

Military Establishment and Civil-Military Nexus in Historical Perspective of Pakistan (1947-2015)

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Abstract

The state of Pakistan has faced long military rules. The military establishment in the state is more influential as compared to civilian political institutions due to past legacy and structural settings. The civil-military tussle has remained at the top of Pakistan's political arena. The paper highlighted the major causes of military intervention in the state including weak civil institutions, leadership crisis, Weak judiciary, meagre economy, inefficient political parties and lack of consensus-building culture. By working on these mentioned reasons, a viable civil political supremacy may be maintained. The paper has analysed the civil-military relations since independence till 2015. It concludes that there must be a good working relationship between these institutions to eliminate the institutional imbalance in the state.

Keywords: Security, Military, Political System, Consensus, Institution

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1. INTRODUCTION

The research paper deals with the role of the military establishment and its relation to its civilian counterparts. The study aims to highlight the causes of military interference in the political system of the state. One of the core objectives of the concerned study is to examine the responsible factors for military intervention or interference in the political system. The analysis of concerning elements will determine the future implications for the civil-military dynamics of the state.

Military intervention in the politics of the state is not a new phenomenon. The said concept has been recognized by many political, and philosophical forums. The phenomenon of military intervention is a common practice in third-world states. In developing states, the military interferes when the civilian administrations fail to conduct their affairs properly according to the prevalent law and the constitution. Military intervention fails in those countries where people believe that the civilian government is legitimate and working properly. In the case of Pakistan, one military regime paves the way for another military rule. The paper will analyze the causes of military intervention in Pakistan with special reference to civil-military dynamics.

The methodology for the concerned study is based on historical, descriptive and analytical research designs. It's a qualitative study. The data collecting sources used are of both primary and secondary nature. The next section of the paper will initiate the debate by defining the major concepts.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Phenomenon of Military Establishment

The establishment in the state of Pakistan refers to its powerful military-leading oligarchy and the combined intelligence community. These groups of people, while not solely military, are considered essential for making major decisions ranging from public policy to the national security of the state (free dictionary). It can be defined as a group of individuals holding most of the influence and power in a government or society. It is often linked with the notion of the military being the most disciplined and systematic institute of society (Wikipedia).

2.2. The Role of the Military

The basic assigned role of the military (as a bureaucratic group) is to defend the state from exterior challenges. The military as an organized systematic institution is expected to carry out defence policies devised by the Parliament and the executive. While in developing states, the military performs some other functions like providing services for the development of the state as well as protecting the system from internal and external challenges. The unique features of the military including observance of hierarchy and authoritative pattern of power make it easy for them to influence political institutions.

Military involvements in the form of a coup are the most intense form of military intervention having a long-lasting impression on the policy priorities of the state. A coup can be defined as 'an irregular transfer of the state's chief executive by the regular armed forces or internal security forces through the use of force' (J. Jenkins, 1992).

The following section will highlight the theoretical perspective on military intervention in politics.

2.3. Theoretical Perspective of Military Interventions

Military involvement in the political process is a product of a blend of historical, political, economic, societal, ethnic, and cultural aspects. Some writers believe that military interferences are unsystematic phenomena not linked to the structural traits of societies. Many structural theories

focus on causal relationships to explain military involvement in politics. Different approaches regarding the said matter are as,

1. Socio-economic development approach.
2. Political development approach.
3. The centrality of military approach.
4. Conflict and regional differences approach.

If we deeply analyze the case of Pakistan, all mentioned approaches are fully relevant to the case of Pakistan. The freedom movements by the states of Africa and Asia after the long rule of European colonial masters have given birth to strong hopes that a new era of democratic participatory governance will begin. The nationalist leadership has employed a liberal democratic notion to put forward their argument for independence. But the concerned expectation has remained unfulfilled due to various reasons. There exist two dominant schools of thought regarding the role of the military in the political setup of the state.

2.4. Two Schools of Thought

Different schools of thought emerged in favour and against military intervention when the first wave of military rules (coups) occurred in the 1950s and the 1960s. Many scholars have construed the military intervention to power as a progressive development. It was believed that the military would promote and protect liberal democratic institutions as well as it would accelerate economic development, social transformation and national integration (Johnson, 1962).

Some political scientists refer to military intervention in politics as a chance to bring about a 'breakthrough from the present stagnation into a genuine developmental take-off' (J. Pauker, 1959). Shils also highlighted the significant developmental role of the military elite (Shils, 1968).

