

Group identity and civil-military relations in India and Pakistan

by

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B.S., United States Military Academy, 2003  
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## **Abstract**

This dissertation asks why a military gives up power or never takes power when conditions favor a coup d'état in the cases of Pakistan and India. In most cases, civil-military relations literature focuses on civilian control in a democracy or the breakdown of that control. The focus of this research is the opposite: either the returning of civilian control or maintaining civilian control. Moreover, the approach taken in this dissertation is different because it assumes group identity, and the military's inherent connection to society, determines the civil-military relationship.

This dissertation provides a qualitative examination of two states, Pakistan and India, which have significant similarities, and attempts to discern if a group theory of civil-military relations helps to explain the actions of the militaries in both states. Both Pakistan and India inherited their military from the former British Raj. The British divided the British-Indian military into two militaries when Pakistan and India gained Independence. These events provide a solid foundation for a comparative study because both Pakistan's and India's militaries came from the same source. Second, the domestic events faced by both states are similar and range from famines to significant defeats in wars, ongoing insurgencies, and various other events.

In short, the theory developed suggests that Pakistan's military has repeatedly given up power because domestic cleavages caused a perception among the civilian population that the military leader should transfer power or meet other political demands. Because the military's leadership originates from the population, that leadership identifies with the perception of the group or groups that produce the leadership. Moreover, because the military leadership is homogenous, there is limited diversity in the military leadership's perception of a domestic cleavage and there are no other security organizations preventing the military's actions.

Conversely, in India, a more diversified military leadership and a non-unified security apparatus serve to prevent action. This dissertation examines the historical record in both states' timelines to determine if a group theory of civil-military relations explains the actions or non-actions of both militaries. The findings largely fit the developed theory.

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## Chapter 1 - Introduction

This dissertation asks why a military gives up, or never takes, power when conditions favor a coup d'état by focusing on the cases of Pakistan and India. The majority of extant civil-military relations literature focuses on civilian control in a democracy or the breakdown of that control.<sup>1</sup> The focus of this research is the opposite: the returning of civilian control or maintaining civilian control. In sum, the questions asked in this dissertation run counter to the focus of those in most previous literature.

This dissertation's approach is also novel because it is based on an assumption that group identity, and the military's inherent connection to society, determines the civil-military relationship. In many ways, this is fundamentally different from the argument espoused in Samuel Huntington's 1957 book, *The Soldier and the State*. Huntington's book is foundational to civil-military relations literature and presents a theory of the military as a separate entity from the political system, and the military is focused on the development military professionalism.<sup>2</sup> Unlike Huntington, this dissertation views the military as a part of an overarching society.

This dissertation provides a qualitative examination of two states, Pakistan and India, which have significant similarities, and attempts to discern if a group theory of civil-military relations helps to explain the actions of the militaries in both states. Both Pakistan and India inherited their military from the former British Raj; the British divided the British-Indian military into two militaries when Pakistan and India gained independence. That both Pakistan's and India's militaries came from the same source provides a solid foundation for a comparative

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1. See the civil-military relations literature review later in this chapter.

2. For example, see Huntington's discussion on the professionalism of the military mind. Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier, and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 59-80.

study. Second, the domestic events faced by both states are similar, ranging from famines to significant defeats in wars, and ongoing insurgencies.

Instead of a focus on civilian control or the breakdown of that control, the theory developed in Chapter 2 views the military as the primary actor that either cedes power to civilians or overthrows a government. The aim of this theory is to explain what causes a military to act, regardless of whether a military overthrows a civil government or is ceding power back to civilians. While this certainly does not encompass the whole range of civil-military relations, the theory focuses on key inflection points of a military ceding power or overthrowing a government. Civil-military relations literature focuses on the study of why militaries take power or how a military acts under democratic civil control.<sup>3</sup> With this in mind, this dissertation asks two questions rarely considered: (1) Why does a military cede power back to civilians once it takes power; and (2) why does a military never take power when the conditions favor a military intervention?<sup>4</sup> In sum, regarding Pakistan, the focus is on the military giving up power and what type of domestic events caused the military's leadership to cede power back to the civil government. In the case of India, the focus is on why the military never takes power despite the fact that it has faced famines, defeats in wars, and other domestic cleavages.

In short, extant theory suggests that Pakistan's military has repeatedly given up power because domestic cleavages caused a perception among the civilian population that the military leader should transfer power or meet other political demands. Because the military's leadership

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3. For counterexamples, see Zeki Sarigil, "The Turkish Military: Principal or Agent," *Armed Forces and Society* 40 (2014): 168-190 or David Pion Berlin, Diego Esparza, and Kevin Grisham, "Staying Quartered: Civilian Uprisings and Military Disobedience in the Twenty-First Century," *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (2014): 230-259. Sarigil views the military as coming out of a "guardianship" relationship with a liberal state in which its interventions reset the state. Grisham asks why a military disobeys a civil government and refuses to suppress protests. Both authors are addressing slightly different relationships than are customarily studied.

4. See Sarigil for an example of a military as a guardian, who takes power and then removes itself.

originates from the population, that leadership identifies with the perception of the group or groups that produce the leadership. Moreover, because the military leadership in Pakistan is homogenous, there is limited diversity in its perception of a domestic cleavage and no other security organizations preventing the military's actions. Conversely, in India, a more diversified military leadership and a non-unified security apparatus prevent action. This dissertation examines the historical record in both state's timelines to determine if a group theory of civil-military relations explains the actions or non-actions of both militaries.

While focusing on Pakistan and India facilitates an effective comparative study of two militaries that originated from the same source and faced similar domestic events, the results are still limited to only two states; thus, making further claims without additional research is challenging. However, this dissertation is unique because it develops a group theory that helps to explain an essential divergence between Pakistan and India. While further research is required to make a universal claim, understanding the cultural and group dynamics in a comparative study of Pakistan and India provides insights that can be expanded. Moreover, this dissertation suggests a plausible new question a policymaker should ask to understand a state's military: Who are the people from the society that comprise the military?

### **Civil-Military Relations Literature Review**

Minimal extant literature suggests that group identity drives civil-military relations. Foundational to extant research is Samuel Huntington's 1957 book, *The Soldier and the State*, which suggested that the ideal military remained separate from the political system and focused on the development of its profession.<sup>5</sup> Huntington focused on the relationship within the United

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5. For example, see Huntington's discussion on the professionalism of the military mind. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, 59-80.

States. Huntington's work is vital because it provides a foundation for viewing the military as inherently separate from society, not driven by group identity, which influenced later civil-military literature. Much like Huntington, Eliot Cohen viewed the military as a separate professional organization and argued that there is an unequal dialogue between civilian leadership and the military professional in creating defense policy.<sup>6</sup> However, unlike Huntington, Cohen theorized that military expertise and professional knowledge must inform policy, even if the policy has primacy. Similarly, Dale Herspring argued that conflict between the military and civil leaders is positive and productive as long as it is well regulated.<sup>7</sup> Peter Feaver used a principal-agent framework to provide an example of the civil-military relationship, stating that relations between civilians and the military are generally strategic interactions carried out within a hierarchical setting. Feaver adopted this concept of the principal-agent relationship from economic literature. Whereas principal-agent theory identifies problems where the principal has delegated authority to an agent to act on his behalf.<sup>8</sup> Feaver argued that the principal civilian contracts with the military agent facilitate the ability to use force in defense of the civilian's interests. Once established, the civilian principal relationship seeks to ensure that the military fulfills its duties, while minimizing the dangers associated with a delegation of power.<sup>9</sup> Whereas all of these models view the military as separate from society, this dissertation is based on the opposite assumption.

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6. Elliot A. Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesman, and Leadership in Wartime* (New York: The Free Press, 2003), 30.

7. Dale Herspring, *Civil-Military Relations and Shared Responsibility* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013), 1.

8. Peter Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 54.

9. Feaver, *Armed Servants*, 57.



Huntington, Feaver, Herspring, and Cohen both sought to explain how a military acts under civilian control and do not attempt to explain a broader range of interactions. The theory developed in Chapter 2 moves away from this paradigm and attempts to explain how a military acts under a wider range of conditions. The theory seeks to develop a view of civil-military relations that sees the military as one domestic actor, among many, that can cede or take power. Its rationale for acting does not vary from that of other domestic institutions; rather, domestic events drive the decision making of the military as they drive other institutions.

The Soviet Union is another area of focus in previous literature on civil-military relations. Soviet analyst Roman Kolkowicz, writing in the 1970s, contended that Soviet professionalism and communist ideology were incompatible. However, Kolkowicz argued that Soviet leaders needed more military power and that military professionalism was essential in gaining this power. This resulted in the Soviet leadership allowing the military its own sphere of military development. Therefore, Soviet leadership had to give increasing autonomy to the military to further advance professionalism, while creating a control mechanism with a dual political and military chain of command. In the Soviet military, then, an officer's advancement was dependent on his military professionalism, as well as his acceptance by political commissars.<sup>10</sup> Again, like Huntington, Kolkowicz viewed the Soviet military through a lens of separation and professionalism rather than group identity. Both Huntington and Kolkowicz considered a society that supported increased military autonomy, and saw the military and civil sectors as fundamentally at odds with and disconnected from one another. Using a different framework, Timothy Colton argued that the Soviet government kept control by providing the military with

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10. Roman Kolkowicz, *The Soviet Army and the Communist Party* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1966), 1-446.

resources and avoided disagreements with this control mechanism, explaining the lack of conflict in civil-military relations.<sup>11</sup> However, even when examining a different society, the Soviet Union, most scholars maintained a view of the military as a separate professional organization.

Closer to the theory of this dissertation, Lieutenant General William Odom, former head of the National Security Agency, proposed a congruence model to help explain civil-military relations in the Soviet Union. He stated that: “the congruence between the party’s ideology and the military’s own philosophy of war, as well as the commonality between the sociological ethos of a Leninist party and a modern professional officer”<sup>12</sup> helped to bind the state and the officer corps together. In other words, Odom suggested that the military officer identified with the Communist party, and that this identity helped explain Soviet control of the military. Odom presented a group identity version of civil-military relations and used ideological grouping to explain how Soviet ideology became part of the military’s identity. However, whereas Odom focused on ideology to create groupings, the theory developed in Chapter 2 has a wider focus. Further, Odom’s work does not focus on the possibility of disunity in the leadership’s belief system or disunity in the security apparatus. Disunity is a core concept for this dissertation, as disunity in military leadership prevents military actions.

Independent of democratic control of militaries or Soviet literature, extant research has also considered why civilian control breaks down. In this vein, extant literature on ethnic stacking of militaries is most closely related to the topic of this dissertation. For example, Harkness found that, in Africa, when leaders conditioned military recruitment, promotion, and

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11. Timothy Colton, *Commissars, Commanders, and Civilian Authority* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 1-365.

12. William Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 219.

access on a shared identity, despite existing diversity in the officer corps, the officers tended to initiate violent cycles of ethnic coups and countercoups as they resisted discrimination.<sup>13</sup> Other literature suggests that three factors—a society’s institution, the legitimacy of the regime, and the impact of recent coups—can help explain a specific military coup. For example, in a large-N quantitative study conducted between 1948 and 1967, Hibbs concluded: “Institutionalization alone has a negative impact on coups... Weakly institutionalized societies, then, are far more likely than those with highly developed institutions to suffer... political interventions by the military.”<sup>14</sup> Hibbs’ statement is related to a central competent of the theory presented in Chapter 2: if a population accepts a government and its institutions as legitimate, that population will resist a change in both.

Other research focused on the concept of legitimacy: the consensus of society about the right of a government to rule. Staffan Wiking advanced the view that the decision for the military to intervene or not is only a matter of its ability to justify its action as legitimate among the public and the elites. Legitimacy or public acceptance of the coup is therefore an essential casual variable for a coup.<sup>15</sup> Another important indicator of the possibility of a coup is the occurrence of a past coup.<sup>16</sup> Aarron Belkin and Evan Schoffer constructed an overall structural understanding

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13. Kristen A. Harkness, “The Ethnic Army and the State: Explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 4 (2016): 587-616.

14. Douglas A. Hibbs, *Mass Political Violence: A Cross-National Causal Analysis* (New York: Wiley-Nescience Publication, 1973), 102.

15. Staffanny Wiking, *Military Coups in Sub-Saharan Africa: How to Justify Illegal Assumptions of Power* (Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1983), 1-142.

16. Ekkart Zimmermann, *Political Violence, Crises, and Revolutions: Theories and Research* (New York: Schenkman Publishing, 1983), 276.

of the risk of a coup based on strength of civil society, legitimacy, and past coups.<sup>17</sup> Previous research indicates the importance of a group's acceptance of a government and whether the group would accept an overthrow of current institutions.

Extant literature has also focused on regions where there is a high prevalence of coups and on attempts to prevent a coup by following specific policies or "coup-proofing."<sup>18</sup> Democratic states use various types of coup-proofing strategies, including changes in military leadership. Another relevant area of study concerns why a military refuses to assist its government in suppressing civilian uprisings.<sup>19</sup> Berlin, Esparza, and Grisham argued that a military disobeys this type of governmental order because of higher levels of affiliation with the public than with the government, disapproval of the government's demands for internal use, divisions between the services, and material grievances. The research indicates the importance of the military's acceptance of institutions and its connection to the overall society, which is a core premise of this dissertation.

Extant coup literature provides a partial foundation for the theory developed in Chapter 2. Previous research has found that legitimacy and social acceptance of a civil government are

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17. Aaron Belkin and Evan Schoffer, "Toward a Structural Understanding of Coup Risk," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47 (2003): 594-620.

18. See Belkin and Schoffer for a study on coup risk. For a look at a global study in "coup-proofing," see Jonathan Powell, "Determinants of Attempting and Outcome of Coups d'état," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56 (2012): 1017-1040; see Eric R. Rittinger and Matthew R. Cleary, "Confronting Coup Risk in the Latin American Left," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48 (2013): 403-431, for coup risk and coup-proofing in Latin America. For a regional study on African Coups, see Staffanny Wiking, *Military Coups in Sub-Saharan Africa: How to Justify Illegal Assumptions of Power*, 1-142. Examples of regional studies include: for India, Ayesha Ray, *The Soldier and the State in India: Nuclear Weapons, Counterinsurgency, and the Transformation of Indian Civil-Military Relations* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India, 2013), 1-170; for Pakistan, Mazhar Aziz, *Military Control in Pakistan: The Parallel State* (London: Routledge, 2008), 1-101; and for Turkey, Sarigil, "The Turkish Military."

19. David Pion Berlin, Diego Esparza, and Kevin Grisham, "Staying Quartered: Civilian Uprisings and Military Disobedience in the Twenty-First Century," *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (2014): 230-259.

critical indicators for a coup.<sup>20</sup> In its simplest terms, legitimacy is a group's acceptance of a government.<sup>21</sup> If group acceptance defines legitimacy, group acceptance of a military government might be necessary for the military government's maintenance of power. In other words, if a society generally accepts a military government, it will likely maintain power. A military government that is maintaining security for a population, and countering perceived or legitimate fears of another nation or another group within the state, might then be perceived as legitimate. Therefore, there are multiple pathways by which an autocratic government may achieve legitimacy.<sup>22</sup> A military government, or other types of autocratic governments, can achieve acceptance by society.

Democratization literature is also relevant to the present study. Previous literature on that topic highlights the importance of economic conditions in predicting a government removal, and is especially important if one believes that the military is a part of, rather than separate from, society. Underlying factors, such as economics, provide a rationale for why a military might overthrow a government or remove itself from governance. Early modernization theory argued that economic development caused democratization because of an increased demand for democracy.<sup>23</sup> Later, other theorists suggested that democracy was a means to redistribute wealth and that a higher level of income inequality would increase the demand for democracy.<sup>24</sup>

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20. See Belkin and Evan Schoffer, "Structural Understanding."

21. Wolfgang Mommsen, *The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 20.

22. Edward C. Epstein, "Legitimacy, Institutionalization, and Opposition in Exclusionary Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regimes: The Situation of the 1980s," *Comparative Politics* 17, no. 1 (1984): 37-54.

23. Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53 (1959): 69-105.

24. Daron Acemoglu and Joshua A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-401.

However, the real effects of economic development and democracy seem to be more nuanced. For example, recent research has proposed that economic inequality does not affect democratization in poor autocracies, fosters democratization in mid-income autocracies, and harms democratization in rich autocracies.<sup>25</sup> This is evidence of the need to examine both Pakistan's and India's economic conditions during the case studies.

Democratization literature is also based on particular attention to whether a society is homogenous or heterogeneous, which is vital to the theory development in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. As addressed in Chapter 2, diversity of military leadership is essential in preventing a military from taking domestic action. By 2009, Sacit Hadi Akdede found that ethnic diversity did not affect democratization.<sup>26</sup> Both Pakistan and India have a high degree of ethnic diversity. The origins of authoritarianism also provide some insight with regard to diversity. Schofield and Levinson argued that a party-based authoritarian regime has more durability than a military or fascist one.<sup>27</sup> While not authoritarian, the Congress Party did prove durable in India, as it was not until 1999 that another coalition ruled India for a full five-year term. The importance of homogenous versus heterogeneous groups is a crucial point developed in Chapter 2.

### **Pakistan and India Civil-Military Relations**

Given this dissertation's focus on Pakistan and India, Steven Wilkinson's recent study on civil-military relations, *The Army and Nation: The Military and Indian Democracy since Independence*, is particularly relevant because of its focus on India. While providing a

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25. Christian Houle, "Inequality, Economic Development, and Democratization," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 51 (2016): 503-529.

26. Sacit Hadi Akdede, "Do more ethnically and religiously diverse countries have lower democratization," *Economic Letters* 106 (2010): 101-104.

27. Norman Schofield and Micah Levinson, "Modeling authoritarian regimes," *Politics, Philosophy, and Economics*, 7 (2008): 243-283.

framework for why the civil-military relationship between Pakistan and India diverged,<sup>28</sup> Wilkinson's book asks why India, which inherited a deeply imbalanced colonial army, has avoided military involvement in its civil affairs. Table 1.1 shows the basic framework developed by Wilkinson, which provides foundational insight into civil military relations in India and Pakistan.

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28. Steven I. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation: The Military and Indian Democracy Since Independence* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), 3.

Table 1.1 Explaining the India-Pakistan Civil-Military Divergence

	India	Pakistan
Unequal military; strategic and fiscal inheritances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Imbalanced army</li> <li>• The strategic depth and greater external security</li> <li>• Greater fiscal strength</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very imbalanced army</li> <li>• No strategic depth and significant external security challenges</li> <li>• Fiscal weakness</li> </ul>
Party Institutionalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong, internally democratic party with broad ethnic support and legitimacy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weak party with narrow ethnic, geographic, and class support</li> </ul>
Measures to reduce social cleavages in society and army	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A ban on religious claims</li> <li>• Caste reservations</li> <li>• Linguistic states</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Acceptance of religious claims</li> <li>• No caste reservations</li> <li>• No states reorganization to cross-cut existing identities and grant autonomy to main groups</li> </ul>
Strategies to coup-proof and reduce the army's ability to coordinate against the state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fixed class units at the battalion level</li> <li>• Officer level with diversified recruitment and multiple recruitment streams</li> <li>• At top command level by maximizing the ethnic diversity of officers and restricting their tenures</li> <li>• At command and control level by replacing C-in-C structure with three separate commands with strong civilian oversight</li> <li>• Civilian-controlled paramilitaries act as a reliable indirect and direct hedge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fixed class units at battalion level but less diverse than in India</li> <li>• Less diverse officer corps with single stream entry</li> <li>• Overwhelmingly Punjabi and Pashtun officer corps in the centralized leadership structure</li> <li>• No substantial civilian-controlled paramilitary hedge</li> </ul>

Source: Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 10.

With regard to Pakistan, Ayesha Siddiq's work, *Military INC*, is vital for the present study. Siddiq argued that "Milbus" defines the relationship between Pakistan and the military,



and defined “Milbus” as “military capital used for the personal benefit of the military fraternity, especially the officer cadre, which is not recorded as part of the defense budget or does not follow the normal accounting procedures of the state, making it an independent genre of capital.”<sup>29</sup> Siddiqa studied a wide range of economic activities and identified a “kleptocratic re-distribution of resources and encourages crony capitalism, authoritarianism and the military’s hegemonic control over society.”<sup>30</sup> Siddiqa provides an economic rationale for the military to maintain control over the state. However, this rationale does not sufficiently address why military governments remove themselves from power in Pakistan.

The work of both Siddiqa and Wilkerson is essential for building an understanding of civil-military relations in Pakistan and India. However, neither fully developed or applied a group theory of civil-military relations. While Wilkerson’s work gestures toward the possible importance of group theory, it does not provide a theoretical framework that outlines how groups in society connect and interact with the military. Siddiqa has provided a vital connection between the military in Pakistan and its economic behaviors, but has not suggested a connection to groups.

## **Policy Consequences**

A group theory of civil-military relations would change how policymakers view militaries and understand the importance of diversity in militaries. The primary conclusion of the theory developed in Chapter 2 is that the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the individuals make up a military is significant. If a state wants to maintain civilian control, it should ensure that leadership is made up of military members who are likely to accept the domestic government and

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29. Ayesha Siddiqa, *Military INC: Inside Pakistan’s Military Economy* (London, Pluto Press, 2007), 67.

30. Siddiqa, *Military INC*.

view it as legitimate. If a state wishes to understand another military, it should first look at who makes up that military's leadership.

The theory also might help explain why policymakers in authoritarian states take steps to remove leadership that doesn't align with their group. For an authoritarian state to maintain civilian control, purging members not culturally aligned with the regime is theoretically logical, and the frequency with which this occurs makes intuitive sense. While it is outside the purview of this dissertation, Venezuela offers a possible example of the effectiveness of ensuring military-government alignment in terms of maintaining power. When Hugo Chavez came to power, he purged senior military to ensure that the beliefs of the high ranking officers aligned with his ideology. He, and his successor Nicolas Maduro, also integrated the military into their government once the military leadership's ideological positions matched those of their own governments.<sup>31</sup> The result of such action is that Venezuela's military remains mostly loyal, despite multiple and large-scale protests and demands for political change from the population. Ensuring that a military's leadership identifies with the government may be an integral factor in how authoritarian regimes ensure continued rule.

Moreover, a non-authoritarian regime might need to seek diversity to maintain control. For example, India, from Independence in 1948, saw the need to diversify the officer corps to protect against a military coup by preventing any group from gaining too much power within the military.<sup>32</sup> If the theory presented in this dissertation is verified by further research, it could encourage future researchers to systematically evaluate the ethnic breakdown of a military's

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31. "Venezuela crisis: Why the military is backing Maduro," *BBC News*, January 28, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-47036129>.

32. Steven I. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation: The Military and Indian Democracy Since Independence* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), 67.

leadership, and what circumstances might make that group sympathetic to removing a civil government. It might also create an incentive for civil governments to ensure that the military's leadership is either in cultural alignment with the government or is diversified enough to prevent action against the government.

## **Methodology**

India and Pakistan provide unique potential for a comparative case study.<sup>33</sup> The two militaries originated from the same source—the British-Indian Army—which was divided between India and Pakistan on Independence in 1947. Moreover, the recruitment of the pre-independence military centered on one province, Punjab, which also divided at Independence. Both states faced similar economic, social, and political conditions after gaining independence. The dissertation studies two states' militaries, which originated from the same source and faced similar conditions but then took divergent paths.

The bulk of the dissertation is focused on historical methods to describe events where the military ceded power, in the case of Pakistan, or cases when the military did not seize power despite conditions favoring a coup d'état, in the case of India. Both countries' governments are reluctant to allow researchers access to documents related to national security, particularly those concerning the military. While sometimes relevant documents are leaked—such as the still classified Henderson Brooks-Bhagat Report on Indian failures during the war with China—relevant internal documents from either nation are challenging to obtain. However, both states have robust presses that provide a contemporary record of events. Moreover, active participants in both states write autobiographies, and multiple autobiographies from relatively minor figures

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33. Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 101.

can help confirm key details regarding a given event. Additionally, the United States has robust national security and foreign policy apparatuses and a deep relationship with or interest in Pakistan and India. Similar to autobiographies, the dissertation includes the use of United States' intelligence and diplomatic documents to confirm or deny details.

However, this dissertation moves beyond providing a description of events, and instead develops a theorized causal mechanism. A causal mechanism is entities and activities organized such that they are productive of regular changes from start or set-up.<sup>34</sup> Chapter 2 will develop a causal mechanism with no significant logic gaps,<sup>35</sup> in order to predict the series of events that enable analysis of whether a case fits the predicted theory. The case study is based on the use of process tracing to determine the causal mechanism of each case. Process tracing is a method that provides a detailed, within-case empirical analysis of how a causal process plays out in an actual case.<sup>36</sup> Two processes are essential in process tracing description and sequence. First, the method requires a description as the foundation of process tracing. While process trace attempts to understand the causal mechanism, the process fails without describing the observed.<sup>37</sup> In other words, it is necessary to fully describe each case and objectively determine if the case matches the theorized process. It fails when the researcher attempts to match facts to their predicted process. Second, it is necessary to determine the sequence of events over time.<sup>38</sup> Process tracing

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34. Machamer, Peter, Lindley Darden, and Carl F. Craver, "Thinking about mechanisms." *Philosophy of Science* 67, no. 1 (2000): 1-25.

35. Derek Beach, "Process-tracing Methods in Social Science," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (2017), <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-176> (Accessed September 15, 2019).

36. Beach, "Process-tracing Methods."

37. David Collier, "Understanding Process Tracing," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44, no. 4 (2011): 823.

38. Collier, "Understanding Process Tracing," 823.

attempts to understand how events are sequenced over time, which is essential to understanding the causal mechanism.

Historical methods provide an essential link in describing each case studied in India and Pakistan, which enables an in-depth understanding of the events of each case and the development of a process trace for each case. Based on each case, it is possible to make inferences about predicted causal mechanism. Various degrees of inference are possible using this method, which range from affirming the relevance of the hypothesis to confirming the hypothesis.<sup>39</sup> A descriptive examination of the historical record allows a researcher to find “clues” of various strength, which determines the degree of inference possible with each case study.<sup>40</sup> In turn, this research is built on a theorized causal mechanism, which is presented in Chapter 2, then examined using process tracing in relation to both India and Pakistan.

### **Outline**

The dissertation includes six chapters, of which Chapter 1 provided the introduction to the study. Chapter 2 includes the development of a group theory of civil-military relations, which identifies how groups interact with the military while influencing or discouraging actions. Chapter 3 provides a comparison of Pakistan and India and defines the relevant terms and actors for each state, as set forth in Chapter 2. It also provides an analysis of the behavioral characteristics the theoretical framework can be used to predict. Chapter 4 examines the Pakistani case studies and compares them against the hypothesis identified in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 examines the Indian case studies and compares them against the hypothesis identified in Chapter 2. Finally, Chapter 6 offers conclusions based on both Pakistan and India case studies.

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39. Collier, “Understanding Process Tracing,” 825.

40. Collier, “Understanding Process Tracing,” 826-828.

## **Chapter 2 - Theory – Identity and Civil-Military Relations**

This theory of civil-military relations starts with the groups represented in the military's leadership and the behavioral drivers of those groups. From there, the chapter develops a theory that explains what modifies and changes behavior concerning the military's relationship with the government. Here, I assume that the military is not separate from society and that a military is a continuation of society and a group or groups produce a military's leadership. In this theory, I term the groups that produce military leadership the dominant groups. The theory suggests that the behavior of the military is, in part, a function of the groups that make up the military's leadership and events that cause that group to react based on group preferences. Two other factors that modify this underlying condition are whether the dominant group is homogenous or heterogeneous and whether the security apparatus is unified or dis-unified. In the following sections, I define the key actors and terms necessary for building the theory.

### **Defining Terms and Actors**

Social identification is foundational to understanding the relationship between a person and a social system. People create biases that reflect more positively on the group to which they belong.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, when there is conflict between groups, people develop bias in their perceptions of conflicts with other groups.<sup>42</sup> Several factors determine one's group. Social factors, including the density of ethnic and language groups and social interactions, are essential

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41. Nathalie Scaillet and Jacques-Philippe Leyens, "From Incorrect Deductive Reasoning to Ingroup Favoritism," in *Social Identity Process*, ed. Dora Capozza and Rupert Brown (London: SAGE Publications, 2000), 59.

42. R. P. Vallone, R. P. Ross, and M. R. Lepper, The hostile media phenomenon: Biased perception and perceptions of media bias in coverage of the Beirut Massacre, " *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 49 (1985): 143-156.

in creating groups.<sup>43</sup> Group membership is the “degree that two or more people come to perceive and define themselves in term of some shared ingroup-outgroup categorization”<sup>44</sup> However, individuals can have cross-cutting identifications. For example, one can conceptualize oneself by being a member of an ethnic group and being a member of the military. In this project, I assume that individuals have three primary means to imagine these differing identities: (1) categorization, which allows people to identify with one of their groups over another; (2) compartmentalization, which enables individuals to maintain multiple, separate identities; and (3) integration, which allows people to link their multiple cultural identities.<sup>45</sup> In the case of Pakistan and India, the relevant groups are ethnic, linguistic, caste, or religious. In terms of multiple categorizations, a military member likely considers himself part of a military, but also part of a racial, linguistic, caste, or religious group. Members use categorization, compartmentalization, and integration to combine their identities as military members and members of other groups.

The relationship between a person’s identity and the groups to which she belongs is essential in understanding behavior. Individuals always belong to multiple groups. However, to understand an action, the identity of individuals and how they act in groups are the most important factors. Identity distinguishes the groups to which an individual belongs, but are not central to self-concept, from those group memberships that entail an emotional attachment and are central to self-concept. Different people in the same group may differ in how they understand

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43. Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta, “Local Origins: Context, Group Identity, and Politics of Place,” *Political Research Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2018): 960-974.

44. J. C. Turner et al., *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 51.

45. C. E. Amiot et al., “Integration of Social Identities in the Self: Toward a Cognitive-Developmental Model,” *Personality and Social Psychology* 11 (2007): 364-388.

a group as part of their identity. For example, a member of the Catholic Church could base his identity on Catholicism, or may not consider it a core part of himself. Identities are not about rational thinking, but rather emotional attachments.<sup>46</sup> For example, while there was little actual economic and cultural connection between East and West Pakistan, when Bangladesh gained Independence from Pakistan during a conflict with India, the population in West Pakistan expressed deep feelings of loss.

An understanding of individual identity provides the foundation for how groups interpret and understand any political event. In a democracy, voters are swayed by their environment, especially the economy, and loyalties acquired in childhood.<sup>47</sup> Early socialization drives group identity, which can have a substantial impact on decision making.<sup>48</sup> The power of groups also extends to ad-hoc groups. People assigned to groups begin to favor their group members over non-members, even without knowledge of others involved and with no monetary gain.<sup>49</sup> In other words, if researchers simply separate participants in a research study into two groups, the people in the groups start to identify with one another and develop biased perceptions of the other group. The military reinforces the power of the ad-hoc group by enforcing group standards of behavior.

Group identity, especially ethnic identity, is fundamental to human behavior. A 2009 study used neuroimaging while showing subjects pictures of faces receiving painful and non-

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46. Christopher H. Achen, *Democracy for Realists* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey), 228-229.

47. Achen, *Democracy for Realists*, 1.

48. Solomon E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgment." in *Groups, Leadership, and Men* (Pittsburg; Carnegie Press), ed. Harold Guetzkow (1951), 177-190; M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi. *The Political Character of Adolescence* (Princeton; Princeton University Press), p. 34.

49. Henri Tajfel, "Experiments in Intergroup Discrimination," *Scientific American* 223 (1970): 96-102.



painful stimuli. The brain activity differed significantly if the individual receiving the stimuli was from the same ethnic group to which the subject belonged or another ethnic group.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, such reactions are not necessarily modified by education. For example, a doctor's clinical interactions are different based on the ethnicity of the patient, which can contribute to healthcare disparities.<sup>51</sup> Social identity can affect group behavior, including violent behavior.<sup>52</sup> As Achen showed, the effect of group identity also affects political behavior.<sup>53</sup> For the purposes of this dissertation, I assume that a threat to the group activates group identity. In other words, much like a person looking at pictures of faces receiving painful stimuli, if an individual perceives that their group is under threat, it will influence that individual's perceptions and actions. When those perceptions and actions are aggregated across the group, that will drive the group's behavior.

Groups also view state institutions with a varying degree of legitimacy.<sup>54</sup> Legitimacy is defined as the beliefs citizens hold about the normative appropriateness of government structures, officials, and processes, and the virtue of obeying them based on who made the decision.<sup>55</sup> If a group provides early socialization that reinforces the legitimacy of the government or a particular type of government, members of a group will likely view that

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50. X. Xu et al., "Do you feel my pain? Racial group membership modulates empathic neural responses," *Journal of Neuroscience* 29, no. 26 (2009): 8525-8529.

51. John F. Dovidio and Susan T. Fiske, "Under the Radar: How Unexamined Biases in Decision-making Processes in Clinical Interactions can Contribute to Health Care Disparities," *American Journal of Public Health* 102, no. 5 (2012): 945-952.

52. Richard Guilianotti, *Football, Violence, and Social Identity* (London: Routledge, 2013), 104.

53. Achen, *Democracy for Realists*, 122

54. Belkin and Schoffer, "Structural Understanding."

55. Margaret Levi, Audrey Sacks, and Tom Tyler, "Conceptualizing Legitimacy, Measuring Legitimizing Beliefs," *American Behavioral Scientist* 53, no. 3 (2009): 354-75.

institution as legitimate. Moreover, if groups reinforce the opposite belief, the group will probably express less acceptance of institutions. If a member of a group joins an institution, the person is likely to combine their identity by one of the means—categorization, compartmentalization, or integration—discussed previously. A person joining the institution will accept the legitimacy of an institution based on socialization.

It is also important for the purposes of the present study to define dominant group. The dominant group can change over time, and the group is not, automatically, a majority. For example, during pre-Independence India, the Indian military mainly contained what the British referred to as “martial races,” which made up the bulk of the Indian-British military.<sup>56</sup> However, the British, and those of British descent, controlled the leadership and decision making of the military. Therefore, the dominant group in pre-Independence India was the British. However, that condition slowly changed, even before Indian Independence. During World War II, native Indians slowly took more of a leadership role in the British-Indian Army.

It is difficult to provide a numeric means to determine who is the dominant group within a military. As such, it is necessary to make a qualitative judgment about what groups can direct the actions of the military during a particular time. A larger group may make up a significant number of individuals in the military overall, but may still have no representation in leadership. For the purposes of this dissertation, I define the dominant group in the military as the group whose members hold the ability to control and direct the military. In most militaries, this is the senior level officer corps, but with a disproportionate weight given to members in higher ranks and command positions. Therefore, it is possible further delineate the dominant military group as members of the military in the rank of colonel or above, with the distribution of power between

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56. See Chapter 3.

sub-groups in the dominant group proportional to their respective representation in this group of senior officers. In other words, composition of the group of officers above colonel rank defines the dominant group. Individuals with the rank of colonel have regular access to the military's top leadership, and can command formations of more than 1,000 people. Colonels can provide the foundation for controlling a military's decisions and its direction. However, greater weight is still progressively given to higher ranks.

Importantly, the dominant group includes groups both inside and outside the military. The fundamental claim of the dissertation is that who makes up a military's leadership matters. Dominant groups overlap across both military and society. While identification of the dominant group is in relation to representation in the military, the dominant group is both internal and external to the military. The dominant group is instead defined as the group or groups in society that produce a military's leadership. For example, if 95% of a military's leadership came from a one ethnic group, that ethnic group would be the dominant group. However, when one refers to the dominant group, they are referring to the ethnic group, not simply the military's leadership.

In addition to identifying dominant groups in the military, it is also helpful to identify whether a group has homogenous or heterogeneous composition. A senior officer corps could be homogenous and represent only one group within a society. However, it could also be heterogeneous and represent multiple groups within a society, but may or may not represent the whole society. If the military is a continuation of the society, its dominant group's level of homogeneity or heterogeneity determines the leadership's connection to the whole society or a smaller subsection of society; the level of group diversity ties into cross-cutting identities. In sum, the more homogenous the dominant group, the fewer cross-cutting identities will affect the group.

Next, the position of the military within the security apparatus is an essential component that affects its behavior. A security apparatus can either be unified or dis-unified. A unified state's security apparatus has one organization as the core organization that determines the whole apparatus's direction. On the other hand, a military can also be one among many organizations within the state responsible for security, which would constitute a dis-unified apparatus. In a dis-unified security apparatus, intelligence agencies within the state would be mainly civilian organizations that are not under the direction or control of the military. Moreover, states would have paramilitary organizations that focus on internal security but can also serve against an external threat. The more dis-unified a security apparatus, the greater the need for collective decision making and greater the probability of an organization acting as a veto player to an action. A veto player is an individual or group of collective actors who withhold their agreement in a situation in which a certain number of individual or collective actors have to agree to a change.<sup>57</sup>

When considering a military, the theoretical framework entails three basic concepts. The first is the group identity of the military and its leadership. The second concept is whether those groups are homogenous and represent a small segment of society or whether they are heterogeneous and represent a broader range of groups in society. The final concept is whether the military is part of a security apparatus that is unified or dis-unified.

The presence of domestic cleavages mediates the impact group variables have on civil-military relations. For the purposes of this discussion, domestic cleavages are defined as domestic violent or non-violent demands for political change and the events that cause those demands. To assess domestic cleavages, it is important to consider their relationship to groups as

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<sup>57</sup> George Tsebelis, *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2002), 2.

an essential factor. Domestic cleavages originate from a wide range of groups in society. Whether these cleavages affect the dominant group is critical in determining their effect on civil-military relations. If they affect the dominant group, the military's leadership is likely to identify with the demands for political change because those individuals are members of the dominant group. For example, if a military's leadership is primarily from the middle class around the capital city and civilians in that group start to protest and demand a change in government, military members from that group will be more likely to identify with those demands.

The intensity of a given domestic cleavage is also vital to consider in relation to group relationships. A society will always have some demands for change, which are usually handled through normal political processes. However, when the intensity of disputes is at a level that normal political process cannot mitigate and resolve, society finds solutions outside the normal process; however, the required intensity of the domestic cleavage for moving outside the political process is dependent on the legitimacy the dominant group ascribes to the current government. A government with a high level of perceived legitimacy will require a domestic cleavage of greater intensity. For example, a well-established democracy will likely need to undergo a very intense domestic cleavage before the public views a military coup as acceptable. However, a government that has experienced recent overthrows of the civilian government will require a less intense domestic cleavage for the public to accept a coup.

For the purposes of this discussion, it is also necessary to define the action or non-action of the military to change its relationship in the domestic power structure of the state. Civil-military relations literature, the work Huntington in particular, has often described the military as taking a non-active part in civil-military relations. Earlier research, such as work on coup de' tat, demonstrated that this is not always the case and has pointed to conditions that might cause a

military to overthrow a civilian government.<sup>58</sup> The dissertation aims to understand the military as one of many actors internal to the state and to understand when it seeks or cedes power in the state. The military can attempt to change its relationship with other domestic organizations, or it can take no action and keep the relationship as the status quo.

As such, it is imperative to define the relationship between the military and the rest of the power structures present in a given state. This relationship is the dependent variable for this dissertation. The military can have two basic positions domestically; it can be in power or out of power. I define the military being in power as a situation in which as the military is the primary actor in governing the state. In this situation, while other actors may be attempting to compete or remove it, the military remains the dominant organization responsible for deciding the direction of the state. If a military is out of power, the military is subordinate to another organization within the state.

