

## DEMOCRATIC CONFLICT AND CONSENSUS: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF GENERAL PERVEZ MUSHARRAF ERA 1999-2008

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### ABSTRACT

This study finds the conflicting political issues during General Pervez Musharraf's (GPM) era and examines how he dealt with political conflicts and developed political consensus among the political elites. Variables of this study/survey are General Pervez Musharraf, Conflict, Consensus, and Political Elites. A questionnaire was developed, which distributed 500 University faculty members of Pakistan. Out of 500 received respondents were 252, which is 50.4%. Research hypothesis tested on Statical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The outcomes associated with General Pervez Musharraf's consensus policy for political elites. A significant contribution of political elites develop consensus and eradicate conflict on Lal Masjid conflict, Kala Bagh Damconflict, declaration of emergency. From both a theoretical and a concrete viewpoint of General Pervez Musharraf's political past has important implications on the politics of Pakistan. This research adds to the body of information for future historians by incorporating sound scholarly literature. The results of this study can also be helpful for academicians, scholars of social sciences. There have been studies carried out to determine the influence of military governance on elite politics and how it affects General Pervez Musharraf's political consensus.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Politics, General Pervez Musharraf, elite, consensus, conflict.

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### Introduction

On August 14, 2007, Pakistan celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its independence. However, the situation in this Muslim country does not allow us to be as optimistic as its founder Mohammed Ali Jinnah was in 1947. These sixty years of independent life have been a

continuous succession of authoritarian military governments combined with corrupt and ineffective civilian governments. In addition, the state that was designed so that everyone could live freely without having to worry about their religion has become one of the main centers of Islamists around the world, where Al-Qaeda launches its networks in search of terrorists (Behuria, A.K., 2009). In today's world, democracy and participatory government are widely held political beliefs. Fair and free elections are a necessary component of democracy. Democracy, on the other hand, has little sense unless it is followed by the supremacy of the Constitution, the rule of law, and the protection of people's civil and political rights and freedoms. (Khan & Ullah Wazir, n.d.)

Pakistan is going through a difficult time. For example, President General Pervez Musharraf (GPM) had squabbles with many ethnic minorities, the army, and the main Islamist parties. The international community put pressure on President Musharraf to introduce democratic reforms. If Musharraf wants Pakistan to avoid becoming a Rogue State, he must address four major issues: democratization, poverty reduction, Islamic radicalism control, and improving relations with India. (Manzoor, 2018). We owe the name of Pakistan to a young student, ultimately one of the country's fathers named Chaudri Rehmat Ali, who tried to encompass all the territories that make up this territory. Pakistan, which in Urdu means "holy country" or "pure country", uses the P for the Punjab region, the A for the Afghans (Pashtuns) on the border, the K for Kashmir (Kashmir), the S for the area from Sindh and the suffix -stán for the Baluchistan region (Devji, F., 2013.)

At first, the founders of Pakistan worked together with the Hindus to achieve independence from the British Crown. However, in 1928 Mohammed Ali Jinnah asked Gandhi to create separate lists for Muslims and Hindus. Since then, the history of India and Pakistan has followed different paths that have only come together to confront each other militarily, something they have done up to four times. The main reason for the confrontation is the Jammu and Kashmir region, which is currently divided into two zones: India and the other by Pakistan (Naazer, n.d. 2017).

In fact, during the years of Soviet control, Afghanistan supported the Pashtun and Baloch nationalist movements to destabilize the Pakistan of General Zia, a great ally of the United States. In general terms, it can be said that Pakistan is a state of great complexity. For organizational purposes, Pakistan is divided into four territories (Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and the Northeast Frontier Province), an area that is the capital Islamabad and what is known as tribal areas. Also, Pakistan controls what is known as Azad Kashmir and the Northern Territory. Both are within the region contested by Pakistan and India. The latter controls Jammu and Kashmir, although, like Pakistan, it claims the entire territory (Kapur, S.P., 2005).

