
PAKISTAN TOWARDS PRAETORIAN STATE: THE ROLE OF BENAZIR BHUTTO AGAINST PRAETORIANISM IN PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

In nations such as Pakistan, the political leadership exhibits limited involvement in the advancement of political institutions, the transition from a praetorian state to a democratic state, and the establishment of a stable democratic system. The efforts to transition in Pakistan from a praetorian state to a democratic state were unsuccessful, resulting in the country's progression towards a garrison state. The promotion of praetorianism in a society is sometimes facilitated by the destabilization of political institutions and democracy. Following the passing of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the esteemed founder of the Pakistani nation, a handful of politicians emerged with a democratic vision that vehemently opposed praetorianism in Pakistan. One notable individual who voiced opposition to the growing prevalence of praetorianism within the nation was Benazir Bhutto. She initiated political initiatives aimed at safeguarding Pakistan against its potential transformation into a praetorian state and garrison state. Nevertheless, she encountered significant oppression from authoritarian rulers throughout history. As a result, both democracy and political institutions in Pakistan were brought to the brink of collapse. This research study aims to analyze the role of Benazir Bhutto in countering praetorianism in Pakistan from a theoretical perspective. It seeks to understand how individuals with expertise in violence sought to suppress democratic forces. This article also highlights the global recognition of political figures with democratic ideals, opposed praetorianism and encountered challenges in their efforts to promote democracy in Pakistan. The primary objective of this research study is to elucidate the impact of Benazir Bhutto on the process of Pakistan's transition from a praetorian state to a democratic state.

Keywords: Democratic State, Garrison State, Praetorianism, Praetorian State.

INTRODUCTION

Following the partition of United India, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, regarded as the founder of Pakistan, attempted to construct a democratic nation governed under a federal parliamentary system. Nevertheless, the establishment of civilian supremacy was hindered by political factionalism, internal political turmoil, significant security challenges both domestically and internationally, and ethnic tensions (Jones, 2003:211). In spite of the presence of ethnic, sectarian, and religious divisions, as well as the prevalence of authoritarian tendencies among military dictators, the leadership in Pakistan, including prominent political figures such as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (ZAB) and Benazir Bhutto (BB), expressed their disapproval of the notion of a praetorian state and military dictatorship within the nation (Ahmed, et.al, 2013:42). The individuals in question expressed their opposition towards praetorianism, the concept of praetorian, as well as the notion of a garrison state. They actively worked towards the establishment of a democratic state inside the country of Pakistan. Therefore, the resistance against praetorianism, praetorian, and garrison state in the nation persisted (Shafqat, 1997:209).

The role of religion played a significant part in the formation of Pakistan. It is a well-established truth that Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the prominent political figure, held a political vision and ideology that did not endorse the integration of religion into the realm of politics. Nevertheless, the intertwining of religion and politics in Pakistan was driven by self-serving motives, leading to the rise of praetorianism and ultimately contributing to the fragmentation of the nation (Shafqat, 1998:281-298). Regrettably, the premature demise of the father of the Pakistani nation engendered quandaries pertaining to the position of religion in the political landscape of Pakistan. In addition to this, the vision and philosophy of Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the role of religion in the politics of the country were manipulated, resulting in conflicts and placing Pakistan in a precarious political situation (Wolpert, 1993:340).

The matter of language also served as a source of division within the realm of Pakistani politics. According to Muhammad Ali Jinnah, individuals who engage in deceptive practices are considered genuine adversaries of Pakistan. The absence of a unified official language

poses a significant challenge to the cohesiveness and functionality of any nation. Hence, with regard to the official language of the state, Urdu shall be designated as the language of Pakistan. It is advised to use caution and refrain from succumbing to the influence of individuals who hold hostile views towards Pakistan (Wolpert, 1993:349). However, it is important to note that Bengalis did not lose their Bengali identity, and Panjabis did not lose their Panjabi identity (Burki, 1991:66). It is worth noting that both language and Islam was entangled in the political affairs of the state for many years, as various factions sought to strengthen their respective positions. This has had the unfortunate consequence of destabilizing and dividing the once united Pakistan envisioned by Jinnah (Burki, 1991:69).

