pakistan was to be governed by the Government of India Act of 1935 with certain modifications to meet the needs of newly born free Pakistan. The first and the most challenging task faced by framers of the Constitution was to decide the exact role of Islam in the State. *A second difficulty* in evolving a Constitution for Pakistan was nationalities because Pakistan was founded under the *two-nation theory*, i.e., separate homeland for Muslims and Hindus. These nationalities were a product of the history and geography which divided them from one another. The two wings of Pakistan, *east and west*, were separated by more than 1000 miles speaking entirely different languages, differing widely in their dress, manners, and customs, and people having conflicting interests. On language issues, the B.P.C. (Basic Principles Committee) said that only *Urdu* should be the national language. While the B.P.C. report remained silent, but both the modified B.P.C. report and the 1956 Consitution gave *Bengali and Urdu* co-equal official status. The 1956 Consitution had a brief span of life as Governor-General Iskander Mirza abrogated the Constitution on October 7, 1958. A fortnight

later, Gen. Ayub Khan made a coup against Mirza and brought Pakistan under Martial Law, and appointed an eleven-member commission headed by Justice Muhammad Shahabuddin of the Supreme Court of Pakistan to frame a new constitution for Pakistan. The Constitution prepared by the commission was approved by Gen. Ayub Khan with *some changes* and promulgated on March 1, 1962. It was called the 'Basic Democracy' Constitution and provided for indirect election of the President and members of the National and Provincial Assemblies by 'Basic Democrats' who were local councils in villages and towns. The 1962 Constitution lasted only 11 years. Due to East Pakistan's secession, Bangladesh emerged as a new Nation on the world map in December 1971. Ultimately Z.A Bhutto was able to get the Fourth Constitution passed in the National Assembly on April 10, 1973, which came into force on August 14, 1973. Gen. Zia-ul-Haq overthrew Z.A Bhutto's civil Govt. through a Coup and assumed full powers of the Govt. on July 5, 1977, but unlike earlier Coups, this time the Constitution was not abrogated, but some parts of the 1973 Constitution were held in abeyance.

In the absence of a permanent Constitution, the roots of sustained democracy in Pakistan could not be increased. And this situation was favorable to the feudal landlords and elite class of Military and bureaucracy.

Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial Law, and the 1973 Constitution was held in abeyance. Its revival took eight (8) years (1985), and that too with the addition of the 8th Amendment that included **Article 58(2)(b)**: It empowered the President to dismiss the Prime Minister (P.M.) and the National Assembly if the situation so warranted. The President was also given *discretionary powers*, besides others, to appoint the Services Chiefs and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of the Staff Committee (JCSC). The enhanced capabilities of the President created two power centers. The seeds of conflict were planted. During 1985-1996, three successive Presidents invoked *Article 58(2)(b)* on four different occasions and dismissed four elected P.Ms. Viz. Junejo (1988), Benazir (1990), Nawaz Sharif (1993), and Benazir (1996). The President's discretionary powers' repeated use created uncertainty in the country and started a national debate on *Whether Article 58(2)(b) was legally valid, politically justified, and institutionally appropriate. The issue was agitated in the Supreme Court of Pakistan under Constitutional Petition No. 60/1996. The Supreme Court held that this article had (infact, shut the door on Martial Law, which had not been imposed since 1977.)* The Apex Court further state that the 8th Amendment, including Article 58(2)(b), was a good piece of legislation, and it was open to the Parliament to amend it if so desired.' The controversial part of the 8th Amendment was *deleted* from the Statute Book by the Parliament by a unanimous vote.⁷

Military rulers delayed the Constitution-making process, but they amended the Constitution according to their wishes and convenience. According to Satish Kumar, "Gen. Zia-ul-Haq amended 61 articles and inserted 20 to the 1973 Constitution. Similarly, Gen. Pervez Musharraf amended the Constitution drastically before the October 2002 generals elections. In the words of Asma Jahangir, a human rights and women's rights activist of Pakistan..... *The addition of Musharraf's amendments will convert the people's Constitution of 1973 to a Consitution of the generals, for the generals, and by the generals*"⁸(Jahangir 2002:45)

[IV] Praetorian Army of Pakistan:

Roy Macridis and Steven Burg (*Introduction to comparative politics, p-139*) point out that the 'Armies that intervene in politics in the contemporary era and *states* in which army intervention occurs are

thus called *Praetorian Armies and Praetorian States*', and thus they define the *Praetorian States* not only as states 'in which the army has the potential to dominate the political system' but also has the disposition to dominate.

