# General Zia-ul-Haq and Muhammad Khan Junejo: Confrontation upon Power Sharing

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#### **Abstract**

Since the inception of Pakistan, ambitions of political elites and leadership who did not have national stature and potential to tackle the political and social turmoil served the root cause of destabilizing the democratic system of Pakistan. Besides this, relationships among the bureaucracy, military and political elites played a pivotal role in setting new trends in the polity of Pakistan. On the other hand, the desire for central authority always created a rift between the Head of the State (President) and Head of the Government (Prime Minister). Whenever power is transferred to a new regime, consensus could not be developed between the President and Prime Minister over the matter of power sharing and served as the root cause of dismissal of the elected governments. The research paper will deal with the above mentioned conflict between the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan during 1985-1988. It will explore the dealings and relation between both the personalities (General Zia-ul-Haq and M. Khan Junejo) were being soured while the Prime Minister was the nominee of President? It will also reveal the fact that the disagreement between the superior authorities of the state leads to the removal of the elected government. This piece of research will explore different phases of their relations in detail.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Martial Law, Power Sharing, Non-Party Elections, Ammunition Depot, ISI, Ojri Camp

#### Introduction

The term, Politics is generally related with power. Usually politics is taken as a tool to gain power in the government but if we have a glance over the definitions and descriptions of the Political philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, the real essence of Politics discloses. Politics is a technique or tactic to address the issues of public. As long as the world developed, different style of politics were discovered. There was traditional style of politics in Sub-continent till the arrival of British.

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 British introduced western style of democracy in Asia particularly in South Asia. After the partition of the Subcontinent, newly born states (India and Pakistan) adopted democracy as the famous style of politics of the world, nowadays. Since the inception, Pakistan had to endure pile of problems due to the scarcity of sources, infrastructure and trained officials.

Although political parties are the institution and instrument of the modern politics yet Pakistan inherited a political party (Muslim League) which had never been in the government before the partition of Subcontinent. Thus, it could not be able to run the affairs of the state solely. They began to resort to bureaucracy and military for running the affairs of the state due to the lack of experience. Root cause of the problems was involvement of bureaucracy and military in the political affairs of the state which began to emerge after demise of M.A Jinnah and assassination of Liagat Ali Khan. General Ayub Khan laid the foundation stone of Martial Laws in Pakistan by implementing the first Martial law in 1958. Following to predecessor, General Yahya Khan imposed Martial Law in 1969 and the longest Martial law of Pakistan was enforced in 1977 by General Zia-ul-Haq. General Zia-ul-Haq dethroned Zulfigar Ali Bhutto and announced martial law on 5th July 1977. He promised to hold general elections within 90 days but his intoxication of power and a hidden fear of Z.A Bhutto averted him to follow his words. This will also explore how the matter of power sharing became the reason of dismissal of governments in Pakistan.

The research will particularly be based on secondary sources including books, articles and survey reports, besides this some sort of primary sources will also be consulted such as interviews issued on electronic media and newspapers. Descriptive and analytical approach will be adopted.

Stephen Philip Cohen (The Idea of Pakistan) narrates that Pakistan appeared on the map of the world as a democratic, Islamic and progressive state where the people would have freedom to live freely according to their religion because Islam is modern religion unlike Hinduism. The government would play the role of custodian to the rights (fundamental, political, social and economic) of masses but since the inception, Pakistan was unable to follow the suit. Democracy could not

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 strengthen itself. According to Muhammad Waseem, (Politics and State in Pakistan) Bureaucratic polity emerged in Pakistan due to futility of political party and politicians. On the other hand, constitutional breakdowns and military interventions presented a clear expression that the administration could run without any legitimate recourse. Hassan Askari Rizvi (Military, State and Society in Pakistan) expressed after the demise of Jinnah and Liagat Ali Khan, leadership of Pakistan did not have national stature to appeal to the masses and potential to tackle the economic, social and political crisis. Muslim league could not transform itself as national political party. Most of the politicians were land lords who were self-centered and preferred personal ambitions rather than the state interests. Battle for power attainment broke out among these politicians, afterwards inclusion of bureaucracy and military made this battle more complicated. Due to the political turmoil, internal and external threats, it gave the military a chance to expand its role and a series of dismissal of the governments were started.