The Pakistan Peoples' Party emerged as a secular political organization within the nation, led by a female figure. The inclusion of secularism inside the PPP facilitated the pro-religious parties' ability to control the emotional influence of Islam, hence ensuring the dominance of Zia's idealized image over the religious factions in Pakistan (Mounshipouri and Samuel, 1995:973-89). The significance of religious feelings in the political culture of Pakistan should not be overlooked. Therefore, it is not surprising that the secular concept of democracy gained traction in undermining the ideology of tyrant Zia. In addition to this, General Zia employed coercive measures against the populace of Pakistan in order to quell the people power movement that posed a threat to his authoritarian regime on various occasions. As a result, the Zia administration experienced a decline in public support (Burki, 1988:77). Following the incident of General Zia's demise in a plane accident, BB ceased her struggles to court the Jamaat, as she held the belief that with the advent of democracy, there was no longer a necessity to cater to Islamic sentiments. Following her assumption of the position of Prime Minister, she proceeded to create a greater separation between the PPP and the Islamic parties by emphasizing the legacy of her father, a stance that garnered little support from those parties. In 1988, political parties with a pro-Islamic position attempted to engage in political negotiations with the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) under the condition that Benazir Bhutto would commit to distancing herself from the political legacy of Z. A. Bhutto (Ahmed, 2015:22-31).

DEMOCRATIC STATE

A democratic state is characterized by the establishment and promotion of democratic principles, including the provision of representation to the populace within a given country. Within the framework of a democratic system, there exists a fundamental adherence to the principles of political dissent and the recognition of opposition parties. Additionally, it acknowledges the idea of majority rule and ensures the safeguarding of minority rights (Huntington, 1991:230). Democracy fosters trust in the process of electoral competition for the purpose of attaining public office, and it confers legitimacy upon political parties as the principal means for obtaining and transferring power from one group of citizens to another (Shafqat, 1998:281-289). In essence, democracy can be understood as a contemporary form of governance in the present era, characterized by its adherence to ideals such as justice, equality, meritocracy, fair play, and the rule of law, ensuring its application to all individuals within a given state (Huntington, 1991).

Pakistan stands out among Muslim states and emerging nations as a country where a significant number of people favor a parliamentary democratic state system. This preference has been demonstrated through mass movements and mobilization, indicating a rejection of the conceptions of praetorian states, garrison states, and praetorianism (Rizvi, 2000). In this research paper, the focus will be on the endeavors made by Pakistani political leaders, including Benazir Bhutto, to bring about a transformation in Pakistan's socio-political landscape, particularly with regards to its military-dominated and authoritarian governance structure.

Pakistan is a notable example among Muslim states and emerging nations, since its populace has a preference for a parliamentary democratic state system. This preference is evidenced by their collective rejection of praetorian and garrison regimes, as well as praetorianism, through the utilization of mass movements and mobilization (Rizvi, 2000). This research paper examines the endeavors made by Pakistani political figures, including BB, to transition Pakistan from a state characterized by garrison and praetorian tendencies to a democratic state. The transition from authoritarian nations to democratic states has been a topic of discussion.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- To discuss the shortest history of praetorianism in Pakistan.
- To evaluate and analyze the role of BB in the transformation of Pakistan from praetorian state to democratic state.
- To examine and investigate the causes that pushed Pakistan towards praetorian and garrison state in the light of constructed theoretical framework.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

A substantial body of scholarly research has been conducted on the political influence exerted by Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan. Nevertheless, there is currently a lack of a complete theoretical explanation about the role of the Bhutto family with particular reference to BB in the process of transforming Pakistan from a praetorian state to a democratic state. This study article holds substantial importance as it examines the role of the Bhutto family against praetorianism in Pakistan. The examination of her contribution to the change of Pakistan from a praetorian state to a democratic state is conducted within the framework of several theoretical notions pertaining to praetorianism, praetorian state, and garrison state. Furthermore, the present research attempt aims to establish a correlation between the notions of a garrison state and a praetorian state within the specific setting of Pakistan. Furthermore, it makes a valuable contribution by introducing novel insights on the phenomenon of praetorianism in Pakistan.