Newly born Pakistan went through eleven years (from August 1947 to October 1958) of *political instability and uncertainty*. Frequently shifting of seven P.Ms. from 1950-58 encouraged developing a praetorian Army mindset with bureaucracy. For more than half of its history, Pakistan has been subjected to Military Coups d' estate. The Intelligence Agencies such as I.S.I. and MI played a pivotal role in suppressing the institutions of democracy in Pakistan. They remained notoriously involved in engineering the *rigging of various elections* according to each military dictator's preferences. For example, in the elections of 2002, Gen. Musharraf used all the means to achieve the desired results.

[V] Kashmir Factor:

According to some Pakistani Scholars and diplomats, the significant irritant towards India-Pakistan's betterment is the *Kashmir dispute*. The views of two top leaders of Pakistan and India are quoted here:

"Kashmir runs in our blood. No Pakistani can afford to sever (cut) links with Kashmir. Entire Pakistan and the world know this. We will continue to extend our moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris. We will never budge (change opinions/attitude) an inch from our principled stand on Kashmir."¹⁶(Gen. Pervez Musharraf, address to the Nation, January 12, 2002)

"We wish to state once again that Jammu and Kashmir is an *integral part* of India. It will remain so... For us, Kashmir is not a piece of land; it is a test case of '*Sarva Dharma Samabhava*' – *Secularism*. India has always stood the test of a secular nation. Jammu and Kashmir is a living example of this."¹⁷(Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Independence Day, address, August 15, 2002)

The four wars of 1947-48, 1965, 1971, and 1999 did not deliver Kashmir to Pakistan, and Political leaders of both countries know very well that Pakistan can't take Kashmir from India forcibly, and it is not feasible for India to give Kashmir to Pakistan on a platter (dish). Due to Kashmir obsession, the Pakistani Army, I.S.I., and other Islamic radicals shifted their policy on Kashmir: in place of Conventional War with India, they started waging proxy war, Low-Intensity Conflict, Cross-border Terrorism to fight against India covertly with the strategy of Indirect approach. Pakistan's Army and I.S.I. decided to make '*Terrorism as an instrument of its state policy against India*' Pakistani Military and civilian rulers maintained a *double face* or *dual policy* on Kashmir issue and towards the betterment of Relations between India and Pakistan. Under international pressure, particularly from the U.S., Pakistan started to propagate that they want to have a *composite dialogue* with India on the issue of Terrorism. On the other hand, *Pakistani non-state actors*, with the Pakistan Army and I.S.I.'s underhand support, started to intensify terrorist activities across the border.

Consequently, Modi Government replied that *dialogue and terrorist activities could not be carried out parallel and simultaneously*. A fruitful discussion can only be possible in a peaceful and friendly environment. Prime Minister Narendra Modi took the initiative and visited Nawaz Sharif's home as a goodwill gesture on December 25, 2015, for a better relationship with Pakistan during his returning journey from Afghanistan. But Pakistani Army, I.S.I., and Islamic radicals want the *Kashmir Issue* alive because it is needed to survive and safeguard their vested interests to allocate '*the lion's share*' in the National budget defense affairs.