This paper will reveal the ground realities that do not let a government be reinforced. This research will open new avenues to avoid these types of conflicts that are dangerous for democratic system of Pakistan.

## Conflict between General Zia and M. Khan Junejo

Z.A Bhutto established his government in 1971 but all the other political parties of Pakistan, particularly religious political parties, gave him a tough time in running the affairs of the state. According to the constitution of Pakistan 1973, the first elections were held in 1977. Political parties gathered at a platform and laid the foundation of PNA. They decided to counter PPP at the platform of PNA. Eventually, PPP won the elections of 1977 but rest of the political parties refused to accept the results and anarchy was created in the country. General Zia-ul-Haq served as Chief of Army Staff during the reign of Z.A Bhutto. He often remained present in the meetings of government officials and Z.A Bhutto trusted him a lot. General Zia-ul-Haq dethroned Z.A Bhutto, implemented martial law in 5th July 1977 and became 3rd Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan.

CMLA (Chief Martial Law Administrator), General Zia-ul-Haq could do whatever he wanted for his perpetuation but he soon founded to be bungled. General Zia-ul-Haq had imposed Martial Law with a different

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 vision but gradually, his intentions changed. To prolong his regime, he always promoted his trustworthy people and kept them in the government but when he felt them useless, he threw them out of the government. General Zia was not an admirer of the party system due to the fame of PPP because he did not want to see PPP in the National Assembly at any cost. Muhammad Khan Junejo was appointed as Prime Minister of Pakistan because General Zia had good relations with Pir Paghara (spiritual head of Hur Malaysia). At first, he selected, Elahi Bakhsh Soomro, however, considering the will of Pir Paghara, he had to choose Muhammad Khan Junejo as the candidate of Prime Minister. There were contradictions between them from the very beginning but with the passage of time they even grew more complicated.

General Zia-ul-Hag had to face humiliation, first time, when Muhammad Khan Junejo visited his office at President House with several elected members of National Assembly; General Zia informed him about his decision that he had selected him as new Prime Minister of Pakistan. Instead of showing any type of gratitude, Junejo asked about the time of Martial law's withdrawal. General Zia controlled his anger and replied that Martial law was now in his favor and it would assist him; whenever he would have the capacity to handle the situation, Martial law would be lifted over the country. It was the time when General Zia felt alarmed. After becoming Prime Minister, M. Khan Junejo called out a meeting at President House in Rawalpindi for addressing the issues including party formulation. General Zia was not in favor of party formulation but the majority supported the views and intentions of M. Khan Junejo. On the other hand, in order to attain the support of parliamentarians, M. Khan Junejo allocated development funds for the constituencies; it was an effort to prove that without a party system parliamentary system could not run. The maiden speech of Prime Minister M. Khan Junejo was enough to create disturbance between Martial law administration and his team. He made them aware with his future perspectives about the promotion of democracy, lifting up martial law and granting liberties to each citizen. According to the Sheikh Rashid Ahmad, General Zia seemed restless after the speech of M. Khan Junejo; even the expressions of fear were there on the faces of his closest patronages.

M. Khan Junejo did not want to be used as a puppet in the hands

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 of the President. While discussing the saluting dais to President at the ceremony of 23<sup>rd</sup> March, he narrated to the President that in the parliamentary form of government salute was only given to the President not a Chief Executive. M. Khan Junejo wanted to arrive in the ceremony in emperor style, on the horse-drawn coach such as Zufikar Ali Bhutto did but General Zia rejected the idea and presented the examples of other democratic countries. Both the personalities desired to enjoy the said status; at last it was settled that if the President reviewed the parade ceremony on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, the Prime Minister would be an honorable guest on the ceremony of 14th August. Desire depicted from the events that M. Khan Junejo wanted to enjoy his power without any pressure and also expected from General Zia to give up one of the posts. Because of the undue pressure, Martial law was lifted on 30<sup>th</sup> Dec 1985. In the beginning of 1986, M. Khan Junejo proudly proclaimed to get the country free from the shackles of Martial law and restoration of constitution and fundamental rights. He also made promises for the complete freedom of thought, expression, press and genuine form of democratic society. Due to which M. Khan Junejo gained popularity and credibility among the masses and General Zia was deliberately kept away from the political forefront of the country. Somehow, confrontation was created between both the personalities, on the matter of lifting up martial law.