LITERATURE OF REVIEW

The majority of the extant scholarly work pertaining to this topic has predominantly centered on military coups, civil-military interactions, and unconstitutional military regimes inside emerging nations. This research article categorizes the literature into two distinct areas. The initial classification of literature encompasses a selection of notable publications that delve into the theoretical framework surrounding the concepts of garrison, praetorian state, and praetorianism. This particular kind of literature serves as a valuable resource for the development of a theoretical framework. The second classification of literature pertains to the subject of civil-military relations and the influence of political leadership in countering

praetorianism, with a specific focus on the role played by Benazir Bhutto. The primary focus of this analysis is to examine the efforts made by Benazir Bhutto (BB) in the transformation of Pakistan from a praetorian state to a democratic state.

Ayesha Jalal offers a comprehensive examination of the topic, including a wide range of multidimensional information. The primary focus of the book revolves around the elements associated with the transition processes from authoritarianism to democracy, namely in Pakistan, and also encompasses the transitions from democracy to authoritarianism in both Bangladesh and India (Jalal, 1990). Veena Kukereja provides significant insights into several facets of Pakistan's political history. The book examines the occurrences of military coups across multiple decades and their subsequent implementation of non-democratic practices. It also delves into the challenges faced by democracy in Pakistan (Kukereja, 2003).

Lasswell adds that democratic states can be transformed into a garrison state due to the presence of foreign and domestic security threats. This transformation results in an increased role of the military in the political affairs of the state. Lasswell's series of writings on the concept of garrison can be characterized as a theoretical attempt. Furthermore, it proves to be beneficial in the establishment of a theoretical framework pertaining to this particular topic matter (Lasswell, 1941). The seminal research study of Perlmutter delves into the intricate dynamics of the praetorian army and its corresponding praetorian state. The author presents a classification of several forms of praetorianism and the praetorian army. The supporter of the concept asserts that a praetorian state is characterized by the dominance of individuals specialized in the use of violence who wield authority in governance (Perlmutter, 1968).

Yong examines the relationship between the military, government, and society in colonial Punjab during the period from 1849 to 1947. The author presents a comprehensive examination of the factors that contributed to the formation of military districts in the Punjab region, which served as a significant source for recruiting personnel into the Indian army. Yong asserts that the establishment of a civil-military system in Punjab was facilitated by the First World War, aligning with Lasswell's concept of the garrison state (Yong, 2005).

Ahmed examines the historical development and subsequent implications of Pakistan's status as a garrison state. This study aims to provide a theoretical and empirical analysis of the role of the military in the political landscape of Pakistan from 1947 to 2011 (Ahmed, 2013). Shah conducts an analysis that examines the sustainability of democratic states during post-praetorian state eras. Military coups occur when military personnel actively desire their occurrence. The primary inquiry explored in this literary work pertains to the cultivation and origins of praetorianism during the post-partition era (Shah, 2014). Dr. Shuja gives an overview of Benazir Bhutto's personality and work which he has described into three words—opportunity, community, and responsibility. Dr. Ahmed has argued that she struggled for bringing a lasting change in the lives of people and inspired them for positive change through democratic process (Ahmed, S., 2015).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research article employs a qualitative research methodology, encompassing historical and descriptive approaches. The study employs a strategy that incorporates theoretical, historical, analytical, and descriptive approaches. Furthermore, the utilization of theoretical literature serves the purpose of establishing a theoretical framework for the present research paper. Additionally, an examination of historical literature is conducted to gain insights into the challenges faced by BB in her efforts to transition Pakistan from a praetorian state to a democratic state. The primary focus of this study rests in the utilization of secondary materials, including relevant books pertaining to the topic matter, newspapers, weekly publications, and magazines.