### **Dominant Group's Reaction to a Domestic Cleavage**

If there is overlap between the dominant group and a domestic cleavage, this can prompt an effort by the military's leadership to change the position of the military in government. The transmission of demands from civilian members of the dominant group to the military's leadership is essential because, as this theory posits, the military perceives domestic cleavages in a similar manner as do the groups in society that produce the military's leadership. Several factors explain why the military has an incentive to act when a domestic cleavage affects the dominant group. These include: the perceived legitimacy of civilian institutions by the dominant group; whether the government can address the demands of the dominant group; and whether the

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58. Belkin and Schoffer, "Structural Understanding."

dominant group sees the cleavage as a threat to the group. In short, two group identities matter in determining civil-military relations: the identity of the military leadership and the identity of those who are dissatisfied within society and drive demand for change based on a domestic cleavage. The overlap between these two groups is an essential element for civil-military relations. Figure 2.1 provides an overview of this causal mechanism.

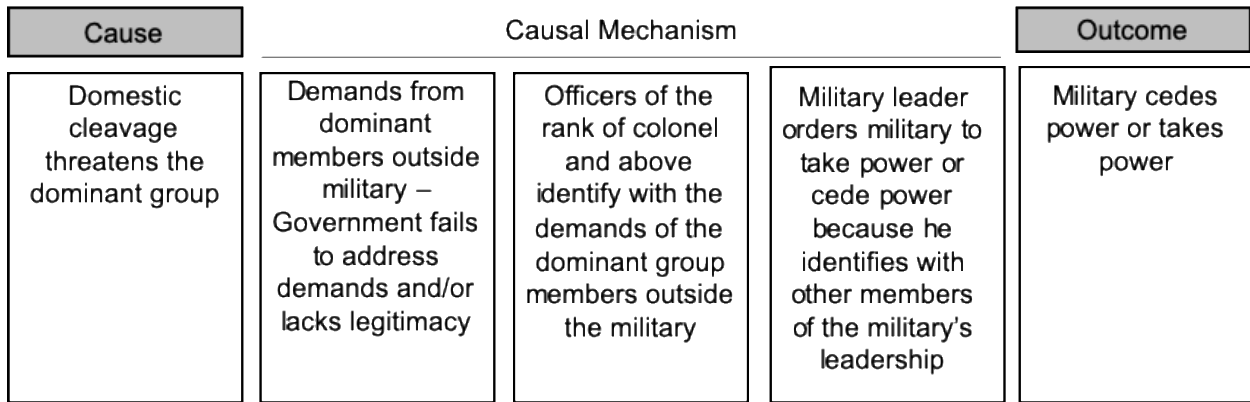


Figure 2.1 Causal mechanism for Hypothesis 1

Individual actions result from how a group, based on its members' identities, perceive a cleavage and the resulting demands for change. The causal path starts with a domestic cleavage. The cleavage causes civilian members of the dominant group to make political demands. The demands are not able to be resolved by the government. Another related factor in this step of the causal mechanism is the legitimacy of the government among dominant group members. A group is less likely to comply with demands from the government if the government lacks legitimacy. Military officers of the rank of colonel and above identify with the demands of the dominant group because these service members are also members of the dominant group. Cross-cutting identity is essential here as part of the military members' identity correlates with that of the protesting group. Officers of the rank of colonel and above will likely not all come from the

dominant group. However, the more homogenous the dominant group, the more likely the military's leadership will identify with the demands of the civilian-dominant group members.

In a homogenous dominant group, officers from outside the dominant group will likely identify with the demands of the dominant group because of the cross-cutting identity of the military. In other words, if most of the military's leadership identify with the demands of the dominant group, even individuals who did not originate in the dominant group will also identify with those demands because the dominant group is foundational to the identity of the military. The military leader who decides to act represents the end of the causal chain. This individual generally acts because she likely perceives the situation in the same way as the rest of the senior leadership of the military. As such, the theoretical framework of this dissertation is based on the assumption that the group drives decisions, not the individual.

The ability of the military's leadership to identify with domestic cleavages and the political demands those cleavages drive is the essential driving force in the causal mechanism. The degree of overlap between the dominant group and the groups the domestic cleavage affects drives the dominant group's political demands. For an illustrative example of how this might work, it is relevant to consider human rights violations in Pakistan.<sup>59</sup> The governments of Pakistan used Pakistan's military domestically, and Pakistan's military has a long record of human rights abuses. During the partition of Pakistan and India, Pakistan's new military took part in mob violence against non-Muslims. It had a long history of abuses in East Pakistan before the Independence of Bangladesh and in Baluchistan. However, even during periods in which human rights abuses for the purpose of suppressing a political movement occurred, the military would steadfastly refuse use in areas of the dominant group. The military's leadership identified

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59. See in Chapter 4.



with the dominant group and would not take extreme measures, such as extrajudicial killings by the military in East Pakistan, against members of the dominant group. Moreover, the military's leadership was likely to identify with the political demands of the group. The overlap of the military's leadership and groups in society is the essential variable of the theory and helps explain why a military acts differently toward different groups in society.

The military leadership's identification with the dominant group is another reason why the legitimacy of the government is essential. The legitimacy of the civil institutions among the dominant group drives the intensity of the domestic cleavage required for the dominant group to demand a change in government. Extant research has undermined the assumption that institutions emphasize rationality, mutual consideration, and the exchange of publicly justified reasons for supporting specific policies.<sup>60</sup> As such, perceptions and group norms, including the acceptance of institutions, is foundational in explaining an institutions behavior and is the essential variable that determines the intensity of the domestic cleavage required for a military to change its positional power. If the dominant group accepts the legitimacy of the government, the military will resist making changes. On the other hand, if the dominant group identifies with the demands to overturn a military dictatorship or a civil government, that cleavage will be more effective in causing the military to change its domestic position and remove the military or civilian government.

The pathway through which the military acts is notable. A military leader who decides to take any domestic action is doing so because he identifies with the demands of the dominant group, and this identification occurs because the military leadership is part of the dominant group. Even if the person at the top of the military's hierarchy does not originate from the

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60. Achen, *Democracy for Realists*, 301.

dominant group, years in the military has shaped that person's identity, in the same way as the military is shaped by the dominant group that produces its members. Therefore, it is essential to consider cross-cutting identity and the power of groups when addressing reasons for military behavior. A person who comes from outside the dominant group but spends his life in the military, achieving the top position and rank, is very likely to identify with the military and incorporate the perceptions of the dominant group.

Taking into account the causal pathway developed, we can frame the first hypothesis as follows:

**H1:** If a domestic cleavage occurs and a government does not address the resulting group demands of a group that overlaps the military's leadership, it is more likely that the military will seek to take more control of the government or give up control if it maintains control.

### **Heterogeneous Dominant Groups**

The second causal mechanism focuses on whether the dominant group is homogenous or heterogeneous. In other words, it matters whether the leadership of the military is representative of a wide range of groups within society or if they represent a small group. In a heterogeneous group, the diversity of the dominant group will result in a range of different biases and perceptions that will reduce the probability of action when a domestic cleavage only affects certain groups and not others, or when the domestic cleavage is perceived differently by different groups that make up the dominant group. Figure 2.2 provides an overview of the causal mechanism for Hypothesis 2:

Cause	Causal Mechanism		Outcome
Domestic cleavage threatens some groups in a heterogenous dominant group or all groups	Political demands from some sub-groups in a dominant group or different demands from different subgroups— Government fails to address demands and/or lacks legitimacy	Some officers of the rank of colonel and above identify with the demands of certain groups; Other officers in the rank of colonel above do not identify with the demands or identify with the demands of other groups	Groups within the military act as a veto player against the military taking power or giving up power

Figure 2.2 Causal mechanism for Hypothesis 2

The concept of a veto player is core to the second causal mechanism and essential for framing this discussion. Changing the status quo situation of who governs a state requires collective action. A certain number of individual or collective actors have to agree to a change.<sup>61</sup> If the dominant group is more heterogenous, defined by increasing diversity of members that make up the military’s leadership, that leadership is more likely to have a range of different perceptions; therefore, they will not all view the political demands from a domestic cleavage in the same way. This type of situation creates different groups within the military’s leadership that have different perceptions of the demands of different groups. Moreover, greater diversity in the dominant group changes the means by which the military builds its own identity. If the group is homogenous, the military can tightly integrate the group identity of the homogenous group within the military’s identity or within the identity of the military’s leadership. Conversely, if the dominant group is not homogenous, it cannot integrate one identity too tightly with the identity of the military. By necessity, a military has to drive group formation with shared beliefs and perceptions that are cross-cutting between groups.

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61. George Tsebelis, *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work*, 2.

Previous research has identified the importance of veto players in attempted coups and policy formation in a military dictatorship. For example, the 2016 coup in Turkey likely failed because fence-sitters within the military did not commit to the coup and functioned as a veto player, which stopped the coup.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, a military dictatorship still has an institutional veto player because the leader always has to rely on some group for support, and the essential variable in policy formation is the institutional veto player's level of diversity.<sup>63</sup> In short, even a military dictatorship cannot take actions to which large groups within a military's leadership object. The second causal mechanism assumes that the level of divisions in the military's leadership creates various groups with different perceptions of domestic events. These different perceptions create internal veto players within the military that prevent either removing a civilian government or ceding power.

**H2:** A heterogeneous dominant group will increase the likelihood that groups within the military will act as veto players and prevent the military from taking power or returning power.

### **Unified Versus Non-unified Security Apparatus**

The final causal mechanism focuses on whether the security apparatus is unified under the military or dis-unified under multiple organizations. While the previous discussion is based on the premise that the military is the unified actor controlled by the dominant group, this is not always the case. Societies structure their security apparatuses differently. When any organization has internal complexity and tensions, internal conflict can undermine the ability of the

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62. Berk Esen and Sebnem Gumuscu, "Turkey: How the Coup Failed," *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 1 (2017): 59-73.

63. Erica Frantz, "Breaking Down the Residual Category: Policy Stability among Dictatorships from a Veto Players Perspective," (April 2003), <https://ssrn.com/abstract=904263> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.904263>

organization to act coherently.<sup>64</sup> A security apparatus could contain multiple different agencies, ranging from paramilitary organizations to intelligence organizations. Moreover, the military is not always a unified structure. Generally, a military has a unified structure through a hierarchical chain of command, which values following orders.<sup>65</sup> However, a military can have a divided chain of command and inter-service rivalries. In short, there could be a veto player outside of the military that could prevent the military from taking action. Figure 2.3 represents the relevant causal mechanism:

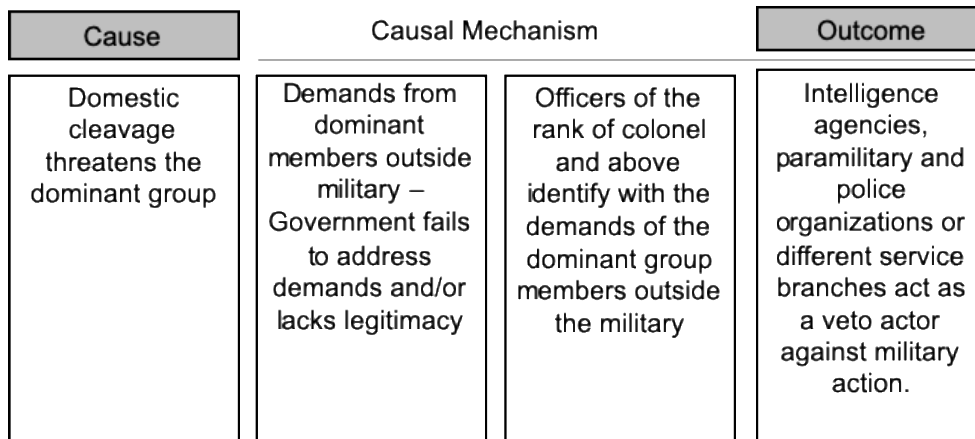


Figure 2.3. Causal mechanism for Hypothesis 3

Any security organization within a security apparatus, whether military, intelligence agency, or others, can create strong identities. The tension between the military’s services and between the military and other agencies may prevent action because they may perceive the domestic cleavage differently. In fact, the coup-proofing literature suggests the use of different organizations for

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64. A. Binder, “For Love and Money: Organizations’ Creative Responses to Multiple Environmental Logic,” *Theory and Society* 36: 547-571; J.M. Purdy and B. Gray, “Conflicting Logics, Mechanisms of Diffusion and Multilevel Dynamics in Emerging Institutional Fields,” *Academy of Management Journal* 52: 355-380.

65. W Guttridge, “Commonwealth Military Culture – Soldiers in British Mold,” *Round Table* 239: 327-337.

counterbalancing techniques to prevent coup.<sup>66</sup> This is very similar to the concept of a veto player in that, if one organization does not support a coup, the coup is less likely to occur.

In this framework, India, for example, maintains multiple organizations that could veto actions to remove a civil government. These include intelligence organizations, paramilitary organizations, and service branches. In Pakistan, the Army is the lead actor. The most critical intelligence agencies and paramilitary organizations are under its control. Moreover, the Army is first among peers among the service branches.

**H3:** Multiple independent security agencies will act as veto players and prevent the military from overthrowing a civilian government.

This chapter has provided the theoretical framework for this dissertation. Further, the causal mechanisms and hypotheses set forth in this chapter set the foundation for the rest of the dissertation. The next chapter includes relevant background information for both states—India and Pakistan—which is necessary to frame the selected case studies in both nations.

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66. Eric R. Rittinger and Matthew R. Cleary, “Confronting Coup Risk in the Latin American Left,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48 (2013): 403-431

## **Chapter 3 - Defining Actors and Variables for Pakistan and India**

Pakistan and India are effective points of focus for a comparative case study of civil-military relations because of the historical similarities between the two states and cultural similarities between their respective militaries. The British divided its former military between Pakistan and India, thus creating an ideal situation to study the divergent paths of the Indian and Pakistani militaries. Additionally, the post-Independence era is a period in which similar domestic cleavages have been faced by both states.. These similar background conditions provide an ideal context for the present study, which is unique in terms of its case study focus and theoretical framework.<sup>67</sup>

This chapter provides a foundation for the case studies to follow in Chapters 4 and 5. First, it will provide a general overview of Pakistan and India, as well as a comparison of their militaries and the cultural and economic conditions of both states. The first part of the chapter will focus on the conditions at Independence, which set the foundational conditions for subsequent events. I also provide a section detailing the conditions during the relevant temporal period under examination in each case study. Second, I define the dominant group, the homogenous or heterogeneous nature of the dominant group, and the unified or dis-unified nature of the security apparatus for each case study. I then address the defined variables and apply the theory developed in Chapter 2 to endeavor to predict behavior in the context of Pakistan and India. The case studies are presented in Table 3.1:

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67. Jason Seawright and John Gerring, "Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options," *Political Research Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2008): 294-308.

Table 3.1 Case Studies

State	Time of Transition or Period of Event	Case Study
Pakistan	25MAR69	Yahya Khan replacing Ayub Khan
Pakistan	20DEC71	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto replacing President Yahya Khan
Pakistan	17AUG88 to 2DEC88	The civilian rule between the death of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and the 1999 coup
Pakistan	18AUG08	Civilian rule after President Musharraf
India	20OCT62 to 21NOV62	Sino-Indian War
India	26JUNE75 to 21MAR77	Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declares Emergency Rule

The Pakistan case studies are based on periods during which the military was transferring power to a civilian government. The Indian case studies are based on periods during which the military did not act in taking power, despite conditions that increased the probability of a coup. The Indian cases provide useful points of comparison to specific cases that occurred in Pakistan. For example, India's war with China was a military disaster comparable to Pakistan's 1971 defeat by India. During the period of the Emergency, India faced extreme protests throughout the state, which are comparable to protests under Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and President Musharraf in Pakistan.



## Pakistan and India Civil Society Comparison

In many ways, the Independence of Pakistan and India in 1947 produced two states and militaries with many similarities, which make India and Pakistan useful points of focus for this comparative multiple case study. Both Pakistan and India faced tremendous challenges when they achieved Independence. However, India would maintain its democratic institutions, despite facing significant challenges including low literacy, high poverty, and societal divisions in language, religion, and caste. As mentioned in the literature review in Chapter 1, various studies have connected economic development and education level to democracy.<sup>68</sup> However, the case of India constitutes an exception to that trend. India's literacy rate in 1951, four years following Independence, was 23.54% for males and 7.62% for females. In the 1970s, 38% of the rural population of India and almost 50% of the urban population lived in extreme poverty.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, India is a nation marked by divisions in language, caste, and religion, which—as identified in the literature review—negatively affects democratization. Further, there are significant divisions between north India and south India. There are also unique pockets of distinct groups throughout the country.<sup>70</sup> The languages of India are also diverse, with a significant divide between those used in the north and south. In the north, the primary languages come from the Indo-European language family: for example, Standard Hindi. In the south,

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68. S. M. Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Review* 53 (1959): 69-105; Robert A Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); Ross E. Burkhart and Michael Lewis-Beck, "Comparative Democracy: The Economic Development Thesis," *American Political Science Review* 60 (1995): 966-82; J.B. Londregan and K. T. Poole, "Does High Income Promote Democracy?" *World Politics* 49 (1996): 162-177; Yi Feng and Paul J. Zak, "The Determinants of Democratic Transitions," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (1999): 162-77.

69. Judith M. Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 352.

70. S. C. Bhatt and Gopal K. Bhargava, *Of Indian States and Union Territories* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2006), 13-26.

Dravidian languages, such as Tamil, are dominant. However, that divide is only one of complexities present in India's linguistic environment. More specifically, the 1951 census listed 845 languages, including dialects, 60 of which had at least 100,000 speakers.<sup>71</sup> Religion, along with the caste system, also creates a point of contention, and communal violence is a common feature of Indian politics.

Pakistan has had many of the same problems as India. Critical poverty indicators, such as life expectancy, were historically very similar in Pakistan and India.<sup>72</sup> However, India geographically divided East and West Pakistan. Before East Pakistan's independence in 1971, when it became Bangladesh, the Bengali people, whose language differs from those in West Pakistan, were numerically more abundant than the population in West Pakistan. Moreover, linguistic groups and new immigrants from the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 divided West Pakistan. Islam was the majority religion of the population after partition. However, there was still a significant Hindu minority in East Pakistan.<sup>73</sup>

While colonialism westernized elite society in both Pakistan and India, the population still identified with the Independence movement. For example, the Indian National Congress was one such elite organization; the British created this class of liberal elites to administer British authority. Most of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League came from these liberal elites. In India, the British created a class of people who detached from their traditional society and accepted Western liberal values. Accepting that the British educational system was superior,

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71. B. P. Mahapatra, "A Demographic Appraisal of Multilingualism in India," in *Multilingualism in India*, ed. Debi Prasanna (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1990), 1-14.

72. Mahmood Hasan Khan, "Rural Poverty in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan: Profiles and Policies," *The Pakistan Development Review*, 3 (1987): 309-336.

73. Khan, "Rural Poverty," 309-336.

these elites began to see themselves as the natural leaders of their society. Most of the members of this new elite were lawyers who worked in Western institutions and therefore infused western values into this class of people. Liberalism was the foundation on which the Indian Independence movement was based.<sup>74</sup>

Group identity was the essential element that allowed the overall population to attach themselves to political leadership that did not share the same traditional values as the rest of the population. The case of Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar is a notable example of a member of elite society who represented India's Dalit, or untouchable population.<sup>75</sup> Ambedkar received a degree in economics and political science from the University of Bombay, an MA in Economics from Columbia University, and a PhD in Economics from the London School of Economics. He then practiced law in India.<sup>76</sup> The Dalit population saw Ambedkar in terms that made sense in relation to their cultural understanding. For example, an analysis of the songs the Dalit people created regarding Ambedkar is revealing. In 1977, researchers recorded songs that Dalits sang in Neri, a small town of 900 people. While Ambedkar had secular values, songs by the Dalit population indicate that they saw Ambedkar as all-powerful and godlike. While this research was conducted long after Independence, the songs indicate the degree to which the Dalit people saw Ambedkar in non-secular terms. To them, he was a godlike liberator.<sup>77</sup> The core elites of Congress were

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74. For further discussion on the formation of the Indian National Congress, see W. Travis Hanes III, "On the Origins of the Indian National Congress: A Case Study of Cross-Cultural Synthesis," *Journal of World History* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 69-98.

75. The Indian caste system is made up of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. Certain groups were traditionally excluded from the caste system and ostracized as untouchables. The word most people in this group prefer for self-identification is *Dalits*.

76. Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 1990), 8-51.

77. Indira Y. Junghare, "Dr. Ambedkar: The Hero of the Mahars, Ex-Untouchables of India," *Asian Folklore Studies* 47, no. 1 (1988): 93-121.

almost entirely members who were influenced by liberal thought. Groups within India identified with many leaders. Abul Kalam Azad was a Muslim who studied Western Philosophy and history. Another Muslim leader, Saifuddin Kitchlew, went to Cambridge University. Bhulabhai Desai was a famous lawyer with connections to the Congress Party.<sup>78</sup>

Pakistan's elites were also liberal. There, as in India, the Muslim League had liberal values. Muhammad Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League and the founder of Pakistan, in a speech on the Independence of Pakistan, stated that: "Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time, Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State."<sup>79</sup> Jinnah had liberal values, and wanted a state that protected Muslims from the Hindu majority, but not a state ruled by Islam. This belief in liberalism was not shallow. Commenting on his time in London studying for the bar exam in 1892, Jinnah stated that: "I happened to meet several important English liberals with whose help I came to understand the doctrine of liberalism. The liberalism of Lord Morley was then in full sway. I grasped that liberalism, which became part of my life and thrilled me very much."<sup>80</sup> Jinnah spent much of his career defending liberal rights, such as freedom of speech, and showed a strong commitment to liberal values until his death.<sup>81</sup>

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78. D.A. Low, ed., *Congress and the Raj: Facets of the Indian Struggle 1877-47* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 157.

79. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, "Speech Given on Pakistan's Independence," accessed April 1, 2015, [http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/legislation/constituent\\_address\\_11aug1947.html](http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/legislation/constituent_address_11aug1947.html).

80. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 9.

81 A. G. Noorani, "Jinnah's Commitment to Liberalism," *Economic and Political Weekly* 25, no. 2 (1990): 71-73.

However, the native populations of present day Pakistan never identified with the Muslim League. Whereas Muslims in Hindu majority areas identified with the Muslim League because it fought for their interests, those Muslims living outside of Hindu majority areas never identified with the League to the same degree. For example, the members of the Muslim League Planning Committee were intellectuals from Aligarh, Osmania, Delhi, and Lucknow Universities, all of which are in present-day India.<sup>82</sup> Led by an elite from present-day India, the only means by which the Muslim League could achieve popular support in present-day Pakistan was utilizing a message based on Islam.<sup>83</sup> Muslim League popularity in the portions of the country that would become Pakistan came later in the process of Independence. As late as 1937, the Muslim League only performed well in Muslim minority provinces.<sup>84</sup>

By turning to a communal argument for political benefit, the liberal leadership of the Muslim League was using a non-liberal argument on the population. The power dynamic in Pakistan changed when the Independence of Bangladesh, after 1971, eliminated the Bengali majority in the country, and the Punjabi population asserted more influence at the expense of the muhajirs population.<sup>85</sup> However, political conflict centered on liberal elites versus tribal elites and the traditional population.

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82. Ian Talbot, "Planning for Pakistan: The Planning Committee of the All-India Muslim League 1943-46," *Modern Asian Studies* (1994): 875-889.

83. Venkat Dhulipali, "Rallying the Qaum: The Muslim League in the United Provinces, 1937-1939," *Modern Asian Studies*, 44, no 3 (2010): 603-640.

84. Sumit Ganguly & C. Christine Fair, "The Structural Origins of Authoritarianism in Pakistan," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 51, no. 1 (2013): 122-142.

85. Muhajirs are immigrants to present day Pakistan from India, and create their own political party within Pakistan; Theodore P. Wright Jr., "Center-Periphery Relations and Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan: Sindhis, Muhajirs, and Punjabis," *Comparative Politics* 23, no. 3 (1991): 299-312.

Upon the death of Jinnah in 1948, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan assumed the leadership of the state. At this point, Pakistan was still functioning under the rules outlined in the pre-Independence Government of India Act of 1935. Unlike India, which had a vigorous debate before Independence and enacted its constitution in 1950, Pakistan was not able to develop a constitution until 1956. Religion constituted a fundamental divide that prevented Pakistan from creating a constitution. The partition produced a West Pakistan that was religiously homogenous, but East Pakistan still had a sizable Hindu population. Moreover, the elites that emigrated from India wanted a liberal approach to religion.<sup>86</sup>

On one hand, Muhajirs and liberal Punjabis dominated political membership of the state and the business community, thereby defining Pakistan's institutions. However, they had a distrust for elections based on a belief that they would bring tribal and landed elites to power. As such, Muhajirs and liberal Punjabis were socially progressive, but politically conservative.<sup>87</sup> Muhajirs and liberal Punjabis had to contend with a population that did not have the progressive mindset of the elites of the state. Instead, they represented the tribal and landed elites.

### **Pakistan and India Military Comparison**

Because both Pakistan and India inherited prior parts of the British Indian Army, understanding the composition of that army is vital in understanding the group dynamic that developed in both states. The British Indian Army, before Independence from Great Britain and through its interaction with Pakistan and India, helped to shape civil-military relations in both states. The British Indian Army set the foundation for the Army in both Pakistan and India.

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86. Shahid Javed Burki, *Pakistan: A Nation in the Making* (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), 47.

87. Mohammad Wesseem, "Constitutionalism in Pakistan: The Changing Patterns of Diarchy," *Diogenes* 43 .no. 4 (2006), 2-15.

*Esprit de corps* was a core value of the British Indian Army. This concept means that the military was an institution that valued maintaining itself as a unit. A threat to the institution could result in response to prevent damage or destruction of the institution; this was not inherent to the portion of the Army that became the Pakistani Army. For example, the division of the Army so troubled General Kodandera Madappa Cariappa, the first native commander and chief of the post-Independence Indian Army, that he suggested that the British-Indian Army, with either Nehru or Jinnah as commander-in-chief, should take power over all of India when the British left. He argued to fellow officers that it was better for the Army to take charge of both dominions than suffer the division of Pakistan and India. He wanted to prevent the partition of Pakistan and India because it would divide the Army.<sup>88</sup>

Both World War II and the instability of partition helped shape the Indian and Pakistani Armies. India's involvement in World War II was massive in scale. At the beginning of WWII, the British-Indian Army numbered 189,000 men: a mixture of British forces and native Indian units. There were 82 British Indian battalions in India, two battalions in Hong Kong, and two in Singapore.<sup>89</sup> The British Indian Army rapidly expanded, numbering over two million by the end of the war and suffering over 36,000 casualties or individuals missing in action.<sup>90</sup> The military saw combat from the Middle East to Africa to Southeast Asia and was an essential part of the Burma Campaign.

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88. Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan Its Army, and the Wars Within* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2008), 234.

89. Byron Farwell, *Armies of the Raj: From the Mutiny to Independence, 1958-1947* (New York: Norton & Company, 1989), 304.

90. Farwell, *Armies of the Raj*, 316.

The Army mirrored western military values, at least in its leadership, British leadership was firmly in command the Army. British officers primarily made up the officer corps after World War II. The officer corps was composed of 500 Indian officers and 3,000 British officers in 1939. In 1945, the officer corps was composed of 8,300 Indian and 34,500 British officers.<sup>91</sup> The officer corps was about 14% Indian before the war and 19% Indian after the war. Despite the increase in size, the post-WWII Army remained a British-led institution.

The British military believed that it should recruit members from “martial classes,” which resulted in a military that had a disproportionately high percentage of non-Hindus and a higher proportion of Muslims and Sikhs. When political pressure and World War II forced the military to move past recruiting only in the “martial classes,” there remained a disproportional percentage of Muslims and soldiers from Punjab. In 1941:

Table 3.2 Indian Army Composition, January 1941

	Muslims	Hindus and Others	Total	% of Total
NWFP	35,253			8.5
Punjab	96,826	104,919	201,745	48
Uttar Pardesh and Bihar	5,245	33,587	38,832	
Central India	6,559	21,689	28,248	7.0
Bombay	5,399	18,703	24,102	6.0
Madras	2,603	19,320	21,923	5.0
Nepal		46,185	46,185	11.0
Central Provinces		267	267	0.0
Other Districts	3,352	18,624	21,976	5.0

91. Roger Beaumont, *Sword of the Raj: The British Army in India 1747-1947* (New York: Bobbs-Merill Company, 1977), 174.



Total	155,237	263,294	418,531
Percentage of Total	37%	63%	100%
Percentage of total population	24%	76%	100%

*Note:* Percentage in 1940 given in Pakistan or the partition of India by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Thackers, Bombay, 1940, [http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00ambedkar/ambedkar\\_partition/](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00ambedkar/ambedkar_partition/)

First, Muslims had a significant overrepresentation in the pre-Independence Army. The number of soldiers from Punjab is important to note, in that many of these were not Hindus. In 1911, the Punjabi representation in the Army was 54% of the total military. In 1919, Punjabi Muslims made up 21% of the Army and more than 22% in 1925. The Punjabi Sikh population represented 12% of the Army in both 1919 and 1925.<sup>92</sup> A more powerful way to demonstrate the change in geographic diversity is to think of all the Muslims in the pre-British Army as a rough approximation of who become Pakistan's Army and all the non-Muslim as approximates to India's Army. Punjab and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) are located next to each other and represent 62% and 22% of the Muslims in the Pre-Independence Army. On the other hand, Hindus in Punjab represent 40% of Hindus in the Pre-Independence Army. India's overrepresentation was still substantial for Punjab, but the scale is also significantly less than Pakistan's over-representation. The lack of geographic diversity in the military inherited by Pakistan cannot be understated. At the time of Independence, 75% of army officers came from three districts in Punjab (Campbellpur, Jhelum, and Rawalpindi) and two adjacent districts of

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92. Isabelle Cordonnier, *The Military and Political Order in Pakistan* (Switzerland: Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies: 2000), 22.

NWFP (Kohat and Mardan); these districts only represented nine percent of the male population.<sup>93</sup>

During the expansion in World War II, Punjab provided over 700,000 recruits, 31% of the entire total and the NWFP, a Muslim majority area, provided another 100,000 or four percent.<sup>94</sup> More importantly, the traditional view of martial classes influenced the use of frontline troops. The British placed troops from non-martial classes into auxiliary and support roles in the Army and most infantry and armored units recruited only from martial classes.<sup>95</sup> When WWII ended, the Army Reorganization report of 1945 stated that “no class [should in the future] be included in an arm for which its suitability has not been proved in action beyond a reasonable doubt.”<sup>96</sup> However, given that non-martial races did not have the same chance to prove themselves in combat, this order only reinforced assumptions.

Indians and Pakistanis gained leadership experiences during WWII. While the institution was still British led, the sheer size of the Army gave Indian officers some leadership, and the Army had three Indian brigadier generals by 1945. The British undertook reforms to eliminate discriminatory practices affecting the chain of command, court-martials, and pay.<sup>97</sup> Only a few hundred British officers remained by mid-1948, most of whom were in training and technical roles. None of the Lieutenant Generals, only one Major General, five percent of the Brigade

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93. Rajit K. Mazumder, *The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003), 18.

94. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 69.

95. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 74.

96. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 75-76,

97. Daniel P. Marston, “The Indian Army, Partition, and the Punjab Boundary Force, 1945-1947,” *War in History* 16 (2009): 471.

commanders, and 10% of the regimental and battalion commanders were Indian at the time of Independence.<sup>98</sup> That said, the process of Indianization had produced several hundred Indian Lieutenant Colonels and Colonels. Pakistan and India quickly promoted these officers to fill the ranks of their respective militaries. Significantly, Muslims accounted for 36% of these senior officers in the British-Indian Army, a higher percentage than their 24% representation in the overall population.<sup>99</sup>

The partition of Pakistan and India had a significant impact on the communal composition of the Indian military. The nature of partition reduced the misbalance in the regional representation of the force in India and increased it in Pakistan. Punjab and NWFP were the most over-represented provinces, and Bengal was the most underrepresented province in the pre-partition military. After partition, Punjab, NWFP, and the most populated areas of Bengal became part of Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan had an Army mostly made up of soldiers from West Pakistan, while India gained an Army that had greater diversity of regional representation.<sup>100</sup> However, India did see a reduction in the number of Muslims in leadership positions. The transfer of Muslim Regiments to Pakistan, and the fact that most Muslim officers opted to join Pakistan's military, left India's new military with very few Muslims in leadership positions. By 1951, only two percent of officers above the rank of Lieutenant Colonel were Muslim, and few

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98. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 86.

99. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 87.

100. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 89-90

Muslim soldiers remained.<sup>101</sup> However, Indian's officer corps and leadership was still mainly made up of the martial classes.<sup>102</sup>

Even in today's recruitment situation, over-representation from the Indian states with martial traditions persists. Modest changes to recruitment practices have slowly altered the military's composition, and today's Indian military is the most ethnically diverse it has been since Independence.<sup>103</sup> While over-representation remains, the Indian military is more representative than Pakistan's military. This change is, in part, explained by the fact that India saw the ethnic integration of the military as an essential concern, and took proactive steps to integrate various populations. For example, the Sikh population is a minority religious group that was a significant minority in Punjab but had a strong presence in the British-Indian Army.<sup>104</sup> However, a Sikh insurgency aimed to achieve an independent Sikh homeland in Punjab. Even after Operation Blue Star in 1987, an Army raid on the Golden Temple, a prominent Sikh Gurdwara, and the assassination of Indira Gandhi in response, Sikhs maintain a strong presence in the military. Another example is the Naga ethnic group. The Naga fought a long insurgency for the Independence of Nagaland, but the Indian military integrated many from Nagaland, even former insurgents, into the Army. In 1999, a unit from Nagaland received India's highest award for valor for actions in Kargil.<sup>105</sup> India's integration contrasts with homogeneity in Pakistan's military. In Pakistan, after Independence, a military that was "dominated by Punjabis and

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101. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 89.

102. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 92.

103. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 173.

104. Marston, "Indian Army," 471.

105. Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), 667.

representing the landed and industrial interests, the military regards its dominance of Pakistani politics not only as a right but as a duty based on the need to safeguard the territorial integrity of the country in the face of lingering ethnic and religious fissures.”<sup>106</sup> The Army was a local one as Pakistan recruited most of its officers and soldiers from a 100-mile radius of Rawalpindi.<sup>107</sup>

The decision to partition India was quick and was preceded by little planning on the part of the British. The first formal discussions began in March of 1947, only six months before formal partition. During a British Cabinet meeting, Admiral of the Fleet, Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas Mountbatten, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Mountbatten of Burma, the last Viceroy of India, “emphasized once again the extreme inadvisability of dividing the armed forces of India.”<sup>108</sup> It was not until 3 June 1947, the date the British announced partition, that Mountbatten directed the division of the armed forces with the British, making a general plan of division on 11 June 1947. This was an extremely quick and haphazard division of the former British-Indian Army.

Mixed performance dominated both the Indian and Pakistani Armies during the violence of partition. The Indian Army remained professional in Calcutta. The Army was operating as a non-political, non-communal, and professional force.<sup>109</sup> However, in Punjab the Joint Defense Council had to pass a new rule that required Army units to guard the populations of the Army unit. In other words, Muslim units guarded Muslims, and Hindu units guarded Hindus.

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106. Mahmood Monshipouri and Amjad Samuel, “Development and Democracy in Pakistan: Tenuous or Plausible Nexus?” *Asian Survey* 35, no. 11 (November 1995), 973-989.

107. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 193-200.

108. Meeting of Ministers on 18 March 1947, in Nicholas Mansergh, ed., *The Transfer of Power 1942-47 Volume IX* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1980), 982-985.

109. Mansergh, *Transfer of Power*, 476.

Protection of the other populations was lax, and in one case an Army Baloch unit took part in violence against Hindus.<sup>110</sup>

### Defining the Dominant Group in Pakistan and India

As addressed previously, Pakistan’s Army was primarily a Punjabi institution at Independence, a situation that continued after Independence. Table 3.3 shows the ethnic breakdown of the Pakistan military in 1965, the period directly prior to the first case study.

Table 3.3 The ethnic breakdown of Infantry, Artillery, Engineer, and Signal units inside of Pakistan in 1965

	INFANTRY	ARTILLERY	ENGINEERS	SIGNALS
<b>PUNJAB</b>	57%	90%	87%	84%
<b>PANHTUN</b>	18%	5%	6%	4%
<b>BALUCHISTAN AND SIND</b>	20%		6%	3%
<b>EAST PAKISTAN</b>	5%	5%	3%	7%
<b>MINORITIES</b>			2%	2%

Source: Rana Banerji, *The Pakistan Army: Composition, Character, and Compulsions* (New Delhi: KW Publishers, 2014), 54.

As defined in the theory section, the leadership of the military, especially those the rank of Colonel and above, defines the dominant group in the military. The ethnic identities of Pakistan’s Chiefs-of-Staff and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, as shown in Table 3.4, provides clear evidence on the composition of the dominant group.

Table 3.4 Pakistan’s Chief of Army Staff

Army CIC or COS	Term	Birth Place and Ethnicity
Frank Messervy	15 AUG 47 – 10 FEB 48	Trinidad – English
Douglas Gracey	15 FEB 48 – 16 JAN 51	Uttar Pradesh – English
Ayub Khan	17 JAN 51 – 27 OCT 58	NWFP – Pashtun

110. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 84.

Musa Khan	27 OCT 58 – 17 SEP 66	Baluchistan – Hazara
Yahya Khan	18 SEP 66 – 20 DEC 71	Punjab – Punjabi
Gul Hassan Khan	20 DEC 71 – 2 MAR 72	Baluchistan – Pashtun
Tikka Khan	3 MAR 72 – 1 MAR 76	Punjab – Punjabi
Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq	1 MAR 76 -17 AUG 88	Jalandhar – Punjabi
Mirza Aslam Beg	17 AUG 88 – 16 AUG 91	Uttar Pradesh – Muhajir
Asif Nawaz	16 AUG 91 – 8 JAN 93	Punjab – Punjabi
Abdul Waheed Kahar	11 JAN 93 – 12 JAN 96	NWFP – Pashtun
Jehangir Karamet	12 JAN 96 – 6 OCT 98	Sindh (Karachi) – Punjabi
Pervez Musharraf	6 OCT 98 - 28 NOV 07	Delhi – Muhajir
Ashfaq Parvez Kayani	29 NOV 07 -29 NOV 13	Punjab – Punjabi

For the purposes of analysis, we can exclude the first two Army Chiefs of Staff, as they are both English. Nine out of 13 Army Chiefs of Staff came from Punjab or Pashtun. Two of the remaining were Muhajir or immigrants, and only one, Musa Khan, was from a family from Baluchistan. No commander in chief was from East Pakistan.

Another study has provided a further look into the top commanders in Pakistan’s Army and gathered open source material on demographic information on Corp Commanders and ISI directors since Independence. While the authors could only find birthplace information on 87 of the 183 observations, they found that 55% of coup commanders and ISI directors were from Punjab, 21% was from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (formally Northwest Frontier Province), three percent from Sindh, three percent from Azad Kashmir, and two percent from Baluchistan.<sup>111</sup> This shows that the vast majority of top commanders originated from one of two provinces. This is important because, as addressed in the theory chapter, the dominant group is weighted more

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111. Paul Staniland, Adnan Naseemullah, and Ahsan Butt, “Pakistan’s Military Elite,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/01402390.2018.1497487.

towards higher ranks and command positions. Figure 3.1 shows these observations in Punjab and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KP) on a map.