However military leaders have ruled various countries for a while. Their policies and strategies were analyzed and several independent observers began to review their opinions. Many analyses published in 1970s and the 1980s have conveyed strong reservations regarding military rules. Some studies expressed the opinion that military regimes barely varied from non-military regimes from the viewpoint of 'economic performance criteria' (RD McKinlay, 1976). 'Another study by comparing 77 developing states during 1960-70, settled the fact that the military was not the agent of social change' (Jackman, 1976). This was the time when Pakistan was also experiencing a military regime.

2.5. Historical Background of civil-military relations in Pakistan

Pakistan was established in 1947 after a long political freedom movement for the protection of human rights. Though, since then, the state has persisted in fighting against many ethnic, religious, and linguistic challenges. This uninterrupted instability between the nation's political elite has made the state's strongest institutions—the army and the bureaucracy assume authority from the elites who were engaged in ethnic and regional rivalries. These two institutes were considered powerful, organized and disciplined. The reason behind their systematic composition was that both of these institutions were properly recognised before partition. They have just observed a division of resources. On the other hand, civilian institutions have to restructure themselves from the zero progress level. The political history of Pakistan can be divided into different periods concerning the military in the leading style of governance and political supervision:

Table 1

Political History of Pakistan

Governance Pattern	Year
Civil Government	1947-1958
	1971-1977
Military Government	1958-1962
	1969-1971
	1977-1985
	1999-2002
The Cover of Democracy over Military Rule	1962-1969
	1985-1988
	2002-2008
Military-backed Civil Government	1988-1999
	2008-2013
	2013-2018

2.6. Major Factors Responsible for Military Intervention in Pakistan

In the state of Pakistan, the institution of the military has an opportunity to become dominant in power corridors and use its influence toward policymaking. The most dramatic political manifestation of power is the elimination of civilian rule through a military coup. Military coups are associated with particular circumstances; those compel the military to interfere in the political domain. The most important circumstances or responsible factors are institutional imbalance, economic backwardness, a conflict between the military and the government, loss of legitimacy by civilian rulers and a favourable international context. The historical analysis of civil-military relations has concluded the following causes of military intervention in the political process of the state.

2.7. Institutional Imbalance

The state of Pakistan received institutional imbalance since its inception. The security institutions of the state were more developed as compared to the civilian political operates of the state. Further, the delay in constitution-making has strengthened authoritarian traits in governance. Institutional imbalance gave birth to two political trends in the state.

First, due to weak political institutions, the state has to face extreme political instability and uncertainty in the initial years of state formation. The Muslim League which directed the freedom movement not have sufficient organization and capability for state and nation-building. Other political parties had the same organizational weaknesses and suffered from similar challenges of internal unrest and indiscipline. The weak and fragmented political parties were unable to articulate and aggregate public demands. The weak political parties formulated a weak political system that could not adopt stable, long-term socio-economic policies.

Second, the administrative wing (bureaucracy) and the institution of the military preserved their disciplined and professional character by following hierarchy. The critical administrative problems in the initial years of independence directed the civilian government to pursue the help of the military and the bureaucracy. The prevalent security issues with India have contributed to strengthening the position of the military in the political domain. All civilian political governments have supported a strong defence and to pursue that objective allotted a large share of the state budget to the matters relevant to the security of the state. Pakistan's inclusion in the US-backed military coalition in the 1950s strengthened the role of the military in the state.

These institutional disproportions proved as a disadvantage for civilian leadership. The fragile political forces feel themselves weak enough and unable to survive without the military's support. Democratic values in society were deteriorating. As 'Pakistan had seven prime ministers and eight cabinets from 15th August 1947 till October 1958'. (Rizvi, 2002). The increasing dependence of civilian institutions over security and administrative institutions has deteriorated democratic norms in society. The mentioned institutions became influenced by other state institutions. After the first military rule in Pakistan in 1958, the administrative institutions were used to strengthen the roots of military rule.

During the military rule of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1985), the role of civilian leaders and their collaboration with the intelligence agencies increased political differences. USSR's attack on Afghanistan has created close terms between Pakistan's military and the US. The military indulgence in war has demanded more financial resources to meet the security challenges.

The growth of undemocratic political fundamentals has made the political forces dependent on other undemocratic sources to stay in power. This led to generating an identity crisis for the political forces as they had no strong ideology to bank on.