M. Khan Junejo wanted to keep General Zia at a distance so that he might be able to form an independent government. M. Khan Junejo announced to levy defense surcharges on the military in the budget speech of 1986-1987. The step was taken in return of Iqra surcharge, which was levied by General Zia. In the speech, M. Khan Junejo infuriated the military officers and said that they would not use any vehicle other than Suzuki cars. It was a big shock for not only General Zia but also for those military officers who were enjoying a fully luxurious life. Although General Zia changed his car to Suzuki 1600 cc yet all the military officers felt an insolent step was taken against them.

M. Khan Junejo began to reject each order or suggestion given by General Zia. General Zia suggested that he perform Umrah. He agreed to perform Umrah but he wanted it to be an official visit. Although the Saudi ambassador clarified to M. Khan Junejo that it was against the policies of Saudi Arabia, he did not consider the Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 suggestion of Janjua (Saudi ambassador in Pakistan). Instead of acting upon the suggestion, he removed Janjua from ambassadorship. M. Khan Junejo was more interested in degrading General Zia. He began to reject even minor requests of the President. When he returned from Saudi Arabia, he showed intolerance while briefing journalists at the airport. When he was asked by Journalists at the airport about who would attend the SAARC Summit in Bangalore, M. Khan Junejo displayed his arrogance and put his hand on the chest of the journalist and said; "I will". The attitude depicted the hidden conflict of power sharing between both the personalities.

General Zia ignored all these things in the beginning but at last, he threw M. Khan Junejo out of the government by feeling his increase worth over military; this was an unpardonable crime of M. Khan Junejo near General Zia. General K.M Arif was closest friend of General Zia and he usually assisted him during the Martial Law regime but gradually, some misunderstanding began to develop between General Arif and General Zia.

General Arif was appointed as Vice Chief of Staff Committee in 1984 owing to his duties, his meetings with General Zia began to be reduced. Warm relations began to develop between General Arif and M. Khan Junejo; M. Khan Junejo also called him a "best professional General" in a party. He often met with the Prime Minister for discussions and exchanging views over the service matters. Eventually, differences began to develop between General Arif and General Zia over the issue of power distribution. General Arif appeared as a rival of General Zia. His views changed about the prolonged stay of General Zia in government; he often used to say that the prolonged stay of the military was harder to defend.

M. Khan Junejo received a warm welcome on the visit to the USA in 1986; By seeing the warm reception both the personalities, M. Khan Junejo and General Arif felt happy. They concluded that the American government had accepted the democratic government of Pakistan and now they could easily spend their next five years; it would be a healthy sign for the democratic system of Pakistan. They tried to keep General Zia away from every matter while General Zia wanted to stick with foreign policy and all the external matters of Pakistan. These

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 actions were not acceptable for General Zia and he decided not to let General Arif more in the military. On 16<sup>th</sup> March 1986, General Arif received orders to pack up while he would have gone to China on 29<sup>th</sup> March. At that occasion, a big disparity was infused between General Zia and M Khan Junejo. General Zia intended to replace General Arif with General Zahid Ali Akbar. M. Khan Junejo was discontented and frustrated with the decision of General Zia and there were two reasons of this displeasure

- 1. Understanding had been developed between M. Khan Junejo and General Arif
- 2. General Zia desired to replace General Arif with his trust worthy patronage.

M. Khan Junejo opined that only the most senior officer should be the vice chief of army staff. According to the records, Mirza Aslam Baig found the most senior officer so he was appointed as Vice Chief of Army Staff. A number of steps were taken obstinately but the country enjoyed the benefit of the clash and an able and talented officer held the seat.