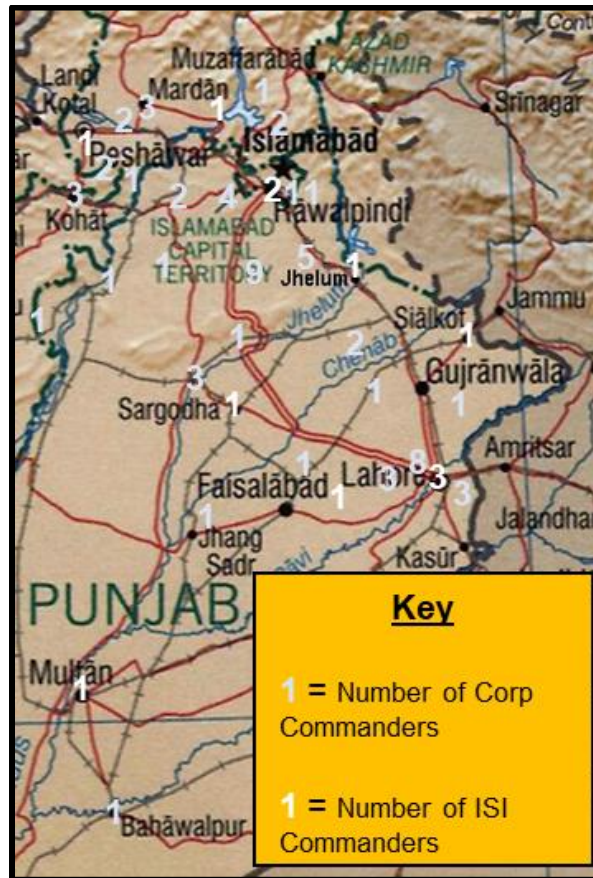


Figure 3.1 Number of corps commanders and ISI commanders in KP and Punjab (Data of locations retrieved from <https://paulstaniland.com/data/>; map available from the Library of Congress, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7640.ct000786>)

Figure 3.1 shows that the KP’s ISI directors or corps commanders are grouped very close to Islamabad. The furthest grouping of 3 corps commanders is in Kohat, which is a 92-mile straight-line distance from Islamabad. Most of the Pashtun members of the dominant group are from near Islamabad. In Punjab, the largest number of observations are near Islamabad or Rawalpindi. This said, there is a large grouping near Lahore, which is a 160-mile straight-line distance from Rawalpindi. There are a significant number of corps commanders and ISI directors in the corridor between Lahore and Islamabad. These areas are connected politically, which I



will address in the following case studies. Protests and movements occur simultaneously in both cities.

A further evaluation of all officers in Pakistan's military provides greater context. By 1979, Pakistani officers comprised 70% Punjabis, 14% Pashto, nine percent Sindhis, and 1.3% Kashmiri.<sup>112</sup> Importantly, an officer corps made up of 70% Punjabi members is likely to constitute a homogenous dominant group. This is especially true when there is significant evidence that other groups are excluded from top positions.

Christine Fair and Shuja Nawaz identified another important data set that can be used to define the dominant group, based on officer recruitment.<sup>113</sup> For the theoretical model employed in this study, this is an imperfect measurement because of the lag time between an officer entering the military and becoming part of the dominant group. The average time required to produce a Colonel is between 20 to 30 years after a recruit enters the Army. The maps shown in Figure 3.2 demonstrate that officer recruitment continued to vastly overrepresent the areas around Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

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112. Banerji, *Pakistan Army*, 18.

113. In correspondence with Dr. Fair, I found that the data set only included recruitment, and therefore identified multiple sources to find a data source that directly showed the dominant group.

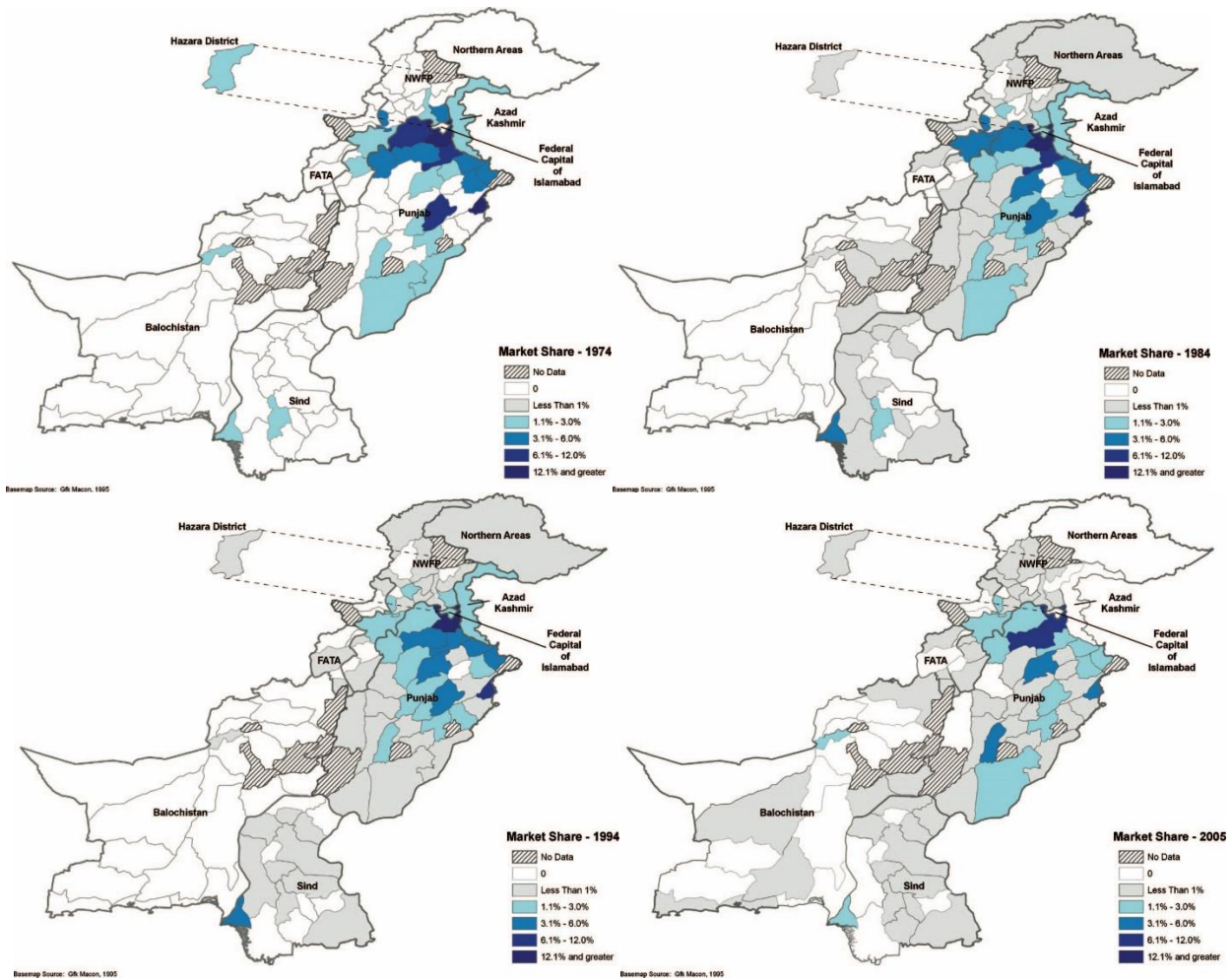


Figure 3.2 Pakistan’s percentage of officer recruits – 1974 (top left), 1984 (top right), 1994 (bottom left), 2005 (bottom right) (Christine Fair and Shuja Nawaz, “The Changing Pakistan Army Officer Corps,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 34 (February 2011): 63-94).

The number of recruits per overall population numbers again indicates overrepresentation centering around Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Islamabad is vastly overrepresented. The next most overrepresented provinces are Punjab and the North West Frontier Province. Figure 3.3 demonstrates this overrepresentation.

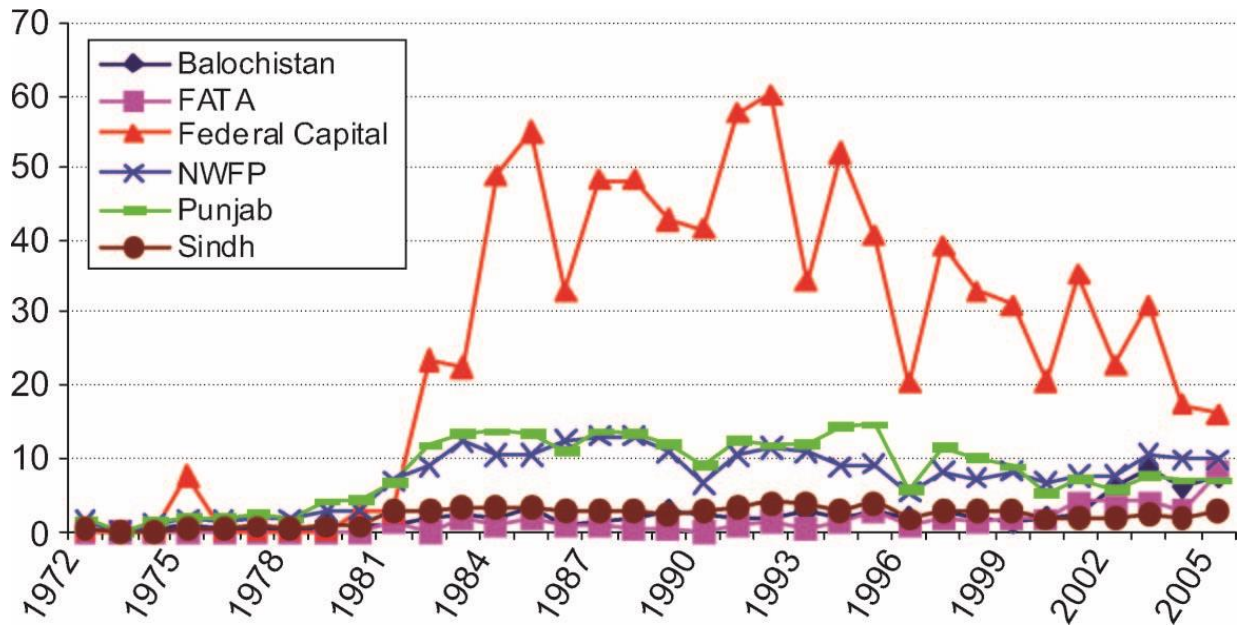


Figure 3.3 Recruits per population (millions) by province, 1972-2005 (Fair and Nawaz, “Changing Pakistan Army,” 88).

One of the more essential points, especially in relation to the dominant group and domestic cleavages, is that the dominant group has over-representation in cities like Islamabad, Rawalpindi, and Lahore. Over-representation of members from these cities is evident in the data points. Officers are more urban than their fellow citizens; the data from 1981 and 1998 show a significant over-representation of urban areas.

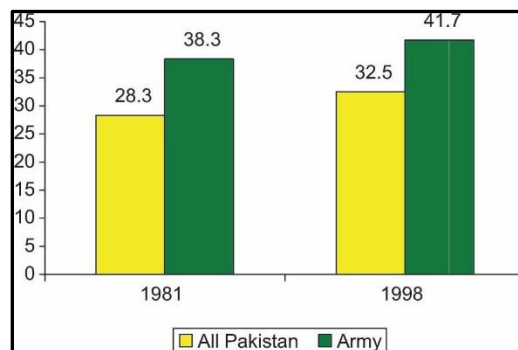


Figure 3.4 Percentage of urban recruits versus total population (Fair and Nawaz, “Changing Pakistan Army,” 88).

Given the geographic over-representation surrounding Islamabad and the urbanization of Pakistan's military, an in alignment with the theory presented in Chapter 2, it is particularly important to consider the domestic cleavages that affect the Islamabad and Rawalpindi areas. Secondly, it is also important to consider the cleavages that affect Lahore. As noted previously, most of the KP officers came from around Islamabad, but a significant number came from Lahore or in the 160-mile corridor between Lahore and Islamabad.

Evidence suggests that the populations surrounding Islamabad maintained similar perceptions of domestic events. For example, an analysis of election data shows that the city votes in blocks. For example, in 1988 a party organized by ISI won 21 of 24 seats in Rawalpindi and Islamabad, a typically large margin.<sup>114</sup> The case studies in this dissertation provide qualitative evidence that Islamabad and the area around the city reacts to events, like the signing of a 1965 peace accord with India, with unified rejection. Similar reactions occur in Lahore.<sup>115</sup>

The Indian military had greater diversity among the dominant group, even if the plurality was from Punjab. Table 3.5 shows the breakdown of the senior Indian officers (colonel and above) in 1951.<sup>116</sup>

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114. See <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf> for by district results.

115. See Chapter 4.

116. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 93; note that the data in Wilkinson's book is not publicly available; in correspondence with Wilkinson, he stated that he did not have more than the years 1951 and 1981. Data is difficult to attain because of transparency issues.

Table 3.5 1951 Ethnic Composition of India's Dominant Group (Colonel and Above)

Group	Percentage of 1951 Indian Army
Punjab- Hindu	16%
Punjab-Sikh	26%
Uncategorized	16%
Bengali	5%
Maratha	6%
Rajput	7%
Various-Rest of India	24%

By 1951, well under 50% of senior officers came from Punjab. When combined with the data presented earlier in this chapter, which demonstrated that India's Army was more diverse after partition, this statistic provides clear evidence of an increasingly heterogeneous dominant group. Moreover, these Punjabi officers are divided into two groups: Hindus and Sikhs. The number in the dominant group roughly equals the 15.3% of the total military that was Punjabi from 1968 to 1971.<sup>117</sup> It is also important to note that this increasing diversity among the Indian Army, especially its leadership, was state policy. No Chief-of-Staff for the Army came from Punjab before 1961 and only one before the end of the Emergency.

117. Omar Khalidi, "Ethnic group recruitment in the Indian army: the contrasting cases of Sikhs, Muslims, Gurkhas and others," *Pacific Affairs*, 74, No. 4, (2001): 529-552.

Table 3.6 Term and ethnic group of India's Army Commander-in-Chief or Chief of Staff

Army CnC-COS	Term	Birth Place and ethnicity
Robert Lockhart	15 AUG 47 -1 DEC 47	UK-Scotland
Roy Bucher	1 JAN 48 – 15 JAN 49	English
K M Cariappa	16 JAN 49 – 14 JAN 53	Coorgi
Rajendrasinhji Jadeja	14 JAN 53 – 14 MAY 55	Rajput
S.M. Shrinagesh	15 MAY 55 – 7 MAY 57	Maratha
K S Thimayya	8 MAY 57 – 7 MAY 61	Coorgi
Pran Nath Thapar	8 MAY 61 – 19 NOV 62	Punjab
Jayanto Nath Chaudhuri	20 NOV 62 – 7 JUN 66	Bengali
PP Kumaramangalam	8 JUN 66 – 7 JUN 1969	Tamil
Sam Manekshaw	8 JUN 69 – 15 JAN 73	Parsi
Gopal Gurunath Bewoor	16 JAN 73 – 31 May 75	Kannadiga
Tapishwar Raina	1 JUN 75 – 31 MAY 78	Kashmiri

The Indian government promoted ethnic diversity among its leadership in order to prevent coups.<sup>118</sup> It therefore ensured that Punjabis did not attain the highest position in the military. In defining the dominant group for the purposes of this dissertation, those of higher ranks have more significance in affecting the dominant group; therefore, actively ensuring that the Chief-of-Staff is not Punjabi functioned as an effective means of diluting the power of the Punjabi ethnic group within the dominant group. Table 3.7 shows the dominant group by 1981.<sup>119</sup>

118. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 108.

119. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 179.

Table 3.7 1981 Ethnic Composition of India's Dominant Group (Colonel and Above)

Group	Percentage of 1981 Indian Army
Punjab- Hindu	26%
Punjab-Sikh	18%
Uncategorized	7%
Bengali	5%
Brahmin	4%
Tamil	4%
Hindu – North India	8%
Maratha	5%
Rajput	6%
Various-Rest of India	17%

As Table 3.7 shows, the most significant change from 1951 to 1981 was that the representation of Punjab Sikhs decreased, while the representation of Punjab Hindus increased. Most of the other groups maintained similar levels of representation, while the number of Hindus from North India, Brahmins, and Tamils increased.

Between 1951 and 1981 remained relatively consistent concerning the officer group. It is also consistent with the data for the composition of the Army from 1968 to 1971, and the earlier data showing greater diversity after partition. India has a heterogeneous dominant group with a majority from Punjab, divided between Hindus and Sikhs, and the remainder represents all of India, with strong representation from Bengalis, Brahmins, Tamils, Marathas, Rajputs, and Hindus in North India. While Punjabis remain somewhat overrepresented in the dominant group, there is no evidence that the over-representation is growing, likely prevented by state policy. Moreover, there is no evidence of over-representation from one geographic center, as was the case in Pakistan. Further, service members return to a broad geographic range of locations after

retirement.<sup>120</sup> This also seems to reinforce the wide geographic distribution of India's dominant group.

### **Homogenous Versus Heterogeneous Dominant Group**

Pakistan's dominant group is more homogenous than India's dominant group. In Pakistan, Punjabis and adjacent Pashtuns from around Islamabad make up the vast majority of the officer corps and military leadership. At Independence, 75% of Pakistan Army officers came from three districts in Punjab (Campbellpur, Jhelum, and Rawalpindi) and two adjacent districts of NWFP (Kohat and Mardan); these districts only represented nine percent of the overall male population.<sup>121</sup> The officer corps was 84% Panjabi or Pashtun in 1979. By 1990, officer recruitment had reduced the number of new Punjabi officers to below 60%, while representation of Pashtuns increased to 22%.<sup>122</sup>

Conversely, in India, plurality of officers come from Punjab, and were divided between Hindus and Sikhs. Second, over 50% of Indian officers during the period under examination in this study were from various other locations, with a wide distribution across India. The dominant group remained stable during this period. One reason for this diversity is that India has quotas for each state, and it has been policy since Independence to diversity the military.<sup>123</sup> The ethnic composition of the military's leadership, as evidenced by the lack of a Punjabi Army Chief-of-Staff, is a policy issue for the Indian government. While there may be over-representation from

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120. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*.

121. Rajit K. Mazumder, *The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab* (New Delhi, Permanent Black: 2003), 18.

122. Banerji, *Pakistan Army*, 19.

123. Stephen P. Cohen, *The Indian Army: Its Contribution to the Development of a Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 171.



Punjabis in the dominant group, there is no reason to believe that over-representation grew. This being the case, we can classify India's dominant group as heterogeneous.

### **Unified Versus Dis-unified Security Apparatus**

India and Pakistan each took a different path in the development of other security institutions within the state and the chain of command of their respective militaries. The primary national security organization for Pakistan was the military at the time of Independence and remained the military throughout the post-Independence period. While Pakistan does have some paramilitary forces in their Ministry of the Interior, most of these forces guard border areas of the country and, while the Department of the Ministry provides resources, they are controlled by Pakistan's military and the officer in charge of the organization is from the regular Army.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, in Pakistan, where there is civilian control, the capability and capacity are undermined by corruption.

Paramilitary organizations were essential to India pre-Independence and continued independent of the military post-Independence. The British had Crown Representative Police: a paramilitary organization that the British used throughout the British Raj. After Independence, various states within India, as well as the government of India, kept Armed Police Battalions. These formations were similar to the traditional Infantry Battalion. The Paramilitary forces under the control of India's Home Ministry are the Assam Rifles, Border Security Force, Central Industrial Security Force, Central Reserve Police Force, and the Indo-Tibetan Border Police.<sup>125</sup>

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124. A. Shar, *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2014), 268.

125. M.B. Chande, *The Police In India* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1997): 101-102.

The government constituted The Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) in 1949, as one of the armed forces, and conferred it with certain police powers. The government used the CRPF throughout India's history for internal insurgencies, peacekeeping, and even deployed it to Sri Lanka in 1987 as a part of an Indian peacekeeping force.<sup>126</sup> The CRPF expanded from a small force after Independence to one of over 200,000 soldiers and over 150 battalions.<sup>127</sup> The CRPF functions as an essential counterweight to the Army.

The divisions between the services also provide essential evidence a dis-unified security apparatus. The significant differences are that, in Pakistan, the Army's Commander-in-Chief, until 1971, or Chief-of-Staff from 1971 onwards, has had primacy in decision-making over internal security decisions.<sup>128</sup> Conversely, in India, there are three robust services competing for power. At Independence, India elevated the heads of the Air Force and Navy to a rank equal to that of the Army Chief, and demoted the Army Chief to below the rank of the secretary.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, the level of involvement from civil authorities was vastly different in India and Pakistan after Independence. In Pakistan, the uniformed military were the primary drivers of decisions, whereas in India, the Ministry of Defense was able to micromanage the military.

Another vital part of India's security apparatus was India's intelligence agencies. The Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) is one of India's primary intelligence arms, and is directly

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126. Chande, *Police in India*, 127-128.

127. R. S. D. Dogra, *Nation Keepers: Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF)* (New Delhi: A P H Publishing Corporation, 2004), xiii.

128. A good source of evidence for the primacy of the Army is its ability to make domestic decisions. One example is General Zia's death while he was serving as President. The Vice Chief of Staff of the Army flew to Army Headquarters, had meetings with Army General Officers, and decided to return power. After the meeting, he invited the Navy and Air Force Chief of Staff to Army Headquarters to inform them of the decision (see Chapter 3).

129. PILDAT International Conference, *India's Democratic Oversight: of the Defense Forces: What Made it Possible*, (Lahore: Pilot, 2008), 10.

under the Prime Minister. India created the RAW after failures in the war with China. After the Emergency, the Economic Times of India reported that RAW maintained dossiers for Indira Gandhi on opposition members and members of her cabinet, and was used in an unsuccessful operation to manipulate the election in 1977.<sup>130</sup> This account of RAW's influence before the Emergency is corroborated by Kuldip Nayar, who wrote a contemporary account of the Emergency by relying on interviews with several of the key players. He corroborates the RAW's function for gathering intelligence on opposition members and states that RAW created lists of those arrested before the Emergency.<sup>131</sup> On the other hand, in Pakistan, Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) is the premier intelligence agency and is headed by an Army three-star general who reports to the Army Chief- of-Staff. While there are other agencies in Pakistan, such as the Intelligence Bureau, the ISI is the most resourced, best trained, and dominated by the military.<sup>132</sup> In sum, India maintains a dis-unified security apparatus while Pakistan maintains a unified apparatus under the control of Pakistan's Army, which is another vital variable that should predict more significant action by Pakistan's Army and reduced actions by India's military.

### **What Behavior Should the Theory Predict**

Based on the theory addressed in Chapter 2, it is possible to predict behavior in the cases of Pakistan and India, and to observe these behaviors in the historical record. For Pakistan, the causal mechanism in Hypothesis 1 should occur. Namely, a domestic cleavage should occur and

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130. "The Rise and Fall of RAW," *The Economic Times*, July 10, 1977, 4.

131. Kuldip Nayar, *The Judgement: Inside Story of the Emergency in India* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing, 1977), 37.

132. The ISI director reports directly to the Chief of Staff of the Army and Prime Minister. The Director-General of ISI is traditionally an Army General and the workforce mainly serves military officers. For more information, see Hein Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline: The Inter-Service-Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1-307.

affect the dominant group. The dominant group should then make political demands that the government cannot satisfy. Next, the military's leadership will identify with those demands. The head of the Army, as a member of the dominant group, will then cede power.<sup>133</sup> For India, a domestic cleavage should result in internal organizational tensions and an inability to act politically because of divisions. The Indian military's leadership, as a whole, should not perceive a domestic cleavage in the same way, as different members of the military should identify with various groups in the state. Moreover, it is important observe organizational tensions between the military and other security organizations, such as the RAW. Overall, based on the hypotheses addressed in the theory chapter, I expect to see a divergence of opinions among the military and internal tensions that result in the military taking no action. Table 3.8 shows the variables in the case studies.

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133. Note: the case studies are focused on the military ceding power.

Table 3.8 Case Studies with Variables

State	Time of Transition or Period of Event	Case Study	Dominant Group	Security Apparatus
Pakistan	25MAR69	Yahya Khan replacing Ayub Khan	Homogenous	Unified
Pakistan	20DEC71	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto replacing President Yahya Khan	Homogenous	Unified
Pakistan	17AUG88 to 2DEC88	The civilian rule between the death of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and the 1999 coup	Homogenous	Unified
Pakistan	18AUG08	Civilian rule after President Musharraf	Homogenous	Unified
India	20OCT62 to 21NOV62	Sino-Indian War	Heterogeneous	Dis-unified
India	26JUNE75 to 21MAR77	Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declares Emergency Rule	Heterogeneous	Dis-unified

Pakistan, in each case study, has maintained a homogenous dominant group centered around Islamabad. According to the theory proposed in Chapter 2, when a domestic cleavage occurs around Islamabad, that cleavage should produce demands from the dominant group. The military's leadership, because they are members of the dominant group, should identify with those demands. Finally, the head of the military, as a dominant group member, will also identify with the demands and cede power back to a civilian government. For India, a heterogeneous dominant group and a dis-unified security apparatus should prevent action. I test H1 in four cases that relate to Pakistan. For India, I am testing to see evidence of a veto player because of a heterogeneous dominant group and a dis-unified security structure.

## Chapter 4 - Pakistan

This chapter examines the periods when Pakistan's military disengaged and ceded power back to civilian authorities in order to determine whether domestic cleavages that affected the dominant group were the cause of those events. As mentioned previously, the dissertation seeks to examine an aspect of civil-military relations that has received minimal attention in extant literature: the military ceding power to civil authorities. As discussed in the previous chapter, the dominant group was geographically centered around Islamabad during the period addressed in the case studies. According to this dissertation's theoretical framework, a domestic cleavage centered on Islamabad theory should predict the military's decision to cede power. While Pakistan could face significant cleavages external to the dominant group, these should not produce a change in a military government unless those cleavages also occurred around Islamabad. Moreover, with a homogenous dominant group and a unified security apparatus, veto players should not prevent the military from removing one of its own or returning power to civilians.

Throughout Pakistan's history, there has been a mixture of both democracy and military governance. Periods of military rule in Pakistan include Ayub Khan's rule from 1958-69, Yahya Khan's rule from 1969-1971, Zia-ul-Haq's rule from 1977-88, and Pervez Musharraf rule from 1999-2008. However, even during the periods of civilian rule, the military was a direct player in domestic governance: for example, during the Kargil War. In the 1999 Kargil War, American intelligence assessments saw the possibility for nuclear weapon use. Pakistan Prime Minister

Nawaz Sharif, in a meeting with President Bill Clinton, did not appear to know that the Pakistan military was repositioning its nuclear weapons.<sup>134</sup>

Even during the periods of a civilian Prime Minister, then, the relationship between the civil government is more complicated in Pakistan than in India, where the government always maintains its dominance over the military. However, the military did cede power back to civil governments or remove military rulers on several occasions. The first case study is a review of Yahya Khan's seizure of power from Ayub Khan. Yahya Khan took power from another military ruler with the stated purpose of giving that power back to civil authorities.

### **President Yahya Khan Replacing Ayub Khan**

Ayub Khan was a military leader, who the military acted to remove from power. This section will test the first hypothesis, which is: If a domestic cleavage occurs and a government does not address the resulting demands of a group that overlaps with that of the military's leadership, it is more likely that the military will seek to take more control of the government or give up control if, it already has control. Figure 4.1 shows the process trace for this case study.

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134. Bruce Riedel, *American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 130-143.

Cause	Causal Mechanism			Outcome
Foreign policy failures and the economic and nationalist movement of Bhutto resulted in large protests and calls to remove Ayub Khan among the dominant group	The military's leadership started to identify with the demands for Ayub Khan's removal; Rumors started to circulate calling for the removal of Ayub Khan after signing the 1966 treaty with India	The government failed to resolve demands from West Pakistan during the Round Table Talks (RTC)	Larger protests among the dominant group occurred after the failure of the Round Table Conference (RTC); The military openly, through the Army Chief of Staff, expressed the need for the government to resolve crisis	The military removed a military leader from power.

Figure 4.1 Process trace showing the removal of Ayub Khan from power

The details of the case study to follow show a significant overlap between the theorized causal mechanism and the actual case. It addresses a situation in which a political leader in West Pakistan, Zulfikar Bhutto, drove an economic and nationalist message and a foreign policy failure prompted protests among the dominant group. After the 1966 peace treaty resulted in Bhutto publicly breaking with Ayub Khan and protests from the dominant group, Ayub Khan started to hear rumors that Yahya Khan desired to replace him. In East Pakistan, an autonomy movement created a political crisis that Ayub Khan could not resolve. This crisis eventually caused mass protests in Islamabad and Rawalpindi against Ayub Khan, and the military removed him from office. In short, there were clear signs that the dominant group was losing support for Ayub Khan and a domestic political crisis caused a domestic cleavage around Islamabad and Rawalpindi, eventually prompting the military to act to remove Ayub Khan from office.

First, it is important to address several vital points. Large scale protests in East Pakistan started in 1963, after Mujib published his six-point plan, and intensified after Pakistan arrested him in 1968. However, the protests in East Pakistan started later than the protests in West



Pakistan. As addressed later in the chapter, the CIA noted that Ayub was in danger, which occurred after the loss of the 1965 war and again during the DAC negotiations after weeks of protests in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Both these instances were because of domestic disputes that produced protests around Islamabad, not because of the continued disputes with East Pakistan.

Moreover, rumors started to appear that Yahya would replace Ayub Khan after the inconclusive war with India in 1965 and Bhutto's break from Ayub Khan came after the 1965 war. Bhutto was extremely popular among the urban populations of Islamabad: the same populations that produced the Army's leadership. In short, the 1965 war with India was a critical event that caused the dominant group to lose support for Ayub Khan.

East Pakistan's language movement was of secondary importance to the domestic cleavages near Islamabad. Bhutto was successful not because he joined with the demands of East Pakistan, but because he maintained a separate political message based on nationalism and the economy. Unlike other opposition forces in West Pakistan, Bhutto distanced himself from the Democratic Action Committee (DAC). Instead, he used an economic and nationalist message to become a focal point of opposition among the dominant group. His break with Ayub Khan after the 1965 war allowed Bhutto to position himself as wanting to take a hardline response with India, a position the dominant group identified with. He continued to leverage the protests in Punjab during the RTC conference, becoming a nationalist symbol for the dominant group.

The Army acted once Ayub Khan was unable to stop protests after the failure of the RTC conference, which was the last step in the causal mechanism shown in Figure 4.1. The military reacted to an ongoing domestic cleavage that affected the dominant group. The critical points of conflict were the loss of the 1965 war and the failure of the DAC conference, both of which

caused large protests in Islamabad, Rawalpindi, and Lahore. The domestic cleavages centered on students and urban centers, reflecting the overrepresentation of the urban population in the military. Moreover, the dominant group was reacting to Bhutto, and he was becoming a nationalist symbol among the dominant group. Internal conflict and other agencies did not prevent action, which is the expected outcome from a military with a homogenous dominant group and a unified security apparatus.

The section's organization is as follows. First, the background section shows the early years of governance in Pakistan and Ayub Khan's rule, which is vital because it helps demonstrate the lack of legitimacy of Pakistan's government. Second, I demonstrate the loss of support among the dominant group. The 1965 war with India is an essential turning point that produced the first signs of weakened support among the dominant population. Evidence of rumors that Yahya considered removing Ayub Khan occur only after this date. Next, a section on the relationship of the military to Ayub Khan demonstrates the important contrast between an apolitical relationship before the 1965 war with India and a more political relationship afterward. Again, the 1965 war appears to be a crucial turning point. Finally, I will outline the domestic cleavage caused by the RTC failure, which caused the removal of Khan.

### **Pakistan's Early Governance**

Pakistan's military quickly became involved in internal governance after Independence in 1947. The early years of Pakistan's independence were chaotic and lacked the development of stable state institutions, which is important in relation to coup literature and scholarship on the legitimacy of institutions in Pakistan, as addressed in Chapter 1. Jinnah died after Independence, and Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, failed to provide a stable government, as

provincialism became a significant driver in the new state.<sup>135</sup> In 1951, the first coup attempts in Pakistan failed and Saad Akbar Babrak, a Pashtun nationalist, assassinated Liaquat. However, in January of 1951, Ayub Khan, who performed the first successful military takeover of the country, became the Army's Commander-in-Chief. He issued an order of the day to officers to "keep out of politics... you must avoid taking any active part in party politics and propagation of any such views... we are the servants of Pakistan and as such servants of any party that the people put in power."<sup>136</sup> He seized power from President Mirza on October 27, 1958, which was the first, but not the last time, that Pakistan's military directly ruled the nation.

After Independence, provincialism and internal divisions within the civilian government undermined the domestic stability of Pakistan. Key events in this category included local disputes in provinces and political disunity within the Muslim League. These events indicate that the government was unable to control its population and provide capable legitimate governance, which also increased the use of severe measures to provide order. For example, in Punjab in 1948, a dispute between local leaders and the governor general resulted in imposing governor's rule.<sup>137</sup> Other provinces had similar problems. In the North-West Frontier Province, clashes occurred between the Muslim League, which had a strong position in the province, and groups supporting separatist leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.<sup>138</sup> The Muslim League was coming apart as a political organization because of divisions in Pakistan. Local political forces entered into conflict with a state that only had buy-in from divided elites. As Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, the

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135. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 77.

136. Hasan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan, 1947-86* (Delhi: Progressive Publishers, 1988), 56.

137. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 77.

138. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*.

fourth Prime Minister of Pakistan, stated: “The pillars of society, the landlords, the well-to-do lawyers, the rich businessmen, and the titled gentry, were its main support. With some exceptions, they were not men noted for their total commitment to any cause. Their willingness to sacrifice their personal interests or comfort for the sake of the nation was often in doubt, and not unjustly.”<sup>139</sup>

The new civilian leadership was made up of muhajir (refugees) from India. The secular leadership clashed with the Punjab and Sindh landed aristocracy who approached problems from a highly paternalistic manner with little concern for a broader viewpoint.<sup>140</sup> In this environment of conflict, the Army started to develop legitimacy with the local population. For example, when Khawaja Nizamuddin assumed the position of Prime Minister after the death of Prime Minister Liaquat, he faced unrest in the provinces and a challenge to his election as the Muslim League president. In Punjab, there was severe civil unrest over the status of the Ahmadis population, who were a sect of Muslims rejected as legitimate by some religious leaders. In this chaos, the government called upon Major General Muhammad Azam Khan to establish martial law to deal with the unrest. By doing so, Azam Khan endeared himself to the local population who used slogans like “Long Live General Azam Khan“ and “Long Live the Pakistan Army.”<sup>141</sup>

A critical expectation to the acceptance of the military in Pakistan was in East Pakistan. As General Muhammad Musa, a future Chief-of-Staff, recounted: “In East Pakistan, the language movement in February 1952 led to widespread, violent disturbances practically throughout the province. [Civil Authorities] called upon the Army to help the Civil

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139. Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of the Punjab, 2009), 371.

140. Burki, *Pakistan*, 45.

141 Burki, *Pakistan*, 87.

Administration in restoring and maintaining calm and created an embarrassing situation for us. The bulk of the garrison consisted of units from the western wing of the country. If it was asked to use even minimum legitimate force, the move would have been misconstrued as a deliberate attempt to suppress their demands.”<sup>142</sup> This demonstrates that the government of Pakistan lacked legitimacy throughout this period. The population in West Pakistan started to look to the military instead of the government to provide essential governmental functions. Moreover, the civil government’s leadership was chaotic during this period. In terms of the causal pathway, this is important because of the lack of government legitimacy. A government that lacks acceptance among the dominant group is more easily replaced than a government the dominant group accepts.

### **Governance under Ayub Khan**

Foundational to the domestic cleavage that caused Ayub Khan’s removal are ethnic divisions, economic inequality, and nationalism. When Ayub Khan started his administration, he saw as his fundamental goal as bringing stability and development to Pakistan. On April 20, 1964, he gave a speech to senior officers of the military and senior members of the civil service, in which he provided a clear vision of Pakistan’s self-interest and stated: “I maintain that the crux of our national policy is national integration; territorial integrity of Pakistan; and the development of our human and material resources.”<sup>143</sup> To Ayub Khan, stability, territorial integrity, and economic development were essential to Pakistan. However, the end of his regime was marked by a massive domestic cleavage, because of a failure to achieve his articulated goals.

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142. Mohammad Musa, *Jawan to General: Recollections of a Pakistani Soldier* (New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1985), 105.

143 Craig Baxter, ed., *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2007), 5.

Again, this can be linked both to existing coup literature and the theoretical framework of this study. As coup literature has contended, legitimacy is one of the critical indicators for the military's actions. Second, in our causal mechanism, the level of legitimacy of an institution is an indicator of the intensity of the cleavage required for the military to act.

### **Domestic Policy**

Ayub Khan's reforms were innovative for a divided society and based on the attempt to design a structure for building legitimacy among the various groups in the country. While these reforms failed, and the military removed him, it is essential to review what Ayub Khan attempted during his term in office. The failure of these reforms set the foundation for the military acting to remove Ayub Khan.

After General Ayub Khan's coup, he quickly integrated the civil service into his apparatus for controlling society. As the successor to the Indian Civil Service under the British Raj, the new civil service represented the specially selected elite who ran the institutions of government. Once Ayub Khan declared martial law, he named the senior-most civil servant, Aziz Ahmed, his deputy.<sup>144</sup> The government began as a fusion between two institutions left over from the British Raj: the military and the civil service. Technocrats dominated Ayub's government, and his administration attempted to reform Pakistan based on a set of liberal reforms. To Ayub, martial law was "not an instrument of tyranny or punishment; it was an arrangement under which government had acquired certain unusual powers to implement a program of basic reforms."<sup>145</sup>

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144. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 171.

145. Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 82.

The first reform enacted was a system of “Basic Democracies,” launched in 1960. It was a system of local government meant to appeal to the small landlords of Punjab and the Northwest Frontier. It consisted of local union councils that each represented 10,000 people and had a membership of 10. The Union councils elected members to the Tehsil council, who then elected members to the provincial councils, and so on. Elected members made up the lower councils, while both elected and appointed members, usually from the civil service in that area, made up the higher councils.<sup>146</sup> Shortly following the implementation of the Basic Democracies program, Ayub put in place a new constitution on March 23, 1962. The constitution legislated for a presidential system, in which the presidency dominated the political system. The 80,000 Basic Democrats elected the President indirectly. The population indirectly elected the legislative branch, and the legislative branch could not enact laws without the agreement of the President. Moreover, the President could ignore the legislature by enacting specific legislation not approved by the legislature.<sup>147</sup> Ayub called the system “a blending of democracy with discipline—the two prerequisites to running a free society with a stable government and sound administration.”<sup>148</sup>

However, signs that the population did not perceive the system as legitimate emerged shortly after the implementation of this constitution. In January 1965, Ayub faced reelection under his new system. Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Pakistan’s founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah, challenged Ayub Khan. Her rallies drew large crowds, especially in the urban areas of West Pakistan. While Ayub used the civil service to rally the support of the Local Basic Democrats and won the election with a vote of 49,951 to 28,939, the election showed two significant

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146. Burki, *Pakistan*, 55.