Theoretical Framework: The Concept of Garrison State

Harold D. Lasswell conducted an exploration of the concept of the garrison state. The theorist posits that the alteration of military institutions through tactical adjustments has an impact on the interaction between these institutions and the broader civilian society (Lasswell, 1941:455-468). Furthermore, the author cautioned in his comprehensive series of papers that in the context of prolonged crisis and a perpetual state of readiness for total war, all aspects of society

would inevitably fall under the jurisdiction of military authorities (Lasswell, 1951:111-116).

The absence of political consensus among political leaders and the persistent political turmoil would give rise to a society characterized by experts in the field of violence, who wield influence over political institutions and establish the dominance of the military (Huntington, 1991). The explanation of concept of garrison state is not to predict something wholly new under the sun. Certainly there is nothing unusual to the student of politics about the concept that specialists on violence may run the state (Perlmutter, 1968:107). In simple words, a political culture under constant threat of war would presumably develop a significant level of fear, which would, in turn, serve as a spur towards the consolidation of a technical enterprise (Ahmed, 2013:14-15). In this research article, it is to see how the political leadership gave chance to military for intervention in the politics and how specialist on violence transformed Pakistan from democratic state to garrison state.

Praetorianism

The idea of praetorianism refers to a form of civil-military relations observed in nations characterized by a lack of political legitimacy, as well as the absence of supportive and organized political organizations. Furthermore, praetorianism is the sole kind of civil-military relations that is commonly observed inside politically unstable and non-institutionalized societies. It refers to a phenomenon when individuals with expertise in the use of force exert undue influence on political institutions and engage in illegitimate governance oversight. Praetorianism can be characterized as a method in which the military assumes a role in monitoring and influencing the political system (Perlmutter, 1968:228-29).

Praetorian State

In praetorian governments, individuals who possess expertise in the use of force wield significant influence, leading to the emergence of military-dominated regimes that deviate from constitutional governance as a result of the absence of political institutionalization. In a praetorian system, several social forces engage in direct and overt confrontation. However, political institutions typically do not play a significant role in resolving confrontations due to a lack of

institutionalization (Huntington, 1968). The absence of a recognized or approved group of professional political leaders to serve as lawful intermediaries in moderating group conflicts is evident. Moreover, there is a lack of consensus among the various parties regarding the valid and authoritative approaches for addressing these disputes. A praetorian state can be defined as a political system wherein the military possesses a proclivity to involve itself in governance and possesses the capacity to exert dominance over the executive branch (Desch 1999:196-2000).

If a civilian rule demonstrates inadequate and non-institutional performance, it may encounter political unrest. As a consequence, it is ineffective in restraining the military, allowing experts in violence to establish political dominance (Huntington, 1968). The division of executive authority serves as a fundamental foundation for praetorianism, hence fostering military involvement in political institutions. In certain instances, the military assumes control of the government with the approval of civilian leaders (Perlmutter, 1968:9-10). Similar to the situation in Pakistan, General Ayub Khan implemented martial law throughout the nation with the approval of the inaugural President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on October 7, 1958 (Rizvi, 2000: 203-04). In instances of this nature, individuals who oppose the military's involvement in politics are supplanted by factions that advocate for politicians. In a majority of instances, the military engages in political matters without the explicit authorization of civilian leaders. General Zia's takeover of the elected government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on July 5, 1977, serves as an inspirational model (Shafqat, 1997).

Huntington's scholarly contributions are widely regarded as a notable and commendable endeavor in the field of civil-military relations, as his work has successfully established a comprehensive and logical theoretical framework. Huntington's perspective diverges from Lasswell's notion of the garrison state. The author elucidates that the presence of professionalism inside the military establishment serves as a deterrent against political intrusions. The professional military refrains from intervening in the political institutions of the state (Huntington, 1957) This research study aims to analyze the role of the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) in countering praetorianism and facilitating the transformation of Pakistan from a praetorian state

to a democratic one, within the context of the established theoretical framework on garrison and praetorian state.