In terms of population composition, most Pakistanis are Punjabi (44.68%). Far behind, we find the rest of the ethnic groups such as the Pashtuns (15.42%), the Sindhis (14.1%), the Seirakis (10.53%), the Muhajires (Urdu speaking) (7.57%), the Baluch (3.57%) (Mayville, A.K., 2011). This great diversity makes Pakistan a volatile country as groups such as the Pashtuns or the Baluch has traditionally been elusive to the national idea of Pakistan.

So far as the religious affiliation is concerned, the situation is not much more straightforward. On the one hand, it must be said that there is excellent religious uniformity since most of the country, 96%, is Muslim. However, due to its proximity to Iran, Pakistan is home to a significant proportion of Shiites, 20% of its total population. Other religious groups often find it difficult to exercise their religious freedom. This is the case with Jews, Buddhists, Sikhs, or Christians who have daily problems in Pakistan (Morgan, P. ed., 2007).

### Literature Review:

In the Line of Fire (2006), Pervaiz Musharraf's memoir gives descriptions of his personal and professional life. Since it was written by the then-President of Pakistan, who acknowledged the front-line state's position in the War on Terrorism, this book is a valuable source of knowledge. Musharraf underscores the circumstances surrounding his takeover. He introduces himself as a visionary leader who wants to make Pakistan a better place. He emphasizes his seven-point plan to address the domestic problems that Pakistan was facing when he took office.

"The events of 9/11 and their consequences came to distract us from these issues," he says. I had no choice but to prioritize security over restructuring." He also emphasizes Pakistan's political difficulties during the East Pakistan crisis. "A brief political history of Pakistan demonstrates how we have struggled to establish a true democracy," he claims. "Our major political groups have become nothing more than family cults," he correctly observes. He speaks about the "War on Terror" and records his firsthand encounters with it. He recounts the events that followed the 9/11 attacks in Pakistan, acknowledging the considerable American pressure to cooperate with the US and leave the Taliban. However, he believes that his decision was well-considered and in Pakistan's best interests. He claims that the "US was not the only victim of 9/11; the attacks struck Pakistan differently, but with similar ferocity." He describes militants' reaction to Pakistan's changed Afghan strategy and the subsequent launch of a terrorist campaign against Pakistan in 2002. He looks at the geography of Pakistan's tribal areas, Pakistan's strategic compulsions concerning Afghanistan, and Pakistan's position in the WOT. He also goes into depth about early military operations in tribal areas, the difficulties the Pakistani army faced there, and how they overcame them, and the US and Pakistani forces' subsequent cooperation in the region. "Despite our best efforts, we were not granted timely access to modern technologies for intelligence collection, monitoring, and target acquisition," he says several times. Our army's activities are also reliant on technical information supplied by US forces." He also refutes the charge that Pakistan is not doing enough in the WOT by describing Pakistan's efforts in the WOT and the sacrifices made by its citizens and powers, thereby refuting the argument.

Some authors, such as Zahid Hussain, Ahmad Rashid, and others, chose to limit their work in the aftermath of 9/11. Others, such as Hussain Haqqani and Hassan Abbas, have based their analyses on historical events and policies since Pakistan's independence. Others have focused on Jihadi groups, their infrastructure, the role they played in polarizing Pakistani society, religion, patterns amplifying radical mindsets, and the state's social construct leading to and explaining the incidence of violence and terror. Even though all these works are significant and shed light on major developments in Pakistan and the Pakistani context, they lack the comprehensive framework of research that the current study employs (Fayyaz, 2010).

"The Origins, Evolution, and Consequences of Pakistan's Garrison State (1947-2011)" Ishtiaq Ahmed's book aims to overcome the following conundrum:

- I. How do internal and external factors interact to explain the military's rise to prominence as Pakistan's most powerful institution?
- ii. What effect has this kind of politics had on Pakistan's political and economic development?
- iii. What are the prospects for Pakistan?