147. Burki, *Pakistan*, 56-57.

148. Khan, *Friends not Masters*, 216.

regional divides.<sup>149</sup> Ayub won West Pakistan 28,939 to Jinnah's 10,257. However, in East Pakistan, Ayub received 21,012 votes and Jinnah received 18,434. She won three of Pakistan's divisions: Chittagong, Dacca, and Karachi.<sup>150</sup> This election showed a divide between East and West Pakistan, with Jinnah able to carry Dacca and Chittagong. Moreover, in West Pakistan, she carried Karachi, which had a large Muhajir population. Ayub had his most robust support in Punjab, particularly near Islamabad, which is the geographic home of the dominant group. Notably, the historical record shows no sign that the Army was considering removing Ayub Khan at this point.

### **Foreign Policy and the 1965 War**

The population's reaction to Ayub's foreign policy is important in relation to this study's first hypothesis. This foreign policy, especially the war and peace agreement with India in 1965, caused protest in Punjab, especially around Islamabad. Punjab saw the peace agreement as a surrender to India, which enabled one of Ayub's ministers, Zulfikar Bhutto, to break his connection with Ayub and start to gain support based on nationalist appeals. This occurred only after the election, alongside clear signs that the population around Islamabad was abandoning its support of the government.

Pakistan's relationship with India dominated its foreign policy, especially concerning Kashmir. However, the dynamics of the overall relationship begin to change with the 1962 engagement between India and China. With this engagement, the United States provided more significant aid to India to counter China.<sup>151</sup> The President saw this increase in arms to India as a

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149. Khan, *Friends not Masters*, 203.

150. Sharif al Mujahid, "Pakistan's First Presidential Elections," *Asian Survey* No. 6, Vol. 5 (June 1965): 58.

151. Lawrence Ziring, *The Ayub Khan Era* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 44.



direct threat to Pakistan and directly protested to President Kennedy: “I am very grateful for the assurance you have given that the arms you are now supplying to India will not be used against us. This is very generous of you, but knowing the sort of people you are dealing with, whose history is a continuous tale of broken pledges, I would not ask a friend like you to place yourself in an embarrassing situation. India’s conduct over the question of Junagadh, Mangrol, Hyderabad, Kashmir, and Goa should be well-known to you. Our belief is that the arms now being obtained by India from you for use against China will undoubtedly be used against us at the very first opportunity.”<sup>152</sup> This protest hinted at a driving force in the dominant group—a threat from India. The fact that the President saw this a threat is important because of the reaction among the dominant group to the settlement that ended the war.

The 1965 war with India started with an attempt by Pakistan to fuel an insurgency in Kashmir by infiltrating forces. The previous year, Pakistan had achieved some limited success in Kutch, and Ayub believed he could expand upon this success. India responded by attacking West Pakistan, but not in the same area as Kashmir. The results were mostly inconclusive with India having a slight military advantage.<sup>153</sup> Pakistan and India agreed to a negotiated solution called the Tashkent Declaration, which Pakistan and India signed after the elections on January 10, 1966. The events during this agreement showed the first evidence that the dominant group was beginning to break with Ayub Khan. This is evidence of the type of reaction from the dominant group, which is first in the causal mechanism before the military takes action.

During the peace negotiations, Bhutto took an aggressive stance while Ayub was willing to accept the ceasefire line of 1949. Bhutto formally broke with Ayub, and formed the Pakistan

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152. Khan, *Friends not Masters*, 143.

153. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 239-240.

People's Party (PPP).<sup>154</sup> Ayub's government was attempting to control a dissatisfied military with its defense policies; however, it lost control over the dominant group. As the CIA noted: "Despite the Ayub regime's efforts to portray the Tashkent declaration as a success for Pakistan, hostility is widespread among the public. Students have taken the lead in demonstrating, and a number of anti-Ayub slogans have appeared."<sup>155</sup> This drive, led by students, was an indicator of the change in how the society viewed Ayub Khan, especially in the urban areas of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Urban dissatisfaction resulted from the nationalist desires of the dominant group. Widespread protests occurred in the urban areas around Islamabad and Rawalpindi. As addressed in Chapter 3, individuals from these urban areas made up a disproportionately high percentage of the military's leadership. Ayub Khan's foreign policy centered on India and his perceived failure in a war with India produced domestic cleavage around Islamabad.

### **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto**

If foreign policy is a significant driver of discontent among the population around Islamabad, then a short examination of Zulfikar Bhutto is essential to an understanding of how the political loyalties in Islamabad and the surrounding areas shifted after the 1965 election. Bhutto started his political career under Ayub Khan, serving as Minister of Commerce, Minister of Information, and, from 1963 until 1966, Minister of Foreign Affairs.<sup>156</sup> However, during the peace negotiations for the 1965 war with India, Bhutto increasingly took an aggressive stance,

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154. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 241.

155. United States Central Intelligence Agency (1966). *The President's Daily Brief Vietnam; North Vietnam; Dominican Republic; Soviet Union; Thailand; Rhodesia; France; Indonesia; India Pakistan; includes map and annex*. Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1832438708?accountid=25333>

156. Anwar H. Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* (New York: St. Marin's Press, 1992), 16.

whereas Ayub was willing to accept the ceasefire line of 1949. Further, Bhutto was more willing to improve relationships with China and Russia. Ayub recorded Bhutto's departure in his diary:

When he left, the leftist elements and a particular section of the student community made a lot of fuss. I was accused of turning him out because of his pro-China and anti-USA tendencies. Some said that he went under American pressure and the American aid was conditional on this. None of these things are there... He started using provocative language even on internal platforms and started behaving in an irresponsible and objectionable manner. He was working fast in the direction of becoming another Krishna Menon or Subandrio. Demagogy became his stock in trade. Several warnings went unheeded. Therefore, there was no alternative but to tell him to go... His trouble was that he started running a personal policy assisted by a few elements in the Foreign Office instead of the national policy.<sup>157</sup>

What Ayub saw considered demagoguery helped Bhutto gain popularity, especially in Punjab.

Upon returning to West Pakistan on June 16, 1966, in Lahore:

A vast mass of humanity was swarming over the platform, the carriage roof, bridges...and spilling on the road outside. As the train approached the station, they ran forward to garland him, clap and kiss his hand. Thousands of students and well-wishers had flocked to see him. They lifted him on their shoulders and carried him out shouting slogans like "Bhutto Zindabad" (Long live Bhutto), "United States Murdabad" (Down with the United States)... and more surprisingly, anti-Ayub slogans as well. Their affection warmth and enthusiasm so moved him that tears poured down his face as he was carried out of the station.<sup>158</sup>

Bhutto used nationalism to gain public support in Punjab.<sup>159</sup> Bhutto's messaging gave him direct acceptance among the dominant group.

Moreover, the economic conditions of Pakistan allowed the dominant group to identify with Bhutto's economic message. Bhutto established the PPP on December 1, 1967, and advocated a platform aimed at the economic and political concerns in West Pakistan, which he

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157. Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, 3.

158. Syed, *Discourse and Politics*, 59

159. For further evidence of this, see his following election results in the subsequent section on the transition from General Yahya Khan to Bhutto.

described as a combination of “Islam, democracy, and socialism.”<sup>160</sup> Bhutto went on a national tour, calling for more equality in the benefits of economic growth. The government campaign of a “decade of development” provided a backdrop for Bhutto to remind the population of how little they had benefited from Ayub Khan’s government.<sup>161</sup>

Calls for economic equality functioned as an effective political message in a society with Pakistan’s level of economic inequality. The wealthiest 43 families controlled a considerable percentage of the total wealth in the economy, which was especially true in West Pakistan. Table 4.1 demonstrates the concentration of wealth in both East and West Pakistan.<sup>162</sup>

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160. Muhammad Ali Siddiqi, “PPP leader outlines party policies,” *Dawn*, March 2, 1969, 5.

161. Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, *The Third Five Year Plan 1956-70* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1965).

162. Lawrence J. White, *Industrial Concentration and Economic Power in Pakistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 67.

Table 4.1 Growth rates of GNP and Distribution of GNP

Control of Manufacturing Assets, East, and West Pakistan, 1968 (million)*					
	Assets Controlled by Leading 43 Families (1)	Total Manufacturing Assets (2)	Total Assets of Privately Controlled Firms (3)	(1) as a % of (2)	(1) as a % of (3)
East Pakistan	\$232.11	\$744.24	\$514.65	31.2%	45.1%
West Pakistan	\$608.51	\$1,263.63	\$1,120.68	48.3%	54.4%
Total	\$ 841.95	\$2,007.87	\$1,635.33		
East Pakistan as a % of Total	27.6%	37.1%	31.5%		
West Pakistan as a % of Total	72.4%	62.9%	68.5%		

*Note.* \* in 1968 United States dollars.

Ayub recognized the reality of a concentration of capital in the hands of only a few, noting that: "There are only a few families in Pakistan who own all the factories, banks, and insurance. In other words, vast sources of wealth are available to them, but they are not large-hearted enough to share it with anyone who has entrepreneurial capabilities. All the insurance companies and banks, because of social pressures, favor their relatives over others. And the result of this is that money continues to circulate within the family. Now this is not a very healthy phenomena, and we must ensure that this vicious circle is broken."<sup>163</sup> However, his government was not able to address this economic disparity, which allowed Bhutto to effectively send a message to the population in Pakistan, including the dominant group around Islamabad.

163. Address to Senior Officers at Ayub Hall, Lal Kurti, Rawalpindi (April 20, 1964, 9.30 a.m.), 12

The concentration also had effects outside of the dominant group. The building autonomy movement in East Pakistan was likely driven by these economic disparities. As a former general and cabinet member under Ayub, Sher Ali Khan Pataudi recalled that the primary issue in 1965 in the East was the Western Wing's economic advantage over the East, and in the West it was the concentration of wealth among a few.<sup>164</sup> Moreover, as Pataudi recounts, President Ayub Khan believed the West should develop first.<sup>165</sup>

Bhutto's political message was compelling to the dominant group because of nationalism and economic conditions. The end of the 1965 war with India produced widespread protests in Punjab, including in Islamabad. The economy was a driver for group dissatisfaction with Ayub. These factors enabled Bhutto to increase support among the dominant group and were essential as Ayub Khan continued to fail in resolving the political demands of the dominant group.

### **Relationship with Military**

There was a clear break with the military as Ayub Khan lost support among dominant group members in the civilian population. Ayub Khan had previously maintained an extremely close relationship with the military. As late as October 1968, Ayub Khan sent a letter to Yahya Khan concerning infantry and tank cooperation, complaining: "These tactics are based on conditions prevailing in the First World War and even in the Second World War when antitank weapons were limited and the infantry had certainly no such weapons."<sup>166</sup> Moreover, he dined with tactical units, such as division headquarters, and took ideas directly to then Army Chief-of-Staff, General Yahya Khan. For example, as stated in his diaries, Ayub Khan noted: "Dined at 12

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164. Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan Pataudi, *The Story of Soldiering and Politics in Pakistan and India*, (Wajidalis: Lahore, 1979), 253.

165. Pataudi, *Story of Soldiering*, 255.

166. Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, 269.

Division headquarters and met most of the senior officers. They are a fine lot, had gone through fire during the [19]65 war and know their job. While talking to them certain ideas came to my mind which I want to discuss with Yahya.”<sup>167</sup>

In military matters, the relationship between the President and the senior military leadership was considered micromanagement. Recounting a meeting with both General Yahya and General Hamad, Ayub Khan noted: “beginning to understand and implement my ideas” about organizational training, defense preparations and the weapon problem.<sup>168</sup> The President’s involvement in security issues went beyond involving him in tactical issues of training and extended to involvement in dealing with security threats, mainly from India. He met several times with Yahya Khan and others to discuss preparations for war with India.<sup>169</sup>

Several facts concerning the chain of command during this period are essential to consider. Ayub Khan quickly resigned from the Army when he became President, on October 26, 1958, less than a month after the coup. He took on the role of Minister of Defense until October of the following year, when he also resigned that office. His eventual successor, Yahya Khan, became the Chief Martial Law Administrator until Yahya took over as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in June of 1966. Before Yahya took over as Commander-in-Chief, Ayub Khan picked General Mohammad Musa to take over the duties as Command-in-Chief when he assumed the office of President.

Musa is an outlier in relation to the hypotheses of this study, because he was a member of the Hazara people from Baluchistan. As shown in Chapter 2, he was an extreme minority in

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167. Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, 117.

168. Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, 220.

169. Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, 232-238

Pakistan's military leadership and the dominant group. During this period, it appears that Musa wanted to remove the Army from political involvement. Not being from Punjab, he may have identified with an apolitical professional ethos. Musa seems to have disliked his successor's political involvement. However, it is also true that he stepped down from the Chief-of-Staff position shortly after the 1965 war, which was the period during which Ayub Khan started to lose support from Punjab.

Musa's first real point of friction with Ayub was over the Army's continued involvement with the administration of Martial Law, which Musa wanted to limit.<sup>170</sup> Musa feared the influence of civilians on the Army. In 1960, when the capital moved to Islamabad, he forbid Army officers from taking part in social functions with ministers because he wished that "the Army remain insulated as far as possible from internal political currents."<sup>171</sup> The other major point of disagreement between Musa and Ayub Khan was the appointment of Yahya Khan as successor. Musa said that Yahya Khan was "hobnobbing with Bhutto" and had personal shortcomings.<sup>172</sup>

While the next section's focus is on the transition from Ayub to Yahya, the interaction between Yahya and Ayub before Yahya removed him from power is also instructive. In September of 1968, Yahya Khan came to the President to complain about rumors that Yahya Khan intended to replace Ayub.<sup>173</sup> Because rumors can function as a vital indication of a group's reaction among the dominant group, these are the first indication in Ayub Khan's diary of

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170. Mohammad Musa, *Jawan to General: Recollections of a Pakistani Soldier* (New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1985), 133.

171. Musa, *Jawan to General*, 141.

172. Musa, *Jawan to General*, 187

173. Musa, *Jawan to General*, 255.



evidence of a threat to his Presidency. These rumors began to circulate after the 1965 war, during a period of decreased support from the dominant group. On March 5, 1969, General Yahya came to the President, expressed his pessimism about the state of affairs in the country, and stated the requirement for martial law to restore order.<sup>174</sup> Again, this provides evidence for the contention that that the military's leadership and the dominant group perceives the environment in the same way, because the military's leadership is from the dominant group. On March 21, 1969, in another visit: "General Yahya was annoyed and said that the new governors could not carry out miracles nor can the constitutional changes calm the situation. He will carry out his duty to the country. It was clear as to what Gen. Yahya Khan was heading for."<sup>175</sup> Yahya Khan was moving to remove Ayub Khan, a military leader, because the dominant group demanded his removal.

As Addressed in the introduction, a rumor started to circulate in September 1968, which is the same month during which Ayub Khan's diary mentions his removal for the first time. As I address in the next section, this represents a period of protest in Islamabad and a period in which the CIA believed that Ayub Khan's administration was under threat. This provides crucial evidence that supports the causal mechanism at hand in this story. As the severity of the protest continued to increase in Islamabad, the CIA believed Auyb Khan's administration was at risk, and he was receiving signs that the Army's leadership was turning against him. This supports the causal mechanism identified at the beginning of this chapter because there were clear signs that this dissatisfaction was based on group identification, rather than Yahya Khan's decision as an individual actor.

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174. Musa, *Jawan to General*, 304.

175. Musa, *Jawan to General*, 308.

## Domestic Cleavage and Transition to Yahya Khan

The domestic cleavage and transition from Ayub to Yahya was the result of Ayub Khan not being able to resolve the political demands of the dominant group, which resulted in the military removing him from power. Before the transition, Ayub attempted a series of round table conferences between the government and the Democratic Action Committee (DAC), which was a coalition of parties attempting to coordinate opposition against Ayub. The most potent party from East Pakistan was the Awami League, led by Mujibur Rahman, who was publicly advocating for representation by population in the National Assembly.<sup>176</sup> Mujib defined his ideology in a six point plan, stating: (a) Pakistan shall be a Federation, (b) it shall be based on Lahore Resolution,<sup>177</sup> (c) its government shall be of Parliamentary form, (d) it must be responsible to the legislature, (e) the legislature must be supreme, (f) it must be directly elected, and (g) election must be on the basis of universal adult franchise.<sup>178</sup> The six points continued that the “Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects: Defense and Foreign Affairs, and all other residuary subjects shall vest in the Federating States.”<sup>179</sup> These demands produced political chaos that Ayub Khan could not resolve. This political chaos resulted in a domestic cleavage, which was demonstrated by protests and growing support for Bhutto.

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176. Nisar Osmani, “Mujib to raise all national issues at RTC: Hope for consensus in Opposition circles,” *Dawn*, February 25, 1969, 1.

177. Lahore Resolution is by the Muslim League states that “geographical contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary. That the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in the majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.”

178. Mujibur Rahman, “Six-Point Formula—Our Right to Live,” in *The Bangla Desh Papers* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1978), 24.

179. Rahman, “Six-Point Formula.”

During the weeks before the roundtable conference, Bhutto called for a caretaker government, stating that “if President Ayub quits immediately he did not see any reason why he should not join the Round Table Conference.”<sup>180</sup> In West Pakistan, tensions between the government and the population were increasing, which Bhutto used to his advantage. Pakistan experienced weeks of protests in Islamabad in late 1968, which the CIA, an independent observer, believed could threaten Ayub’s regime.<sup>181</sup> Importantly, the CIA judged that the domestic cleavage was a threat because of the location of the protests. The protests in East Pakistan were not the rationale for the CIA’s assessment, which provides evidence that even outside observers understood the importance of the dominant group.

Throughout this period, there was a disjointed relationship between the DAC and Bhutto. Bhutto stated that his only contact with the DAC was with Mian Mumtaz Daultana, President of the Muslim Council, a political party in West Pakistan.<sup>182</sup> Moreover, West Pakistan was not culturally or linguistically homogenous, and the RTC process increased pressure on the government to make concessions to groups within West Pakistan but external to Punjab. For example, Baluch opposition leaders, Sardar Ataullah Khan Mengal and Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan Bugli, demanded the creation of new provinces based on language and fully supported the demands of East Pakistan.<sup>183</sup> The foundation of power for Ayub was the Army, and the dominant group was not aligned with the RTC either. The parties inside West Pakistan that attached themselves to the RTC became minor political players. However, Bhutto’s party,

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180. “Bhutto calls for Caretaker Government,” *Dawn*, March 1, 1969, 1.

181. US CIA, *President’s Daily Brief*.

182. “Bhutto calls for caretaker Government,” 1.

183. “Return to Parliamentary rule, dissolution of 1-Unit,” *Dawn*, March 7, 1969, 7.

which positioned itself as anti-Ayub Khan and separate from the RTC, saw an increase in support in Punjab.

Not only was Ayub's government facing pressure from the DAC, but Bhutto was also using the DAC to increase his power over the dominant groups: those which reacted with nationalist protest when the 1965 war resulted in a peace agreement that restored pre-war conditions. The DAC was creating a political movement that was changing the perception of the dominant group, and political parties that joined the DAC attached themselves to a movement that threatened the national integrity of Pakistan. Bhutto, with a continued economic message, remained on the outside of the process and optimized his message for the dominant group. He was both anti-Ayub and opposed to the perceived threats to Pakistan itself, which were regional autonomy movements.

Ayub accepted two demands from the DAC: an adult franchise and a Parliamentary system. However, Ayub did not accept representation based on population or greater regional autonomy, which resulted in the Awami League severing its connection to the DAC and protests against the RTC in East Pakistan.<sup>184</sup> After the RTC announcement, Ayub attempted to change the constitution, which prompted protest in both East and West Pakistan. Bhutto continued to use this instability to strengthen his position among the dominant group. Using the RTC, of which he was not a member, as a scapegoat, Bhutto was able to both attack the government and solidify his position as a predominant member of the opposition. On March 23, 1969, one day after Defense Minister Afzal Rahman Khan and Information Secretary Altaf Gauhar privately met with Ayub to inform him that he would hand over power on the 25th,<sup>185</sup> the front page of the

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184. Mahbubul Alam, "Awami League Snaps ties with DAC," *Dawn*, March 14, 1969, 5.

185. Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, 308.

*Dawn* newspaper featured an article in which Bhutto stated that people were in revolt against the regime. He continued to position himself and to blame both Ayub Khan and the DAC:

The Home Minister has threatened the people with dire consequences, but he should remember that these threats have failed to intimidate the people who are struggling for their rights. The regime is again lifting its head to repeat its past follies only because a part of the opposition has come to a tacit agreement with the regime at the cost of the people... had it not been for this new development which has arisen out of the Round Table Conference the regime would not have returned to its arrogant threats. The rights of the people are supreme and colonial concept of law and order cannot recede into the background and invalidate the legitimate rights of the people. The regime speaks the language of the former colonial masters who held that law and order was more important than freedom. If the regime thinks that with the support of some elements in the opposition it can revert to dictatorial domination it would be committing its gravest error.<sup>186</sup>

In this, Bhutto was successfully using both the opposition and the government to appeal to the dominant group. The underlying chaos in the country caused the transition from Ayub to Yahya.

In President Ayub's letter to Pakistan, he stated:

The persons who had come forward to serve the country have been intimidated into following the mobs. There is none among them who can challenge this frenzy. The economy of the country has been crippled... Some people suggested to me that if these demands were accepted, peace would be restored to the country. I asked them 'in which country?' For the acceptance of these demands would have spelled the liquidation of Pakistan. I have always told you that Pakistan's salvation lay in a strong Centre... The whole nation demands that General Yahya, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, should fulfill his constitutional responsibilities.<sup>187</sup>

Yahya Khan took control from Ayub, but did so in a way that allowed Ayub to retire without any fear of retribution. Seven days after forcing Ayub Khan from power, Yahya Khan proclaimed himself President of Pakistan.<sup>188</sup>

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186. "Bhutto's Statement," *Dawn*, March 23, 1969, 1-4.

187. Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, 547-548.

188. "Yahya Assumes Office of President," *Dawn*, April 1, 1970, 1.

## **Conclusion**

As noted in the introduction, the causal mechanism that occurred in this case is a good match for the causal path envisioned in the theory chapter. The government of Ayub Khan was unable to meet the demands of the dominant group. Simultaneously, rumors started to circulate that Yahya Khan sought to replace Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan expressed concerns over purely domestic affairs to Ayub Khan. After a domestic cleavage over the failure of the RTC and after another round of protests around Islamabad, the military removed Ayub Khan, an action which aligns well with the predicted causal mechanism.

### **Zulfikar Bhutto Replacing Yahya Khan**

The removal of Yahya Khan follows the predicted causal mechanism presented in Chapter 2. Yahya Khan held elections to rewrite the constitution. The election produced a majority for the autonomy movement in East Pakistan, which in turn created an insurgency and eventual Independence of East Pakistan, as well as a massive domestic cleavage among the dominant group, both inside and outside the military. Both civilians and military leadership demanded the removal of Yahya Khan. Large scale protests occurred, both internal and external to the Army, which demonstrated the inherent connection between the military's leadership and the group that produces the military's leadership. Bhutto returned to the country from representing Pakistan's interests at the United Nations. After the disaster of the 1971 war, he was recalled and took over the powers of the government without any resistance from the military. Figure 4.2 shows the causal mechanism for this case study

Cause	Causal Mechanism		Outcome
<p>Yahya Khan holds an election to write a new constitution. The election results in East Pakistan's autonomy movement winning a majority. Parliament never seated and military sent to East Pakistan to suppress movement.</p>	<p>Insurgency starts in East Pakistan. India supports the insurgency and successfully invades East Pakistan. Country of Bangladesh created.</p>	<p>Large protests among the civilian members of the dominant group. Military's leadership in open rebellion against the government of Yahya Khan.</p>	<p>Bhutto arrives in Pakistan and assumes control of the government.</p>

Figure 4.2 Process trace showing the removal of Yahya Khan

This causal mechanism fits well with the developed theory. A military defeat caused a mass reaction among the dominant population, the military included. This case study will fully demonstrate this conclusion. In the military, General Abdul Hamid Khan, the Deputy Commander-in-Chief, addressed the GHQ and was booed off stage by military officers. Colonels approached General Gul Hassen Khan and reported that they “were on the verge of mutiny” and were “shocked over the loss of East Pakistan and [with] visible unrest amongst them.”<sup>189</sup> The military’s leadership revolted after the defeat, which was in perfect alignment with the dominant group’s reaction. The civilian population was in widespread protest. The domestic cleavage was perceived in the same way by the military’s leadership and the dominant members of the civilian population. The similarity between the reaction of the public and of the military’s leadership is a

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189. A.O. Mirtha, ed. *Unlikely Beginnings: A Soldier's Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 368-369; see also F.B. Ali, “The ‘71 Transfer of Power,” in *Unlikely Beginnings: A Soldier's Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 419-424.

clear demonstration that the military's leadership was still culturally a part of the group from which the leadership originated in society.

An important point, which shows the military's leadership's connection to the dominant population, is the difference between the military's use in East Pakistan and their refusal in West Pakistan. The army came from extended domestic use in East Pakistan, which involved widespread human rights violations. However, with the defeat by India in 1971, they resisted being used domestically. The rationale for their resistance was not that they thought such use was not their purpose, but rather that this particular use would have brought them into conflict with other members of the dominant group. In other words, the senior officers would not use military force against groups protesting demands with which the leadership identified. Again, this shows that the military's leadership and the civilian members of the dominant group viewed the defeat against Pakistan in the same way. While this alignment may seem an obvious effect of a large military defeat, it is important to compare this reaction to the military's use in East Pakistan. The military's leadership had no issue with the military's use against Pakistanis, but did have an issue with its use against dominant group members.

The handover to Bhutto occurred because of the military's massive defeat to India and the reaction that occurred among the dominant group, military included. The dominant group's reaction guided the military's reaction and indicated that the military was reacting because of a domestic cleavage that was affecting the dominant group. Moreover, there was no resistance from either internal conflicts or a dis-unified security apparatus.

### **Overview of Yahya Khan's Governance Decisions**

Yahya Khan's attempted reforms provided formal power to the non-dominant groups, especially West Pakistan's Bangal populations. East Pakistan's population was larger than West



Pakistan. An election by population provided an absolute majority to East Pakistan's autonomy movement. This group's demands would directly threaten the territorial integrity of Pakistan. Moreover, granting East Pakistan equal representation in parliament resulted in their domination of Pakistan's politics. The dominant group was nationalist, and would not accept the division of Pakistan or political hegemony by East Pakistan. The reaction of dominant group members, both inside and outside the military, was uniform.

When Yahya Khan came to power, he quickly moved to put the country under martial law and abrogated the Constitution. Yahya Khan set regulations for a military justice process with authority over civilians. He outlawed speech critical to the military takeover which showed "prejudice of good order" and was "calculated towards territorial or administrative dismemberment of Pakistan."<sup>190</sup> He also prohibited meetings without prior government approval, strikes, carrying a weapon, not providing testimony, hampering military operations, harming a member of the Armed Forces, damaging public property, and providing "assist[ance] or harbor any recalcitrant."<sup>191</sup> Punishment for violating these new provisions ranged from ten years imprisonment to death.<sup>192</sup> On March 26, 1969, Yahya Khan addressed the nation and stated that Ayub Khan had "called upon [Yahya Khan] to carry out [his] prime duty of protecting the country" and that he had "no ambition other than the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of a constitutional Government."<sup>193</sup> These policy goals were similar to previous military actions to restore order, and the dominant group generally accepted the steps.

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190. Signed regulations by Yahya Khan were reprinted in "Proclamation," *Dawn*, March 26, 1969, 1-4.

191. "Proclamation," *Dawn*.

192 "Proclamation," *Dawn*.

193. Yahya Khan "Text of Yahya's Broadcast," *Dawn*, March 27, 1969, 1

Yahya Khan's public focus during the first few days of his administration was anti-corruption and efficiency of government.<sup>194</sup> By April 10, 1969, he stated that there would be direct elections to elect a new Parliament as soon as the security situation returned to normal. While he restricted political party activities, he did not ban political parties to ensure that he could resume political activities and create a new constitution. Yahya Khan defined the purpose of his government as "to ensure that a strong and sound base of discipline is created to withstand the rough and tumble of active politics and electioneering when these come into play."<sup>195</sup> By April 22, 1969, Yahya was meeting with political leaders and agreed that elections would happen as soon as possible.<sup>196</sup> However, the threat to the dominant group was clear. As former President Ayub Khan wrote:

General Yahya, in one of his press conferences, has stated that at appropriate time elections will be held by direct adult franchise and the representatives of the people will be given the task of framing a constitution. This is the height of wishful thinking... I am reminded of a story, which the Nawab of Kalabagh once told me. In 1946 or so he was staying with his cousin, the Sardar of Kot Fateh Khan, in Delhi, he told him you know what this man Jinnah is doing, he is wanting us to go under the Shudras of Bengal. I was annoyed at this at the time, but now that Bhashani and Mujib are making their intentions clear the danger is becoming real. Asking for 56 percent representation in the center is tantamount to asking to rule Pakistan.<sup>197</sup>

East Pakistan unified on its demands, and those demands were a threat to Pakistan. Allowing direct democracy therefore facilitated a clear threat to the dominant group and its position in Pakistan.

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194. "Efficiency of Civil administration being heightened," *Dawn*, March 31, 1969, 1

195. Yahya Khan "President Yahya's statement: Text," *Dawn*, April 11, 1969, 8.

196. Nisar Osmani, "Polls as early as possible, says President," *Dawn*, April 23, 1969, 1.

197. Baxter, *Diaries of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan*, 312.

While we cannot exclude the possibility that Yahya Khan had alternative motives, the most likely explanation is that, early in his administration, he desired a political solution to the question of East Pakistan. While he reversed himself as the consequences of his decisions become apparent after his policies resulted in an election that brought to power to the independence movement of West Pakistan, his primary strategy seemed to be to force a compromise by allowing a fair election, while limiting the parliament to only writing a constitution. If his government desired to maintain power, this essential decision seemed at extreme odds with that desire. It is more likely that he saw the consequences of his early decisions, and the government changed its policy and stopped the parliament—which had a majority that supported West Pakistan’s independence—from meeting.

On January 1, 1970, Kahn allowed political parties within Pakistan to start holding public meetings. On March 30, 1970, President Yahya Khan issued a Legal Framework to guide the transition back to civil government. In sum, it mandated that a new National Assembly was to create a constitution that preserved the Islamic ideology; maintained the territorial integrity, national solidarity, and Independence of Pakistan; and created a democracy based direct adult franchise. The purpose of this first National Assembly was to create a federal system with rights distributed between the federal government and regional governments.<sup>198</sup> The legal framework set out that the National Assembly “shall frame the Constitution in the form of a bill to be called the Constitution Bill within a period of one hundred and twenty days from the date of its first meeting, and on its failure to do so shall stand dissolved.”<sup>199</sup> The President would approve or

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198. Yahya Khan, “Text of President Yahya Khan’s Address to the Nation,” *Morning News*, March 29, 1970, 1.

199. Yahya Khan, *Legal Framework Order* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1970).

disapprove the new Constitution. Moreover, the National Assembly could not meet for any purpose other than framing the constitution, and Yahya banned the meeting of any Provincial Assembly until the constitution came into effect. The distribution of seats in the National Assembly is shown in Table 4.2.<sup>200</sup>

Table 4.2 Number of Seats in the National Assembly by Area

Area	Number of Seats in the National Assembly
East Pakistan	162
Punjab	82
Sindh	27
Baluchistan	4
The North-West Frontier Province	18
Centrally Administered Tribal Areas	7
Total	300

Once Khan published the legal framework, he went to East Pakistan and reaffirmed his goal of leading the nation back towards democracy.<sup>201</sup>

The Awami League opened their electoral campaign by reaffirming their commitment to regional autonomy and their six-point plan. On June 7, 1969, the Awami League Chief, Mujibur Rahman, started his general election campaign in Dacca. Media reports estimated the crowds at “hundreds of thousands” in the pouring rain. He framed the election only as “a referendum on the autonomy issue-whether the people wanted autonomy on the basis of his party’s six-point plan.”<sup>202</sup>

200. Yahya Khan, *Legal Framework Order*.

201. “Authentication is Only Procedural – President Reaffirms People’s Sovereignty,” *Dawn*, April 11, 1970, 1.

202. “Pakistan Cannot be Destroyed by any Power, Says Mujib,” *Dawn*, June 8, 1970, 1.

Economics was also a significant driver of the Awami League demands. The fourth economic plan acknowledged that economic growth did not meet the target of seven percent per year and averaged around four percent growth with a per capita income increase of only one percent.<sup>203</sup> The more significant issue was that the economic plan also acknowledged that there was a shortfall in investment in East Pakistan: “[An] important factor was a severe shortfall of investment. Against a plan target of Rs. 16,000 million for the public sector in East Pakistan, the investment would be around Rs. 11,300 million. If one made corrections for the price increase of investment goods during the Third Plan, the shortfall would still be more significant because development agencies, unable to increase their revenues, used a part of East Pakistan’s gross allocation for developing to pay past debts.”<sup>204</sup> The government released the five-year plan in July of 1970, which East Pakistan saw as another indicator of the central government’s inability to provide equality between the East and West. As reported in *Dawn*:

The meeting also said that the elected representatives of the people would have to revise the Fourth Five-Year Plan and alter it in every respect necessary to bring it into accord with those constitutional provisions which were expected to invest the Governments of federating units with full powers of economic management. The meeting referred to the shortfall of Rs. 1,100 crores in the Third Plan expenditure in East Pakistan and urged that all the previous shortcomings in the Plan expenditure be made up. It held that no annual development plan could represent meaningful steps towards revising the trend of economic disparity “unless the previous shortfalls are made up.” Sheikh Mujib recalled how in the past East Pakistan had been exploited and described how people had suffered under successive Governments.<sup>205</sup>

East Pakistan’s framing is essential because it re-enforces the central threat to the dominant group. The six-point plan is a direct threat to dominant group members, both inside and outside

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203. Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, *Forth Five Year Plan (1970-75)* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1970), 535.

204. Planning Commission, *Forth Five Year Plan*.

205. “Pakistan Cannot be Destroyed by any Power, Says Mujib,” *Dawn*, June 7, 1970, 1.

the military. It directly intersects with their nationalism, which relates to the group reaction addressed previously in relation to the 1965 peace treaty with India. However the six-point plan also created an unsolvable problem in the sense that the vast majority of the population of East Pakistan identified with the demands of the Awami.

The elections resulted in the Awami League winning 160 of the 162 seats in East Pakistan and established a clear mandate for the Awami League's leader, Mujib-ur-Rahman, to negotiate for autonomy. In East Pakistan, Bhutto's PPP won 81 of the 138 seats. His mandate was restructuring the economy and providing basic needs such as food, health, education, and shelter. However, his mandate was only in Punjab and Sindh. In the North-West Frontier Province, the PPP only won three out of 40 seats and zero out of 20 seats in Baluchistan.<sup>206</sup> Notably, the three seats in the North-West Frontier Province were adjacent to Islamabad, which again indicates the influence of the dominant group. Bhutto won 62 of Punjab's 82 seats and 18 of Sindh's 27 seats. Importantly, the PPP did well around the area of Islamabad, especially in the urban center.<sup>207</sup> Thus, Bhutto's mandate included the dominant group.

While Bhutto won power among the dominant group, other areas of Pakistan rejected him, as evidenced by the populations in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier. In the North-West Frontier Province, the National Awami Party won 13 of 40 seats, and in Baluchistan, it won 8 of 20 seats. While the National Awami Party was a breakaway of the Awami League in East Pakistan, it still supported a loose confederacy in Pakistan. The second most popular party in both the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan was the Muslim League (Qayyum), which was a Muslim League Party that divided from Yahya. The party won three of 10 seats in

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206. Burki, *Pakistan*, 65.

207. Craig Baxter, "Pakistan Votes - 1970," *Asian Survey* 11, no. 3 (March, 1971): 213.

the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan, respectively. In sum, both Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province showed a desire to reject both the PPP and Yahya. The exception were seats in the North West Frontier province near Islamabad. The PPP's performance indicates that the politics of Pakistan, at least as shown in its first election based on universal suffrage, were driven by ethnic and linguistic divides.

After the election, there was a period of negotiation, followed by the use of the military to control East Pakistan. First a period of consultation occurred between the election winners—Mujibur's Awami League, Bhutto's PPP, and the central government. After the elections, Bhutto quickly moved to demand a position to shape the new constitution. He declared that his party would not sit in opposition, despite not having a majority in the new National Assembly. Rather, he had won majorities in both Punjab and Sindh and, according to Bhutto, those two provinces provided the national government with its "real power."<sup>208</sup> Again, this shows the importance of the dominant group.

Bhutto's statement was quickly rejected by the Awami League, who countered that: "a party enjoying a comfortable...absolute majority as the Awami League does and with a clear electoral mandate is quite competent to frame the Constitution and to form the Central Government."<sup>209</sup> Bhutto quickly moved to position the PPP as "the sole representative of the people of West Pakistan like the Awami League in East Pakistan, and therefore it could not be deprived of sharing power in the Government" and he argued that both regions required an agreement for a Constitution.<sup>210</sup>

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208. "People's Party Will Not Sit in Opposition," *The Pakistan Times*, December 21, 1970, 1.

209. Tajuddin Ahmed, Awami League Competent to Frame Constitution in Bangla Desh Papers, 133.

210. "Crisis if Constitution Not Framed," *Dawn*, December 25, 1970, 135-136.

While Mujibur did not have a full degree of latitude in his negotiations, the six-point plan and the call for autonomy provided Mujibur with widespread support. He also took on a more symbolic role by spending time in prison, but the core driver for Mujibur's popularity was this call for regional autonomy.<sup>211</sup> Mujibur had limited negotiating ability because of the movement's direct links to regional autonomy; however, his position was directly opposed to the nationalist desires of the dominant group. Mujibur's lack of negotiating ability, in turn, provided no real negotiation space with either the military or Bhutto's PPP, both of which followed a nationalist ideology.

Privately, Bhutto urged Yahya not to turn the country over to Mujib. To pressure Yahya, Bhutto was actively messaging the dominant group based on nationalism. An unexpected message to the dominant group occurred when Kashmir militants hijacked an Indian plane to demand the release of Kashmiri militants held by India. Bhutto met with the hijackers and called them "heroes," which caused the Indian government to ban Pakistani flights over India; this resulted in a long detour for any flight going between West and East Pakistan.<sup>212</sup> Moreover, it played directly into a propaganda campaign suggesting that the Awami League had Indian leanings.<sup>213</sup> Despite this, the President traveled to Dacca and declared Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the future Prime Minister.<sup>214</sup>

The President ordered that the National Assembly meet on March 3, 1971, but then delayed the meeting, indicating a stalemate. On March 6, 1971, Yahya made a speech noting that

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211. Rounaq Jahan, "Elite in Crisis: The Failure of Mujib-Yahya-Bhutto Negotiations," *Orbis*, January 25, 2010, 577-579.

212. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 261-263.

213. "Mujib Blasts Propaganda of Hindu Leanings," *The Pakistan Times*, January 3, 1971, 1.