A Brief History of Praetorianism in Pakistan

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, widely regarded as the founding father of Pakistan, made efforts to establish a democratic style of governance in the country, aiming to counter praetorianism. However, the individual in question was unable to mitigate the burgeoning rise of praetorianism inside the nation, a phenomenon that had its origins in the actions of British Indian Military officers (Burki, 1988). In addition to this, prominent figures such as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (ZAB) and Benazir Bhutto (BB) made efforts to mitigate the prevalence of praetorianism in Pakistan. Despite encountering challenges in their efforts to combat praetorianism inside the nation, they were ultimately unsuccessful in their attempts to prevent the implementation of martial laws (Rizvi, 2000). The endeavors aimed at facilitating Pakistan's transition towards a democratic system did not yield favorable results. Resultantly, Pakistan was brought on praetorian road since its birth where professionals in violence have been enjoying authority and patrolling political institutions.

Following the passing of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, no one was able to establish themselves as a political leader capable of garnering the support of the Pakistani populace who advocated for Pakistan as a democratic nation (Wolpert, 1993:209). ZAB emerged as a unique and notable political figure who stood in opposition to General Ayub's praetorian state, which contributed to the development of a general disillusionment with the political system. Simultaneously, this state of affairs impeded the formation of a cohesive opposition movement. The Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) came into power in December 1971, with its leader ZAB being no exception to this trend (Rizvi, 2000).

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (ZAB) initiated a political intervention by specialists in the field of violence in response to a disagreement that arose between General Ayub Khan and ZAB regarding the Tashkent Declaration (Kukreja, 2003:166). ZAB regarded it as contradictory to the democratic aspirations of the Pakistani population. Ayub Khan established Pakistan as a praetorian state, although Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and other political leaders opposed the praetorianism in the country.

The Tashkent Declaration served as a catalyst for ZAB's opposition to Ayub Khan's administration (Kukreja, 2005:232). Consequently, a mass mobilization occurred in response to the illegitimate establishment of the praetorian state. Furthermore, ZAB exhibited a strong opposition to praetorianism and had a key role in shaping Pakistan's relationship with Socialist China (Wolpert, 2003). ZAB's created PPP was a blend of his personal followers and opponent of the praetorian state.

The Role of Benazir Bhutto against Praetorianism in Pakistan

The ZAB administration effectively facilitated the transition of Pakistan from a praetorian state to a democratic state. Nevertheless, the ZAB government faced allegations of malpractices during the general elections of 1977. In relation to this matter, opposition political groups established the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) in opposition to the administration led by ZAB. The protesters utilized the transportation infrastructure in Pakistan to voice their grievances and called for the ousting of the ZAB regime (Burki, 1988). In spite of the presence of protests, processions, and strikes aimed at the democratic government led by ZAB, a 24-year-old individual named BB maintained the belief that her father would effectively manage the challenging circumstances (Ziring, 1994:67-79). The individual in question received her education abroad and resided in Western countries for an extended period of time. Consequently, she advocated for the establishment of a democratic state as opposed to a praetorian state. Furthermore, it is evident that BB possessed a deep understanding of the significance and principles of a democratic nation (Shafqat, 1997:1970).

The perceived downfall of ZAB was regarded as a manifestation of political persecution, orchestrated by BB and Nusrat Bhutto, which not only disrupted ZAB's familial dynamics but also undermined the political landscape, leading to widespread anguish across Pakistan. During the period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's politically motivated judicial trial, Nusrat Bhutto provided encouragement to her daughter Benazir Bhutto to confront the opposition. However, they were at a disadvantage when it came to fighting against their opponents. However, it is worth noting that the female members of the Bhutto family not only assumed leadership roles inside the Pakistan Peoples'