General Zia was reluctant to share his authority even after amending the constitution of Pakistan 1973. General Zia was exceeding his limits. After lifting up Martial law, power rested in one hand. He used to blame Parliament for the failure of enforcing Islam in real sense in Pakistan and providing sustainable life to common man; he often warned the National Assembly by addressing. Even in his maiden speech to the National Assembly's inaugural session, General Zia said that each member was elected on a non-party basis so they should work without the affiliation of any type of political party. General Zia was strongly against the political parties and always used to criticize them including members of National and Provincial Assemblies. Contrary to it, Parliamentarians began to criticize General Zia and the policies of Martial law in return. A strange conflicting environment could be seen among the President, Prime Minister, and members of National and Provincial Assemblies.

In the beginning, M. Khan Junejo was loyal and obedient to General Zia; he used to do everything after consultation with General Zia and succeeded in achieving his confidence. Obedience of M. Khan

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 Junejo can be judged with the incident mentioned below. General Zia used to write directives frequently to the ministers and staff demanded for quick reply. Ministers had to reply to the Prime Minister's Secretariat then it was proceeded to the President. Once, General Zia infuriated on the late reply of directives and the staff of General Zia blamed Prime Minister M. Khan Junejo. The Prime Minister assured him of quick implementations.

A backstage war of protocol broke up between both of them. The matter of appointments such as appointment of Ambassadors and Secretaries served as a core issue of contradiction between both the personalities. M. Khan Junejo desired to enjoy his real status as Prime Minister. Once, one cabinet meeting was postponed just because General Zia had discussed the date of the cabinet s' meeting before a newsmen during a journalists briefing. Intentions of M. Khan Junejo reflected from his wording, he said:

"He is President and Head of the Government whereas the Prime Minister is the Chief Executive of the country. He has to run the country, so we have good cordial relations otherwise but running the country as Prime Minister goes to the elite". (Junejo s' Interview, 1985)

Once, General Zia ordered Foreign Office to prepare a summary of his visit to Africa but M. Khan Junejo reshaped the summary and replaced himself with General Zia because he was of the view that in democracy, it was the right and duty of a Prime Minister to hold foreign visits. General Zia did not want to lose his grip over foreign policy even after restoring democratic government. When the country was released from the shackles of Martial Law and a cabinet was formed, the new issue arose that how the departments would handle. Foreign affairs were handled by President (General Zia) or by his patronages because it was the favorite department of President General Zia. Financial and establishment matters were dealt with by civilians with the collaboration of the military while the rest of the departments were handled by the civilian government.

General Zia knew that M. Khan Junejo was in fury for holding the two authorities by Zia, Chief of Army Staff and President of Pakistan. Zia thought that M. Khan Junejo designed a conspiracy Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 against him and passed a resolution that Zia should resign from one of the posts. M. Khan Junejo denied the blame: afterward the fact was revealed that the step was taken by the advisors of General Zia. Somehow, his advisors played their role for widening the distance between both the personalities (M. Khan Junejo & General Zia).

Indo-Pak relations were suffering from bitterness in 1986. General Zia wanted to visit India so that the stress could be released between both the countries. Dr. Mahbubul Haq pursued it with enthusiasm. By seeing the involvement of Mahbubul Haq, M. Khan Junejo shifted his duties as Minister of Finance. M. Khan Junejo s' USA visit and President Reagan s' positive approach contributed fully in lighting the fire because now M. Khan Junejo got support and began to act more confidently. First step, he took after came back was the removal of Intelligence Bureau s' head Major-General Agha Nek Muhammad.

General Zia always kept his most trusted people in Foreign Office only to hold foreign policy; he appointed LT-General Yaqub Khan as foreign Minister and wanted to take full control in shaping Afghanistan policy. M. Khan Junejo replaced him with a political figure Zain Noorani in 1987. This act made General Zia infuriated. After that M. Khan Junejo decided to arrange an all party's conference to discuss the Afghanistan issue and for signing a peace treaty. He took the step to strengthen him as Prime Minister. The step which widened the gulf between President and Prime Minister was, not giving extension to the closest patronages of General Zia such as General Arif (Vice Chief of Staff committee) and General Rahim-u-Din (Chairman joint Chief of Staff Committee and Director General ISI). General Zia noticed that M. Khan Junejo was removing General Zia s' colleagues and supporters. He also cut down three Doctors of General Zia, those who were very close to him, Dr. Mahbubul Haq, Dr. Asad and Dr. Attiya Enayatulluh.