214. "Mujib Future Prime Minister," *The Pakistan Observer*, January 15, 1971, 1.



he would “not allow a handful of people to destroy the homeland of millions of innocent Pakistanis. It is the duty of the Pakistan Armed Forces to ensure the integrity, solidarity, and security of Pakistan.”<sup>215</sup> The Commander in East Pakistan, LTG Sahibzada Yaqub wrote a plan to authorize the military to take charge of the administration of East Pakistan four days after the National Assembly elections. By March 23, 1971, discussions with Mujibur fell apart, and his supporters raised Bangladeshi flags over East Pakistan. The army seized control of East Pakistan on March 25th, 1971, capturing Mujibur. However, his supporters fled to India and created a government in exile.<sup>216</sup>

These actions incited an insurgency for Independence in East Pakistan, which was led by the Mukti Bahini, an armed group that quickly formed in order to fight for Independence. The group received support from India and the government in exile. The conflict resulted in mass killings of civilians.<sup>217</sup> On November 20, 1971, India invaded East Pakistan. India’s aim in the east was to use the Mukti Bahini to engage Pakistan lines of communication and defeat Pakistani forces with a conventional attack. Counterattacks into India from West Pakistan proved unable to achieve the effect of pressuring India to end the war. By December 16, 1971, less than a month after India launched its invasion of East Pakistan, India forced Pakistan’s military in East Pakistan to surrender, and 90,000 soldiers became prisoners of war in India.<sup>218</sup>

The reaction from the dominant group (including both military and civilian dominant group members), calling for Yahya’s removal, was both unified and massive. Importantly, the

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215. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 264.

216. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 267.

217. Estimates range from 26,000 to 3,000,000 killed. See Donald W. Beachler, *The Genocide Debate: Politicians, Academics, and Victims* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

218. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 282-307.

reaction among the military's leadership was similar to that of the overall population. There were protests to Army leadership within Army, and widespread protests in the civilian population. The defeat in 1971 caused a tremendous group reaction among the dominant group members, both military and civilians.

### **Relationship with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto**

Bhutto became a valuable alternative for the dominant group to Yahya Khan. Much as he did during President Ayub's RTC, Bhutto continued to consolidate the support of the dominant group. Again, Bhutto used nationalism and won widespread public support. When the 1971 war ended, even if Yahya had attempted to keep power, he had lost dominant group member support in the general public and the military.

President Yahya Khan's relationship with Bhutto evolved into Bhutto representing Pakistan at the end of Yahya's administration. Bhutto was in a position of power in West Pakistan after winning 64 out of 82 seats in Punjab, which put him in a dominant position as the leader of the dominant group. After President Yahya delayed the National Assembly, Bhutto took the position of blaming Mujibur Rahman for the breakdown in talks: "I have recently sent a telegram to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. After all, I am not an untouchable.<sup>219</sup> I am your representative. I sent this telegram in that capacity. It was not my personal telegram. I would say it took the heartbeat of the whole of West Pakistan with it. It was a reasonable proposal from West Pakistan. I have told Sheikh Mujibur Rahman I am ready to come to Dacca with a true heart and a sincerity of purpose. I have requested him to try to keep the country intact."<sup>220</sup>

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219. Bhutto employed language from the Hindu Caste system, which is part of the propaganda against the Awami League.

220. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *A Collection of Articles, Statements and Speeches 1970-1971* (Rawalpindi: Pakistan Publications, 1972), 185.

Additionally, Bhutto was able to distance himself from the other opposition in West Pakistan, often using the Round Table Talks.<sup>221</sup> Distancing himself from other opposition placed Bhutto in an optimal position to gain the support of the dominant group.

Bhutto may have desired an independent East Pakistan early in the negotiations. A United States interagency assessment stated that “Bhutto... may have tacitly concluded that they would be prepared to let the East Pakistanis secede – leaving themselves to govern a residual state in West Pakistan – rather than accept a weak federal system based on the Awami League program.”<sup>222</sup> East Pakistan was more impoverished and would remain difficult to control in a loose confederation. A negotiated solution might not have been possible, and Bhutto could use the crisis to consolidate his power in Punjab. Whether Bhutto desired a compromise or not, his positioning as an outsider with a world stage made Bhutto the obvious choice to gain if Yahya Khan failed in East Pakistan. Yahya’s failure would fully consolidate the populations in Punjab, where Bhutto held 78% of the seats in Parliament. Bhutto was politically most influential in the same geographic area that produced the vast majority of Pakistani Army leadership.

### **Relationship with Military**

The Army had no inherent reason to turn against Yahya Khan, as the military respected him before the conflict. As such, the dominant group reacted because of a critical domestic cleavage rather than because of a particular reason inherent to Yahya Khan’s administration. While General Musa opposed Yahya Khan appointment to Army Chief of Staff, the Army’s leadership generally respected his leadership. LTG Gul Hassen Khan, who was serving as Chief-

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221. Bhutto, *A Collection*, 13.

222. "United States National Security Council Interdepartmental Group for Near East and, South Asia," *NSSM 118*, February 16, 1971. Contingency study on Pakistan--addendum to *NSSM 109* includes contingency study, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1679073421?accountid=25333>

of-Staff for General Headquarters (GHQ)<sup>223</sup> in Rawalpindi, found Yahya “competent, decisive, broad-minded, easy in manner which is a sign of confidence, and above all he possessed a remarkable memory and a high IQ.”<sup>224</sup> LTG Gul Hassen blamed General Abdul Hamid Khan, who was serving as Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan’s Army and Deputy Martial Law Administrator, for the misjudgments of Yahya Khan. Another officer, LTG Jahan Dad Khan, recorded that Yahya had the “reputation of being highly intelligent, professionally sound, and an effective leader, who could take timely decisions and carry his command with him,”<sup>225</sup> but also observed that Yahya Khan was “happy to delegate authority to his subordinates, leaving it to them to produce results.”<sup>226</sup> However, he seemed to have misjudged the 1970 election. Before the 1970 election, Yahya showed anti-Bhutto sentiment. Major General Attiqur Rahman, who was then serving as Governor of Punjab, in a meeting of intelligence officers, stated that the large turn-out for Bhutto was due to the entertainment factor and did not reflect actual support.<sup>227</sup>

Bhutto’s break with Khan occurred in the same period it did with the population. In other words, the dominant group, regardless of whether the members were part of the military’s leadership or a part of the civilian population, reacted in a unified manner. On December 19 1971, three days after the Army’s Surrender in East Pakistan, General Abdul Hamid Khan, the Deputy Commander-in-Chief, addressed the GHQ officers at Rawalpindi. A near rebellious

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223. The General Headquarters is the headquarters of the Pakistani Army.

224. Gul Hassan Khan, *Memoirs of Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan Khan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 288.

225. Jahan Dad Khan, *Pakistan Leadership Challenges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 105.

226. Khan, *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*.

227. M. Attiqur Rahman, *Back to the Pavilion*, (Karachi: Ardeshir Cowasjee, 1989), 226.

audience forced him to leave the stage “once or twice” and continued to interrupt him.<sup>228</sup> This is a clear indication of the dominant group’s reaction to the defeat. Later on December 19th, a group of officers approached General Gul Hassen Khan and reported that they “were on the verge of mutiny” and “shocked over the loss of East Pakistan and [with] visible unrest amongst them.”<sup>229</sup> The Army requested the resignation of the President and Chief of Army Staff, General Gul Hassen Khan; the Air Force Chief of Staff met with the President and convinced him to announce, as soon as possible, that he handed over power to the elected leaders of the country.<sup>230</sup>

There was clear evidence that the dominant group within the military wanted the removal of Yahya Khan, and it was this group reaction that forces a change from the military. This fits the causal mechanism and hypothesis well. To summarize these events in relation to the causal mechanism, the military’s leadership was outraged at the failure, and this failure created a clear demand with which dominant members, both inside and outside of the military, identified.

The anger within the Army was both widespread and profound. Pervez Musharraf, a future President of Pakistan by coup and company commander of a Special Service Group (SSG) during the time of the surrender, recalled it as: “a terrible day. When I was telling my troops about the cease-fire, the surrender of our 90,000 personnel (military and civilian)... I broke down and cried. All my brave soldiers cried with me. It remains the saddest and most painful day of my life. My anger at the generals who had taken charge of the government, and at some of the politicians of the time, still makes me see red. What happened in East Pakistan is the saddest

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228. Khan, *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*, 340.

229. Khan, *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*, 341.

230. Khan, *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*, 342.

episode in Pakistan's history.”<sup>231</sup> The loss of East Pakistan was an emotional event for the entire Army, and prompted anger toward both the political leadership and Army leadership.

Moreover, the military was reacting as an extension of the dominant group with group members both inside and outside of the military reacting similarly. Major General Rahman, then Governor of Punjab, recalled that after the surrender, “large crowds gathered outside, lamenting the defeat... the roar, almost a baying, of the crowd was not pleasant to hear, but it was understandable.”<sup>232</sup> Old women tried to climb the gates of his office to meet with him, and he let in small groups so he could explain the defeat. One of the groups included former MG Fazal Muqeem, who had been the Army Commander in East Pakistan six years prior.<sup>233</sup> Yahya called Rahman the night before his resignation, and told him about the masses and the meetings. Yahya asked him what the crowds wanted, and Rahman stated that they “wanted your head.”<sup>234</sup>

### **Domestic Cleavage and Overview of Transition**

The transition from Yahya Khan to Bhutto was quick and facilitated by the military. Yahya made Bhutto deputy Prime Minister shortly before the surrender, and sent him to the United Nations to negotiate a solution to the crisis in East Pakistan. A day before the army's submission, Bhutto had stormed out of a meeting of the Security Council and promised, “a thousand years war” with India, which, along with other previous actions, had won him the

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231. Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York: Free Press, 2006), 54.

232. Attiqur Rahmab, *Back to the Pavilion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 246.

233. Rahmab.

234. Rahmab, 246.

admiration of the Army and the population in spite of national humiliation. Upon Bhutto's return from New York, he became President of Pakistan.<sup>235</sup>

There was possible movement within the military to block Bhutto from coming to power. Gul Hassan Khan recalled that Brigadier Ghulam Mohammad, who was commanding the Special Service Group (SSG), visited him. Ghulam stated that Major General Aboobaker Osman Mitha, who helped create the SSG, came to him and inquired about the possibility of moving a company of SSG as soon as possible to Rawalpindi to "protect the President." Khan and BG Ghulam Mohammad suspected that this was an attempt to block Bhutto from coming to power. Bhutto retired Mitha during his first speech as President.<sup>236</sup>

However, other accounts dispute this chain of events, and it is unlikely that this prevented the change in power in Pakistan, as the dominant group's reaction was extreme. In Major General Mitha's retelling of the transition, the 6<sup>th</sup> Armored Division demanded that the government resign and be replaced by the elected representatives. General F.B. Ali took command of the 6<sup>th</sup> Armored Division and dispatched Colonel Aleem Afridi and Javed Iqbal to see General Gul Hassan Khan with their demands. While Khan maintained that the government had decided to leave, this account suggests that the government desired to retain power and promulgate a new constitution. Gul Hassan Khan stated that the SSG was meant to block or disrupt any movement by the 6<sup>th</sup> Armored Division. According to the acting commander of the 6<sup>th</sup> Armored Division, the rationale behind these actions was the fear that the regime would use the Army to suppress protests, as the population was already protesting for Yahya's removal after the surrender in East Pakistan. The 6<sup>th</sup> Armored Division commander believed that this

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235. Burki, *Pakistan*, 69.

236. Khan, *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*, 343.

action would produce a breach between the Army and civilians and could put a severe strain on the Army's discipline.<sup>237</sup>

The military feared that Yahya would use the Army against civilians, namely those protesting in Islamabad. As addressed previously, the military had seen widespread use in East Pakistan, and was blamed for large-scale human rights abuses. However, Khan could not use the military against the dominant group because the military's leadership was a part of that dominant group and would not allow its use. If used in West Pakistan, the army leaders believed the military would start to break down. This demonstrates the connection between the Army's leadership and the dominant group. The second point to note is that the military seemed to act with unity, even if they were acting outside of their formal chain of command. There may have been some efforts to stop Bhutto; however, the military quickly gave power back to the civilian government after what it saw as a massive failure.

## **Conclusion**

The chain of events including Yahya Khan's inability to resolve the crisis in East Pakistan, the decisive loss in the war in 1971, and the mass reaction of the dominant group, both inside and outside the military, validate the hypothesis and theory. The dominant group members of the military not only reacted against Yahya Khan, but also reacted against members of Pakistan's leadership closely associated with Yahya Khan, including his Deputy General Abdul Hamid Khan. However, the Chief of General Staff General Gul Hassen Khan, the lowest person in the Army's hierarchy, who was not a close associate of Yahya Khan, had Yahya Khan resign from office.

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237. Mirtha, *Unlikely Beginnings*, 368-369; see also Ali, "The '71 Transfer of Power," 419-424.



## Civilian Rule after Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq

The transition of power from General Zia’s administration back to civilian rule is different from the events addressed in the previous case studies, because it reflects a transition that occurred after a sudden event: the death of General Zia in a plane crash. Once the plane crash occurred, a new Army Chief-of-State, General Beg, desired to transfer power back to civilians. Despite other general officers suggesting that he remain in control, Beg moved forward with elections. However, when there was an indication that Bhutto’s PPP, now headed by his daughter Benazir Bhutto, would win the upcoming election, Beg directed the ISI to support an opposition party. Bhutto won a large enough plurality of votes that he could create a coalition to become Prime Minister. However, she was only able to take office after she made a deal with General Beg to constrain her actions over specific foreign policy issues. The process trace for this case study is shown in Figure 4.3.

Cause	Causal Mechanism		Outcome
Plane crash occurs and President Zia dies	General Beg decides to hold democratic elections despite top generals suggesting he should take control of the government; Possible intervention with Pakistan’s Supreme Court to ensure democratic elections.	Army leadership fears that the PPP (Bhutto’s Party) will sweep elections; ISI helps created a center right counter to the PPP.	Bhutto wins a plurality in parliament (94 of the 104 seats required for majority); Able to create a coalition government but only takes power after military places conditions on future actions

Figure 4.3 Process trace showing the transition from President Zia to Benazir Bhutto

This case study—of the turnover to Benazir Bhutto is unique in this study because it is the only example that does not validate the process predicted in Chapter 2. First, there is no real domestic cleavage and set of political demands from the dominant group; instead Zia died, leaving a power vacuum. General Beg appears to have turned over power even when members of the military's leadership believed the military should remain in power. Moreover, Beg took active steps to ensure that elections occurred, rather than allowing Zia's former Prime Minister to take power. However, when the PPP looked to gain power, Beg also allowed the ISI to help create the opposition in Pakistan, which went along with the desires of other members of the military's leadership.

General Beg is not from Punjab, but was born in Uttar Pradesh and was President of his college's chapter of the Muslim League, which actively supported the Pakistan movement. He immigrated to Pakistan and joined the military in 1950. When stationed in East Pakistan before the 1971 war, Beg also advocated for a political process, for which he faced the threat of a possible court-martial.<sup>238</sup> Like General Musa Khan, he was a minority member of a homogenous dominant group. However, while he initially decided to return power, he also eventually decided to organize domestic opposition to the PPP because it was unacceptable to the military's leadership.

Under General Beg's guidance, the ISI created a political party and dictated the conditions under which it would hand over power. While Beg did not stop Benazir Bhutto from coming to power, the military created her primary opposition in Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif's Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA). The military successfully created a political organization,

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238. Hein Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline: The Inter-Service-Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 71.

and the IDA's power centralized around Islamabad. IDA's creation seems logical, given that the dominant group was also centralized around Islamabad.

However, given that this case does not fit the predicted causal mechanism, what is the relevance to the developed theory? First, there was neither a domestic cleavage nor the political demands that result from such a cleavage. The military was not forced to react because of widespread protests in Islamabad. Unlike the massive protests around Islamabad in the other three case studies, General Zia simply died. There were signs that the dominant group was not satisfied with the status quo, but the level of desire for change was not as severe as that which caused the removal of Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, and (as will be addressed later in this chapter) Pervez Musharraf. With no large scale protests from the dominant group, Beg had tremendous freedom of action. First, to go against other members of the military's leadership and attempt to transfer power to civilians. Then, to reverse himself and build an opposition because of the concerns of the military's leadership.

Second, it is important to consider the integrated role of Pakistan's military in domestic politics and how the dominant group accepted this situation. Pakistan used the military for domestic security, and the military leadership viewed their responsibilities as partly domestic. Notably, the military's leadership attempted to convince General Beg to maintain power and did not resist when Beg directed involvement by the ISI to create an opposition to the PPP. The reality of Pakistan is that the Army was used both internally and externally, which helped to create the perception of a legitimate, domestic military role among members of the dominant group.

Finally, the ability of the military to act because a unified security apparatus is essential in its ability to renounce power peacefully. In the India case studies addressed in the following

chapter, I will evaluate a divided security structure, both in a heterogeneous dominant group and in a dis-unified security apparatus. In Pakistan, ISI operated under the military, not as an external agency. Unlike India, there were no competing organizations within Pakistan, which enabled General Beg to both cede power and then use the ISI to create an opposition to the PPP. He could order the ISI to perform a function, and they would comply without any resistance. The lack of an agency to prohibit actions allowed General Beg discretion in his decisions. Notably, Bhutto seemed to understand the need of an organization not controlled by the Army, and created the Federal Security Force (FSF) but General Zia later disbanded the FSF when he took power.

While this case study does not directly validate the hypothesis or causal mechanism, it still supports the importance of many of the variables in this study. For example, the connection between the dominant group and the Army leadership is essential in explaining why and how General Beg returned power. Moreover, it helps to explain how he influenced the conditions for the return of power. This shows the connection between the Army's leadership and the dominant group.

### **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Administration and Transition to General Zia**

When Zulfikar Bhutto seized power, his government lasted for five and a half years before another military coup. Bhutto's government attempted to centralize control, and the effort resulted in a loss of support from the dominant group and eventual removal by the military. Bhutto did try to establish civilian dominance over the military. He punished individual military leaders and began a campaign to discredit the military as a whole. Bhutto started a campaign to publicize the military's surrender ceremony in Dacca; he kept many of the discredited generals in the Army while removing many of those who had opposed military action in East Pakistan. Bhutto also forced the retirement of five leading officers who had forced Yahya Khan to resign,

charging them with a conspiracy to remove a legitimate government, which resulted in a contentious relationship with the Army Chief-of-Staff, LTG Gul Hassan Khan. Bhutto continued to replace essential leadership in the Army with people whom he thought were loyal to him.<sup>239</sup>

However, Bhutto lost much of his support from the dominant group over time, which allowed General Zia to overthrow him. His overthrow occurred after domestic cleavages, including large protests, in the vicinity of Islamabad and subsequent demands from the dominant group for his removal. Bhutto's transition supports the theory and the causal mechanism developed in Chapter 2. The dominant group perceived Bhutto as having won an illegitimate election. In turn, massive protests occurred among the dominant group in Islamabad, and the military eventually overthrew the civilian government.

While Bhutto discredited the military, he used them to control the population—particularly in Baluchistan. Bhutto assured the smaller provinces non-interference in areas that did not have a majority rule from PPP. However, once he adopted a new Constitution, it became evident that Bhutto planned to control the various provincial governments. He dismissed the Baluchistan government in 1974, and the government in the Northwest Frontier quickly resigned in protest.<sup>240</sup> Bhutto sent the Army into Baluchistan for “constructing roads, providing electricity and water” but the force instead fought an insurgency in Baluchistan.<sup>241</sup>

Bhutto institutionalized greater control over the military. More specifically, he institutionalized civil control over the military and the Constitution of 1973 classified any

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239. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 323.

240. Burki, *Pakistan*, 73.

241. Rafi Raza, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan 1967-1977* (London: Oxford University Press, 1997), 271.

attempt to overthrow the legally constituted government as treason.<sup>242</sup> Moreover, Bhutto created the Federal Security Force, which was a paramilitary organization under his direct control, and gained control over the press.<sup>243</sup> The 1977 elections occurred in this environment, and opposition to Bhutto unified under the banner of the Pakistan National Alliance, which appeared positioned to win a significant number of seats. However, it only won 36 out of 192 seats, and the election result started widespread protests in Islamabad and elsewhere as the opposition saw the election as fixed.<sup>244</sup> Moreover, Bhutto's own PPP began to break in unity as several members of the government resigned.<sup>245</sup>

Similar to the previous case studies, there is evidence that civilian members and military members of the dominant group perceived Bhutto in the same manner. Senior officers in Pakistan sent in their resignations instead of continuing to maintain internal security for Bhutto. For example, Brigadier General Muhammad Ashraf, who commanded the 103rd Brigade, which was assigned to domestic security duties in May 1977, refused to carry out his orders. He expressed his inability to continue to perform those duties because the employment of the Army to enforce order resulted in the unnecessary killing of his countrymen; thus, the Army's reputation as a neutral body suffered.<sup>246</sup> Brigadier General Niaz Ahmad also refused to perform internal security duties and was removed from command, but not before pleading the

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242. Pakistan's 1973 constitution (which Pakistan reinstated in 2002) is available from [http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681\\_951.pdf](http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf)

243. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 337.

244. Burki, *Pakistan*, 74.

245. Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, 348.

246. Rahat Latif, ... *Plus Bhutto's Episode: An Autobiography* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1993), 137.

righteousness of his decision in front of other officers.<sup>247</sup> Another example was Brigadier General Ali Khan, who the Army gave an order on May 10, 1977 to aid civil powers, but instead handed over a written request for the grant of one month's leave along with his resignation from the Army.<sup>248</sup> Instead of enforcing civil control, he retired. Notably, the Army had just finished the conflict in East Pakistan, in which it perpetrated tremendous human rights abuses and was carrying out a campaign in Baluchistan, which was resulting in human rights abuses.<sup>249</sup> It was not domestic use that the Army resisted. It was domestic use against the dominant group when the dominant group was demanding the removal of Bhutto. The Army's leadership had the same group perception as the protestors they were supposed to suppress.

As such, Bhutto was facing ongoing domestic cleavages among the dominant group. Zia launched Operation Fair Play after several officers refused to use force to suppress riots after the 1977 election. Zia came to this decision with hesitation, but ultimately, domestic cleavages within Pakistan and instability within the Army itself overcame any hesitation.<sup>250</sup> These events fit well with the causal mechanism developed in Chapter 2. Namely, a domestic cleavage caused political demands from the dominant group. Civilians within the dominant group protested and the military's leadership identified with the demands of the dominant group. Zia, at the end of this causal chain, then ordered the military to intervene.

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247. Latif, *Bhutto's Episode*, 137.

248. Latif, *Bhutto's Episode*.

249. Ann Wilkens, "The Crowded-Out Conflict: Pakistan's Baluchistan in its fifth round of insurgency," Afghanistan Analysis Network, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-crowded-out-conflict-pakistans-balochistan-in-its-fifth-round-of-insurgency/>.

250. Latif, *Bhutto's Episode*, 137.

What is ironic about the overthrow of Bhutto is that Bhutto appears to have picked the man who replaced him, and later executed him based on the belief that Zia would not act domestically. At the time of General Zia's selection, he was commanding a corps and was relatively unknown. Bhutto picked Zia because he was known to be loyal to his superiors and had fewer connections to the military's old guard.<sup>251</sup> However, even if Zia had a bias towards not intervening in 1977, it became increasingly difficult for him not to act when military officers were refusing to follow Bhutto's orders. Bhutto was quickly both threatening the Army and losing popularity among the dominant group.

### **Governance under Zia**

General Zia was from Punjab and a traditionalist background, which overlapped with the opposition to the secular Bhutto. Propaganda suggesting that Bhutto was against Islam because of his socialist leanings drove the protests against Bhutto.<sup>252</sup> Zia's domestic policy aligned with these middle class critiques and constituted a return to the technocratic rule of previous military rulers.

### **Domestic Policy**

Zia consolidated power within Pakistan over time. Zia launched "Operation Fairplay" and promised a return to a democratically elected government. Zia suspended the Constitution and restricted, but did not ban, political parties.<sup>253</sup> However, over time, Zia delayed elections and further restricted political opponents. Zia ensured that a jury tried and executed Former Prime

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251. Shahid Javed Burki and Craig Baxter, "Zia's Eleven Years," in *Pakistan under the military: Elven years of Zia ul-Haq* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 6.

252. Burki and Baxter, "Zia's Eleven Years," 9.

253. Craig Baxter, "Restructuring the Pakistan Political System," in *Pakistan Under the Military: Elven Years of Zia ul-Haq* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 28-29.



Minister Bhutto for taking part in a murder of a political opponent. By September of 1977, Zia had banned political activities and had started to jail newspaper editors. While some opposition leaders from the PNA held cabinet positions, Zia excluded the PPP. In 1979, Zia allowed local elections on a non-partisan bias, and the PPP candidates won most of the elections. Following this election, Zia postponed national elections and banned parties.<sup>254</sup> He subjugated the courts by issuing the Provisional Constitution Order of 1981, which decreed that the actions of the new regime were legal, notwithstanding any court decision, and forced judges to take a new oath “to act faithfully in accordance with the Provisional Constitution Order of 1981.”<sup>255</sup> In short, after the military removed Bhutto, Zia quickly established control of Pakistan’s legal and political system.

Zia’s administration saw groups outside of the dominant group advocate for various sets of political demands. In an attempt to provide a unifying ideology, Zia followed a policy of Islamization. He established Shariat courts that could review whether legally passed laws conflicted with the tenets of Islam. For example, perpetrators of rape were often convicted in civil court only for that conviction to be overturned, and the female victim to be convicted of fornication or adultery.<sup>256</sup> Islam provided an ideology that united a divided state. Pakistan continued to face divisions based on historical linguistic and ethnic lines. In 1985, advocates pushed for Pakistan to be a confederacy divided into the Pashtun, Sindh, Baluch, and Punjabi ethnic groups. Moreover, Sindh nationalists argued for full Independence. Despite appeals for an

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254. Baxter, “Restructuring,” 3.

255. Baxter, “Restructuring,” 34.

256. Baxter, “Restructuring,” 37.

Islamic ideology to unify Pakistan, linguistic and ethnic divisions remained.<sup>257</sup> Close to the end of his term, the President promised a crackdown on ethnic parties.<sup>258</sup>

The ethnic divisions of the state are essential to consider in relation to the discussion at hand, as they evidenced a divide between the dominant group versus the rest of Pakistan. As I address later in this chapter, when General Beg helped create the opposition to the PPP, the opposition's support was only in Punjab, with a geographic center of Islamabad, and with no crossover to other parts of Pakistan. This was logical, given that the dominant group was also geographically centered in Islamabad. That political support centralized near Islamabad shows the identification of the Army's leadership with the dominant group.

A growing economy may have also been a reason for stability among the dominant group. Zia's administration saw significant economic growth. The economy doubled from 1977 to 1988 with an average increase of seven percent per year. The per capita income grew by 36%. The economy also transformed, moving away from an agriculture-based economy to a manufacturing-based economy, while trade increased. Agriculture was reduced from one-third to one-fourth of the economy, and trade increased from 23.8 to 29.1% of GDP.<sup>259</sup>

The economy inherited by Zia was one in the middle of massive nationalization, which was an economic disaster for Pakistan and ultimately unsustainable. When Zia took power, he returned to planned economic development led by technocrats, much like the model seen under Ayub Khan, and which resulted in strong economic growth. In his second five-year plan and the sixth five-year plan for Pakistan, Zia stated:

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257. Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 245.

258. "Crackdown on ethnic parties planned," *The Pakistan Times*, June 6, 1988, 1.

259. Shahid Javed Burki, "Pakistan's Economy Under Zia," in *Pakistan Under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia ul-Haq* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 87-88.

During 1972 to 1977, a policy of widespread nationalization was followed, more in the spirit of vengeance against the private sector than as a policy of national reconstruction, without due regard to the administrative and managerial capacity at the disposal of the public sector. Together with other factors, especially the first round of steep increases in energy prices, this led to a period of stagnation and slide-back in the economy. An attempt to stimulate the domestic economy by increasing the public sector investment in large projects littered the country with a large number of unfinished projects, commitments for investment which could not be backed by resources, and a rate of inflation which threatened to tear the fabric of economic stability.<sup>260</sup>

This change in economic conditions may also help explain why the dominant group did not make a sustained and widespread demand for a return to democracy.

In 1985, Zia allowed for the emergence of the Muslim League under Muhammad Khan Junejo as the ruling party of Pakistan, which also allowed for the return of political exiles, such as Benazir Bhutto.<sup>261</sup> While a conservative and picked by Zia, the new Prime Minister attempted to be independent of Zia, including in areas, such as the promotion of military officers, which Zia viewed as his domain.<sup>262</sup> Junejo's press dominance was evidenced by headlines before his dismissal on May 29, 1988. Before that date, Junejo was negotiating with the Republic of Korea, and his efforts representing Pakistan was the top story in both major newspapers the *Dawn* and *Times* of Pakistan.<sup>263</sup> Afterward, Zia dissolved the National Assembly and was moving towards another round of elections without a party, when he died unexpectedly on August 17, 1988.

### **Foreign Policy**

Foreign policy is an essential factor to consider in this case study because no disaster triggered a domestic cleavage and political demands from the dominant group. In other words, it

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260 Planning Commission, *Forth Five Year Plan (1970-75)* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1970), 535.

261. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 262.

262. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 262.

263. "Accord with ROK on investment promotion," *Dawn*, May 26, 1988, 1.

is unlike the 1965 and 1971 war with India. Unlike previous examples of foreign policy driving protests, this did not occur under President Zia. First, President Zia inherited a better foreign policy situation than Yahya Khan or Bhutto. After Bhutto came to power, he sought ties with Middle Eastern and non-Aligned States. Moreover, Bhutto worked with Iran, especially on the issue of Baluchistan separatists. He also had a productive relationship with China, which included some military aid, and Pakistan's relationship with India had improved. When Zia took power in 1978, Pakistan had a more diversified foreign policy and a less contentious relationship with India than under Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, or Bhutto.<sup>264</sup>

Once Zia took over, events quickly changed within the region. The Iranian Revolution overthrew the Iranian Shah, and the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979. The events themselves caused Pakistan government's concern regarding difficulties in Baluchistan. There had been previous efforts with Iran to subdue Baluch separatists. With the Iranian Revolution, Pakistan's government was concerned by Soviet and Afghan efforts to organize Baluch dissidents.<sup>265</sup> Soviet actions in Afghanistan produced thousands of refugees seeking sanctuary in Pakistan and, eventually, Pakistan hosted three million displaced refugees.<sup>266</sup> Soviet efforts allowed the Muslim world to unify against Soviet actions.<sup>267</sup>

Soviet actions in Afghanistan produced a reversal of its relationship with the United States. President Carter's administration suspended economic and military aid based on human

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264. Zubeida Mustafa, "Pakistan and the Middle East," *Pacific Community* 7, no. 4 (July 1976): 608-620; W. Howard Wriggins, "Pakistan's Search for a Foreign Policy After the Invasion of Afghanistan," *Pacific Affairs* 57, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 284-303.

265. Wriggins, "Pakistan's Search," 287.

266. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 269.

267 Wriggins, "Pakistan's Search," 288.

rights abuses and nuclear proliferation.<sup>268</sup> However, within weeks of the Soviet attack, the Carter Administration offered \$400 million in aid to Pakistan. Zia rejected this offer but accepted the \$3.2 billion in funding over six years that President Reagan's administration later provided.<sup>269</sup> The Reagan administration interests were Pakistan's role as a front line defender against the spread of the Soviet Union, and the administration was unconcerned about Pakistan's continued efforts to attain nuclear weapons and its human rights violations.<sup>270</sup>

Pakistan's assistance to Afghanistan insurgents predated changes in US policy. By July 2, 1979, the United States assessed that Pakistan was following a cautious approach in aiding insurgents because of fears of Soviet reprisals. The US determined that Pakistan calculated that there was little to lose in pursuing a policy that the Soviets already believed was Pakistan's current policy. The US found that Pakistan was providing insurgents with limited material support, including antitank weapons, small arms, ammunition, and money. Additionally, small numbers of Pakistani irregulars accompanied Afghan rebels inside of Afghanistan.<sup>271</sup> During the period of President Zia's leadership, policy in Afghanistan dominated its foreign policy.

While President Zia faced foreign policy challenges, none of these difficulties resulted in protests or political demands from the dominant group. Instead, they occurred in areas that had few dominant group members. There was no peace treaty with India or defeat by India to drive protests in Islamabad.

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268. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 249.

269. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 250.

270 Robert G. Wirsing, *Pakistan's Security under Zia, 1977-1988* (London: Palgrave Macmillan. 1991), 110.

271 The United States Central Intelligence Agency (1979). *Pakistan-Afghanistan: Support to insurgents* Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1679094220?accountid=25333>.

## **Relationship with Military**

Zia remained Chief of Army Staff (COAS) until his death, having extended his term as COAS three times in 1980, 1984, and 1988.<sup>272</sup> Moreover, he started to rotate senior Army officers to prevent removal by a military leader. While he served as COAS, he switched the deputy COAS from LTG Iqbal Khan to General Khalid Mahmood Arif in 1984 and then to General Mirza Aslam Beg in 1987.<sup>273</sup> Additionally, ISI ran the primary defense policy during Zia's Presidency and influenced involvement in the Afghan insurgency; a close associate, General Akhtar Abdur Rahman, headed the ISI.<sup>274</sup> Rahman would serve until late in Zia's term, with a transition in 1987, a year before Zia's death.

Zia maintained general support from the military throughout his tenure as President. Late in his term, he had a disagreement with Prime Minister Junejo over the appointment and promotions of officers in the military. The Prime Minister did not extend the term of Vice Chief of Army Staff General KM Arif and enabled General Beg to become Vice Chief of Staff. Afterward, he made statements at dinners critical of Zia. As the Chief of Staff of the Navy, Iftikhar Ahmed Sirohey, recalls, he spoke in front of the Pakistani community in London and told them that he had told the generals: "no." Sirohey stated, "It was a ridicule of the President in a foreign country. It was viewed with disgust by us."<sup>275</sup> He recalled that the problem with

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272. Wirsing, *Pakistan's Security*, 16.

273. Wirsing, *Pakistan's Security*.

274. Wirsing, *Pakistan's Security*, 17.

275. Iftikhar Ahmed Sirohey, *Truth Never Retires* (Jang Publishers: Lahore, 1997), 363.

Prime Minister Junejo was that: “The rule of business vested all powers in the President. He was neither feared nor revered like his predecessor [Bhutto].”<sup>276</sup>

There was one coup attempt against General Zia. General Zia, while acting as COAS, retired Major General Hussain Malik, a Punjabi, who played a role in both the 1965 and 1971 war against India, due to Malik’s attempted coup attempt against Bhutto. Malik organized another effort against Zia, which included some current and former officers. Zia would later sentence Malik to life in prison for the coup attempt during his administration.<sup>277</sup> Malik’s first attempt to overthrow the government ended quickly, when his Chief-of-Staff told the Corps Commander that he was going to attempt to overthrow the government.<sup>278</sup> During Malik’s retirement, he became closely associated with Maulana Maudoodi, the founder of Jamat-i-Islami, an Islamic Party.<sup>279</sup> During this period, he started to meet with former Air Marshal Asghar Khan, who was now a political activist, and Malik formally joined his party in February 1979.<sup>280</sup> By 1980, General Zia continued to delay elections, and Malik started an admitted conspiracy, involving former and current military members, to remove Zia. However, this plot was quickly discovered and never threatened Zia’s administration.<sup>281</sup> Malik was given a military court-martial and served a prison sentence until his release after Zia’s death. The coup attempt failed without support from the dominant group.

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276. Sirohey, *Truth Never Retires*.

277 Tajammal Hussian Malik, *The Story of My Struggle* (Jang Publishers: Lahore, 1991), 201.

278. Malik, *Story of My Struggle*.

279. Malik, *Story of My Struggle*, 219.

280. Malik, *Story of My Struggle*, 232.

281. Malik, *Story of My Struggle*, 237-238.

While military officers did not refuse to carry out internal security duties under Zia's leadership, as was the case under Bhutto, some local officers reported tense meetings with Zia over how their local area outside of Punjab was handled. One incident demonstrated the non-importance of members external to the dominant group. For example, Major General Syed Husain, who had an area of responsibility in Sindh, Bhutto's home province, received General Zia five years after he declared martial law. Zia chastised him for meeting with the local population and telling them that elections would eventually occur. Husain wanted Zia to meet with the local community to gain their support. Zia refused because of security risks in an area with loyalty to the PPP.<sup>282</sup> In Sindh, outside the geographic location of the dominant group, Zia understood he had greater latitude in how the government used the military.

General Zia did not want General Beg as Vice Chief of Staff. His appointment came at a time when Prime Minister Junejo attempted to gain some independent power from Zia. Zia preferred to replace General Beg with LTG Zahid Ali Akbar. According to General Beg, after his appointment, he suggested to President Zia that he should democratize Pakistan. General Zia laughed at the suggestion and said: "General Beg, do you want the noose around my neck?"<sup>283</sup> Zia did not have a desire to return power, and General Beg seems unique in wanting the military to return power. However, there was not a strong enough desire among the dominant group to force Zia from power and Zia clearly saw danger in stepping down from power.

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282. Syed Mustafa Anwer Husain, *Couldn't Have Been Better: My Life Story* (Paramount Books: Karachi, 2015), 423.

283. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*, 72.



## Transition of Power

Before Zia died, he formally lifted martial law on December 30, 1985. On February 28, 1985, Zia held a non-democratic election, in which he received 97.71% of the reported votes. He also held non-partisan elections for Parliament, which were dominated by feudal powerbrokers and members of the industrial elite. Zia took office on March 23, 1985, as the elected President of Pakistan and created a new civilian cabinet led by Muhammad Khan Junejo. He also increased his institutional power when Pakistan's Senate amended the Constitution to allow the President to dismiss a Prime Minister.<sup>284</sup>

However, with the lifting of martial law on December 30, 1985, Prime Minister Junejo became the formal head of the Muslim League, and former PPP exiles, including Benazir Bhutto, returned from exile. An increase in tension with India as well as ethnic violence within Pakistan dominated Junejo's term as Prime Minister. The Prime Minister attempted to establish independent power apart from Zia and challenged him over the timeline for ending martial law, political parties within the Assembly, and promotions of military officers. Zia dismissed Junejo, dissolved the Assemblies on May 29, 1988, and took over as a caretaker government that promised new elections in 90 days. However, Zia died unexpectedly on August 17, 1988, when his plane crashed after takeoff from Bahawalpur Airport.<sup>285</sup>

Upon Zia's death, General Beg flew directly to Army Headquarters in Islamabad and held a crisis meeting. On his suggestion, the generals agreed that the President of the Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, would become Acting President, which followed the constitution. After the meeting, the heads of the Navy and Air Force were invited to Army Headquarters and agreed to

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284. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 263.

285. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 264-270.

the decision. Ghulam Ishaq Khan came to Army Headquarters with the idea of suggesting that the Army should control the situation, but he realized the decision was already made and went on national TV to inform the nation.<sup>286</sup> Multiple generals encouraged General Beg to become President.<sup>287</sup> General Beg took a position that was not shared by other members of the military's leadership.

As addressed in the introduction, General Beg emigrated from India and was a minority member of a homogenous dominant group. He had early involvement in the Independence movement and suggested a political solution in East Pakistan. General Beg's experiences provided him with a perspective different from that of the generals who suggested maintaining control with the military. However, while he took a different path initially, Beg would eventually interfere in the election because of the concerns of the dominant group regarding the PPP.

Ghulam Ishaq Khan had previously served as Bhutto's Governor of the State Bank and Defense Secretary, as well as Zia's Finance minister. President Ishaq Khan created an Emergency council consisting of the Interior Minister, Defense Minister, Foreign Minister, Justice Minister, Chiefs of the three Armed Services, Chief Ministers of Punjab, NWFP, and Baluchistan, and the acting Governor of Sindh. He also declared a state of Emergency.<sup>288</sup>

A member of the Emergency Council, Chief of Naval Staff, Sirohey, recalled that the first meeting of the council was dominated by concerns that the PPP would achieve a landslide victory if elections came too soon. The members stated that the opposition needed time to

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286. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*, 73-74.

287. Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism* (East Gate Books: New York, 2005), 133.