The concerning situation has caused a political vacuum among the people and the government setup. When a gap is created between the ruler and the ruled, by civil institutions with their lethargic performance. The concerning situation welcomes the third force to fill that gap. The third force is usually the military being the most organized institution in the developing states.

2.8. Weak Economy

Political and economic stability go hand in hand. But unfortunately, Pakistan has faced many political challenges accompanied by economic issues. Since its inception, a huge amount of budget was allocated for defence purposes, which was difficult for a newly-born state. The government at that time never encountered problems in obtaining the assembly's consent for the defence allocation in the national budget. Pakistan spends 60% of its national budget on defence during these eleven years (1947 to 1958) (Rizvi, 2002). This thing has created a sense of superiority in the military over weak civilian institutions. The military began to feel equal and even superior over political institutions due to Indian threat perceptions. The military commanders retained a highly professional profile, highlighting discipline, efficiency and strong service pride. Defence expenses are perceived as unwanted spending as well as an extra burden on the economy. The expense of defence diverts the resource allocation from developmental tasks to military use. But these expenditures cannot be ignored if an enemy like India always planning to harm Pakistan. From 1947 till 2015 Pakistan has to confront many challenges with India as explained below:

Table 2

Major Conflicts between Indo-Pak 1947-2013.

Year	Conflicts	Location
1947-1948	First India- Pakistan War	Northern Kashmir
1965	Second India-Pakistan War	Sind and Punjab
1971	Third India-Pakistan War	East Pakistan
1999	Kargil Issue	Kargil

Table 3

Defence Expenditure 1947-59.

Year	Defense Expenses (In million Rs.)	Percentage of Government Expenditures
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1947-48	236.0	65.16
1948-49	461.5	71.32
1949-50	625.4	73.06
1950-51	649.9	51.32
1951-52	792.4	54.96
1952-53	725.7	56.68
1953-54	633.2	58.7
1954-55	640.5	57.5
1955-56	917.7	64.0
1956-57	800.9	60.1
1957-58	854.2	56.1
1958-59	996.6	50.9

Source: (Rizvi, The Military and Politics in Pakistan, 2000).

The above-mentioned monetary allocation for the military showed the liberal attitude of the leadership toward the institution of armed forces as well as depicted their priorities. The situation has benefited the military and they got an opportunity to intervene in the political domain. In regard to Ayub Khan's policy of industrial development, many reforms were introduced to improve the economic structure of the state. Major introduced policies include the Bonus Voucher Scheme to improve exports, a five-year economic plan, land reforms, and an education strategy etc.

Table 4

Regional Growth Rates (Percent per annum)

East Pakistan	1950's	1960's
Overall	1.9	4.0
Agriculture	1.9	2.7
Non-agriculture	2.9	5.0
West Pakistan	1950's	1960's
Overall	3.1	6.7
Agriculture	1.4	5.0
Non-agriculture	5.0	7.9

Sources: (Haq, 1963).

The state has been portrayed as a facilitator by offering incentives, providing infrastructure (particularly in irrigated agriculture) and support of institutions and technology. Macroeconomic administration was sound and efforts were made to deal with external balance. However, rapid economic growth and industrialization caused income disparities and regional inequalities that had critical political crises later.

Social sectors were ignored and industries for capital goods were not set up. Exchange rate plans created falsifications and arbitrage opportunities. Public dissatisfaction increased with the perception of unfair sharing of growth benefits. The concentration of economic resources emerged as a major issue in 1968 as a result of Mahbub ul Haq's famous speech about 22 families. The speech remained very impactful on public opinion. The economy of Pakistan at that time was dominated by 22 families who controlled 66% of total industrial assets, 70% of insurance and 80% of banking. The top four families were Dawoods, Saigols, Adamjees and Amins. The growth which

was appreciated was cosmetic and majorly depended upon foreign assistance. Stephen Cohen also echoed the prevalent belief that the two most dramatic spurts in economic growth during the Ayub and Zia ul-Haq years were accompanied by high levels of aid from the United States, military grants from China and subsidies from Saudi Arabia (Khan, 2001).

The Civilian government and military leadership aimed for a prosperous economy but remained unable to achieve their goal due to their suspicious intentions and false priorities. A weak economy always creates difficulties for civilian governments to manage state affairs and welcome the military to intervene and dominate the political process.

2.9. Weak Political Consensus-building

Pakistan's society is heterogeneous, consisting of many lingual, ethnic, regional, cultural and religious bases. Unfortunately political elite always faced the problem of weak consensus building since the establishment of Pakistan. The representative setup cannot work smoothly without creating a framework of consensus building. The process of consensus-building strengthens when more people and groups join the political process through democratic means. The feature of consensus building increases the capacity of political institutions and ultimately impacts positively on the working of the political system.