Zia's prolonged stay was a true reflection of his intentions. He luckily had very loyal, faithful and obedient colleagues who became the source of fulfillment of his intentions. They served as shields of protection in every thick and thin. Zia's patronages served him faithfully but a few were not in favor of his prolonged stay in politics.

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 General Arif, a closest colleague of General Zia, expressed his views in these words. He said that General Zia had inherited military subordinates who, by and large, served him staunchly. He had a wellknit team, ever ready to discuss unpalatable issues and used to offer suggestions without reservations or sugar-coating but with the passage of time, he lost his faithful company due to several reasons. For holding two posts General Zia was which were unconstitutional, unreasonable and unjustifiable. General Zia claimed before his military colleagues and Parliament that he would resign from one post after lifting up Martial law but his actions did not follow his words. On such issues, his colleagues began to go away because actions speak louder than words. General Zia was of the view that M. Khan Junejo was conspiring against him by using underground methods for reducing his authority in the polity of the country.

The Afghan War had to face the results of the rift of both the personalities. M. Khan Junejo began to oppose General Zia in every matter and started discussions on the matter of Afghanistan diplomacy. He was of the view that Pakistan should not indulge in the matter anymore and it should end as soon as possible while General Zia was against a cease fire. M. Khan Junejo evolved a new style of diplomacy. He started an open discussion on Afghan policy in the National Assembly and the main aim was to oppose General Zia s' method of handling the Afghan matter. He wanted to sign a treaty with Russia while General Zia was of the view that the matter should not be handled in hurry because Russian forces were defeated and wanted to wind up the War.

General Zia had to face another defeat when the majority of MNAs showed their unwillingness for the continuation of the Afghan War. They saw it a major threat to the integrity of Pakistan. Enlarging the circle of his support, M. Khan Junejo took the issue to public meetings for open debate. Eventually, several political parties stood up against General Zia on his stance of continuation of War. The issue of the Afghan War also divided the political parties of Pakistan into two groups. ANP, a left wing political party, was not in favor of the Afghan War; they took it as a tool of General Zia, which he was using for obtaining financial assistance by Western countries in order to make himself politically strong and keep his root strengthened in the

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 regime. On the other hand JI (Jamaat-e-Islami) was in the favor of General Zia by taking it as their religious duty in the name of Jihad. A changed attitude was also seen from the Soviet Union; they suddenly began to realize that they would have to leave Afghanistan and concentrate on the establishment of a new government in Afghanistan. On the other hand, the American government now wanted to get rid of General Zia. M. Khan Junejo seemed the solution of every problem in signing the Geneva accord, while General Zia thought that they should not be hurried. Signing the treaty of Geneva was not the solution of problems. General Zia was shocked with the changed approach of the USA. It was not understandable and unacceptable for him how the American Government agreed for signing the Geneva Accord.

Besides the other political parties of Pakistan, a most popular and a rival party of General Zia began to engage in the political setup of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto had returned to Pakistan and M. Khan Junejo called her for consultation on divergent political matters. He used to treat her like his child. He also showed his good will for Benazir Bhutto and her demand for free and fair elections. It was another tactic for degrading General Zia. He also included the adversaries of Zia in diplomatic consultation. He wanted to throw him out of the polity and wanted to enjoy his authority without any pressure. His intention and thoughts about Benazir Bhutto and her political party was depicted by his below mentioned statement. He said:

"She is always welcome. She should be integrate. She is always welcome when elections are announced and contested elections." (Junejo s' Interview, 1985)

During the visit to the USA, President Reagan promised him for providing full assistance in ousting General Zia in politics.

General Zia came to know that Muhammad Khan Junejo was emerging as a popular politician at provincial level. He also realized that in spite of being grateful to General Zia, he was going against him in each and every view point. In October 1986, M. Khan Junejo uttered these words by telling Brigadier Durrani that he was trying to run the country according to the constitution. If the President had not been in accordance with the constitution, he could have promulgated

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 it similar to that of Sri Lanka.