Party, but also actively resisted the authoritarian regime of their day (Naden, 2011:43-44). General Zia's involvement in the coup that resulted in the removal of ZAB from power, his subsequent involvement in ZAB's unlawful and unconstitutional imprisonment, and his refusal to commute ZAB's death sentence, as well as his denial of BB and Nusrat Bhutto's participation in ZAB's funeral rites, collectively demonstrate Zia's lack of compassion, unsympathetic disposition, and unfavorable attitude towards ZAB and his family. All of Zia's actions were accountable and motivated by a desire for revenge (Ziring, 1994:67-79). Accompanied by a strong security presence, BB and her mother Nusrat Bhutto were granted permission to briefly visit the unmarked tomb of ZAB. The site is located in the family burial ground situated in the village of Kadhi Khuda Bux, some 15 kilometers away from Larkana (Naden, 2011:44). In addition to this, General Zia made extensive efforts to repress the women of the Bhutto family, employing various tactics to deter their involvement in politics. Despite facing several challenges and adversities, BB showed resilience and determination in her efforts to combat praetorianism, ultimately leading to the successful transformation of Pakistan from a praetorian state to a democratic one. As a consequence, BB initiated the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and advocated for the transition of the nation from a praetorian state to a democratic state. The primary objective of the study was to examine the resurgence of people power in Pakistan. This research aimed to shed light on the factors and dynamics contributing to this resurrection. The study's findings were based on an analysis of relevant literature and empirical data, which were presented in the form of a comprehensive report. The author's work provided valuable insights into the phenomenon of people power in Pakistan, offering a deeper understanding of its significance and implications.

The Pakistan People's Party, under the leadership of Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto, strongly condemned the practice of praetorianism. Consequently, as a reaction to the resistance against the praetorian state, the female members of the Bhutto family were unlawfully detained while the Western media was informed that they were subjected to a kind of confinement known as house detention. Nevertheless, the practice of house arrest in Pakistan deviates from Western norms, as it permits detained individuals to engage in

activities such as meeting friends, conducting interviews, and making phone calls at both local and national levels. Furthermore, individuals are provided with various resources such as books, newspapers, and magazines. In certain cases, they may even be granted the opportunity for expedient transportation or outdoor gatherings (Bhutto, 1989:26-27). It is a well-known truth that the Al-Murtaza House of the Bhutto family was designated as a sub-jail for Begum Nusrat and BB. Within the confines of this sub-jail, the application of Jail Manual Regulations served as a means to permanently silence their voices (Ziring, 2004).

On February 6, 1981, individuals opposing praetorian regimes emerged with the objective of persisting in their efforts till the establishment of a democratic state in Pakistan. The objective was to transition the praetorian state into a democratic one through peaceful means, while ensuring the well-being of opponents and avoiding any form of damage. In addition, it was determined that on March 23, 1981, the decision was made to utilize the roadways of Pakistan as a means to exert pressure on the government (Shakir, 1985:101-105). On 3 March 1981, an instance of plane hijacking took place, which was associated with the MRD movement. The objective of this act was to undermine the peaceful battle for democracy in Pakistan (Rizvi, 2000:199). The movement against praetorianism had a decline in morale among the general population, leading to a loss of momentum in exerting pressure on the administration.

Following the hijacking of a PIA airliner, BB was once again subjected to incarceration, this time in Karachi. During her confinement, she was subjected to psychological intimidation with the aim of coercing her to abandon her efforts in opposing praetorianism in Pakistan. Furthermore, BB was subjected to psychological torment in order to coerce her into signing a document renouncing any future involvement in political endeavors (Padrino, 2004:50). On a weekly basis, the prison administrator would make assurances to the individual in question that their release could potentially be facilitated, contingent upon their agreement to sign the necessary documentation. In the face of significant criticism and adversity, BB demonstrated resilience and courage by opposing praetorianism within the nation. In addition to expressing opposition towards the praetorian regime, BB advocated for the restoration and consolidation of democracy in Pakistan.

A significant transformation transpired within the political landscape of Pakistan on the 17th of August, 1988, as a consequence of the untimely demise of President General Zia-ul-Haq in an aviation accident. The protracted tenure of Zia, characterized by his praetorianism, came to a close following an aviation accident. Benazir Bhutto (BB), despite lacking an absolute majority in the center, played a significant role in the restoration of democracy in Pakistan on December 2, 1988. Notably, she assumed the position of the first Muslim woman and the youngest prime minister in the history of the Muslim World (Ziring, 2004:205). The government of BB (Benazir Bhutto) experienced significant embarrassment due to the actions of her husband, Asif Ali Zardari. Zardari was widely believed to have engaged in various forms of misconduct, including corruption, graft, bribery, blackmail, abuse of power, and potentially even acts of terrorism. Nevertheless, the aforementioned accusations have not yet been substantiated in a legal setting (Khan, 2005:414).