288. Dawn Islamabad Bureau, "Emergency imposed, council set up: poll on schedule," *Dawn*, August 18, 1988, 1; 4.

organize themselves.<sup>289</sup> The President agreed and suggested that the opposition needed to eliminate any divisions as quickly as possible.<sup>290</sup>

Both the military and the conservative establishment were concerned with the PPP returning to power, and General Beg intervened to ensure democratic elections. As a means to retain power without elections, former Prime Minister Junejo and the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) attempted to recall the former parliament and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan supported the effort.<sup>291</sup> The court was set to rule in favor of a return of the former government, because the judges had been appointed by President Zia. However, General Beg summoned the Minister of Justice and told the Minister that he would see such a ruling unfavorably.<sup>292</sup> Once announced, Former Prime Minister Junejo and the PPP publicly supported the decision.<sup>293</sup> A similar struggle occurred to achieve elections based on party. Again, former Prime Minister Junejo argued for an election not based on party, but the court stated that the current law “[violates the] fundamental right contained in Article 17(2) of the Constitution in so far as it fails to recognize the existence and participation of political parties in the process of elections, particularly in the matter of allocation of symbols.”<sup>294</sup> Again, General Beg used his position to ensure the process continued toward an election.

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289. Sirohey, *Truth Never Retires*, 403

290. Sirohey, *Truth Never Retires*, 404.

291. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*, 74.

292. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*.

293. “People Now Feel Really Free: Nusrat,” *Dawn*, October 5, 1988, 1; Dawn Islamabad Bureau, “Junejo happy over verdict,” October 5, 1988, 1.

294. Dawn Islamabad Bureau, “Elections to be Held on Party Basis,” *Dawn*, October 3, 1988, 1.

Throughout the time period before the election, General Beg attempted to reinforce the need for an apolitical military. In an address to Pakistan's military officers, Beg stated that the security of the nation and the country was the military's sole responsibility. On joining the Emergency council, "[he] accepted the responsibility for the sole reason that no one was allowed to exploit the situation to meet nefarious designs," but the Armed Forces continued to play a role only until the November 16, 1988 election.<sup>295</sup> General Beg continued to reinforce the role of the Army as enabling law and order in order for elections to take place. To a Punjabi regiment, in October 1988, he stated that armored forces were to play a positive and active role in paving the way for a free and fair election.<sup>296</sup> On October 27, 1988 Beg stated that the "Pakistan Army is fully committed to ensuring law and order and creating a peaceful atmosphere to turn the dream of a smooth ballot into a reality."<sup>297</sup> Ghulam Ishaq Khan, regardless of his actual reservations about the PPP, continued to emphasize defense of the country as the primary responsibility of the Army.<sup>298</sup> Moreover, the Army did not deploy troops to polling stations, and General Beg said that he hoped the verdict at the polls would be accepted by all concerned.<sup>299</sup> US agencies assessed that Beg wanted to remove the military from politics. For example, a Defense Intelligence biographical report stated: "Beg is widely believed to feel that the military... has been weakened by its constant involvement in politics and diversion from its strictly military

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295. "Army to Fulfill its Obligations," *Dawn*, August 26, 1988, 8.

296. "Gen Beg Reminds Leaders of their Obligations," *Dawn*, October 13, 1988, 5.

297. "Beg Calls for Understanding with Western Neighbors," *The Dawn*, October 27, 1988; "Beg Hopes Parties Will Accept the Verdict," *Dawn*, November 13, 1988, 1.

298. "Priority to Country's Defense, says Ishaq," *Dawn*, October 5, 1988, 1.

299. "No deployment of troops at polling stations," *Dawn*, November 7, 1988, 1.

tasks and that a return to the barracks is the only way to restore full professionalism to the armed forces.”<sup>300</sup>

However, Beg knew that his actions were causing him to lose the sympathy of the Army’s leadership, who did not want to see a return of the PPP. With General Beg’s blessing, the Army used the ISI to organize an opposition to the PPP. The head of the ISI, General Hamid Gul, confirmed the approval of General Beg in helping to create the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA) to defeat the PPP in the upcoming elections.<sup>301</sup> Chief of Naval Staff, Sirohey, recalled that, when he went to offer condolences to General Zia’s wife, General Beg “gave an assurance to Begum Zia that PPP and Benazir would not be allowed to come to power.”<sup>302</sup> In a meeting on September 11, 1988 between the President and the Chief of Army, Navy, and Air Staff, General Beg stated that “neither Benazir or Junejo was acceptable to him and the Army.”<sup>303</sup> The next day, General Beg told Sirohey that he was attempting to organize the Muslim League.<sup>304</sup> However, Sirohey argued that the Muslim League was too disorganized, and he suggested a more comprehensive alliance. Sirohey stated: “So was born the Islami Jamhori Ittihad or Islamic Democratic Alliance.”<sup>305</sup>

The environment was quickly changing, but foreign observers broadly understood the environment and noted the importance of protests among the dominant group. An internal U.S.

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300. The United States Defense Intelligence Agency, “Biographic sketch of general Mirza Aslam Beg, Pakistan army,” 1989, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1679076259?accountid=25333>

301. Gull acknowledged this in multiple interviews; for example, see “Hamid Gul Accepts Responsibility for Creating IJI,” *Dawn*, October 30, 2012, 1.

302. Sirohey, *Truth Never Retires*, 402.

303. Sirohey, *Truth Never Retires*, 406.

304. Sirohey, *Truth Never Retires*, 407.

305. Sirohey, *Truth Never Retires*.

State Department memo assessed that “it is widely assumed that as the military were co-responsible for Bhutto’s removal from office, it must be actively working against her and would not allow her to come back to power under any circumstances.”<sup>306</sup> The US State Department’s assessment stated that the military would attempt to aid a non-PPP coalition in forming. The CIA assessed that “the military would not hesitate to remove Khan and declare martial law if mass civil disturbances break out, particularly in the populous Punjab Province.”<sup>307</sup> A protest among the dominant group would likely cause the military to act because the military’s leadership would identify with the demands of the dominant group. General Beg did not have complete freedom of action and had to maintain the support of the military’s leadership.

The transition period saw relaxed press restrictions. On September 4, 1988, the government announced a new law that eliminated penalties on the press and set up a legal structure to handle cases of slander. The new press ordinance only required a person to ask permission from a district magistrate to print books or papers. The district magistrate could deny the person based on a legal conviction involving a claim of moral turpitude, but that denial was appealable.<sup>308</sup> Moreover, a person had to be a citizen of Pakistan to publish and could not publish accounts of the National Assembly or regional government that were prejudicial to maintaining public order.<sup>309</sup>

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306. United States State Department (11 October 1990), *The Pakistan Army the Elections*. Released as part of FOIA Case No. F-2007-06189 on 09/08/2017.

307. Central Intelligence Agency, *Impact of President Zia’s Death and Prospects for Afghanistan*. Declassified in part on 2013/09/24.

308. Dawn Islamabad Bureau, “New Law to Ensure Press freedom, Says Soomro: No Punitive Provisions Envisaged: PPO Repealed,” *Dawn*, September 5th, 1988, 1 and 3.

309. “Registration of Printing Press and Publication Ordinance, 1988,” *Dawn*, September 5, 1988, 9.

Politically, the PPP and the IDA increasingly dominated the pre-election. By October 1988, the PPP broke a previous alliance with the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, which was a multiparty alliance to restore democratic elections under Zia. On the other hand, the opposition remained divided between Zia loyalists and a group led by former Prime Minister Junejo. As previously discussed, Nawaz Sharif, former Prime Minister Junejo, and several minor parties created the IDA with secret aid from the ISI. Former Prime Minister Junejo served as President of the new group and Nawaz Sharif, Chief Minister of Punjab, served as Secretary General.<sup>310</sup> The IDA was an eight-party alliance and ran as “pro-Islamic,” taking a hard stance towards defense, including nuclear security.<sup>311</sup> The PPP, under the leadership of both Benazir Bhutto and Begum Nusrat Bhutto, ran a campaign based economic improvement for the poor, with Begum Nusrat Bhutto saying a PPP government “will be the rule of poor people.”<sup>312</sup> Nawaz Sharif, Chief Minister of Punjab, became the driving force in campaigning, receiving large crowds and framing the contest as one between the “forces of righteousness and tyranny.”<sup>313</sup> Sharif became such a driving force for the IDA that former Prime Minister’s Junejo party urged him to withdraw from the IDA, which he refused based on the rationale that it was too late.<sup>314</sup> In the end, the election was a contest between Zia’s loyalists, led by Sharif, and the PPP. General Beg and the Army continued to support Sharif secretly.

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310. Islamabad Office, “Junejo and Fida Groups of Muslim League Merge,” *The Pakistan Times*, October 15, 1988.

311. See comments from Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of the conservative Jamaat-e-Islami contained in “IJI Will End Injustice: Qazi,” *Dawn*, October 31, 1988, 1.

312. “PPP Promise Rule of Poor,” *Dawn*, November 12, 1988, 10.

313. “IJI to Improve Lot of Poor People,” *Dawn*, November 1, 1988, 7.

314. Dawn Lahore Bureau, “Junejo not to Quit IJI,” *Dawn*, November 9, 1988, 1.

The election results were that the PPP had a strong plurality but did not have enough seats to form a government on its own. Table 4.3 shows seats by party and province.

Table 4.3 Seats Won in the National Assembly by Party in 1988

	Total Seats	PPP	IDA	JUI(F)	JUI(D)	ANP	BNA	PAI	PDP	NPP	Ind*
Punjab	115	54	46					3	1	1	12
Sindh	46	31									15
NWFP	26	7	8	3	1	2					3
Baluchistan											
an	11	1	2	4			2				2
Islamabad	1	1									
FATA	8										8
Total	207	94	56	7	1	2	2	3	1	1	40

*Note.* PPP = Pakistan People's Party; IDA = Islamic Democratic Alliance; PAI = Pakistan Awami Ittehad; Ind\* = Independents (includes 13 seats for Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)); JUI(F)=Jamiat Uleme-e-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman); JUI(D)=Jamiat Uleme-e-Islam (Darkhasti); ANP = Awami National Party; PDP = Pakistan Democratic Party; ANP = Awami National Party; BNA = Baluchistan National Alliance; NPP = National Peoples Party

The election saw the IDA win a significant number of seats in Punjab but not in Sindh. The IDA was performing well only in the geographic area of the dominant group. Of note, the IDA won the areas of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. There, the PPP won only three of 24 seats.<sup>315</sup> While the PPP was the largest party, it was about ten seats short of a majority. It dominated Sindh and won a plurality in Punjab. Thirteen of the independents in Sindh were from the Muhajir Qaumi

315. See <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf> for by district results.



Movement (MQM), the party that represented Muhajirs. However, in the Punjab Parliament, the IDA controlled the government, which allowed Nawaz Sharif to continue to organize support and build his political base.<sup>316</sup>

The IDA's support in Islamabad and Rawalpindi was essential. The PPP had cross-providence support between both Sindh and Punjab. However, most of the IDA's support was centered around Islamabad, winning a few seats adjacent to Islamabad in the NWFP. The ISI's support for the IDA is most effective among groups that produce the military's leadership: in other words, the dominant group. The Army's ability to create political support throughout Pakistan was limited. However, its connections to the geographic area of the dominant group was clear.

Despite a large plurality for the PPP, Nawaz pushed to form a government, flying into Karachi to meet with MQM chief Altaf Hussain. Stating that "practically all the independents in the Punjab and the NWFP are with the [IDA]," Nawaz worked hard to solidify a government.<sup>317</sup> However, by November 19, 1980, PPP gained the allegiance of 115 members of parliament.<sup>318</sup> General Beg, on the same day, called both Bhutto and Nawaz and asked for consensus in creating a government.<sup>319</sup> By November 23, 1980, the President met with both Bhutto and Sharif, who were now the two prominent political figures on the National Level. At this point, Sharif was still trying to block the formation of a government by the PPP.<sup>320</sup>

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316. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*, 74.

317. Shaheen Sehbai and Kamal Pasha, "Nawaz Hold 2-hour Talks with Altaf," *Dawn*, November 19, 1.

318. Hazoor Ahmed Shah, "We Have a Clear Majority Now, Claims Benazir," *Dawn*, November 20, 1988, 1.

319. "Gen Beg Calls for Consensus," *Dawn*, November 20, 1988, 1.

320. Dawn Islamabad Bureau, "Ishaq confers with Benazir, Nawaz," *Dawn*, November 23, 1988, 1.

On November 24, 1988, Bhutto had a meeting with General Beg. Beg had told both Mrs. Zia and the President that Bhutto was not acceptable to the Army. However, at the meeting, Beg presented, and Bhutto agreed to, five points:

1. No Change in Afghanistan Policy
2. No change in Nuclear Policy
3. No change in Defense Policy
4. Do not meddle in administration set-up of the Civil Service
5. General Zia's family will not be harassed <sup>321</sup>

General Beg had not only worked against the PPP by creating the IDA, but he also gained agreement from the PPP for several major concessions that limited the new government's power. This agreement gave the military control over a large part of Pakistan's foreign policy. Moreover, he set up a barrier for political interference in the state by stopping Bhutto from meddling with the administration of the civil service, and protected General Zia's family.

By November 27, 1988, there was a definite movement towards the PPP forming a government, as President Ishaq released all political prisoners and Nawaz was weighing the option of leading the opposition in parliament or continuing as Chief Minister of Punjab.<sup>322</sup> On December 2, Benazir Bhutto became Prime Minister and addressed the nation for the first time on December 3, promising a "war on poverty, illiteracy, and ill-health."<sup>323</sup> She formed a government with the MQM. However, Nawaz Sharif became Chief Minister of Punjab, which provided Sharif with a platform on which to continue to advance his political agenda.<sup>324</sup> Moreover, the PPP and IDA adopted now former President Ishaq as a consensus candidate for

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<sup>321</sup> Sirohey, *Truth Never Retires*, 420.

<sup>322</sup> Dawn Islamabad Bureau, "Ishaq to Release Political Prisoners," *Dawn*, November 27, 1988, 1; Dawn Islamabad Bureau, "Nawaz Offered Option," *Dawn*, November 27, 1988, 1.

<sup>323</sup> "PM Pledges War on Poverty, Illiteracy, and Ill-health," *Dawn*, December 3, 1988, 1.

<sup>324</sup> Hasan Akhtar, "Nawaz Sharif Re-elected as Punjab CM," *Dawn*, December 3, 1988, 1.

the Presidential election on December 13.<sup>325</sup> While Ishaq won this election, conflicts between Ishaq and Bhutto prompted another election two years later, in which Nawaz Sharif won a majority of the support.

## **Conclusion**

While Zulfikar Bhutto's removal from office validates the theory and the causal mechanism, General Beg's decision to return power does not follow the casual path suggested in the theory section. The case of General Beg is unique in comparison to the other four case studies presented in this chapter, because he did not transfer power during a period of a domestic cleavage. On the other hand, he seems to have decided to transfer power based on his relatively rare background in the dominant group: as an emigrant from India who advocated for civilian governance and was also involved in the Independence movement.

However, even in a process trace that did not follow the theoretical causal mechanism, several essential facts suggest the importance of the dominant group in decision making. First, General Beg did eventually involve the Army in the election. He understood his position as an outlier among the leadership of the military. As the CIA noted, if protests broke out around Islamabad, the military would not have hesitated to establish martial law again. If such a domestic cleavage started to occur, General Beg would have been in an awkward position to attempt to maintain power. He started to mitigate the concerns of the military's leadership by allowing ISI to create an opposition to the PPP. However, his ability to return power at all depended on the support of the military's leadership, members of which perceived events similarly to the rest of the dominant group.

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325. Hasan Akhtar, "Ishaq Emerges as Consensus Candidate for Presidency," *Dawn*, December 3, 1988. 1

Second, the military was successful in creating an opposition where the dominant group was geographically centered and not in other locations. The PPP only won three out of 24 seats around Islamabad, which is vastly different from other areas of the country, even other areas of Punjab. This shows the military’s connection to the geographic area of the dominant group. The foundation of the theory section is that the military and the population from which it originates are not separate. The success of the military in creating an opposition, but one that centers on the location from which the military’s leadership originates, is clear evidence of that connection.

### **Civilian Rule after Pervez Musharraf**

The removal of Musharraf follows a causal path similar to the one predicted in the theory chapter, with one exception toward the end of the causal mechanism. This exception is the fact that the military did not decide to remove Musharraf, but rather chose not to interfere with his removal by the political process. While this is a slight difference from the causal mechanism predicted in Chapter 2, it is not substitutional. Musharraf’s removal occurred because of a domestic cleavage around Islamabad. That cleavage produced political demands with which the military identified, so they did not interfere with Musharraf’s impeachment.

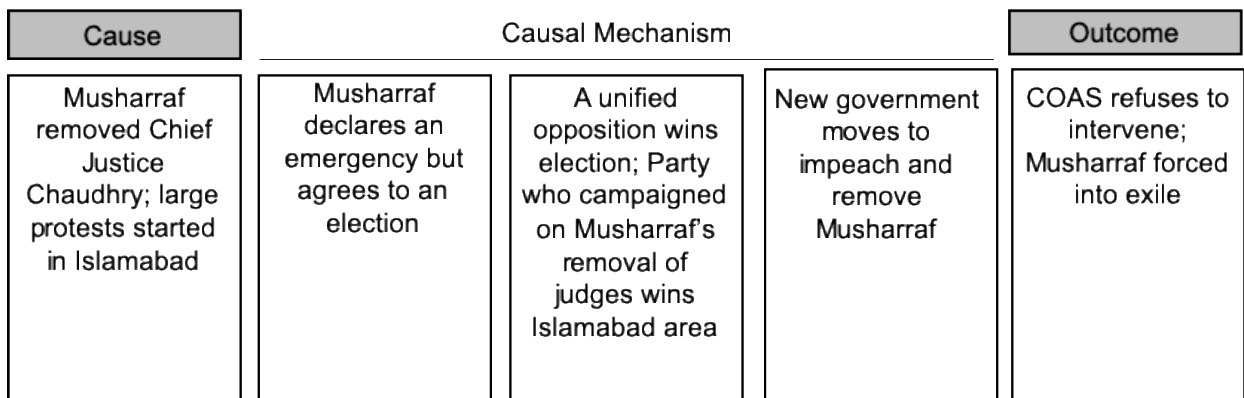


Figure 4.3 Process trace showing the transition from Musharraf

The dominant group was still the center of this transition of power. Islamabad was the center of protests and civil unrest, and this area saw repeated agitation by young professionals because of governing actions that were counter to the perceived rule of law. This is especially important because members of the military from an urban population were overrepresented. Therefore, Military officers would likely have socialized or had relationships with family members or friends who were protestors or who had political leanings in line with those of the protestors. The importance of the dominant group is that members are in both the military's leadership and are civilians. There is overlap in the geographic area that was protesting Justices in the Supreme Court and protests in previous case studies. This fundamental relationship between the group from which the military's leadership originated the group protesting is essential, and follows the causal mechanism predicted in Chapter 2. A particular domestic cleavage—the removal of Justices from the Supreme Court—had a specific effect on the dominant group around Islamabad. In turn, Musharraf decided to declare an Emergency but also hold elections. When his political enemies won the election in the geographic area of the dominant group by campaigning against his removal of judges, the military offered no support for him to stay. The military's leadership perceived events similarly to other members of the dominant group, which influenced their actions.

### **Pervez Musharraf Seizing Power from Nawaz Sharif**

As noted in the causal mechanism, a military might act if the dominant group perceives the government as illegitimate. For example, the death of General Zia in 1988 incited a period of chaotic government and slow economic growth. There were four elections between 1988 and 1999 and the government oscillated between the rule of Benazir Bhutto's PPP and Nawaz

Sharif's PML(N),<sup>326</sup> with governments only being in power for an average of two years and four months.<sup>327</sup> While the country was in economic and political turmoil before the coup, the actual domestic cleavage that caused the military takeover was the Kargil War and an attempt by civil authorities to establish supremacy over the military after a national security disaster.

The instability of the period caused significant economic problems that would affect the dominant group in Islamabad. The period of rule by both Bhutto's PPP and Sharif's PML (N) used state funds for short term political benefit and produced a government with high fiscal deficits, unsustainable public debt, a sharp deterioration in the distribution of income, and an increase in poverty.<sup>328</sup> The economic growth of Pakistan was stagnating in the 1990s, dropping as low as one percent in 1997.<sup>329</sup> Moreover, the United States introduced sanctions because of Pakistan's nuclear test. In 1998, before the military coup, the United States noted the problematic position of Pakistan: "the Karachi stock exchange... fell more than 12 percent to an all-time low... barring a significant easing of tensions, Pakistan is unlikely ... to enjoy private foreign investment inflows, which will compound damage from the cutoff of funds from International financial institutions and some bilateral aid."<sup>330</sup> As noted in the theory section, the dominant group is likely to accept the removal of a government if the perceived legitimacy of the

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326. The NDA was a multiple party coalition. The PML (N) was Sharif's party.

327. Sumanta Banerjee, "A Window on Pakistan," *Economic and Political Weekly* 35 (2000): 1435.

328. Robert Looney, "The Musharraf Paradox: The Failure of an Economic Success Story," *The Open Area Studies Journal* 1 (2008): 1-15,

329. Matthew McCartney, "From Boom to Bust: Economic Growth and Security in Pakistan 2003-2013," in *Democratic Transition and Security in Pakistan*, ed. Shaun Gregory (Routledge: New York, 2016), 78.

330. United States Department, State (1998). Secretary's Morning Summary for 6/2/98 Current Intelligence: 1. Pakistan, Paying for Nuclear Bravado; Analysis: Russia, start or stop; pages missing] Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1679128893?accountid=25333>

government is low. During this period, both economic and political conditions were chaotic; the Kargil conflict started in this political and economic environment.

Kargil was a conflict between Pakistan and India from May to July 1999. The United States doubted the involvement of the Prime Minister in decision-making and had intelligence supporting that the military was preparing for the use of nuclear weapons.<sup>331</sup> Musharraf stated that, in 1999, Pakistan's nuclear capabilities were "not yet operational" and called any talk of preparing for nuclear strikes "preposterous."<sup>332</sup> That said, the Clinton administration believed nuclear war was possible and even likely.<sup>333</sup>

The coup was likely pre-planned. Admiral Fasih Bokhari stated that he became aware of the plot to remove Sharif at least one week before the coup.<sup>334</sup> Moreover, Army headquarters removed officers with any connections to Sharif. On October 9, 1999, Musharraf asked 12th Corps Commander Lieutenant General Tariq Parvaiz Khan to resign because he met with political figures without informing the Headquarters.<sup>335</sup> Three days later, the I Corps Commander, Lieutenant General Sallem Haider, was transferred to General Headquarters (GHQ) because Sharif learned the subjects discussed at a conference presided over by Musharraf.<sup>336</sup>

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331. Bruce Riedel, "American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House," *Policy Paper Series 1* (2002): 10-14.

332. Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, 97.

333. In addition to Riedel's article, in 2015, he recorded the mood in the oval office: "The morning of the Fourth, the CIA wrote in its top-secret Daily Brief that Pakistan was preparing its nuclear weapons for deployment and possible use. The intelligence was very compelling. The mood in the Oval Office was grim." See <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/pakistan-india-nuclear-bomb-kargil-war-former-cia-officer-sandy-berger-bruce-riedel-a6758501.html>.

334. B. Cloughley, *A History of the Pakistan Army: Wars and Insurrections* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 376.

335. Cloughley, *History of the Pakistan Army*, 377.

336. Cloughley, *History of the Pakistan Army*.

However, Musharraf denied there was a coup planned and called the removal of Sharif the result of a “Counter-Coup,” based on how Sharif removed Musharraf.<sup>337</sup> Musharraf was out of the country in Sri Lanka, taking part in a ceremony, before the coup. Musharraf did not seem to be in a rush to return, playing a round of golf before leaving the country.<sup>338</sup>

If there was a coup planned, Sharif attempted to remove Musharraf first. On October 12, 1999, the Prime Minister removed Musharraf as COAS and replaced him with General Ziauddin. On his way back from Sri Lanka, Musharraf’s plane was told to re-route to Dubai. Eventually, it was allowed to land in Pakistan due to being short of fuel. The military secured him at the airport, as the removal of Sharif was already underway. Pakistan’s military quickly seized television and radio stations and secured Sharif and his associates.<sup>339</sup>

### **Domestic and Foreign Policy**

Islamabad was the geographic center of the domestic cleavage Musharraf faced, as urban professionals drove concerns about his misuse of power. An essential precursor to the domestic cleavage may have been Musharraf’s use of power in a way that was evidently in opposition to the set of norms expected by an urban professional class. Musharraf attempted to delegitimize both the leading opposition parties’ leadership by continuing to pursue legal cases against both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. Bhutto had already left the country under Sharif, and Sharif

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337. Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, 101-130.

338. Cloughley, *History of the Pakistan Army*, 379.

339. Cloughley, *History of the Pakistan Army*.



went into exile in Saudi Arabia.<sup>340</sup> He left on December 10, 2000, departing with his family, entourage, and significant numbers of personnel and goods.<sup>341</sup>

When he took power, President Rafiq Tarar remained President until Musharraf removed him from office and appointed himself as President on June 20, 2001. Musharraf resurrected a Muslim League Party called PML(Q)—with Q standing for Quaid-e-Azam—which became the civilian political party Musharraf worked within. He quickly consolidated political power in Pakistan, and held a political referendum in 2002, which asked voters if they were for or against him remaining President for five years. The vote for him to remain President received 98% support. Musharraf later claimed that opposition caused the vote total by “help[ing] along... in certain areas where they have a hold and where they stuffed boxes in my favor so as to provide supposed evidence for claims of foul play.”<sup>342</sup> However, Musharraf was using transparently autocratic methods to keep power, and members of the disproportionately urban dominant group would have recognized the reality of his actions.

Musharraf tried to focus on local governance. He created Citizens’ Community Boards that reached to the village-level and provided oversight over district administration. Moreover, for district and village councils, Musharraf reserved one-third of the seats for women and five percent for workers and minorities.<sup>343</sup> Musharraf insisted on partyless local elections. On December 31, 2000, the first phase of these local elections occurred. Only about 3.9 million out of 8.9 million registered voters cast their ballots, and there was a lack of contestants. For

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340. Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, 165.

341. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 381.

342. Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, 168.

343. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 382-383.

example, there were only 1,519 candidates for the 1,407 seats in Baluchistan.<sup>344</sup> In many cases, local tribal leaders produced votes after a candidate swore allegiance. Where local leaders did not provide a driver for voter turnout, the partyless elections provided a driver for the reemergence of political parties. In Sindh, it allowed candidates affiliated with the PPP to win. In areas such as Punjab, the PML(N) prevailed.<sup>345</sup>

While he was using autocratic means politically, economic growth generally improved under Musharraf. During the Musharraf period, economic growth expanded. From 2001, growth accelerated and reached eight percent in 2004-2005.<sup>346</sup> Foreign investment fueled Pakistan's growth. In the 1990s, investments declined as a percentage of the economy. This growth is partially the result of a return to the technocratic and sustainable programs that provided international organizations and donor confidence. Economic growth after 2001 appeared sustainable, as debt, deficits, and inflation all declined. Total external debt fell from 50.9% of GDP in 2001 to 28.1% in 2007. Budget deficits declined from 7.6% of GDP in 1998 to 2.3% by 2003.<sup>347</sup> However, economic expansion slowed, from GDP growth of 7.7% in 2005 to an increase of 1.7% in 2008.

The military, under Musharraf, dealt with a complex and challenging political environment in Afghanistan, especially after the September 11, 2001 attack in New York, which Al Qaida planned from inside Afghanistan. However, while Pakistan faced a complicated foreign

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344 Talbot, *Pakistan*, 382

345. The N stands for Nawaz. The IDA was a coalition, which represents Nawaz Sharif's party; Talbot, *Pakistan*, 382-383.

346. Talbot, *Pakistan*.

347. Matthew McCartney, "From boom to bust: Economic growth and security in Pakistan 2003-2013," in *Democratic Transition and Security in Pakistan*, ed. Shaun Gregory (Routledge: New York, 2016), 79.

policy situation, it did not face a domestic cleavage that resulted from foreign policy, like the protest after the 1965 war or the defeat to India in 1971. The foundational foreign policy decision came because of the attacks of September 11th. On September 14th, a seven-hour meeting of the Corps Commanders and other vital members of the military resulted in the decision to reverse the Pakistani policy of support for the Taliban and to cooperate with the United States. The decision caused protests and tensions within the Pakistani military. However, not agreeing to work with the United States would have led to possible military action against Pakistan, including attempts to neutralize its nuclear assets, and near-certain economic destruction.

Moreover, the policy of support for jihadi groups in both Kashmir and Afghanistan was based on competition with India and blocking India's regional influence. India quickly offered the United States assistance. An effort by the United States that successfully worked without aid from Pakistan increased the chance that the Pro-Indian Northern Alliance would come to power in Kabul and that the initiative would cement a US-Indo alliance.<sup>348</sup>

### **Domestic Cleavage and Transition to Civilian Government**

Musharraf's interference with Pakistan's legal systems—and the domestic cleavages that resulted from that interference—prompted his transition. In June 2005, Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry became Chief Justice, and garnered public attention for using *suo motu*.<sup>349</sup> In cases of human rights violations or injustice, Chaudhry provided relief to some of the least privileged people of Pakistan, which directly threatened the government of General Musharraf. His efforts caused the release of several individuals, and many testified to the torture they received at the

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348. Talbot, *Pakistan*, 390-391.

349. *Suo moto* is a Latin term meaning “on its own motion,” and is used where the court takes acts on its initiative.

hands of law enforcement and intelligence agencies.<sup>350</sup> Musharraf responded by calling Chaudhry to the Army House in uniform and demanded his resignation for misconduct. Chaudry refused to resign, and Musharraf ordered him removed for misconduct and appointed Javid Iqbal as the acting Chief Justice. The misconduct allegations suggested that Chief Justice Chaudhry used his influence to assist the advancement of his son's career in the medical profession and the police service. It also alleged that he had more official cars than allowed and that he used helicopter travel inappropriately.<sup>351</sup>

These events would trigger a sizeable domestic cleavage and demands for the President's removal among the dominant group. On July 20, 2007, the High Court declared that the President's orders were unconstitutional. In the judgment, the Court noted the "blood-soaked, unprecedented" protests that started immediately after the dismissal of the Chief Justice. Images of the uniformed President and the Chief Justice had surfaced after the March 9, 2007 meeting, and the media quickly provided comprehensive coverage with multiple professional organizations passing resolutions against Musharraf. By March 12, 2007, massive protests broke out in Islamabad and continued regularly, including a boycott of the courts. Pictures of abuse of the protesters also made it into the media, even after Musharraf placed restrictions on the press after the Chief Justice's dismissal. The government closed two private television channels because they showed pictures of police charging protesting lawyers. While the Chief Justice was under house arrest, he was to address the Lahore High Court Bar Association in May 2007. On the journey to Lahore, 300 other vehicles joined the drive, and towns along the way greeted him

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350. Hamid Khan, *A History of the Judiciary in Pakistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 471-472.

351. Khan, *Judiciary in Pakistan*, 486-488.

with large crowds and rose petals.<sup>352</sup> There were now clear demands among the dominant group in support of the Chief Justice.<sup>353</sup>

In this context, an ongoing case working its way through the legal systems challenged Musharraf's authority to run for another term as President. The lawsuit challenged his eligibility to be a candidate for the office of President, because the outgoing assemblies could not elect the same person as President twice. Moreover, given its previous decisions, it appeared that the majority of the Supreme Court would rule against Musharraf.<sup>354</sup> At the same time, Musharraf was in negotiations with Benazir Bhutto for her return to Pakistan in exchange for the PPP putting up a Presidential candidate to face Musharraf and a power-sharing agreement that would allow Bhutto to serve as Prime Minister and Musharraf to remain as President. Moreover, this was an agreement the Bush administration, with National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice taking a lead role, tried to enable.<sup>355</sup> These negotiations failed, but Bhutto still returned to the country on October 18, 2007, twelve days after Musharraf won re-election for President by a margin of 671 electoral votes to 14.

Musharraf was forced to respond to the growing demands among the dominant group. On November 3, 2007, Musharraf declared an Emergency in his capacity as the Chief of Army Staff. The Emergency rule expressly stated that courts could not make rulings against the President. On the same day Musharraf declared the Emergency, and issued an order requiring all judges to retake their oaths of office under the new Emergency rule or risk losing their office. Only five

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352. Khan, *Judiciary in Pakistan*, 495-497.

353. Note, as discussed in Chapter 3, the number of ISI directors and Corp Commanders whose home towns are between Lahore and Islamabad.

354. Khan, *Judiciary in Pakistan*, 500-502.

355. Shaukat Aziz, *From Banking to the Thorny World of Politics* (London, Quartet: 2016), 248-249.

justices of the Supreme Court took the oath, and the senior judge was sworn in as Chief Justice. Musharraf performed a forceful crackdown on the press and enacted a succession of constitutional amendments that allowed him to remain in office for another five years. He handed over the Chief of Staff position to Army General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani on November 28, 2007. On December 15, 2007, Musharraf ended the Emergency and reinstated the now-amended constitution.<sup>356</sup> Under pressure from the United States and protests from the dominant group, he declared new elections and promised that ISI would not interfere in the elections.<sup>357</sup>

Musharraf announced the 2008 election while Pakistan was still in an Emergency rule, and most opposition candidates were in jail. However, by December 2008, the two major opposition leaders, the PPP's Benazir Bhutto and PML (N)'s Nawaz Sharif, announced that they would not boycott the election. Later that month, the PPP's leader, Benazir Bhutto, was assassinated.<sup>358</sup> The PPP would unify around Bhutto's husband, Asif Ali Zardari, after the release of Bhutto's political will which named him as her successor.<sup>359</sup>

The opposition to Musharraf focused on calls to restore the judiciary. Nawaz Sharif called to make the February 18, 2008 election "a referendum against the November 3rd action taken by President Musharraf."<sup>360</sup> However, even PML (Q), the party aligned with Musharraf, called to "release Justice Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhry, other deposed judges and senior

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356. Khan, *Judiciary in Pakistan*, 506-510.

357. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*, 198.

358. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*.

359. M.B. Kalhor, "Benazir's Handwritten Will Out," *Dawn*, February 6, 2008, 1.

360. Amjad Mahmood, "PML-N candidates vow to restore judiciary," *Dawn*, February 7, 2008, 1.

lawyers, politicians, and members of the civil society.”<sup>361</sup> Musharraf’s actions were of clear importance to the population.

While, despite Musharraf’s claim otherwise, ISI enabled the PML (Q) at the start of the election, the new Army-Chief-of-Staff, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, ordered operations to halt. When Kayani took over the position, he removed officers that were loyal to Musharraf.<sup>362</sup> General Kayani was Punjabi, and he may have held the same opinion of Musharraf as other members of the dominant group. Whatever the case, this indicates a clear decision on the part of the military to remain uninvolved in the outcome of the election. This fits the predicted causal mechanism in Chapter 2.

One motivating reason why General Kayani desired to remain uninvolved is that he did not want the dominant group to blame the Army for political violence.<sup>363</sup> Violence dominated the election. As well as the assassination of Bhutto, bombings of campaign rallies continued, including the bombing of a PPP rally two days before the election, which left 40 dead.<sup>364</sup> The PPP made calls that the Election Commission should hold the election under the protection of the Army because of the violence.<sup>365</sup> The PPP believed that ISI knew about Bhutto’s assassination, and ISI leadership did not want further blame.<sup>366</sup>

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361. Ahmed Hassan, “PML-Q calls for release of deposed CJ, lawyers,” *Dawn*, February 11, 2008, 1.

362. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*, 204.

363. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*, 203.

364. Gulzar Ahmad Khan, “ANP Rally Bombed, 25 Dead,” *Dawn*, February 10, 2008, 1; Hussain Khan, “PPP Rally Bombed; 40 Dead,” *Dawn*, February 17, 2008, 1.

365. “PPP Leaders Seek Polls Under Army,” *Dawn*, February 11, 2008, 1.

366. Kiessling, *Faith, Unity, Discipline*, 204.

The 2008 parliamentary election provided insights concerning Musharraf’s position, with the PML(N), the party that most identified with the protests, winning Punjab. The percentage of seats in the provincial assemblies demonstrate that PML(N) was close to a majority in Punjab.

Table 4.4 shows the percentage of seats each part won in the different regions.<sup>367</sup>

Table 4.4 Percentage of Seats won in Provincial Assemblies

Party	Punjab	Sindh	North West Frontier	Baluchistan
PPP	29%	55%	26%	17%
PML (N)	45%	0%	8%	0%
PML (Q)	24%	6%	4%	32%
Muttahida Quami Movement	0%	32%	0%	0%
Awami National Party	0%	0%	39%	6%
MMA (Coalition of Islamist Parties)	1%	0%	12%	16%
All Others	1%	7%	11%	29%

The PML(N) dominated in the area around Islamabad. In Rawalpindi and Islamabad, the PML-N won eight of nine seats, with the other seat going to the PPP. Moreover, the margins were enormous.<sup>368</sup> The PML (N) campaigned on Musharraf’s actions against the Supreme Court, and he dominated the areas around Islamabad, which is a clear indication of how the dominant group perceived Musharraf. Further, these margins further explain why the military’s leadership did not intervene in the election or the removal of Musharraf from office.

367. Congressional Research Service, *Pakistan’s 2008 Elections: Results and Implication for US Policy*, (Washington, DC, US Congress: 2008), 7.

368 For detailed election results, see <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/General%20Elections%202008/Report,%20General%20Election%202008,%20Vol-II.pdf>



Musharraf's representatives stated his intent to remain President and to work with either party.<sup>369</sup> The PML (Q) stated their desire to allow the PPP and PML (N) to create a government if it failed to gain a majority.<sup>370</sup> No single party won a majority in the 2008 election, but the PPP won 119 seats and the PML (N) won 89 seats in a 342-seat national legislature that required 172 votes to form a majority. The Musharraf allied PML (Q) won 50 seats. Musharraf quickly declared that he was ready to work with any new government and rejected calls for resignation because of his five-year term.<sup>371</sup> Once the election was over and the PPP had a plurality of the seats, the PPP's Zardari and the PML-N's Sharif discussed a coalition.<sup>372</sup> Sharif and the PML (N) stated that their demands for a coalition were to restore deposed judges and invalidate the amendments to the constitution taken under Emergency rule.<sup>373</sup> Moreover, the former Chief Justice argued against the endorsement of Musharraf's actions during the Emergency.<sup>374</sup> Even without an explicit agreement on the future of Musharraf, the parties moved toward a coalition. In a "show of strength party," 171 newly-elected members gathered to show the numbers of the new ruling coalition. There was, however, a clear divide in that Sharif directly called for the removal of Musharraf, while Zardari did not mention the President.<sup>375</sup> The PML (N) spearheaded efforts to restore the judiciary, which ended with an agreement on March 10, 2008,

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369. Ashraf Mumtar, "Musharraf Will Work with Party Which Wins," *Dawn*, February 14, 2008, 3.