The weak political consensus became the reason for the years of delay in the making of the constitution. The state could not develop a consensus on core political issues. Therefore, all past constitutions turned controversial and irrelevant with time. The political history of Pakistan has seen long martial law periods. The authoritarian regimes never developed a consensus-building framework as it does not suit to their specific authoritarian pattern of governance.

The historical analysis of events declares that the military has always availed the opportunity to intervene in the political process of the state by civilians. The military has not faced any resistance from the political elite as they were completely divided on their agendas. In Pakistan, the rule of Zia-ul-Haq and Ayub Khan is the product of such politically confusing situations.

The civilian rulers have amended the constitution by devising a parliamentary majority and ignored the necessity of building consensus. The lack of tolerance and a poor tradition of open debate on critical national issues has decelerated the growth of a consensus on the structure and procedure for political action as happened in the past on the issue of terrorism and Talibanization. All major political parties e.g. Muslim League Nawaz, Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Jamat-e-Islami and MQM seem divided in the past. They all have their specific solutions and policies to tackle the law and order problems faced by Pakistan. In such confusing situations, the national interest of the state is ignored. Kala Bagh Dam is purely a matter of national interest which helps get rid of the energy crisis and fulfil agricultural needs, but no consensus was built on the issue for this national cause. The predominant elite often tries to develop discriminatory and selective consensus by excluding those disagreements to achieve certain objectives.

The continuous growth of Islamic radicalism, Islamic-sectarian movements and extremism since the early 1980s has enhanced the free flow of ideas on matters of national importance. It gave birth to religious and cultural prejudice and raised the level of civic aggression. The opposing extremist religious factions did not hesitate to apply violence against each other. The participatory processes deteriorated as the religious extremists earned strength in Pakistan. The concerned political and social environment has never been favourable to the progress of democracy, constitutionalism and the rule of law.

2.10. Incompetent Political Leadership

The state of Pakistan has faced a leadership crisis for so long. After independence, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan just passed away in 1948. Soon after Jinnah, the 1st Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khan Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1951. The power struggle became the mode of governance after Quaid. The cabinet and key offices were occupied by non-elected members as mentioned 'numerous cabinet ministers were not elected politicians such as A.M. Malik, Ghulam Muhammad and Zafarullah Khan' (Qureshi, 1967). Likewise, in 1954, there were nine cabinet members, who were not elected members of Parliament. General Ayub Khan was also a member of the cabinet at that time. Yousaf (1999) mentioned the cabinet and key political appointments showed a lack of talent among the politicians"

In India, the constitution was framed in 1949 after two years of getting partitioned. While Pakistan has consumed 9 years to formulate its first constitution which was finalized in 1956. The interruption in the formulation of the constitution granted the Governor-General immense powers to use his authoritarian authority for seven years.

The concerned political developments demonstrate that the country was facing an acute leadership crisis. In the electoral history of Pakistan, the first general elections were held in 1970 after 23 years of Pakistan's formulation. These developments have supported the non-democratic, unhealthy, and authoritarian leanings toward providing space for civil-military bureaucracies to adopt a dominant place in governance. From its independence till date, Pakistan has faced a leadership crisis. All those who assume power give preference to their interest over national interests.

2.11. Weak Political Parties

Strong and well-organized political parties are the tools to bring real democracy to the system. As mentioned, "For any healthy constitutional and political system to function strong and well-entrenched political parties are essential. ...Unfortunately, political parties in Pakistan have failed to develop into strong vehicles of national political will." (Khan, 2001)

One of the key elements to counter military interventions in the political sphere is political parties with popular support. Unfortunately, the political system of Pakistan could not develop such healthy traditions and basic institutions as political parties to grow democratic norms in the society. The party system that prevailed in Pakistan is personality-oriented. Personality-oriented party politics makes personalities more important than the political system. To flourish democratic culture and democracy, strong, efficient and well-structured political parties are the basic requirements.