Hypocritically Pakistan Army had been projecting an image of being the 'Saviours of the Nation' to seek legitimacy and justification of its various military rules and frequent Praetorianism due to lackluster (dull and uninspiring) performance of the civilian governments as and when they were elected to power. In May 2014, the present COAS, Gen. Raheel Sharif, also expressed similar views on Kashmir as Gen. Pervez Musharraf opined on January 12, 2002, and stated: "*Kashmir is Jugular Vein of Pakistan.*" Due to Kashmir, the Army will avail *lion share* within the resourceless Pakistani economy. An eminent military expert of Pakistan and significant researcher in Pakistan, Ayesha Siddiqi has opined her views in her famous book: '*Pakistan Military Inc* "that even if India will hand over Kashmir to Pakistan in a Silver Plate, there is hardly any guarantee that animosity between both rivals will end. For the time being, both countries must sustain the dialogue process on Kashmir till its final resolution and in the meanwhile cooperate on the areas where there are hardly any divergences like trade and commerce."¹⁸

Munir Akram, Pakistani's former Ambassador to the U.N., has opined his pessimistic views over India-Pakistan Relations's betterment. He stated that despite cultural, linguistic, and ethnic affinities, the mutual hostility (and antagonism) between Hindus and Muslims of the Sub-Continent is real and endemic. It was the *raison d'être* (the basis for justification) for the creation of Pakistan.

[VI] Geo-Demographic Asymmetry, Inequality and Discriminatory Behaviour of Federal Government with Balochistan Poses and Prone - to the Second Secession of Pakistan:

Pakistan has a population of over 170 million (i.e., 17 crores) in 2011. The Federation of Pakistan comprises four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (K.P.), and Balochistan. Punjab has the largest share of the population at about 55%. Sindh has a claim at about 30%. K.P has a share of about 11 percent, but Balochistan has a population of only 4%.

See the Asymmetry!, the Province with the smallest share of the population (i.e., 4%) - Balochistan-has an enormous landmass of all the four Provinces, i.e., over 45% of Pakistan's territory. On the other hand, Punjab alone has more People (Population, i.e., 55%) than all the other 3 (three) Provinces combined.

This Asymmetry poses substantial problems of *equity, participation, and governance*.

The Baloch people have always demanded decisive control over the pricing and exploitation of natural resources as gas and other minerals found in their Province. The development project of Gwadar Port by China is neglecting the economic rights of Balochis. Therefore, there is a substantial dissatisfaction among Balochi peoples against the federal govt. Pakistan, which made broad discrimination and suppression, led to Pakistan's Second Secession like East Pakistan in 1971.

7. CONCLUSION & POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Despite having a mandate, P.M. Nawaz Sharif was under limitations because Democracy in Pakistan is still fragile and controlled by the Pakistan Army. The army is the final arbiter and 'single-decision maker' about foreign policy, defense policy, Kashmir, and framing relations with India and Afghanistan.

After getting defeat in four wars of 1947-48, 1965, 1971, and 1999 Pakistan uses 'Terrorism as an instrument of state policy' against India. Pakistan Army is protecting him and providing patronage to the so-called 'Good Taliban' and playing a double game with the U.S. war on terror against al-

Qaeda and Taliban. Pakistan's strategy of using Terrorism as an instrument of state policy has also affected its ability to fight Terrorism and sectarian violence at home.

Pakistan Army did not target so-called 'Good Taliban' who are considered as 'Strategic Assets.' The three groups of good Taliban are the *Haqqani network under Hafiz Gul Bahadur*, the *TTP in North Waziristan*, and *Mullah Nazir's group* active in wana a region of *South Waziristan*. The Pakistan army's major dilemma was to conduct the military operation during the U.S. war on terror *without* harming the *Haqqani Network* and so-called good Taliban.

About Pakistan's sponsored state-terrorism, Mrs. Hillary Clinton, during her forthcoming Presidential election campaign, recently stated that: "If you pet the snakes in your court-yard, it will not make any discrimination between you and your neighbor in biting." Until the military in Pakistan remains the most critical and dominating player in Pakistani politics, no shift in foreign policy is expected towards better relations between India and Pakistan. Civil-Military-Relations in Pakistan will improve only through sustainable political stability and the establishment of a healthy democratic pattern. Four pillars of democracy, i.e., Legislation, Execution, Judiciary, and Free & Fair Mass Media, will work together with full cooperation, proper coordination, as well as controlling the *praetorian* (intervening) *role of the almighty Pakistani Army*, which hypocritically projecting its image of being the 'Saviours of the Nation' but every time the interest of the ordinary people of Pakistan is always sacrificed and neglected due to the vested interests vis-a-vis a coterie of feudal lords. The Process of Islamisation during Zia-ul-Haq's Military regime is being held responsible for the intensification of 'Sectarian Violence' between Shia and Sunni and the collapse of Pakistan's harmonious society to broad religious Islamic discrimination among minority groups like Christians, Hindus, and Ahmadiyyas. Misuse of the Blasphemy laws further intensified the 'Sectarian violence' and radicalization of orthodox extremism and Terrorism as a tool of statepolicy against India as a mortal-foe.