By seeing the approach of Junejo, General Zia decided to counter the increasing popularity of his nominated Prime Minister. He used to criticize Junejo in presence of his previous steel armed colleagues. In March 1988 General Zia called a meeting at Army house, in which Mr. Ghuam Ishaq Khan. Mr. Agha Sahi, Lieutenant-General A.I. Akram (Director General of Institute of Regional Studies Islamabad) and General K.M Arif were invited. General Zia said that M.Khan Junejo had feelings of envy against the services. Along with it, he could not handle the situation and was very slow in every matters for taking decisions. In the last days of 1987, General Zia exposed his thoughts for Junejo in the presence of Lieutenant-General Fazl-e-Haq (Former Governor & Lieutenant). He bitterly talked against M. Khan Junejo and thought about alternatives. This meeting summarized by Lt. General Fazl-e-Haq that M. Khan Junejo's days in power were numbered.

Pakistan had to suffer several dangerous problems due to the Afghan War. Training camps were set up in Pakistan, for Afghan Mujahdeen; whereas weapons were handed over to them. Due to his war crimes, terrorism, usage of drugs and number of drug peddlers increased in Pakistan. During those days, an event at Ojhri Camp occurred which served as a decisive factor for the dismissal of the Prime Minister and his cabinet. Ojhri camp was a weapons storage area in between Islamabad and Rawalpindi. This depot was built during British imperialism. The British government established this ammunition depot in an uninhabited area but after the inception of Pakistan, the surrounding area of the ammunition depot became the most famous, populous and official area of Pakistan.

A thundering explosion broke out in Ojhri camp on 10<sup>th</sup>, April 1988. The perception was spread among the people that India might be attacked by Pakistan's nuclear installation in Kahuta. Both the cities began to burn and masses were much anxious. In Ojhri camp disaster thousands of people died and a large number of houses were destroyed. There were 100 casualties in the first hour of the explosion. 7000 tons of arms were destroyed in the incident. Telephone, water supply and to a certain extent, electrical system disrupted of both the

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 cities. Three days mourning was declared by the government. Rana Naeem Mehmood, Minister of Defense, expressed sorrow and grievance at the tragic incident. Some steps were taken as precautionary measures, such as bomb disposable squads spread in all over the cities. In spite of strong demand for accurate amount of loss, no exact figure was provided to press and Parliament. Press, public and masses began to demand for impartial inquiry of that unforgettable and painful disaster. This demise incident created the feeling of hatred among masses against military: the demand the accountability of the concerned military officers and reducing the large number of budget spending on military or defense widely increased. They also used to criticize the government for disaster. On the other hand military officers were not showing any type of cooperation actually they were not in the favor of inquiry. The negative attitude of the military officials had two reasons.

- 1. Inquiry could disclose the ignorance and misdeeds of military officers who were considered as a symbol of faith and patriot.
- 2. They thought the civilian government should not indulge into military affairs.

The depot was used for storing ammunition before 1979, but after that as the Afghan War was started it converted into a supply head of ammunition of arms to Afghan Mujahideen. ISI had direct connections with the CIA and other countries. They used to provide arms for Afghan freedom fighters. General Akhtar Abdul Rehman was handling all this activity as a Director of ISI. The required safety measures were not fulfilled. Arms kept in the depot were beyond capacity. On 10<sup>th</sup> April 1988 arms were shifted and the work was done through the hired civil untrained labor. Labor started their duty; they were throwing the stacks from the height of 9 to 10 feet. They were shifting them downwards to load them on the vehicle. A box containing 122 mm Rockets-A exploded as it accidently fell down and hit the ground.