Political parties perform an indispensable role in enhancing democratic norms in many ways. Political parties interpret morals and characteristics of democracy, they work to aggregate popular demands, elect representatives, mobilize the public and prove as a bridge between the masses and the ruling elite. In order to perform all these responsibilities in true letter and spirit, Political parties should be systematically organized and deep-rooted in the people. Unfortunately, party politics in Pakistan has stayed very weak. As a result, space has been created for nonpolitical forces to come forward and intervene in the political arena. It is a proven fact that the major reason behind the rule of dictators or military rulers in Pakistan is the absence of a strong party system. During Bhutto's era, religious parties exploited the name of religion to fulfil their ambitions and paved the way for military intervention. Such a non-democratic alignment of political parties has undermined the concept of competition and performance.

2.12. Security Threats

The prevalent external and internal security threats have changed Pakistan into a security state and being the security state, its democratic development has been undermined. The presence

of traditional enemy India as its neighbouring state and the problems at the western border due to terrorist clashes have made the security institutions significant and dominating over the major policy decisions. The war against terrorism and the government's relevant policies have awarded the key security institutions a special place over security and foreign affairs.

The first observed internal clash in the history of Pakistan was in 1953 (Anti-Quadiyani Movement), It was started by the religious political parties against a religious faction to declare themselves non-muslims. The movement saw another turn when the ruler of the state of Kalat (1958) demanded to be terminated. The major examples of external threats include wars with India, and border security violations i.e. Violation of the line of control several times (i.e. during 1947-48, 1965, 1971, 1984, 1999, 2002 and 2008).

2.13. Civil Dependence on the Military

Since the inception of Pakistan, the civil government has remained weak on administrative grounds due to many initial problems faced by the newly-born state. The incapability on the part of civilian government involved the military in civil administration to run or assist in administrative affairs.

The institution of the military has established a civil secretariat in Karachi. The concerned institution conducted a grand refugee operation in 1947 by safeguarding refugees during migration to Pakistan from India as well as settling them in refugee camps.

When the Indian army entered the state of Jammu and Kashmir at the time of independence, the British Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan's army refused to send troops into Kashmir by ignoring the order of the Governor General of Pakistan. It was the native army commanders and units which came forward to help the local population as well as to safeguard the vast area from Indian occupation known as the Azad Kashmir and affiliated with Pakistan.

Apart from providing security and defence, the institution of the military has always assisted the civil administration in all natural calamities, disasters and difficulties. The said institution also helped to maintain law and order during internal clashes or agitation. Political history shows that the military was called to solve political disputes. The challenges of law and order and security always grant a dominant position to the military in the power hierarchy.

2.14. Weak Role of Judiciary

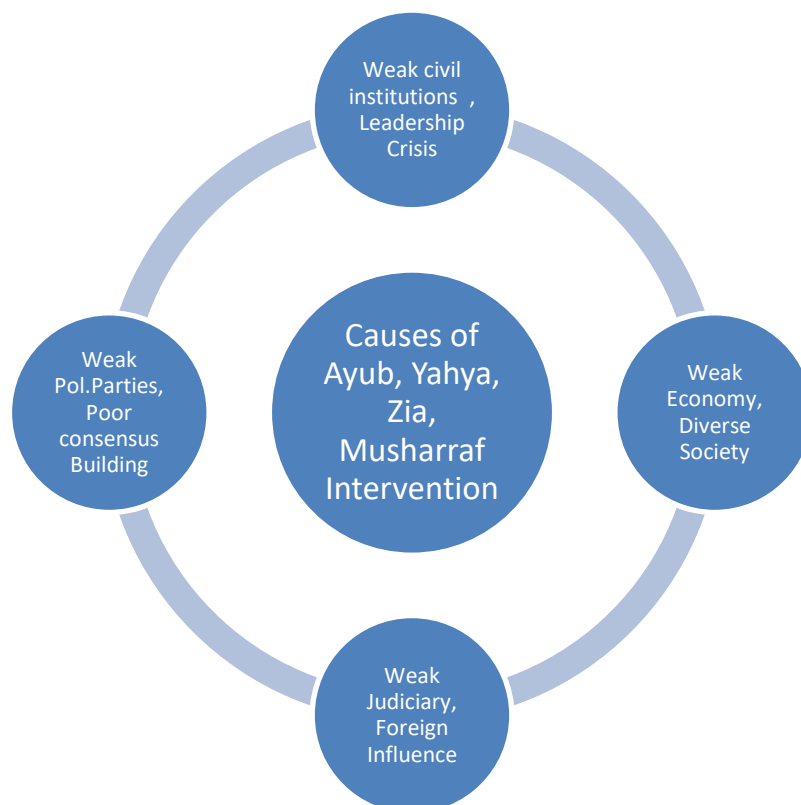
The role of the judiciary has remained important even in political matters. The military's hold on power was first legitimized in the political history of the state by a subservient judiciary. The Supreme Court of Pakistan on 27th October 1958 approved and verified the military intervention in the politics by accepting the thing that military rule is an acceptable way to bring constitutional changes as mentioned, "a successful coup is an internationally recognized legal method of changing a constitution" (Rizvi, 2000).