After investigating the Pakistani political dynamics, it has become clear that the secession of Pakistan into Bangladesh in 1971 was occurred due to its 'weight' and wrong policies adopted by military ruler General Yahya Khan and P.P.P. autocratic leader Z.A. Bhutto through dis-honoring the democratic mandate and 'Six-Point Program' of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of Awami League Party of East Pakistan.

Feudal, corrupt, inept, divided, inefficient, and inexperienced political leaders of opposition provided the chance and opportunities to intervene in the military in Pakistani politics. Once the Military Rule was established, the Military Rulers became reluctant to relinquish the authority through prolonging it either under the guise of maintaining 'law and order' or even amending and repealing the then Constitution and resisting the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (M.R.D.) by political leaders. This Vicious circle remained to continue for decades in Pakistani politics.

Pakistan Army and I.S.I. are 'State within State': Due to PM Modi's sound foreign policy and under U.S. pressure, PM Nawaz Sharif has assured the action against the perpetrators of the terrorist attack on Pathankot Air Base and Mumbai attack on November 26, 2008, but the main obstacle in the betterment of relations between the two neighbors is the nexus of Pakistan Army, I.S.I. and radical orthodox Islamists, so-called 'good terrorists.' It is rightly said that Pakistan is controlled by "3As," i.e., Allah, Army, and America. All 'three As' are almighty, omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent in Pakistan.

Pakistan will not change overnight, but it will undoubtedly change because Pakistan itself perceives that Terrorism, parity with India, projecting hatred, and anti-India feelings are harmful to Pakistan itself. Pakistan will not collapse through so-called external threats, but internal threats and challenges *within the home* are most dangerous for Pakistan's survival and existence. A Shayar (poet) has mentioned a relevant statement about Pakistan: "*Iss Ghar Ko Jalaa Diya, Ghar Ke Chiraag Ne.*"

Keeping controversial issues like '*Kashmir*' aside and forwarding towards trade, commerce, games, cultural heritage, film & cinema, educational exchange, and people-to-people contact are so many broad areas where India and Pakistan come together peaceful co-existence and tolerance, which are the basic teachings of real Islam. After that, we hope sustainable Peace and Tranquillity will prevail in the South-Asian sub-continent.

As far as India is concerned, the Indian government is moving in the right direction under PM Modi's charismatic leadership, statecraft, and statesmanship, which can be seen through achieving growing popularity during the two years of his first tenure as Prime Minister. His endeavors, vision, and clear intention will yield fruitful in nation-building for both India and Pakistan. India is hopeful that goodwill and five-senses will prevail to Pakistan, and Pakistan will abandon the policy of 'cross-border terrorism.' It will develop excellent and positive intentions for a Comprehensive bilateral dialogue with India to sort out all controversial issues through peaceful means to strengthen this region's economic development.

OPTIONS OPEN FOR INDIA:

The writer does not support Pessimistic and Idealistic views and has an approach to thinking in a pragmatic, optimistic, and realistic manner. It has now become the crystal-clear fact that Pakistan's praetorian military will not abandon its status of "*State within State*" and "*Terrorism as an instrument of State-policy.*" Therefore, India's following options are open to follow *Track-II Diplomacy* to eliminate Cross-Border Terrorism between India and Pakistan. Appropriate measures are divided into two categories:

A. Preventive Measures

B. Operational (Military) Measures

A. Under Preventive Measures, the below mentioned effective options are open for India under Statesmanship & Statecraft of Prime Minister Narendra Modi:

- [i] It is the right step of India to withdraw M.F.N.'s status given to Pakistan in 1996 and increasing 200% duty on commodities importing to India from Pakistan.
- [ii] Abrogation of *Indus Water Treaty* (September 19, 1960) signed by the then P.M. J.L. Nehru and Pakistan's President Gen. Ayub Khan and World Bank as mediator manage 100% water of three eastern rivers *Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej*. India has to establish infrastructure for water transportation (the first phase from Delhi to Prayagraj), construction of dams and canals for irrigation, etc.
- [iii] Isolate Pakistan from International platforms (like O.I.C., SAARC, G-20, ASEAN, APEC, BIMSTEC, O.A.U., UNSC, UNGA, etc.) and expose her as an epicenter of Terrorism as Pakistan is exporting, patronizing, and funding Terrorism in her soil. Gov. of India is doing well in this direction e.g.

- a) O.I.C. has invited India as a guest of honor, while Pakistan, the founding member of O.I.C., did not attend the O.I.C.
 - b) UNSC pressurized Pakistan and rejected Hafiz Saeed's (founder of LeT now could JuD) plea on removal from the terror list. He was the mastermind of the Mumbai Attack (26.11.2008)
 - c) U.S.A. has objected to Pakistan why the F-16 fighter plane was used against India after Balakot Air Strike by I.A.F. on February 26, 2019. Indian Pilot of Mig-21 Abhinandan targeted and destroyed it.
 - d) UNGA must prepare a comprehensive definition of Terrorism and enforce strict laws to punish perpetrators of terrorist acts.
 - e) All members of UNGA collectively stand to end International Terrorism as their priority.
- [iv] Economic Sanctions, political and diplomatic Isolation should be promoted collectively against the nations which support the acts of terror universally.
- Role of Finance**, because "*Money is the engine that derives terrorist acts*," correct information about the Sources, Methods, and Channels involved in Financing and funding of Terrorism should thoroughly be investigated. Money is flowing through *Hawala, Money laundering, Black Money, Drug Trafficking, Smuggling, Narcotics, Petro-dollars, Donations and Ransom, etc.* A large amount of money is collected in the name of *Charity, Zakat* for terrorist organizations. Pakistan's terrorist organizations are providing cash to stone-throwers on security forces in Kashmir Valley. Any person or group, or organization's money must be frozen who helped directly or indirectly to any terrorist outfit.
- [v] India should support **Secessionist Insurgencies** at **Balochistan, Gilgit & Baltistan, Sindh** as done in **Bangladesh** in 1971
- [vi] Article No. 370 & 35-A should be abolished so that the **Demography** (ratio of the population) can be shifted in the interest of India's integration and integrity as Pakistan has already done in **Gilgit & Baltistan**.

B. UNDER OPERATIONAL (MILITARY) MEASURES: India has suffered a lot from the plight of Terrorism, the list is extensive, e.g., Two P.M.s on October 31, 1984 (Indira Gandhi), May 21, 1991 (Rajiv Gandhi), Punjab C.M. Beant Singh 1995, Attack on Parliament on December 13, 2001, a suicide attack on the gate of Legislative Assembly of Kashmir on October 1, 2001, Mumbai attack on November 26, 2008, Attack on Pathankot Air Base on January 2, 2016 (02:50 A.M.), Fidayeen Terrorist Attack of JeM on URI Army Brigade Headquarters on September 18, 2016, at 05:35 A.M. To retaliate it, Indian Army conducted **Surgical Strike** on mid-night of 28-29 Sep. 2016 across the LoC and destroyed seven Pakistani terrorist training camps and launching pads of infiltrators. About 40 terrorists were killed on the spot. On February 14, 2019, a Fidayeen terrorist attack the convoy of CRPF Bus, and 40 CRPF Jawans were martyred at **Pulwama** in South Kashmir. In retaliation, the Indian Air Force has conducted an Air Strike at midnight on 25/26 Feb. 2019 at **Balakot** and other terrorist training camps.

From the above Air Strike (February 26, 2019) and Surgical Strike (September 29, 2016), India demonstrated that she is no more a **Soft State** but is a **Hard State**. India should reply to Pakistan in its language: and follow the policy of Tit-for-Tat.

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