At that time General Zia was out of the country. He went to Kuwait to attend the OIC Science Summit. General Zia was worried and decided to leave for Pakistan soon after the evening session of the Summit. On the arrival, General Zia-ul-Haq was astounded to see the situation. He had been tolerating the awkward attitude of M. Khan Junejo for a long

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 time but he could not bear anybody s' scolding attitude and interference into military affairs. M. Khan Junejo announced an inquiry committee on the public's increasing demands of investigation. On the other hand, he got a chance to take revenge from General Zia to degrade and defame him. M. Khan Junejo had decided to take serious steps against the concerned senior military personnel. An inquiry commission was formed to investigate the mishap. An Emraan Commission was formed which was presided by Lieutenant-General Immran Ulluh and the commission had to submit its report before the federal committee. Committees' report was kept secret and did not disclose before the members of the Parliament or press. But some points of the report were leaked out. According to the inquiry report, the incident happened due to

- 1. The unsuitable location of depot
- 2. Administrative failure or ignorance
- 3. Lack of a fire-fighting system.

General Akhtar was not in favor of holding such a high level inquiry. He was of the view that investigation should be held at departmental level. He knew that if inquiry had been held at the federal level, he would have to pay. On the other hand, M. Khan Junejo had also decided to give him a tough time. Committee submitted its report to the federal inquiry committee.

Muhammad Khan Junejo appointed another inquiry committee and assigned them duty to review the submitted report and succumbed it within ten days. Mr. Aslam Khattak was the chairman of the committee and Qazi Abdul Majid Abid, Mir Ibrahim Baloch, Malik Nasim Ahmad Aheer and Rana Naeem Mehmood (Minister of State) were members of the federal inquiry committee. Committee completed its assigned task within the given period but the committee had to suffer with internal clashes soon. It was divided into two groups. One was of the view that General Akhtar was found guilty and the other opposed the view point. Chairman of the committee did not agree with the report presented by the group of M. Khan Junejo who said General Akhtar Abdul Rehman was offensive. Inquiry committee's final report was presented before the sub-committee of

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 the cabinet for review. Appraisal was finished on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1988 and eventually, Chief of ISI General Akhtar Abdur Rehman was found guilty for the incident. The final report was presented before the Prime Minister. Prime Minister Junejo decided to punish the responsible people for that unforgettable disaster. On the other hand, General Hamid Gul accepted the responsibility and had presented himself for punishment.

The incident added fuel to fire on the deteriorated relations between President General Zia and Prime Minister Juneio. Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo had decided for accountability of the responsible people after the departure from China. General Zia was very annoyed by hearing the criticism against the armed forces. On the other hand, he had decided to take step against the Government of M. Khan Junejo. General Zia left China and summoned journalists for briefing. In order to protect himself, General Zia dismissed the Prime Minister and dissolved the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies on 29th May 1988 by using 58-2-b which empowered him to dissolve National and Provincial Assemblies. While dissolving National and Provincial Assemblies, General Zia blamed the members of National and Provincial Assemblies for corruption and failure to enforce the Islamic way. Prime Minister Junejo had just arrived from China and briefed journalists about his visit; he expressed nothing about the existing situation. He only uttered the words that the President had power to dissolve the National Assembly under the constitution.

### Conclusion

Pakistan has to face several problems on its way to strengthen the democratic elected government; some of them are the interference of military and bureaucracy into the political set of the country, provincialism, sectarianism and the most important is the problem of power sharing between President and Prime Minister. The same issue served an active role in weakening the roots of the government established after the 3rd Martial Law of 1977 in the country. Although, Muhammad Khan Junejo was nominated as Prime Minister by General Zia-ul-Haq yet conflicts began to rise after a short while. He was nominated as a Prime Minister with the confidence that he would act as a puppet Prime Minister

Pakistan Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (PJMR) Vol. 2, Issue 2, Dec 2021 and would always be grateful to General Zia. It was expected with the nominated Prime minister that he would never stand in front of his mentor but the situation proved vice versa. After taking the seat of Prime Minister, Muhammad Khan Junejo observed the situation as he was expected to be a deaf, dumb and paralyzed Prime Minister. M. Khan Junejo did not want to act as puppet Prime Minister; wished to enjoy his real status. He started interrupting the smooth sailing of General Zia, while General Zia was shocked at his actions. This conflict of power sharing could not be sorted out and finally ended at the removal of of Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo and his cabinet.

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