370. Ashraf Mumtar, "Q-League Likely to Let PPP, PML-N Form Govt," *Dawn*, February 15, 2008, 1.

371. Ashraf Mumtar, "Musharraf to Work Smoothly with New Govt," *Dawn*, February 20, 2008, 1.

372. Raja Asghar, "Victors Prepare for PPP-led Coalition," *Dawn*, February 21, 2008, 1.

373. Ashraf Mumtaz, "PML-N Sets Terms for Backing New Govt Move," *Dawn*, February 21, 2008, 1.

374. Shujaat Ali Khan and Syed Faisal Shakeel, "Syed Faisal Shakeel," *Dawn*, February 22, 2008, 1.

375. Amir Wasim, "171 MNAs-elect at Asif's 'Show of Strength' Party," *Dawn*, February 27, 2008, 1.

and the new government passing a resolution restoring judges who had been “oathed out” to the Supreme Court and other courts.<sup>376</sup>

The division between Musharraf and the new government was clear. However, Musharraf still maintained support from the United States. Secretary of State Rice stated that “the President of Pakistan is Pervez Musharraf and so, of course, we will deal with him.”<sup>377</sup> Moreover, the White House press secretary stated that: “In democracies, you have situations sometimes where your party loses in Parliament or in the Congress, as President Bush knows very well.”<sup>378</sup> There were allegations that Musharraf started to work to weaken the coalition: reducing its possible numbers by holding meetings with potential coalition members.<sup>379</sup>

The Army followed the desire of the dominant group. The new Army Chief-of-Staff, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, made general statements about non-involvement in politics, but also stated that the Army was not distancing itself from the President.<sup>380</sup> In February 2008, Kayani had ordered that all military officers withdrawal from the government’s civil departments and not maintain contacts with politicians.<sup>381</sup> This shows a clear decision by the military to allow the political process to continue, which enabled Musharraf’s removal.

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376. Amir Wasim and Abid Abbasi, “Zardari, Sharif in historic accord,” *Dawn*, March 10, 2008, 1.

377. Anwar Iqbal, “Another US Endorsement for Musharraf,” *Dawn*, February 24, 2008, 1.

378. Iqbal, “Another US Endorsement.”

379. “PML-N raps Musharraf for Illegal Meetings,” *Dawn*, March 2, 2008, 1.

380. Iftikhar A. Khan, “Army not distancing itself from president,” *Dawn*, March 7, 2008, 1.

381. Salman Masood, “New Pakistan Army Chief Orders Military Out of Civilian Government Agencies, Reversing Musharraf Policy,” *New York Times*, February 13, 2008.

The PPP and PML-N created a cabinet deal giving the PPP 54% of the federal cabinet.<sup>382</sup> However, the PPP had an internal power struggle over the next Prime Minister. The PML-N was firmly against the candidacy of PPP Vice-Chairman Makhdoom Amin Fahim because of allegations of connections and meetings with Musharraf.<sup>383</sup> After, at the swearing-in of the new parliament, Fahim received a “big applause” welcome from the PPP members.<sup>384</sup> However, after working with the PML-N, the PPP nominated Makhdoom Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani for the post of Prime Minister, and he received 264 votes to Fahim’s 64. The election occurred while the parliament resounded with chants of “Go Musharraf go” and “Jiay Bhutto.” Moreover, Gilani ordered, “the immediate release of detained judges of the judiciary.”<sup>385</sup> In meetings with the United States, the new government quickly made clear that it would offer no reassurance on the future fate of Musharraf.<sup>386</sup>

By August 6, 2008, the PPP and PML-N had reached an agreement to move for the impeachment of Musharraf.<sup>387</sup> The government’s charges against Musharraf included corruption and murder.<sup>388</sup> At the same time, the United States was working to ensure that Musharraf would enjoy a secure retirement in Pakistan if he decided to step down.<sup>389</sup> Musharraf went on television

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382. Amir Wasim, “PPP, PML-N Hammer out Cabinet Deal,” *Dawn*, March 13, 2008, 1.

383. Amir Wasim, “PML-N Vetoes Candidature of Fahim,” *Dawn*, March 11, 2008, 1.

384. Raja Asghar, “Gilani Set to Win Overwhelming NA Approval,” *Dawn*, March 24, 2008, 1.

385. Raja Asghar, “A Momentous Day,” *Dawn*, March 25, 2008, 1.

386. Amir Wasim, “Parliament to Decide Key Issues, Top US Officials Told,” *Dawn*, March 26, 2008, 1.

387. Amir Wasim, “PPP, PML-N Agree to Act Against Musharraf,” *Dawn*, August 6, 2008, 1.

388. Amir Wasim, “Musharraf May Face Corruption, Murder Charges,” *Dawn*, August 11, 2008, 1.

389. Anwar Iqbal, “US Wants ‘Honorable Stay for President in Pakistan,” *Dawn*, August 11, 2008, 1.

on August 13, 2008 and appealed for a conciliatory approach.<sup>390</sup> On August 18, 2008, he announced to the nation that he would resign as President in an address in which he defended his legacy.<sup>391</sup> By September of that year, Musharraf was in exile.

## **Conclusions**

The causal mechanism follows an established pattern in Pakistan: a domestic cleavage, centered around Islamabad, causes political demands from the dominant group. In this case, Musharraf decided to remove the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, which caused mass protests among attorneys and other urban professionals. The groups protesting were members of the dominant group. Musharraf was facing a crisis, which he attempted to mitigate by declaring an Emergency, stepping down as COAS, and setting a date for an election. However, the military quickly removed its support and allowed for a democratic election which, in turn, forced Musharraf into exile. The events follow the predicted causal mechanism in the theory chapter very closely.

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390. Ayed Irfan Raza, "Musharraf Calls for End to Confrontation," *Dawn*, August 14, 2008, 1.

391. Raja Asghar, "Beyond Musharraf," *Dawn*, August 19, 2008, 1.

## Chapter 5 - India

While the previous chapter tested Hypothesis 1, this chapter tests Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3 by addressing two essential means by which the military could face a veto player to its actions. A heterogeneous dominant group is a foundation for Hypothesis 2. Figure 5.1 shows the predicted causal mechanism from Chapter 2:

Cause	Causal Mechanism		Outcome
Domestic cleavage threatens some groups in a heterogenous dominant group or all groups	Political demands from some sub-groups in a dominant group or different demands from different subgroups— Government fails to address demands and/or lacks legitimacy	Some officers of the rank of colonel and above identify with the demands of certain groups; Other officers in the rank of colonel above do not identify with the demands or identify with the demands of other groups	Groups within the military act as a veto player against the military taking power or giving up power

Figure 5.1 Causal mechanism Hypothesis 2

As was the case with Hypothesis 1, Hypothesis 2 assumes the inherent connection of the military and society. The essential difference is that, in the context of the second hypothesis, the dominant group is heterogeneous or diversified and originates from a broader range of groups in a society. A heterogeneous dominant group will fundamentally change how the dominant group perceives a domestic cleavage. Instead of members of a dominant group only perceiving the cleavage in one manner because they are homogenous and come from one sub-group of society, the military's leadership perceives the domestic cleavage differently due to the dominant group's diversity. In turn, the different perception of the cleavage creates competing perceptions, and

those perceptions create various groups in a military’s leadership. Those groups act as possible veto players that can prevent an action to remove a government.

The second hypothesis I test in relation to these Indian case studies is Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 3 is a similar concept to Hypothesis 2, but focuses on other organizations playing the role of the veto player. Figure 5.2 shows the relevant causal mechanism for this hypothesis.

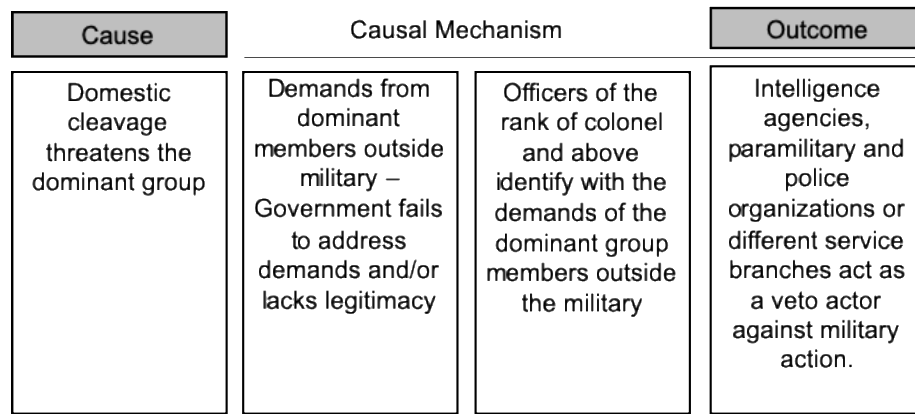


Figure 5.2 Causal Mechanism for Hypothesis 3

This causal mechanism, shows similar process trace as that in Hypothesis 1. However, it should also correlate with evidence that organizational divisions—whether between intelligence agencies, paramilitary organizations, or other organizations—act as a veto players.

### **Sino-Indian War**

India’s war with China is an essential comparative to Pakistan’s defeat in 1971. In both cases, the enemy soundly defeated the states’ militaries. However, in India’s case, internal tensions arose from a dis-unified security apparatus. After Pakistan’s defeat, the military quickly moved to remove Yahya Khan, and there was very little evidence of internal veto players, as the move was quick and without resistance. On the other hand, the evidence of internal veto players is extensive in the case of the Sino-Indian War.

Figure 5.3 shows the process trace of what occurred in civil-military relations during the Sino-Indian War.

Cause	Causal Mechanism	Outcome
Ministry of Defense (MOD) vetoes military advice and does not allow the military command of paramilitary forces; Military protests to the Prime Minister	China attacks units near border after MOD moved units into tactically unsound position; India suffers a deceive defeat and MOD blamed	Army demands professional responsibility from Generals involved, MOD head resigns, and other reforms taken

Figure 5.3 Process trace for the Sino-Indian War

The focus of this process trace is on the interference and institutional fighting that occurred before the war. The ability of institutional players to veto the military’s ability to make decisions caused a significant defeat to China. If internal actors are acting as veto players in the case of a war with a powerful enemy, then it is highly likely it would be also the case if the military attempted a removal of the government. During the conflict with China, the military did not have the institutional autonomy or unity of command with paramilitary and intelligence to remove the Indian government.

The causal mechanism shows a dis-unified security apparatus, which exhibits the type of veto behavior the theory predicts. As I will show in this section, India demonstrated a dis-unified security apparatus and multiple people and organizations create an organizational structure that cannot function to make decisions. Civilian control created divisions within the military. For example, the Ministry of Defense (MOD) Director Menon replaced General Umar Sigh, the Commander of military forces on the border with China with General B.M. Kaul. Kaul’s plan

came into conflict with General Throat's plan. The various groups within the military's chain of command wanted to pursue different strategies with China and showed limited unity of command, which negatively impacted the military's ability to come to a decision. In short, every decision before the war resulted in some person or organization acting as a veto player. The military cannot make internal decisions to deal with an external threat. The lack of an ability to make internal decisions is the behavior predicted by this study's theoretical framework, even if it does not involve the overthrow of the government.

For the purposes of this study, it is essential to consider the external agencies that create a dis-unified security apparatus and veto players. First, the Home Ministry was responsible for providing internal security and maintained an organization with significant capacity. They were the first force on the border with China, and the military was denied command over these forces. The lack of unity of command was significantly different from the situation in Pakistan throughout this study. The Home Ministry also controlled the Intelligence Bureau. This type of security apparatus made India's war effort difficult. However, it also likely prevented any actions by the military against the civil government.

During the Sino-Indian war, the government was led by Prime Minister Nehru, but heavily influenced by Defense Minister Krishna Menon, who ignored sound military advice in order to follow the desired policy. This is vital because the failure of the war produced a foreign policy disaster in which the military blamed the civilian government. After the war, the Indian government allowed an honest assessment of its failures. The *Henderson Brooks-Bhagat Report*, written in 1967, described the failure:

A meeting, however, was held in the Prime Minister's office on November 2, 1961, and was attended amongst others by the Defense Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the Chief of the Army Staff, and the Director, Intelligence Bureau. It appears that the discussion thought that "the Chinese would not react to our establishing new posts and that they



were not likely to use force against any of our posts even if they were in a position to do so... This was contrary to the military intelligence appreciation... which clearly indicated that the Chinese would resist by force any attempts to take back territory held by them.<sup>392</sup>

Unlike the 1971 war in Pakistan, there was an internal accounting for the failure of the military and government after the Sino-Indian war. However, much like the situation in Pakistan, the failure was decisive. China decided to stop its offensive, while it could have continued its offensive. The degree of the defeat makes this case study a critical comparison. In both case studies, the enemy defeated the military, and the perception among the public was that the government was to blame.

### **Jawaharlal Nehru's Administration**

India experienced numerous domestic cleavages before the war against China. For example, the Communist Party of India started a militant mass movement in various areas, such as Kerala. In Hyderabad, the Communist Party came into conflict with the Indian Army, which Nehru called in to calm the protests. When a railroad strike failed, the situation escalated to a rural insurgency.<sup>393</sup> Economic growth was also a major issue. After partition, Nehru had immediate economic problems, and his first concern was to control inflationary pressures and to alleviate shortages of essential food items.<sup>394</sup> Once India became independent, the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 marked the first real acknowledgment that the central government would drive economic planning through a series of economic plans. The first planning

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392. India still classifies as top secret the *Henderson Brooks-Bhagat Report*. However, historian Neville Maxwell attained a copy and published it. It is available here: [http://media2.intoday.in/indiatoday/HENDERSON\\_BROOKS1.pdf](http://media2.intoday.in/indiatoday/HENDERSON_BROOKS1.pdf).

393. Sarvepalli Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru – A Biography Vol 2* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979), 71.

394. A Vaidyanathan, "The Indian Economy since Independence (1947-70)," in *The Cambridge Economic History of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 949.

commission was set up in 1950, with the Prime Minister as its head, and it produced its first five-year plan in 1951.<sup>395</sup>

Independent India was an agricultural economy with a small, but growing, industrial sector that accounted for 12% of the workforce and about 25% of the nation's income. However, agricultural productivity was low, and the population was rapidly increasing. Between 1881 and 1941, the population of British India rose from 257 million to 389 million and per capita availability of food declined from 200 kilograms per year to 150.<sup>396</sup>

India achieved modest overall growth during this period, but that modest growth slumped before the war with China. During the period of the first economic plan, 1951 to 1956, India increased its national income by 3.5% each year, and per capita income increased by 1.4% per year. During the period of the second plan, 1956 to 1961, India achieved national economic growth of 3.6% per year and per capita growth of 1.5% per year.<sup>397</sup> The difference between overall economic growth and per capita growth was caused by the fact that the Indian population was exploding, with between eight to 10 million Indians born each year, which caused India to focus on achieving growth rather than achieving reductions in inequality or correcting for regional disparities during the planning for the third economic plan.<sup>398</sup> During the first year of the third economic plan, 1962, economic growth decreased from a record high in 1961 of 7.5%

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395. Dietmar Rothermund, *An Economic History of India: From Pre-Colonial Times to 1986* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988), 133.

396. Guha, *India after Gandhi*, 210.

397. A. H. Hanson, *The Process of Planning: A Study of India's Five-Year Plans 1950-1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 217.

398. Hanson, *Process of Planning*.

to 2.1%.<sup>399</sup> While a poor harvest and disappointing industrial growth were to blame for this decline, it does indicate that the economy was declining right before the conflict. Political conflict and economic conditions were similar to periods in Pakistan, when the military intervened or ceded power. For example, there was weak economic growth before the military removed Bhutto, and both when Musharraf removed the government and when a new government removed him.

### **Civil-Military Relations Under Nehru**

Civil-military relations under Nehru indicate an increasingly dis-unified security apparatus. The military attempted to maintain some autonomy. General S. M. Shrinagesh, India's third Chief of Staff, who served from 1955 to 1957, wrote: "What is civil control? Surely not control by civil servants, whose task is to provide a Secretariat to the Defense Minister. It means, necessarily, political control, which is fundamental to our democracy. Such political control must be that of the Minister, without the Defense Secretariat working as a sort of Controller General of the three Service Headquarters."<sup>400</sup> This account gives the general view of the military's leadership, which desired the role of carrying out a policy without micromanagement. The military wanted a direct relationship with the Defense Minister, rather than micromanagement by civil servants.

The Indian Army was also willing to defend its independence from political interference. When General Cariappa was the most senior Indian officer and set to become India's first Commander in Chief, the Nehru government and other Independence leaders did not favor his appointment because Cariappa was too anglicized and too close with Pakistani officers serving in

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399. Hanson, *Process of Planning*, 220.

400. Satish K Issar, *S.M. Shrinagerf - Soldier, Scholar, Statesman* (New Delhi: Vision Books, 2009), 291.

India. Sardar Patel decided to pass over Cariappa and instead appoint LTG Maharaj Rajendrasinhjj. When General Rajendrasinhjj met with Nehru to discuss this, he stated that he would resign because it set a dangerous precedent of unwarranted political interference in the Indian Army, as Cariappa was senior to Rajendrasinhjj and thoroughly competent.<sup>401</sup>

One early event that increased civilian control over the military was the Prime Minister's decision to abolish the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Military. The Indian government abolished this position on Independence Day, August 15, 1947. Abolishing this title removed a symbolic and prestigious position, thus reducing the possibility of a threat to civilian control. The Indian government continued to enforce structural changes to increase civilian control. By 1955, after the retirement of General Shrinagesh, India had three separate and equal Chiefs of Staff for the Army, Navy, and Air Force, which helped to weaken the centralized control of each service and ensure non-unity of command to prevent a coup.<sup>402</sup> In addition to this change, the new government also strengthened the power and control of the Ministry of Defense.<sup>403</sup> However, this increased level of control resulted in micromanagement. The Ministry of Defense involved itself in decisions that were once the domain of the military under the British. Another symbolic change made to the Warrant of Precedence, which set the position of precedence for individuals in a ceremony, caused the degree of precedence of high-ranking military leadership over civilian leadership to decrease.<sup>404</sup> The new government also attacked the

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401. Issar, *S.M. Shrinagerf*, 199.

402. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 105.

403. Stephen P. Cohen, *The Indian Army: Its Contribution to the Development of a Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 171.

404. Cohen, *The Indian Army*, 172-173.

military's pay, as the government reduced pay for officers that joined after 1934 by 40%.<sup>405</sup> Nehru, similar to General Zia in Pakistan, did not allow senior military officers to stay in the same position for extended periods. The Chief-of-Staff of each Service was limited to a three-year term. Also, importantly, Nehru transferred domestic intelligence to the Home Ministry.<sup>406</sup>

The Indian military tried to remain apolitical. The Indian military instructed junior officers to be politically illiterate and to concentrate purely on professional matters. The profession perceived overt political statements or activities as dishonorable.<sup>407</sup>

The government continued to diversify the Army. Unlike the Pakistan Army, which was predominantly Punjabi, the Indian government took steps to ensure diversity within its officer corps. First, it expanded future officer recruitment to members of all regions and communities. India created a New Defense Academy in Maharashtra in 1954, which was far from the central military academy. The purpose of the academy's placement was to create geographic diversity, at the request of Sardar Patel.<sup>408</sup> Those who held the Chief of Army Staff position tended to not come from the traditional martial classes that had been established under the British. In 1951, Punjabi Hindus and Sikh communities dominated the leadership of the Army. However, from 1947 to 1970, the government choose no Punjab to be Army Chief and all, but one Chief had come from outside of the traditional Punjab heartland.<sup>409</sup> India was clearly trying to prevent

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405. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 103.

406. Cohen, *The Indian Army*, 106.

407. Cohen, *The Indian Army*, 173.

408. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 108.

409. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 109.

leadership from becoming overly concentrated in one area. In other words, it was actively trying to create a heterogeneous dominant group.

However, the Army provided some pushback against these efforts. For example, the Army maintained its regimental structure, and four of the Army Chiefs in the 1950s and 1960s stated the need to keep class recruitment for the Army, following a pattern established by the British during the final days of the British Raj. The Army dealt with political pressure to broaden its recruitment base by publicly maintaining that the Army was open to all, providing publicity to recruit underrepresented groups, and concealing information on the actual composition of the Army.<sup>410</sup> However, even with this pushback, the Indian Army was more representative of India's society in comparison to the army in Pakistan.

The primary concern of India's early military leaders was to ensure that political leaders maintained a capable military and did not perceive the military as labor or police force. Early military leaders assumed that the political leadership believed neither China or Pakistan were much of a threat, and that they did not need a massive and well-trained Army. As General Shrinagesh recounted: "Unfortunately, we in the Army assumed that once a decision had been made that we should have an Army and not a labor corps, it was unnecessary to spell out the fact that the Army's primary task in peace is training, familiarization with weapons tactics, and so on, from with it could ill-afford the time it had already lost. We were, however, disappointed and frustrated to hear ministers of the states, as well as the Centre, repeat time and again their views about the Army building roads, village tanks, etc."<sup>411</sup> The arrival of V.K. Krishna Menon as Defense Minister was a turning point for political involvement in the military. The Chief of

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410. Wilkinson, *Army and Nation*, 112.

411. Issar, *S.M. Shrinagerf*, 291.

General Staff General SD. Verma recalled: “Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon took over as the defense minister sometime in early 1957, a little after General Thimayya had become the COAS, and very soon after, I took over as the CGS... Timmy and I were given special attention in this ‘wooing.’” Before long, however, it became known generally that the DM expected loyalty to his person even at the expense of the service and the individual’s superior service officers. He started by making subtle promises, hinting at better future prospects to certain officers in reward for doing his bidding.”<sup>412</sup> Menon would later influence promotions that the Indian military felt interfered with their professional domain.

India heavily used the Indian Army before the Sino-Indian War. First, India’s first war over Kashmir lasted from 1947-1948. Second, it secured many princely states and integrated them into India: Junagadh, Hyderabad, Dadra, Nagar Haveli, and Goa. India had a military conflict with Portugal over the integration of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1954 and the integration of Goa in 1961. Both operations involved the Indian military overrunning small garrisons. India also took part in the UN mission to Congo in 1961, sending almost 5,000 soldiers.<sup>413</sup>

Before the conflict with China, Chief-of-Army-Staff (COAS) Kodendera Thimayya served from 1957 to 1961. Thimayya came into conflict with Menon and Nehru. As early as May 10, 1957, Thimayya provided both Nehru and Menon a warning regarding the threat from China and confirmed the threat by aerial reconnaissance on June 3, 1957.<sup>414</sup> In July, Thimayya sent a note to Menon, suggesting that the Army take control of the defense of Ladakh and command

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412. S. D. Verma, *To Serve with Honour: My Memoirs* (Bombay: New Thacker’s Fine Art Press Pvt. Ltd, 1988), 100.

413. For example, see <https://www.livemint.com/Opinion/9D5XT497AEYYluFn3moa2H/When-Indian-troops-entered-Congo-55-years-ago.html>

414. Chandra B. Khanduri, *Thimayya: An Amazing Life* (New Delhi: Knowledge World, 2006), 210.

other forces, such as the police. Menon responded: “The enemy is on the other side. Ignore China.”<sup>415</sup> Thimayya was also concerned about the obsolete equipment of the Indian military. He argued that the Indian Army should purchase the Belgian FN FAL rifle. The move to NATO arms angered Menon.<sup>416</sup> Thimayya continued to push on the Chinese threat, including a report in 1959 that stated “the Chinese would launch a major incursion.”<sup>417</sup>

The relationship between Thimayya and Menon continued to break down, and Thimayya went to Nehru with his concerns. The promotion of B.M. Kaul to the rank of Lieutenant General finally caused Thimayya to resign. Nehru promoted Kaul over twelve other Generals who had more experience, while he lacked combat experience. However, Kaul did have a relationship with Nehru. On August 31, 1959, Thimayya sent a letter of resignation to Nehru, stating that it was “impossible... to carry out our responsibilities under the present Defense Minister.”<sup>418</sup> When the resignation was leaked to the press, it divided the public. Most of the communist and left-wing press sided with Menon. Most of the non-ideological press sided with Thimayya, including *Hindustan Times*, which supported the resignation of Menon. Nehru brought Thimayya into his office and directly lobbied him to withdraw his resignation, which he finally did.<sup>419</sup>

Kaul’s behavior, which prompted Thimayya’s reaction, was extreme. Before the war with China, then Chief of General Staff LTG Kaul contacted the American Ambassador, J. K.

Galbraith. Galbraith recalled the exchange:

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415. Khanduri, *Thimayya*, 211.

416. Arthur Lall, *The Emergence of Modern India* (New York: Columbia University, 1981), 119.

417. Lall, *Emergence of Modern India*, 243

418. Letter of resignation from Thimayya.

419. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 309-310.



My doubts as to Kaul's judgment were stressed, though not adequately... he had just returned from a firsthand tour of the Thag La Front and he asked me to call on him late one evening at his house in New Delhi. There he told me that one day soon the Indians were going to evict the Chinese from the land claimed by India. Jawaharlal Nehru, Krishna Menon and the government had not sufficiently understood the difficulty of the task; it would not be possible without our help. Accordingly, he told me he had advised the Indian government to abandon its commitment to non-alignment and seek our assistance... I thought him a bit unstrung and said it would not be our wish to be so involved...<sup>420</sup>

Kaul's decision to contact a nation with which India was not on friendly terms was wildly inappropriate. Therefore, Thimayya's reaction was not merely based on the fact that Kaul was promoted over many more senior officers, but rather that he was not competent in the job.

However, when Thimayya did finally resign on May 9, 1961, Menon was quick to find a replacement who would follow Menon's directions. General Thorat was senior to the next chief, General Pran Thapar. However, as General Verma, recalled: "[Thapar] took over as officiating COAS. He had been promised by Menon some months earlier that if he was a good boy he would be made the chief. Thapar told me this himself. Thorat was senior to Thapar, had a lot of war experience, had won a well-merited DSO in Burma and had held a number of important command and staff appointments, but he was not a "yes-man," the only quality that Menon liked and wanted."<sup>421</sup> These were clear signs of micromanagement and political influence. Unlike the case when Cariappa was almost passed over for Chief, the Indian Army did not stand up to this political pressure. Moreover, General Throat recalled multiple times how Thaper put people in place for political purposes.<sup>422</sup>

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420 John Kenneth Galbraith, *A Life in Our Times* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1981), 446.

421 Verma, *To Serve with Honour*, 122.

422. EA Vas, *Fools and Infantrymen* (Meerut: Kartikeya Publications, 1996), 183.

For the purposes of this discussion, a few points near the beginning of the Sino-Indian War are particularly important to consider. First, the Army's Independence and ability to push back attempts to interfere in its professional domain were weakening. In the terms of the theory, India's military faced a wider range of veto actors by different security organizations. In the early years of the Republic, the Army was interested in maintaining itself as an organization that could defend India. However, despite this fact, continued political pressure and maneuvering put the Army's professional Independence at risk. In short, it was now in a position where the government could play the role of veto player over military decisions. Second, the military did not control critical parts of the security apparatus. The Intelligence Bureau (IB) was no longer under MOD's control. Moreover, the government refused the Army command and control of paramilitary forces on the Indian-Chinese border.

### **Overview of Event**

The dispute that caused the Sino-Indian war revolved around China recovering what it perceived as its territory. In 1959, the Dalai Lama left China for India, because China was tightening its control of Tibet, leading to an insurgency that China defeated. While Nehru encouraged the Dalai Lama to negotiate, the crossing happened at a time when India and China were also disputing territory then held by India. Once it became clear that China would impose dominion over Tibet, Nehru developed a four-fold policy to secure India. First, he signed new agreements with Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim to ensure India's special relationship with these states. He also took measures to extend Indian administration up to the McMahon Line. Third, the government decided to treat the question of the Chinese and Indian border as a closed issue. However, in the end, the government saw China as friendly and non-threatening and believed the

disputes would be diplomatic.<sup>423</sup> In 1958, China started to print maps that showed a significant part of Indian territory that bordered Tibet as part of China. The Indian government protested this, and Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai, China's Premier, exchanged heated correspondence. This border dispute eventually resulted in armed engagements when China seized an Indian outpost at Logjam on October 20, 1962.<sup>424</sup>

Chou complained about the political activities of Tibetan dissidents and suggested that China and India should merely recognize the status quo. Nehru argued that India had provided China with legitimacy on the world stage and that the current status quo allowed China to keep land it had taken by force. Talks broke down and, by October 1960, Chou accused India of wanting to "turn China's Tibet region into a 'buffer zone.'"<sup>425</sup> In India, the media made increasing calls to take a more aggressive stance. During this period, the government sent thinly armed units close to the boarder with China and reported a massive buildup of the Red Army.<sup>426</sup> Before the conflict, then Chief of Army Staff Thimayya argued that the Army's forward posts were at extreme risk if China invaded. Menon ignored his advice and stated that China was playing a map game and that no hostilities would occur. Therefore, the military's presence on the border was more than tactics, and it was essential to fill the gaps and display India's presence at every opportunity.<sup>427</sup>

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423. Vas, *Fools and Infantrymen*, 171.

424. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 309-310.

425. Edgar Snow, *The Other Side of the River: Red China Today* (New York: Random House, 1963), 762-763.

426. Vas, *Fools and Infantrymen*, 177.

427. Vas, *Fools and Infantrymen*, 183.

Disputes and armed conflict continued and, on September 8, 1962, China emplaced an outpost overlooking the Indian town of Dhola. On October 3, 1962, Menon replaced General Umar Singh, the Commander of military forces on the border with China, who argued for prudence, with General B. M. Kaul. In doing so, Menon replaced the previous commander with someone who was political loyal and would follow his directions, even if those directions were tactically and operationally unsound for the military.

To dislodge the Chinese, Menon moved two battalions to watch the Chinese position, but they had no mortars and only three days of supplies. The Chinese attacked the force and started the war. China destroyed the brigade forward entirely, as one-third died, one third were captured, including the commanding officer, and one-third retreated to Bhutan. Kaul flew back to Delhi, suffering the effects of a nervous breakdown.<sup>428</sup> On November 15, 1962, China launched a significant offensive, gaining territory before declaring a unilateral ceasefire on November 22.

India's failure in this campaign resulted in the resignation of Menon and General Kaul.<sup>429</sup> Nehru admitted his failure, stating that he had lived "in an artificial world of our own creation."<sup>430</sup> After the conflict, the Army showed Nehru a previous military assessment compiled by General Throat, which showed the difficulties of the military situation and set forth a more realistic plan of action. Nehru asked why he had not seen it prior to the conflict, and the Chief of Army Staff told him that he had shown the assessment to Menon and should direct his questions

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428. Vas, *Fools and Infantrymen*, 193.

429. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 334-339.

430. Guha, *India After Gandhi*.

to him.<sup>431</sup> The plan, developed in 1960, concluded that the McMahon line was indefensible and envisioned a defense on more favorable terrain, further inside of India.<sup>432</sup>

When S. K. Sinha took over as the Director of Military Intelligence, he reviewed the department's old records and found that it had not carried out an in-depth study of Chinese capabilities and intentions. Moreover, the Joint Intelligence Committee responsible for making such assessments did not even meet during this period.<sup>433</sup> The political leadership was advocating that the Army ignore the threat from China, which seems to have succeeded. After the war, the Army removed Kaul's loyalists from key assignments.<sup>434</sup> The government appointed General Thorat, who conceived a more militarily-sound defense against China, to a commission responsible for enacting reforms.<sup>435</sup>

## Conclusions

This case study is essential to this dissertation's comparative study for two reasons. The first is its similarities with the cases in Pakistan. As noted previously, China soundly defeated the Indian military, and India lost territory. The events were similar to the results of the 1971 war in Pakistan. While there are differences in the level of intensity of the reaction, in both cases, the government was blamed. Second, the economic conditions of India did not provide for necessities such as food, and there was an economic downturn before the war. The economic conditions before the Sino-Indian war appear more extreme than similar downturns in Pakistan,

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431. Vas, *Fools and Infantrymen*, 193.

432. Vas, *Fools and Infantrymen*, 183.

433. S. K. Sinha, *A Soldier Recalls* (New Delhi: Lancer International, 1992), 177.

434. Vas, *Fools and Infantrymen*, 194.

435. Vas, *Fools and Infantrymen*, 194.

but they still provide a close approximation. These similarities provide the foundation for why this particular case study is essential.

In Chapter 2, I used the causal mechanism to predict two paths involving veto players that prevented a military from removing a civilian government. Hypothesis 2 suggested that those veto players would come from a heterogeneous dominant group. In other words, different members of the dominant group would perceive a domestic cleavage differently because of the diversity of the group. In this case study, while different general officers took different actions, based on the influence and favoritism of Menon, this did not equate to differing perceptions concerning the result of the war. Rather, all groups understood the defeat and saw it from the same perspective.

On the other hand, this case study provides ample evidence for the existence and effects of a non-unified security apparatus that could not make effective decisions. The military did not gain authority over the paramilitary forces on the Chinese border. The security apparatus was not under the military's control. Moreover, MOD was micromanaging officers and interfering in the relationship between generals and the government. These examples evidence the capacity of this dissertation's theoretical model to understand behavior based on the presence of a diversified security apparatus. Overall, this case study illustrates the importance of a dis-unified security apparatus in preventing decision making. If a military cannot take the necessary actions required to defend against a highly-capable military because of a dis-unified security apparatus, it is highly unlikely that it will be able to organize the removal of a civilian government.

### **The Emergency**

The case of the Emergency supports the causal mechanism for both the second and third hypotheses. While this situation did not include the threat of government overflow, the process

trace shows evidence of various veto players who would prevent any attempt to remove Gandhi. The case of the Emergency shows that different groups within the military's leadership perceived the Emergency differently; thus, the groups acted differently. Second, the Emergency featured the use of many domestic security institutions, many of which were plausible organizational veto players. Figure 5.4 shows the process trace for this case study.

Cause	Causal Mechanism	Outcome
<p>Emergency declared; Government uses intelligence and paramilitary forces to arrest opposition members and enforce the emergency.</p>	<p>Different groups in the Army's leadership view the emergency differently; Some identify with the opposition and government while others remain apolitical.</p>	<p>Government attempts to use the Army to remain in power; Army refuses. Desires to stay apolitical.</p>

Figure 5.4 Process trace for the Emergency

In terms of the theory, a large-scale domestic cleavage occurred throughout the country during the Emergency. As a heterogeneous dominant group, members of the military's leadership perceived the cleavage and related demands differently, in contrast with the unified response that often occurred in Pakistan. Instead, there is ample evidence that some members of the military's leadership were sympathetic to the opposition, some were sympathetic to the government, and others attempted to remain apolitical. Moreover, multiple organizations, including the Research Analysis Wing, helped enforce the Emergency. All of the actors that enforced the Emergency provide plausible veto players that could prevent the Army from removing a civilian government.

In the case of the final refusal to keep the government in power, it is likely that following such an order would have resulted in resistance internal to the military's leadership. The

dominant group was heterogeneous. As such, if the military acted in a way that supported the government or opposition, it would have divided the military's leadership. In other words, groups within the military would have acted as a veto player.

Indira Gandhi had a long period of influence, which only ended with her assassination in 1984. However, this section will cover her rise to power and her rule of India through the Emergency, between 1966 to 1977, and will help to provide the context of her rule and explain why the military did not become involved in domestic government. By the mid-1960s, food shortages, rising prices, and increasing income disparities threatened to undermine political stability. Strikes and protests were widespread.<sup>436</sup> In short, conditions suggested that a military removing the government was possible.

Indira Gandhi's path to becoming Prime Minister and her to succeed Nehru began shortly after his death. On May 27, 1964, Nehru died when his aortic artery burst. While leaders of Congress symbolically offered Indira Gandhi the position of Prime Minister, the position went to President of the Indian National Congress, Lal Bahadur Shastri, who became the second Prime Minister of India. When Shastri died on January 11, 1966, Congress quickly consolidated around Indira Gandhi, who became India's third Prime Minister.

### **Indira Gandhi's Administration**

Post-independence, there was no shortage of ongoing domestic cleavages in various parts of the country. The Prime Minister faced several ongoing internal armed conflicts. In Nagaland, conflict renewed shortly after Gandhi came to office.<sup>437</sup> Beyond this insurgency, by 1971, India

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436. Francine R. Frankel, *India's Political Economy 1947-2004* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 341.

437. V. K. Anand, *Conflict in Nagaland* (New Delhi: Chanakya, 1980), 164-170.



was also experiencing the Naxalite insurgency. In a small village in West Bengal, peasants rose in rebellion, and similar movements elsewhere followed. Kanu Sanyal became leader of the movement, and on May Day 1969, a new communist political party held a massive rally in Calcutta.<sup>438</sup> The low-level insurgency presently continues in India.

Politically, Gandhi faced a Congress party that wanted a certain amount of control over her policies and actions. Her response was to turn to the left and align herself with the youth against the leadership of Congress. One of her first moves was to nationalize the banks, which she did despite strong opposition from Congress's leadership. By doing so, she sought to directly affect the poor, stating "to millions of small farmers, artisans, and other self-employed persons, a bank can be a source of credit, which is the very basis for any effort to improve their meager economic lot."<sup>439</sup> By December 1966, it was clear that Gandhi was going to attempt to take control of the party by going directly to the people, stating: "Here is a question of whom the party wants and whom the people want... My position among the people is uncontested."<sup>440</sup> Gandhi was quickly moving towards exercising power through her personal appeal, not through Congress. During a July 1969 meeting of the All India Congress Committee, P.N. Haksar told Gandhi that the best way to vanquish the Syndicate, her opposition within Congress, was to convert the struggle for personal power into an ideological one.<sup>441</sup>

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438. Raj Kumar Mishra, *Naxalite-Maoist Insurgency* (Jaipur: Yking Books, 1980), 46.

439. Indira Gandhi, "Bank Nationalization Broadcast from all India Radio, July 19th, 1969," in *The Years of Challenge: Selected Speeches of Indira Gandhi* (New Delhi: Ministry of Information, 1971), 127.

440. Frank, *Indira*, 300.

441. Guha, *India after Gandhi*, 437; The Syndicate is the common name for the conservative leadership of the Congress party.

The 1967 elections were a disappointment for Congress, as it lost 95 seats, winning 282 out of 520, in the National Parliament, which left Congress with a majority of only 44 seats. Moreover, it lost majority control in seven states: Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan. After the election, Morfarji Desai, who had previously challenged Gandhi for Prime Minister, did so again.<sup>442</sup> His challenge resulted in a compromise in which Desai, Gandhi's primary rival in the Syndicate, became Deputy Prime Minister.

The tension increased, and the death and election of a new President resulted in a formal division of Congress. Congress leadership supported Sanjiva Reddy, and Gandhi decided to support VV Giri. Four days before the election, on August 20, 1969, Gandhi formally asked Congress's members of parliament to break with Congress. VV Giri won election as President on the second ballot. Congress expelled Gandhi as a result, but many members of Parliament followed her, and she set up a rival political party called Congress (R).<sup>443</sup> This division put her into a minority government, but support from the Communist Party of India and several regional parties ensured that government could survive.<sup>444</sup>

Institutionally, Gandhi faced pushback from India's court system. The Supreme Court overturned the government's bank nationalization legislation and her efforts to abolish the princes' privy purse.<sup>445</sup> This conflict with the courts was a prelude to the conflict with the courts before the Emergency. After the division with the old Congress, Gandhi called for elections on December 27, 1970. The election campaign focused on her as the leader of the country. The

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442. Guha, *India after Gandhi*, 435.

443. Guha, *India after Gandhi*, 439.

444. Frank, *Indira*, 318

445. Frank, *Indira*, 328.

campaign included the use of considerable billboards in cities and rural areas. Gandhi picked most of the candidates for the new party.<sup>446</sup> This personalization of politics won vast majorities. Gandhi's party won 325 seats, a two-thirds majority, in the Lok Sabha, which was a lopsided defeat of the old Congress Party, making Gandhi a populist leader with a board mandate.