Jamshaid Marker's book "Cover Point (Impression of Leadership in Pakistan)" is about Marker's "impressions" of Pakistan's most powerful leaders. This book recounts the author's firsthand experiences from his long career, which began with Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and ended with General Pervez Musharraf's rule.

Iftikhar Malik has written another book titled "Pakistan Democracy, Terror, and the Building of a Country." Professor Malik's critical analysis considers:

- The military's role, as well as the cycle of failure and coups in Pakistan's political history.
- There are many reasons to be hopeful about Pakistan's future democracy and nation-building, including the presence of individual personalities and dynasties in party politics, such as the Bhuttos and Sharifs.

Naeem Malik examines and highlights the factors that shaped Pakistan's nuclear policy in his book "Learning with the Bomb (Pakistan: 1998-2016)." Pakistan's learning experience demonstrates without a shadow of a doubt that the nation has developed into a responsible nuclear weapons state with strong command, control, and custodial arrangements because of crises.

On October 12, 1999, Pervez Musharraf was installed as President of Pakistan in a military coup after army leadership refused to recognize the newly elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's decision to remove him as Chief of Army Staff (COAS) and replace him with General Ziauddin Butt. The prime minister's decision was based on disagreements he had with the COAS over the Kargil war, which he described as "an enterprise" that General Musharraf allegedly embarked on without Sharif's "consent or understanding." Musharraf declared the dismissal of the civilian government, including the prime minister and his cabinet, provincial chief ministers and governors, and others, in a televised address to the country (Naazer,n.d).

### **Objectives of the Study:**

- Determine the position of elites in conflicts and compromise during General Pervez Musharraf's presidency.
- To learn more about the position of political parties in democratic conflict and compromise during General Pervez Musharraf's presidency.
- To classify the military coup led by General Pervez Musharraf and the position of political elites.
- To investigate General Pervez Musharraf's rise to power.

### **The hypothesis of the Study:**

**H-1** The mainstream political parties remained against his actions thus could not reach a consensus on major issues.

**H2.** The military Regime affected the ongoing democratic process by sabotaging the constitutional sanctity.

### **Research Methodology:**

#### **Reliability score**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Score</b>
Democratic Elitism	.79
Conflict	.91

Consensus	.86
General Pervez Musharraf	.88

The reliability score should not be less than .70, as suggested by Nunally. The score of all the constructs is more than .70 in this study. Hence the data is reliable for the study.

This study's specific objective is to present the research methodology for the implementation of the empirical part of this study. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), a methodology chapter describes the research design and research method. Quantitative and qualitative are two popular approaches or methods available to researchers. Zikmund (2008) defines qualitative research that focuses on discovering true inner meanings and new ideas using techniques that enable the researcher to elaborate explanations of phenomena without relying on numerical calculation. The quantitative research method is described by Kress (2011) as the use of numerical values and statistics to identify trends and relationships between variables.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