Pakistan towards Praetorian State: The Role Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) against Praetorianism

BB made efforts to transition Pakistan from a praetorian regime to a democratic state. Nevertheless, the ability to maintain democracy in Pakistan was hindered by the divergent viewpoints and conflicts that arose between Farooq Ali Leghari and BB. Furthermore, the conflict escalated when Farooq Ali Leghari brought attention to the illicit financial activities conducted by high-ranking government officials, including the involvement of Asif Ali Zardari, the spouse of Benazir Bhutto, in many kickback scandals (Rizvi, 2000:223).

In order to address the matter at hand, Farooq Ali Leghari and BB engaged in multiple meetings on various dates. However, the matter remained unresolved and they were unable in resolving their disagreements. As a consequence, the government led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was dissolved on November 5, 1996, by President Leghari. The historical record of Pakistan's political history reveals a recurring pattern wherein democratic governments have consistently faced removal due to allegations of corruption, political unrest, and financial mismanagement (Sham, 2009).

The exiled opposition leader, hereinafter referred to as BB, has made allegations against Nawaz Sharif, asserting that he engaged in

actions that incited and provoked the military to act against her administration. Asif Ali Zardari faced targeting from anti-Pakistan People's Party (PPP) factions and anti-democratic entities, resulting in his defamation and persecution. Nevertheless, the individual in question showed fortitude in the face of adversity and endured a period of incarceration lasting eleven and a half years. It is worth noting that the conditions of his imprisonment frequently failed to meet the established criteria for human rights, without any substantiated allegations ever being brought against him (Samejo, 2009:12). On October 12, 1999, General Pervaiz Mushraf took action to remove Sharif's democratically elected government and transitioned Pakistan into a praetorian state (Sham, 2009). A noteworthy occurrence transpired in the course of its response, wherein a notable advancement materialized in the shape of the establishment of 15 party alliances, specifically referred to as the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD). The two previously antagonistic parties, BB and Sharif, united inside a single overarching organization, led by Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, in order to collectively combat praetorianism in Pakistan (Kukreja, 2003:271-272).

The ARD, or Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy, was unable to successfully attain its objectives, ultimately resulting in its failure to transition Pakistan from a praetorian state to a democratic state. On Sunday, May 14, 2006, the Charter of Democracy was signed by former Prime ministers Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif in London. This significant event aimed to rally the citizens of Pakistan together in order to protect the nation from the influence of praetorianism and safeguard their fundamental, social, political, and economic rights. There was a movement against the praetorian state in Pakistan that advocated for the reinstatement of democratic governance. The leader, who had been in exile, made a return to Pakistan in October 2007 (Samejo, 2009:70-72). Following an extended period of exile, she emerged as a prominent leader among the Pakistani populace. During her election campaign, she organized processions with the aim of raising public awareness about the perils of praetorianism and the importance of democracy. Regrettably, Benazir Bhutto was assassinated on December 27, 2007, at Liaquat Park in Rawalpindi, after to her address to a public parade (Sham, 2009).

CONCLUSION

This research study concludes that, based on the historical context of praetorianism and democracy in Pakistan, Pakistan stands out among Muslim states and developing nations as one of the few countries where the populace favors a parliamentary democratic system. Furthermore, the people of Pakistan have not only rejected praetorianism but have also initiated a movement against the praetorian state. The emergence of mass movements such as the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and Alliances for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) serve as prominent illustrations of opposition to and disapproval of praetorianism in Pakistan. Military dictators have made concerted efforts to stifle the expression of individuals advocating for a democratic form of governance. Nevertheless, their attempts to quell resistance against the praetorian and garrison state proved unsuccessful. Furthermore, a persistent characteristic of Pakistani political culture has been a preference for a democratic state and a rejection of a praetorian state. The enduring public enthusiasm for democratic governance persists, even in the face of ethnic, social class, and religious divisions, as well as the presence of authoritarian inclinations and protracted periods of military administration.

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