With this new mandate, Gandhi quickly moved to change the Constitution in order to empower the government to alter the fundamental rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution and limit the Court's ability to review those changes.<sup>447</sup> These changes in the constitution were far-reaching. For example, it stopped payment given by the government to a property owner for a property that the government took from being open to judicial review.<sup>448</sup>

The issue of food shortages dominated Gandhi's first diplomatic engagement: a trip to the United States to secure food aid. To the United States, it was clear that the problems facing India were momentous. The statement made by the US Department of State Director of Intelligence and Research provides a contemporary third-party view of India's food security problems:

In 1965-66, reflecting a country-wide drought, the net production figure was 72 million tons, 11 million tons were imported, and 6 million were drawn from reserves. Total availability was between 88 and 89 million tons. Estimating imports from all sources, including the consortium, at 10 million tons, total availability will be 86 million tons. For all practical purposes, reserves have been depleted to the point of exhaustion and must be carried at zero. In sum, therefore, Indians consumed 92 million tons two years ago, 88 million tons last year, and can expect to find available 86 tones this year. In the last two years, however, the population has increased by some 25 million people who require approximately four million additional tons for mere subsistence. Using last year's reduced consumption figure of 88 million tons as a base, therefore, and adding two

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446. Frank, *Indira*, 326.

447. Frank, *Indira*, 328.

448. "Statute Bill Gets President's Assent," *The Hindustan Times*, November 6, 1971, 1.

million tons for the increased population, the total minimum requirement is 90 million tons.<sup>449</sup>

President Johnson's administration chose to keep food aid tightly controlled and released ships month by month to force the Indians "to conform."<sup>450</sup>

Gandhi faced extreme economic problems upon taking office. Again, these are the type of conditions that might precede a military coup. By the time she became Prime Minister, economic planning only referred to the expenditures proposed by the national government, while the states within India were free to formulate their economic plans based on local conditions.<sup>451</sup> The central government had few means to deal with national economic problems. By 1967, food shortages threatened starvation in Bihar and triggered large-scale riots in West Bengal and Kerala, which placed pressure on the central government to shift resources away from industrial development and towards agricultural development. However, even this development stalled because of weather conditions in 1969.<sup>452</sup> Even with the new emphasis on agriculture, the Indian economy faced several limitations. For example, the Indian fertilizer industry expected to have an installed capacity of 1.7 to 2 million tons by 1970, compared to a need of 2.4 million tons and 4 million in 1975.<sup>453</sup> India still lagged behind its fertilizer requirement.

An early decision of vital importance during Gandhi's term was the devaluation of the Rupee. Dependence on foreign powers for both arms and grain and the import of machinery for

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449. "Memorandum to Secretary of State Dean Rusk from Intelligence and Research director Thomas Hughes regarding the range of US options to help alleviate India's growing food shortage," Department Of State, March 31, 1967, US Declassified Documents Online, accessed May 30, 2017, [tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4tcqf4](http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4tcqf4).

450. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 410.

451. Frankel, *India's Political Economy*, 313.

452. Frankel, *India's Political Economy*, 317.

453. Frankel, *India's Political Economy*, 321.

industrial development caused a dip in India's foreign exchange reserves, which were down to \$625 million in March 1966. In June, the government, after receiving support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), devalued the Rupee 57.5 percent, with the ratio increasing from 4.76 rupees to \$1 to 7.5 rupees to \$1 or 57.5%.<sup>454</sup> The devalued Rupee was the result of a long train of events that severely reduced other options besides devaluation for Gandhi. Raising food and other imports, combined with an insufficient increase in exports, caused an unfavorable trade balance; the 1965 war and two subsequent poor harvests aggravated this already problematic situation. A growing trade deficit and mounting debt obligations characterized a worsening situation that deteriorated further with a temporary suspension of foreign aid after the 1965 war. The devaluation of the rupee did not improve the balance of payments initially, but, by 1967, the trade balance improved.<sup>455</sup>

Economic planning during this period broadly focused on two fundamental problems: economic growth and inequality of economic benefits. However, these two goals conflicted. As the draft for the fourth economic plan stated, economic planning "will seek a reconciliation between immediate economic gains and the declared long-run social objective of state policy."<sup>456</sup> Gandhi was politically aligned with the radicals within Congress, who opposed the conservatives and wanted to focus on social objectives. This resulted in a breakdown in the process of economic planning, as Congress's economic working committee broke down over the

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454. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 411.

455. Government of India Planning Commission, *Fourth Five Year Plan 1969-74* (New Delhi: Government of India, 1969), 8.

456. Planning Commission, *Forth Five Year Plan*.

endorsement of bank nationalization.<sup>457</sup> Eventually, the Congress party divided, and Gandhi's Congress Party moved to the left.

From 1969 to 1974, the economy achieved an annual growth rate of 5.7%, and the fifth economic plan achieved a growth rate of 3.9%.<sup>458</sup> India experienced moderately decreased economic inequality during this period. Between 1950 to 1979, private consumption increased by 46% . The shares of the poorest 30% in consumer expenditure Are shown in Table 5.1.<sup>459</sup>

Table 5.1 Share of the Poorest 30% in Consumer Expenditure

	1958-59	1977-78
Rural	13.1	15.0
Urban	13.2	13.6

Neither economic growth nor economic equality met India's economic goals. An official study of unemployment conducted in 1973 showed that the numbers of unemployed wage-seekers were twice the size anticipated in statistical projections based on 1961 census data.<sup>460</sup> By the time of the fifth economic plan, which was cut short by the Emergency in 1975, was supposed to run from 1974 to 1979, the plan included land redistribution and further control of the distribution of essential commodities.<sup>461</sup>

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457. Frankel, *India's Political Economy*, 403

458. Government of India Planning Commission, *Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85* (New Delhi: Government of India, 1969), 2.

459. Planning Commission, *Sixth Five Year Plan*.

460. Frankel, *India's Political Economy*, 494.

461. Frankel, *India's Political Economy*, 503.

Internationally, one of the most important of Gandhi's decisions was the intervention in the 1971 war with Pakistan that produced an independent East Pakistan. The war had the opposite effect in India as it had in Pakistan, as Gandhi's government increased domestic popular support among the population. With Pakistan using the military to intervene in East Pakistan in March 1971, the number India's refugees from Pakistan expanded quickly. By April 1971, there were 500,000 refugees from East Pakistan; by May 1971 there were 3.5 million refugees; and by August there were eight million refugees.<sup>462</sup> The advice of COAS Sam Manekshaw—to delay any conventional military action until the winter to avoid the rainy season in East Pakistan and to prevent any efforts by China to help Pakistan through the passes of the Himalayas—provided the time for several diplomatic efforts to occur.<sup>463</sup> Henry Kissinger visited India on July 7, 1971, with a message that the United States would not provide any aid to India in the event of a war between Pakistan and India. When he left India, Kissinger went to Pakistan, where the government covertly set up a meeting between Kissinger and China.<sup>464</sup> India countered this by negotiating a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, which it signed on August 9, 1971, barely one month after Kissinger's visit. The critical point of the treaty was: "In the event of either an attack or threat on either party, the parties shall immediately enter into bilateral consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate, effective measures to ensure peace and the security of their countries."<sup>465</sup> By September 1971, Gandhi traveled to the Soviet Union and

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462. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 452.

463. Frank, *India's Political Economy*, 333-334.

464. Frank, *India's Political Economy*, 334.

465. A. Appadorai, ed., *Select Documents on India's Foreign Policy and Relations, 1947-1972*, vol. 2 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 136-140.

stated that, with millions of refugees in India, the Bangladesh crisis was no longer a domestic affair for Pakistan.<sup>466</sup>

One month after meeting with the Soviets, Gandhi traveled to Europe and to the United States to gain public support for a solution to the increasing problems in East Pakistan. As the crisis in East Pakistan deepened, Gandhi and Nixon met for a total of three and a half hours over two days which the U.S. White House called “helpful.”<sup>467</sup> Nixon and Gandhi came to no substantive agreements, and Gandhi told Nixon that she would retaliate if Pakistan continued its provocations.<sup>468</sup> However, Nixon had a negative view of Gandhi before the meeting. When Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco requested that Nixon to send a letter to Gandhi in 1970, Kissinger responded, “he won’t do it. He doesn’t like her.”<sup>469</sup> When India did enter the war in East Pakistan, Nixon sent a task force, led by the aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, to the Bay of Bengal. However, the friendship treaty with the Soviets paid off, as the Soviets quickly also sent a fleet.<sup>470</sup>

### **Relationship with the Military**

During Gandhi’s term as Prime Minister, she ruled during the military’s most significant victory, the 1971 war with Pakistan that divided Pakistan into two states. For much of Gandhi’s term in office, Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw was Chief of the Army Staff and remained the

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466. Frank, *India’s Political Economy*, 335.

467. “PM, Nixon Talks End; No Change in Views Seen,” *The Hindustan Times*, November 5, 1971, 1.

468. Frank, *India’s Political Economy*, 336.

469. “The text of a 1:45 p.m. telephone conversation between Henry Kissinger and Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco regarding President Richard M. Nixon’s dislike of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi,” White House, February 17, 1970, US Declassified Documents Online, accessed June 6, 2017, [tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4uy7L7](http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4uy7L7).

470. Frank, *India’s Political Economy*, 339.



most important military leader after the surrender of Pakistan in 1971. An authorized biography, written by a longtime associate of Manekshaw, provided evidence that the Army remained apolitical but that the government perceived the Army as a threat. According to the biography, Gandhi called Manekshaw to her office in August or September of 1969 and confronted him about rumors that the Army was a threat to the government. He responded that she had nothing to fear from the Army and requested that she do her job and let him do his.<sup>471</sup> In a later interview concerning the preparations for the 1971 war, Manekshaw stated: “I have given my professional view, now the government must make a decision.”<sup>472</sup> Manekshaw made this statement after he provided a rationale as to why the army was underprepared for war in April of 1971. Multiple sources, including another longtime aide, repeated the primary account.<sup>473</sup> More importantly, third parties also repeat this account. A US Top Secret memorandum stated: “According to a reliable source, Lt. General Har Prasad, Vice Chief on the Indian Army Staff, state that on March 28th the Indian government ordered the Indian army to move into East Pakistan. General Manekshaw, Chief of the Army Staff, refused to comply with the order because there were insufficient troops available, and those that were available were not in a position to be effective.”<sup>474</sup> The Indian military was refusing an unsound military order.

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471. Shubhi Sood, *Leadership: Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw* (New Delhi: SDS Publishers, 2006), 115.

472. Sood, *Leadership*, 148.

473. Behram M. Panthaki and Zenobia Panthaki, *Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw: The Man and His Times* (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2014), 108-110.

474. “Henry Kissinger is provided with information on world developments. Issues include: Anchorage, Alaska, meeting between US and Japanese government representatives; Chinese recognition at the UN; orders for the Indian army to enter into East Pakistan; sig,” White House, August 9, 1971, US Declassified Documents Online, accessed May 30, 2017, [tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4tdND4](http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4tdND4).

In general, the relationship between the Military and MOD worked well in 1971. The Air Force Chief of Staff recalled that he viewed the defense minister as “a model of what I imagine a Minister should be... he was unambiguous in making known government’s aims and intentions and, having done that, left it to the people concerned to get on with the job.”<sup>475</sup> He also expressed his support and admiration for Prime Minister Gandhi.<sup>476</sup> The Naval Chief of Staff stated that Gandhi was “an inspiration to the Indian troops in the field and the nation as a whole.”<sup>477</sup> In short, this situation did not include the same type of disputes as those which occurred in the war with China.

### **Overview of Emergency**

The Emergency was an almost two-year period in which Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared a state of Emergency, which enabled her to rule by decree. After 1971, India faced economic and political instability. By 1974, politics was polarized between Indira Gandhi’s Congress Party and a reform movement led by Jayaprakash Narayan (JP). JP was a nationalist who aligned with the Jana Sangh, a conservative party. He criticized the government for being corrupt, and, in 1974 and 1975, led protests throughout India. On March 6, 1975, JP led a protest of 750,000 in New Delhi.<sup>478</sup> Also, in Gujarat, Morarji Desai started a fast to protest the President’s rule. The opposition was quickly unifying against Congress and, on June 12, 1975, the Janata Front won state elections.<sup>479</sup>

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475. PC LAL, *My Years with the IAF* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers and Distributors, 2008), 167.

476. LAL, *My Years with the IAF*.

477. S.N. Kohli, *We Dared: Maritime Operations in the 1971 Indo-Pak War* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers and Distributors, 1989), 167.

478. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 485.

479. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 485.

By the time of the Emergency, Gandhi's achievement in Bangladesh had faded, and India faced multiple domestic cleavages. Importantly, India had faced two years of drought.<sup>480</sup> Moreover, the Emergency occurred in the context of legal conflicts between Gandhi's government, which Gandhi viewed as hampering their reforms. In 1950, the Indian Court first established their supremacy by declaring a law unconstitutional. It continued to invalidate a land reform program in 1967 and upheld the right to private property. The Court continued to overturn Gandhi's orders, including those involving bank nationalization and depriving former princes of their purses and privileges. Gandhi responded by passing over other judges in order to pick one of her supporters for the position of Supreme Court Justice.<sup>481</sup> In this legal context, Gandhi faced corruption charges in her election for her seat in Parliament from Allahabad, and became the first Prime Minister to testify in a criminal proceeding. On June 12, 1975, the courts unseated Gandhi and barred her from running for office for six years, as she was found guilty of two corrupt practices during the election.<sup>482</sup>

The court decision caused a domestic cleavage, with massive protests and counter-protests. With her election overturned, the Supreme Court ordered that Gandhi could not vote in Parliament. Many advised her to step down and wait for the Indian Supreme Court to hear the appeal, beginning on June 23, 1975. Her advisors were confident of a successful appeal. Instead of waiting for a ruling, on June 26, 1975, Gandhi declared the State of Emergency. The police arrested opposition leaders, including JP. On June 27, Gandhi announced the decision to India

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480. Marcus F. Franda, *India in an Emergency* (Hanover: The American Universities Field Staff, 1975), § 1, p. 1.

481. Franda, *India in an Emergency*, 3-4.

482. Kuldip Nayar, *The Judgement: Inside Story of the Emergency in India* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing, 1977), 3.

and suspended civil rights<sup>483</sup> She ruled by decree for 21 months until she dissolved Parliament and held elections in January 1977. She lost the election by a landslide, before winning again in the national elections of 1980.

During the Emergency, Gandhi pushed a twenty-point economic plan that included such components as making bonded labor illegal, canceling all debts owed by the rural poor to moneylenders, limiting land ownership among the wealthy, anti-smuggling measures, providing income tax relief to the middle class, and price controls.<sup>484</sup> Gandhi also directly attacked economic offenders in 1975, stating: “The more significant number of those arrested are either economic offenders or antisocial elements. They had to be rounded up because they would have taken advantage of any violent incidents that might have occurred. The political arrests were merely preventive in nature. Had those persons not been arrested the situation would have taken a serious turn. Certain restrictions on newspapers had also to be introduced, and these have enabled the situation to be kept in check.”<sup>485</sup> India made some economic progress during the Emergency. Taxation collection increased by 27%, and the difference between official and black-market exchange rates decreased.<sup>486</sup>

Before the Emergency, JP called for the Army to disobey civil authorizes. For example, when the Emergency started, JP called for “the army, police and government employees not to obey any order, they consider illegal.”<sup>487</sup> JP’s call was used as ammunition by Gandhi, who

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483. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 489.

484. Frank, *India’s Political Economy*, 390.

485. Franda, *India in an Emergency*, § 3, p. 2.

486. Frank, *India’s Political Economy*, 391

487. Staff Correspondent, “Call on Army and Police to Disobey Orders,” *Hindustan Times*, June 26, 1975, 1.

called the formation of trouble within the police and armed forces treasonous.<sup>488</sup> Also, it is notable that the Army did not disobey civil authorizes. The Army kept the status quo because listening to the opposition would require a unified response.

The 1975 Emergency was unprecedented because its purpose was coping with internal disturbances, and it was more extreme than other periods, such as wars with Pakistan, in denying Indians of legal and civil rights.<sup>489</sup> Even so, it received a mixed reaction. While some cities had small nonviolent demonstrations that lasted for months, a few of these were violent, such as the fire at the All-India Radio Station.<sup>490</sup> However, JP did not decide to resist the Emergency with a fast to the death because the opposition believed that Prime Minister Gandhi would eventually falter.<sup>491</sup>

It is noteworthy that an Emergency in India did not break the law. Per the Indian Constitution: “If the president agrees that a grave Emergency exists whereby the security of India or any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether, by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, he may, by proclamation, make a declaration to that effect.”<sup>492</sup> In the case of “an Emergency arising from the failure of the constitutional machinery in a state,” an Emergency cannot last more than six months but can be extended after every six months up to a total period of three years.

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488. Nayar, *The Judgement*, 37.

489. M. B. Chande, *The Police In India* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1997), 101-102.

490. Franda, *India in an Emergency*, § 2, p. 2.

491. Franda, *India in an Emergency*, 3.

492. The Indian constitution is available at <http://lawmin.nic.in/coi/coiason29july08.pdf>

Foreign reaction to the Emergency was adverse, but no nation issued an official statement condemning it. US President Ford canceled an official visit to India and stated that “I think it is really very sad that 600 million people have lost what they had since the mid-1940s.”<sup>493</sup> The UK also canceled a visit by Prince Charles and increased BBC coverage of India. However, the Soviet Union and other eastern European countries reacted either positively or neutrally.

The government continued to trend towards greater authoritarianism during the Emergency. It issued an order explicitly suspending seven rights guaranteed by Article 19 of the constitution—including freedom of speech, assembly, associations, and the right to move freely through India—and outlawed the ability to appeal violations of Article 19.<sup>494</sup> Moreover, the prevalence of arrests increased. For example, the government detained leaders of the opposition in Kerala because they broke away from the Marxist front to join the ruling government.<sup>495</sup> The government also pushed the 42nd Amendment Bill to the Constitution, which gave precedence to the directive principles listed in the Constitution over individual rights and authorized the deployment of the central Armed Forces in any state to deal with a law and order situation.<sup>496</sup> These efforts attempted to institutionalize the Emergency in India.

Gandhi twice delayed elections during the Emergency. On January 18, 1977, she stated that she wanted to “reaffirm the power of the people.”<sup>497</sup> The following day, she released her political opponents from prison, and the election commission started discussions with other

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493. Nayar, *The Judgement*, 50.

494. Nayar, *The Judgement*, 106.

495. Nayar, *The Judgement*, 144.

496. Nayar, *The Judgement*, 148.

497. “PM Announces Elections in March,” *The Hindustan Times*, January 19, 1971, 1.

political parties.<sup>498</sup> By January 21, 1977, the government relaxed press restrictions and allowed political activity.<sup>499</sup> Her son did not favor this dramatic turnaround. Speaking later, she stated that “I was by no means sure that I would win. I was sure that we would not get a big majority. I thought that we would just get through perhaps.”<sup>500</sup> Thus, it is rational to argue that Gandhi was a democrat at the core, and did not see another means to end the Emergency and restore elections if the Emergency continued. Moreover, it is also true that providing elections within two months allowed little time for the opposition to coordinate and win a vast majority quickly.

While she campaigned throughout the country, Gandhi faced several setbacks. Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram resigned and formed a new party. Regarding, the Emergency, Ram stated, the day he resigned, that: “I had supported it as I expected it would be there only for a short period of time. There was a provision for it in the constitution. When I began to learn about various types of atrocities committed on citizens from non-governmental sources, I felt that the sooner the Emergency was lifted the better it would be. On several occasions, I expressed my unhappiness over certain details to Mrs. Gandhi and again on that fateful day I decided to leave here.”<sup>501</sup> Gandhi’s aunt endorsed the Janata Front.<sup>502</sup> In the end, the Janata Party won a majority in the Parliament, with 345 seats compared to 189 by Gandhi. The Janata Alliance swept North India. Interestingly, Congress performed well in South India, with the Communist party losing some seats to Congress.

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498. “Poll Commission to Start Talks with Parties Today,” *The Hindustan Times*, January 20, 1971, 1.

499. “Emergency, Press Curbs Relaxed: Legitimate Political Activity Allowed,” *The Hindustan Times*, January 21, 1971, 1.

500. Frank, *India’s Political Economy*, 410.

501 Promilla Kalhan, *Jagjivan Ram and Power Politics* (New Delhi: Allora Publications, 2002), 12.

502. Frank, *India’s Political Economy*, 412.

At the end of the Emergency, the US believed that the Congress party wanted Gandhi removed as it sought to maintain a government in the aftermath of the 1977 election. A memorandum for Dr. Brzezinski stated:

The Congress Party suffered its most significant losses in the densely populated northern states. Several cabinet ministers, cabinet ministers, Gandhi's controversial son Sanjay, and other officials closely identified with the national Emergency Gandhi imposed in 1975 were also defeated... if the Congress Party secures a majority, senior party members probably would bypass Gandhi in favor of a new prime minister. The strongest contender is Foreign Minister Y.B. Chavan, a veteran cabinet member with generally moderate views... They may, in fact, have forced her to agree to repeal the Emergency at a special cabinet session this morning that was followed by a presidential order lifting the Emergency. This move may also have been an effort to deprive Gandhi of the possible option of re-imposing Emergency measures or trying to invalidate the election result.<sup>503</sup> Whatever her rationale for calling elections, Gandhi peacefully turned over power. Importantly, she did not, despite evidence that some in her government wanted her to do so, use the Army to maintain power.

### **A Dis-unified Security Apparatus during the Emergency**

Perhaps the most critical aspect of civil-military relations in this case study for the purposes of this dissertation is that Gandhi did not require the Army to enforce the Emergency. In other words, India had a dis-unified security apparatus and multiple organizations that could provide domestic security. All of these organizations were a plausible veto player, which demonstrated their capacity throughout the Emergency. India's police and Intelligence Services enforced the Emergency. India's Central Reserve Police acted on Gandhi's orders to arrest opposition leaders in several Indian States.<sup>504</sup> These arrests are significant, because they demonstrated the use and power of the paramilitary organizations outside of the Indian Armed

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503. "National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski is provided with information on the following world events: update on the results of the Indian national election and a possible loss for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress Party's parliamentary seats; cessation of Soviet military shipments to Syria," White House, March 21, 1977, US Declassified Documents Online, accessed May 30, 2017, [tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4tdvGX](http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/4tdvGX).

504. Franda, *India in an Emergency*, § 1, p. 1.



Forces. Even during the pre-Independence period, the British had Crown Representative Police, which was a paramilitary organizations that the British used throughout the British Raj. After Independence, various states within India and the government of India kept armed police battalions, which were similar to an infantry battalion. The paramilitary forces under the control of India's Home Ministry throughout this period were the Assam Rifles, Border Security Force, Central Industrial Security Force, Central Reserve Police Force, and the Indo-Tibetan Border Police.<sup>505</sup>

The government constituted the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) in 1949, as one of the armed forces, and conferred it with police powers. The government used the CRPF throughout India's history for internal insurgencies, peacekeeping, and even deployed it to Sri Lanka in 1987 as of an Indian peacekeeping force.<sup>506</sup> The CRPF expanded from a small force after Independence to one of over 200,000 men and over 150 battalions by the Emergency.<sup>507</sup> The size and capability of the police force under the Home Ministry provided an internal security force that was both effective and functioned as a counterweight to the regular army. Even when dealing with internal insurgencies, the CRPF often played an important role in arresting opposition leaders and imposing some of the restrictions of the Emergency.

Another essential security organization was India's intelligence agencies. The Research and Analysis Wing (RAW)—one of India's dominant intelligence arms directly under the control of the Prime Minister—was after India's failures in the war with China. After the Emergency, the *Economic Times* of India reported that RAW maintained dossiers for Indira Gandhi on

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505. Chande, *The Police In India*, 101-102.

506. Chande, *The Police In India*, 127-128.

507. R. S. D. Dogra, *Nation Keepers: Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF)* (New Delhi: A P H Publishing Corporation, 2004), xiii.

opposition members and members of her cabinet, and was used in an unsuccessful operation to manipulate the election in 1977.<sup>508</sup> This account of RAW's influence before the Emergency was corroborated by Kuldip Nayar, who wrote a contemporary account of the Emergency by interviewing several the key players. Nayar also addressed the RAW's use in gathering intelligence on opposition members, and stated that it was used to gather lists of who India arrested before the Emergency.<sup>509</sup>

The military mostly handled external defense, and still maintained its apolitical nature during the Emergency. However, there was a limit to both intelligence and police capacity. Insurgencies continued throughout India and India used the Army to suppress both civil uprisings and internal conflict. For example, LTG Sushil Kumar recalled providing support to the UP government, who was facing railroad and power strikes in 1973. His next assignment was in Mizoram, fighting another separatist insurgency.<sup>510</sup> While the military was required domestically, it was not the primary actor and there were multiple veto players in the domestic security environment.

As addressed previously, the Indian security apparatus was made up of multiple organizations and, therefore, the government had multiple choices of organizations to utilize to enforce the Emergency. Unlike Pakistan, the Army was not the only organization capable of maintaining domestic security. In relation to the theory presented in Chapter 2, the Emergency demonstrates the diversity of plausible veto players in India's security apparatus. Any attempt to

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508. 'The Rise and Fall of RAW,' *The Economic Times*, July 10, 1977, 4.

509. Nayar, *The Judgement*, 37.

510. Sushil Kumar, *Jawan to General* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2014), 169.

remove Gandhi or restrain her power during the Emergency would have likely seen resistance from other members of the Indian security apparatus.

### **Heterogeneous Dominant Group**

During the Emergency, India had a heterogeneous dominant group and, as predicted by the theoretical model, members of the military were divided over the Emergency. In LTG S. K. Sinha's autobiography, he recalled being the Director of Military Intelligence at Army Headquarters before and during the Emergency. He had a relationship with JP, who was a friend of his father. After sitting beside JP on a plane, General Tapishwar Raina, who was Chief of Army Staff from 1975 to 1978, called Sinha to explain the situation. General Raina dismissed the matter. However, during the Emergency, he gave an intelligence briefing to the Chiefs of Staff. The Air Force Chief of Staff asked if JP had died, saying, "Hasn't the old fellow died yet?" According to the Sinha, he responded, "Thank God, Sir, the greatest living Indian is alive. Rumors of insubordination magnified this incident."<sup>511</sup> He blamed this incident for his failure to become Chief of Staff under a Congress government in 1983.

LTG Sinha's narrative indicates that members of the Army had a political bias. It seems that he was pro-opposition, whereas the Air Force Chief might have been pro-government. Sinha's earlier statement evidences his thought process on the matter:

The Emergency posed a problem for the army. The soldier swears allegiance to the constitution, but when he sees that constitution being systematically destroyed, should he remain a silent spectator? In Germany, on coming to power, Hitler set about destroying the constitution on the Weimer Republic, and the German Generals had remained mute spectators. They felt that their loyalty to the government in power required unquestioning obedience. The result was that ultimately the world was plunged into a great Holocaust... I had a nagging fear that we were following in the footsteps of the German Generals and

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511. S. K. Sinha, *Changing India* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2007), 160.

this might have disastrous consequences for our Nation. I kept this haunting fear to myself and did not mention it to Raina.<sup>512</sup>

While the event might reveal his actual feelings on the Emergency, this account also suggests that General Raina remained apolitical during that period. Before the Emergency, the Defense Minister requested that the Army provide water trucks with soldiers in civilian clothes to large crowds of Congress supporters in a counter-rally to JP. Raina refused, stating that the order needed to be in writing and that the action would politicize the Army.<sup>513</sup> After the murder of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Bangladesh by a small number of Army officers, Raina ordered Army Intelligence to monitor units around New Delhi to ensure that something similar did not happen. Sinha oversaw this surveillance.<sup>514</sup> General K.V. Krishna Rao, who became Chief of Army Staff from 1981 to 1983, recalled that the Army could not pick sides in this political crisis. To decide to follow the calls of the opposition to resist illegal orders would have divided the Army's leadership.<sup>515</sup> The Army's leadership would not take action because it was internally divided.

Another narrative, concerning the end of the Emergency, is that of Lieutenant General Vas, who recalled how the Prime Minister called General Raina to her office after the 1977 defeat that caused the end of the Emergency. At that meeting, her son, Sanjay, suggested that the Army could help Congress maintain power by deploying throughout the country and using the police forces the government had already used during the Emergency. According to the account,

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512. Sinha, *A Soldier Recalls*, 247.

513. Sinha, *A Soldier Recalls*, 248.

514. Sinha, *A Soldier Recalls*, 252.

515. Kotikalapudi Venkata Krishna Rao, *In the Service of the Nation: Reminiscences* (New Delhi: Viking, 2001), 152.

Sanjay responded by saying: “The Congress Party has ruled the country constitutionally for thirty years. You have held a fair election without any restraints. I am happy that history will record how the Congress under your leadership stepped down from office democratically.”<sup>516</sup>

These high level government requests for political support by Congress were accompanied by lower level requests. For example, LTG Sushil Kumar recalled Surinder Nath, the Chief Secretary, asking him to take measures to influence voters in favor of the Congress Party in Mizoram. He stated that he flatly rejected the request.<sup>517</sup> Another important indication that the Army had walked a tightrope with regards to its involvement with the civil government was the fact that the Janata government that came into power after the Emergency effectively punished RAW for its involvement in the Emergency. Morarji Desai, the Prime Minister who followed Gandhi, quickly ordered a review of the functioning of the organization, then ordered severe staff cuts, which resulted in the resignation of RAW’s director.<sup>518</sup>

For the Indian Army, this case demonstrated the actions one would expect from a heterogeneous dominant group. Some of its members identified with the opposition, some with the government, and many attempted to remain apolitical. There was no widely held group perception. Therefore, it was challenging for any one group to take any action to support the opposition or the government.

## **Conclusions**

The Emergency demonstrated a widespread domestic cleavage that affected the entire country. However, during this period, the chain of command was not unified because the

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516. Vas, *Fools and Infantry*, 238.

517. Kumar, *Jawan to General*, 186.

518. V. K. Singh, *India’s External Intelligence* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2007), 32.

dominant group was heterogeneous. Some members of the leadership favored the opposition, some the government, and some desired to stay apolitical. Domestically, the military appeared divided, as various members of the chain of command voiced varying degrees of support or opposition for the government. There is significant evidence that members of the Indian military were on both sides of this internal divide within Indian society; the Army did not have the same capacity for the type of unified reactions that occurred in Pakistan's military after the 1971 war.

Next, the Indian military competed with multiple other agencies. The paramilitary police had a significant role in internal security. Moreover, the government used the paramilitary police to enforce the Emergency by arresting political opponents. The intelligence apparatus of the country was also mainly outside of the military, in either the IB or RAW. Military intelligence focused on the capability of potential adversaries. India used the Army against insurgencies, but, these operations were limited in geographic scope and ended once the insurgency ended.

Overall, this resulted in a military that attempted to remove itself from domestic political concerns and to remain focused on external defense. For one, the military was not required to enforce the Emergency, and India already had a strong enough state to do that. Second, the Army had divided loyalties and thoughts. If the military were to attempt to intervene, it would have faced internal conflict and conflict with other security agencies. In short, the theory supports both causal mechanisms to creating veto players that prevented India's military from overthrowing a civil government.

## Chapter 6 - Conclusions

Table 6.1 provides an overview of the case studies and their support for the three hypotheses.

**Table 6.1 Overview of Hypotheses**

State	Time of Transition or Period of Event	Case Study	Dominant Group	Security Apparatus	H1	H2	H3
Pakistan	25MAR69	Yahya Khan replacing Ayub Khan	Homogenous	Unified	X		
Pakistan	20DEC71	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto replacing President Yahya Khan	Homogenous	Unified	X		
Pakistan	17AUG88 to 2DEC88	The civilian rule between the death of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and the 1999 coup	Homogenous	Unified			
Pakistan	18AUG08	Civilian rule after President Musharraf	Homogenous	Unified	X		
India	20OCT62 to 21NOV62	Sino-Indian War	Heterogeneous	Dis-unified		X	
India	26JUNE75 to 21MAR77	Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declares Emergency Rule	Heterogeneous	Dis-unified		X	X

*Note.* (X = Support)

In general, the Pakistan case studies support Hypothesis 1: If a domestic cleavage occurs and a government does not address the resulting demands of a group that overlaps the military's leadership, it is more likely that the military will seek to take more control of the government or give up control if it maintains control. The one example that does not directly support the causal mechanism is the case of the transition from General Zia. However, even with this case, the power of the dominant group is evident, as General Beg decided to enable the creation of an opposition. The other examples support the causal pathway suggested in Hypothesis 1. In general, these domestic cleavages occurred in the vicinity of Islamabad, and produced demands from the dominant group. The military identified with these demands, and eventually cedes power.

While the case studies do not provide evidence that groups inside the military were attempting to overthrow the government, the two cases of India support the idea of veto players, which Hypotheses 2 and 3 predicted. Both case studies show evidence of a dis-unified security apparatus acting as a veto player. In the case of the Sino-Indian war, there is clear evidence of massive dysfunction, as the MOD interfered in fundamental military decisions, blocked the Army from command and control of paramilitary units, and infighting occurred. These organizational divisions provide ample evidence that there were multiple veto players, even when the nation faced an existential threat. The case of the Emergency provides evidence for a veto player based on a heterogeneous dominant group and organizational veto players. The RAW and paramilitary forces enforced the Emergency and clearly showed that they were independent security agencies. Moreover, internal to the military itself, there was clear evidence that individuals perceived the Emergency differently. The case study included evidence of the military's support for the government, support for the opposition, and apolitical behavior. Again,



this is the expected outcome in the theoretical model if these organizations would act as a veto player.

The theory proposed in this dissertation is based on the premise that the composition of individuals who makes up a military is significant. If a military's leadership comes from a particular group, then the military's leadership will likely perceive reality in a manner similar to that of the group overall. Perhaps even more importantly, even in a culture that values decision making by the individual or commander, the group and how that group perceives reality is foundational for any decision. Therefore, in order to understand the behavior of institutions, it is first necessary to understand the individual people who make up that institution.

One relevant and surprising phenomenon the theory did not predict is the fact is the Generals who actively supported the Army becoming apolitical or returning power to a civilian government were both minority members of the dominant group. General Musa Khan, who was Hazara from Baluchistan, advocated to Ayub Khan for the military's removal from enforcing martial law and for it to remain apolitical. General Mirza Aslam Beg, who was an immigrant from India, resisted other members of the military's leadership to hold an election and transfer power. The theory section of this dissertation proposed that minority members of the dominant group should perceive events in a similar manner because of cross-cutting identity. While we cannot make too broad a statement on the matter, given the small sample size, this is a surprising finding that may further suggest that group identification is essential in understanding actions.

### **Connections to the Existing Literature**

The results of the present study indicate several significant connections to extant literature. For example, the reasons why the military disobeys the civil government to suppress

an uprising is, in part, because it identifies with the population.<sup>519</sup> Identifying with the population is very similar to why the military's leadership resists use by governments against civilians. Coup literature has found that legitimacy and acceptance of a civil government by society are critical indicators for a coup.<sup>520</sup> How groups identify with a government is an essential variable in that literature, a concept this study has expanded upon. This study has provided further examples of the military resisting civilian governments, as with Bhutto, and resisting military government, as with Yahya Khan. However, when they resist is based on the groups within society that have demands.

This research expands a group theory of civil military relations to narrow which groups drive action based on identification. Pakistan's military reacted vastly differently depending on which civilians the government told them to act against. If the military identified with a particular set of civilians, it would refuse action or the action would not abuse the population. However, Pakistan's military was more than willing to commit large scale human rights violations against groups outside of the dominant group. However, repeated protest from certain groups—in this dissertation termed dominant groups—caused the military to cede political power. Civilians in a state are not a homogenous block, and a vital point of the research is to indicate the importance of understanding the groups that make up a society and how they interact. In this study, it mattered deeply whether the Army was facing protests against the 1965 peace treaty in Punjab versus protests in East Pakistan. One alternative would cause refusal by

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519. David Pion Berlin, Diego Esparza, and Kevin Grisham, "Staying Quartered: Civilian Uprisings and Military Disobedience in the Twenty-First Century," *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (2014): 230-259.

520. Belkin and Schoffer, "Structural Understanding."

the military to follow orders to suppress, while the other would create acceptance of the orders and a willingness to commit human rights violations.

### **Future Research**

The next step in furthering this research would be a large-*N* study that covers a region or, if possible, all states. However, there would be several barriers to such research. First, it would be an enormous task to operationalize dominant groups for all states, or even a subsection of states. In this study, I defined the dominant group as officers of the rank of Colonel or higher, but with additional weight given to higher ranks. While I was able to use the available evidence to make a judgment, it would become challenging to operationalize this concept across states for a large-*N* study.

Second, it would take extensive time to operationalize the concept of groups across different types of dominant groups. While this study focused on where officers originated in society, ideology-driven definitions of a dominant group could also be used. In the introduction, I mentioned Venezuela as a state for which this research might have relevance. However, Venezuela might have a dominant group based on ideology rather than points of origin. Coding the dominant group for each state would be an enormous task, involving an in-depth knowledge of what groups make up the leadership of each state's military. Second, creating a nuanced means by which to operationalize different types of dominant groups across multiple states would be a difficult task. If cultural groups are not the only variable affecting the identity of a military's leadership, further research would require even more time and effort to determine different types of dominant groups. While a dominant group based on ideology is one example, there could be other modes of defining such groups as well. Further research would require the

categorization of different types of group identity that shape the dominant groups of various militaries.

The second problem would be comparing homogenous versus heterogeneous dominant groups across each state. In this dissertation's case studies, Pakistan had a homogenous dominant group, as most of their military leadership came from within a 150-mile area of Punjab. It was easy to contrast this with India's dominant group, whose leadership was from a much larger area, given that India's state policy enabled diversification of the leadership. However, it would be far more difficult to operationalize this concept across multiple states. The most logical way to do this would be to create a scale, and order states from homogenous to heterogeneous. However, attaining the amount of data needed for each state and creating an objective scale to rate states would be an extensive research effort.

Finally, there is a problem with determining which groups are affected by a domestic cleavage. Once a researcher determines a dominant group, she would then have to look at the various domestic cleavages a state faces and determine whether there is overlap with the dominant group. In an extensive data set of all states, this would be another tremendous effort.

However, the difficulty of a large- $N$  study might also demonstrate why researching sub-groups that make up a state is difficult. It is necessary to develop a deep understanding group structures in each state to attain the needed data, which would be an extensive effort in a large- $N$  study. That said, difficulty attaining data does not equate to invalidating a causal mechanism. Other disciplines, such as sociology, suggest the influence of groups over behavior. It is necessary to measure groups to determine if group identification drives perceptions. There is enough evidence to justify further exploration.

Developing broader data sets would benefit a broader range of research interests, including those outside the purview of civil-military relations. If group identification drives behavior, then understanding the dominant group might prove vital in understanding policy decisions for the civil service. Just as the individuals in India and Pakistan's militaries mattered to the civil-military relations of both states, the individuals who make up the civil service might matter in domestic policy decision making. Gathering data that would enable researchers to quickly understand the groups that comprise a state's institutions and the events that drive group perception could be an essential avenue for future research.

With these two cases, India and Pakistan, more transparency from both governments is essential in understanding civil-military relations, in particular, and their national security apparatuses, in general. In this research project, a more extensive range of internal government documents would have significantly enhanced the research. For example, access to evidence of the internal decision making of General Kayani to stop ISI from helping Musharraf's party in the 2008 election would have provided essential insights. However, given the security environment of South Asia and the sensitivities of both states, greater transparency from either state will likely not occur in the near future.

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