**Frequency Table 1.1**

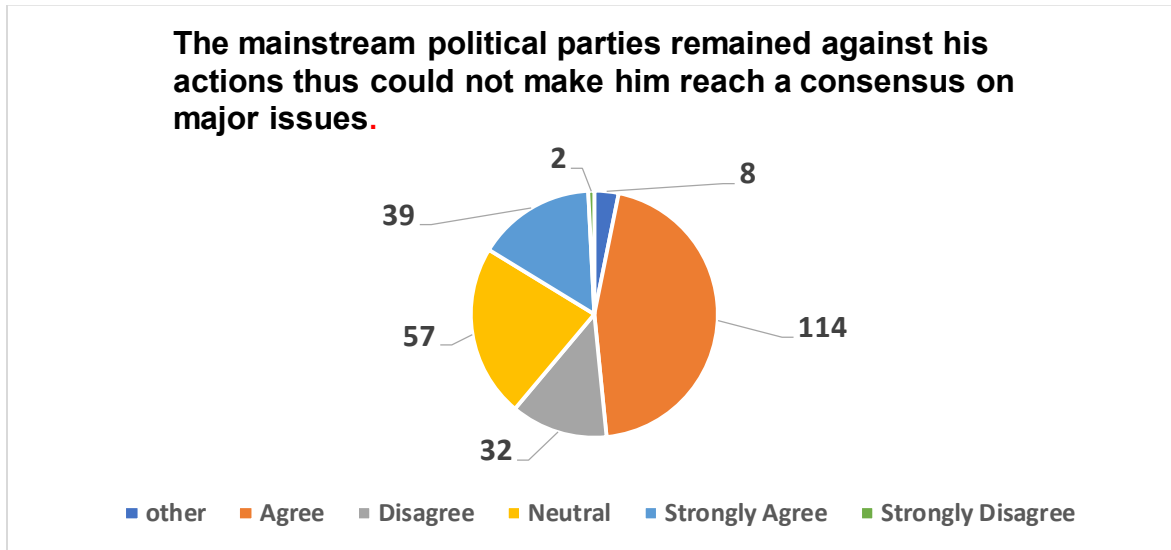
<b>The mainstream political parties remained against his actions thus could not make him reach a consensus on major issues.</b>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		8	3.2	3.2	3.2
	Agree	114	45.2	45.2	48.4
	Disagree	32	12.7	12.7	61.1
	Neutral	57	22.6	22.6	83.7
	Strongly Agree	39	15.5	15.5	99.2
	Strongly Disagree	2	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	252	100.0	100.0	

**Description Table 1.1**

Table 1.1 labeled if the mainstream political parties (elites) were against General Pervez Musharraf's political consensus. 45.2% of the respondent of this research study agreed that they

were against GPM's consensus policy. However, 12.7% disagreed and responded that mainstream political parties supported GPM. Furthermore, defining table 2.6, it has been reviewed that major political parties were against and started different movements, i.e., thirty-two political parties formed the All-Parties Democratic Movement (APDM), lawyer's movement to counter his consensus policy on significant issues (Pakistan Timeline 2007).

**Frequency Graph 1.1**



**Frequency Table 1.2**

**Musharraf's military Regime affected the ongoing democratic process by sabotaging the constitutional sanctity.**

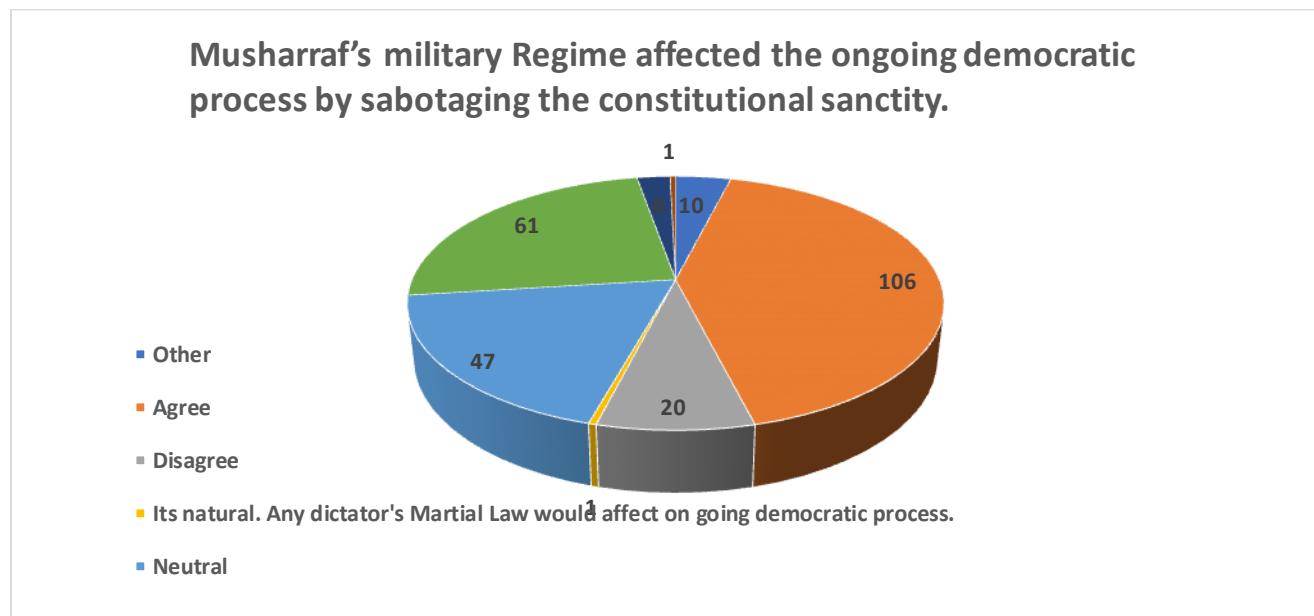
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10	4.0	4.0	4.0
Agree	106	42.1	42.1	46.0
Disagree	20	7.9	7.9	54.0
It's natural. Any dictator's Martial Law would affect the ongoing democratic process.	1	.4	.4	54.4
Neutral	47	18.7	18.7	73.0
Strongly Agree	61	24.2	24.2	97.2
Strongly Disagree	6	2.4	2.4	99.6