The judicial setup has covered its malfunctioning through the 'doctrine of necessity' that is based on the unconvinced argument that the army's involvement could be acceptable as it will bring political stability. By following the same precedent, the Supreme Court of Pakistan legalized Ayub Khan's 1958 declaration of martial law and later imposed coups including General Zia and General Musharraf.

Some courageous judges rejected approving authoritarian interventions and chose to resign rather than weaken constitutionalism and compromise the rule of law. Most judges, however, renounced their duty to maintain the law by legitimizing the military regime. The judgements of the Supreme Court have hindered the growth and functioning of civilian institutions. In the case of General Zia and General Musharraf, the Supreme Court validated the coup as well as authorized them to introduce amendments to the constitution of the state. The military rules of General Ayub,

General Zia and General Musharraf were consolidated and legalized with the support of the judiciary. Military rulers have made their political parties and conducted doubtful electoral experiences to get popular support. The judiciary's initial legitimization of the military coup paved the way for later military interventions in the history of Pakistan.

Fig 1 Causes of Military Interference



Normally the involvement of the military in the political process occurs mostly in times of crisis and instability. The said institution believed in settling the chaos. However, history shows that military rules were found unable and incapable of designing long-term solutions and policy frameworks.

History shows that the military possesses certain structural interests and if these interests are protected by civilian governments the chances of military intervention in politics can be minimized. But the truth is civilian supremacy cannot be established ever by protecting military interests. It can be only protected by creating viable strong political institutions. Major military interests are mentioned as:

2.15. The Major Interests of the Military in Pakistan

- National defence is supreme. In past, the military has direct control over nuclear policy and the Afghan War. Overall, the defence policy and foreign policy have remained with the institution of the military and allied security institutions. The political offices were ignored during the formulation of such decisions as complained by Benazir Bhutto in 1991 that she was not informed about sensitive matters of the state's nuclear programme.
- The purchase of weapons and military equipment is another military interest. The military services expect the civilian government to carry a foreign policy that facilitates certain objectives.

- Military autonomy is superior and the civilian government's interference in internal organizational matters and service affairs is not appreciated.
- The military resisted any specific cut in defence expenditure by civilian governments.
- The military demands a civil political government to guarantee socio-political stability.

The above-mentioned are some interests vested in the institution of the military in Pakistan. If the political civilian government try to preserve them, then maybe chances of military intervention in politics can be reduced but the fact is by preserving such interests civilian supremacy cannot be ever maintained in Pakistan.

The future of the military in Pakistan depends on how far and fast the country can imagine itself as a modern state. Military strategy can determine the role of the military in Pakistan in future. Army had been involved in military operations in several tribal regions and the northwestern Swat Valley for nearly 10 years. As mentioned by Cohen, 'The armed forces have cleared most of the tribal regions and Swat of the militants. The North Waziristan tribal region is proven as a test for the Pakistani Army because of the presence there of the Taliban and other armed groups' (Cohen, 2012)

According to Dr Hassan Askari, Pakistan's future as a stable state is threatened by five major challenges: 'religious extremism and terrorism, poor governance, a weak economy, misplaced priorities of the civilian political class and the persistent efforts of the Supreme Court to expand its domain at the expense of the elected executive and legislature'. The importance of the military has also increased because the political apparatus alone could not cope with terrorism and emerging challenges.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that the military always had an extraordinary role in Pakistan. The presence of consistency in poor governance by politicians indicates that the military will continue to remain politically active, though from behind the scenes.

In Pakistan, there is a great need to review political and security policies. The only solution to get rid of the cycles of coups in Pakistan lies in the development of civilian institutions through a strong, national, mass-based political party led by competent political leadership.

Pakistan's society is a plural society, divided into many ethnic grounds. For the development of the state, the government must adopt the policy of preservation of different identities rather than an assimilation policy. If the government preserves different identities and provides them with the opportunity to become a part of the mainstream political process, then chances of conflict in society will be minimized along with the chances of military intervention in politics. Political development must be ensured along with economic and social development to minimize the chances of military intervention.

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