The questions first part is contradicting its second part, the ongoing democratic process is not true, whereas constitutional sanctity is true	1	.4	.4	100.0
Total	252	100.0	100.0	

**Description Table 1.2**

Describing Table 1.2 the question was asked to the sample to define how Musharraf's military regime sabotaged the ongoing democratic process within the state. Responding to this question, 42.1% sample population agreed that Musharraf sabotaged the ongoing democratic process. At the same time, 7.9% disagreed that he (Musharraf) never sabotaged the ongoing democratic process. Moreover, 18.7% remained neutral. Here, we can conclude that majority of the sample population knew how General Pervez Musharraf violated the Constitution and its sanctity. Everyone knows the importance of the Constitution for every state. But here, in the case of General Pervez Musharraf in the State of Pakistan, he just said, "Constitution is just a piece of paper" (The News " November 14, 2007).

**Frequency Graph 1.2**



**Discussion**

For several years, Pakistan's military has controlled the country directly. Except for a few years, it has served as a protector in the remaining civilian periods. After the birth of Pakistan, the rulers were forced to spend heavily on defense at the expense of other institutions because the



country faced a danger. As a result, from the very beginning of its life, the military grew to be a powerful organization, with its commanders regarded as key players in Pakistan's governance structure. In 1954, the commander of the armed forces, General Ayub Khan, became a formal participant in the power corridor, and in 1958, he imposed Martial Law (Ahmad, 2013: 113-121). In 1969, 1977, and 1999, the tradition of a military takeover was revamped once more. Another explanation for military intervention in politics was the complicity of world powers, especially the United States of America (Dahl, 1973: 6). Despite their claims to be pro-democracy, they have consistently supported Pakistan's military rulers, from General Ayub to General Pervez Musharraf (Rahman, 2017). Civilian institutions were also harmed by the inept, inexperienced, and corrupt political leadership. It has been obvious for a long time (Khokhar, 2016: 230). Owing to low literacy rates and a lack of political knowledge, civil society and other elements of popular mobilization remained poor alongside state institutions. In Pakistan, the military has developed its corporate interests. As a result, the military's role in the political system has become important for the safety of civilians. Keeping in mind the reasons for the military's direct involvement, no one should expect full separation from the regime while giving it a civilian face once the military rule is established.

General Pervez Musharraf remained a very popular president during his whole tenure. Before coming into power, he was Chief of Army Staff and his popularity became very high during the Kargil conflict with India. During the Kargil conflict, he was well-liked among the peoples of Pakistan. When General Pervez Musharraf became the Chief Executive of Pakistan, he chose all technocrats to deal with all the political issues. Following were the names of Musharraf cabinet: Khurshed Mehmood Kasuri, Makhdoom Faisal Saleh Hayat, Shaikh Rashid Ahmed, Choudary Nouraz Shakoora, Ijazul Huq, Rao Sikandar Iqbal, Aftab Ahmen Sherpao, Babr Khan Ghouri, Zubaida Jalal, Dr. Abdul Hafiz Shaikh, Syed Sawanullah, Awais Ahmed Khan Laghari, Dr. Ghazi Gulab Jamal, Liaquat Ali Jatoi, Sardar Yar Muhammad Ajmal Khan, Maj. (Rtd) Habibullah Warriach, And Maj. (Rtd) Tahir Iqbal. (*Down, September 2, 2004*) Except for these names, General Pervez Musharraf included many retired generals from the army.

It is irony of the State of Pakistan that after Quad-i-Azam state never blessed with true leadership. Political elites remained with a lack of vision and welfare of people. Although General Pervez Musharraf tried and pretend to become a popular leader of Pakistan unfortunately his entrance into government was illegal by sabotaging democratic government. Musharraf in his whole tenure facilitated all politicians except mainstream political parties. During any political conflict, General Pervez Musharraf tried his level best to develop consensus with that political issue, but he miserably failed. I-e Akbar Bugti case, everyone knows Akbar Bugti was the mainstream politician of Pakistan since the 70s. but Musharraf eradicates him from the political scene was a mistake of his government. With the death of Bugti, Musharraf faced hatred within the Balochistan province. This study also examines the political and economic policies of the General Musharraf era towards Baluchistan and the emergence of political turmoil in the province. It also evaluates the political leaderships' role in opposing the federal government's policies that launched a program of mega development projects for the uplift of the impoverished province. The political leadership considered the military government's policy of development as a threat to their survival. The Chieftains of the province tried to maintain the status quo and felt a threat to lose their traditional political constituencies and strong holds. The federal government considered the opposition an impediment to social and economic development and tried to develop the region. The most radical politicians waged an



insurgency against the state to stop the implementation of mega projects and the development of Baluchistan.

### Conclusion

The focus of this study is Political Elitism and its conflicts and consensus. The research surveyed Pakistan and other countries online. The respondents of the survey have given their choices according to which all four hypotheses were supported. The results of the study are based on a theoretical understanding of the field. This research has disclosed the fact that people know what is constitutional and what is not. People of the country have an idea that a military coup is not beneficial for the democratic process of the country; hence, it is punishable according to the constitutional provision. People think that due to democratic and political pressure, General Pervez decided to give up his position of Chief of Army, and then power was transferred to the following political setup that was of PPP. At the same time, it was found that the elite class of the country was in support of the General on every major conflict of the country and supported him by building consensus among the masses of Pakistan. Overall, it can be concluded that the people of Pakistan and political mainstream parties were never in the military support coup of the General.

**Delimitation and study forward:** General Pervez Musharraf's political era remained full of conflicts and crises, this study only focused on Elitist politics, consensus with mainstream political parties, GPM's sabotaging the ongoing democratic process, and violation of the constitution.

**Recommendation:** Based on the outcomes of the current study, it is concluded that Musharraf focused on political consensus to avoid major political conflicts. This study recommends that scholars of social sciences must study Musharraf's judicial trial and how he was dealt with by the next government.

### Authors contribution:

**Siraj Ahmed:** Data Analysis and its interpretation, abstract and conclusion writing, review of the article after completion, and correspondence with the journal.

**Dr. Imdad:** Data Collection, working on literature, writing references, and after completion of research, review the article.

**Dr. Amir:** Data Collection, working on literature and after completing research, and its review.

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