

Kishwer Baqar *

Humera Naz **

Official versus Public Narrative: A Comparative Study between Pervaiz Musharraf’s Memoir “*In the Line of Fire*” and Murtaza Rizvi’s “*Musharraf – The Years in Power*”

Abstract

Historiography has been perceiving different trends and characteristics in different backgrounds and periods, may it be history written under a democratic government, dictatorship, kingship, during wartime, famine, prosperity, or affluence. This paper deals with trends and approaches to historiography in Pakistan during the rule of military dictator Pervaiz Musharraf from 1999-2008. A comparative study of official and public narratives is conducted using two primary sources, i.e. In the Line of Fire by Pervaiz Musharraf” and ‘Musharraf: The Years in Power’ by Murtaza Rizvi. The study sheds light on the way historical discourse is affected by military interference in a democratic country. It deals with the questions like how a similar account is presented differently in official writing and in the public perspective. What aspects of history are ignored in the official narrative and in unofficial history? (e.g. citation and opinion from other sources, human rights, war crime etc.) What aspects are emphasized in the official and unofficial accounts? (e.g. personal agendas, biases, financial gains, apartheid between civil and military institutions etc.). Similarly, a critical analysis has been carried out on the author’s credibility and writing expertise. This study highlights how Pervaiz Musharraf have deliberately ignored to write on his weak points in his discourse e.g. Lawyers Movement, imposition of Emergency in 2007 and impacts of War Against Terror in Pakistan. The research paper used qualitative analyses. This study concludes that the official history from the statesman Pervaiz Musharraf deliberately ignores human right violations, war crimes, oppression of civil societies and political opposition. Moreover, it strives to justify military interference in a democratic country.

Key words:

Pervaiz Musharraf, Military Rule, Dictatorship, Democracy, Civil societies, Judiciary, Human Rights

Introduction

Pervaiz Musharraf took over power in Pakistan through a military coup in 1999 by toppling Nawaz Sharif’s democratically elected government. He assumed the office as Chief of Army Staff as well as the President of Pakistan simultaneously and later only as President of Pakistan until 2008. In 2008, after the elections, PPP emerged as a victorious political party and formed its

* Kishwer Baqar, Research Scholar, Department of History, University of Karachi.

** Dr. Humera Naz, Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Karachi.

government resulting in the end of Pervaiz Musharraf's power. This period between 1999 to 2008 is yet another era of military rule in Pakistan; three military regimes had already been passed till then.

However, military rules are generally centralized, with power consolidated in the hands of dictators. To sustain power, these dictators go beyond any legal and moral limits, may it be abusing human rights, oppressing opposition, journalists, writers, authors, poets, literary circles, and persecution of any other sections of society challenging their rule and authority.

Hence, in turn, **history writing during martial law gets affected by the authoritarian agenda of the dictator.**

This paper examines how history was composed during Pervaiz Musharraf's rule (1999-2008) by state representatives and by alternative historians. This is known as state narrative versus alternative history. Two prominent books are selected for this comparison. One composed by Pervaiz Musharraf himself, i.e., the official narrative "In the Line of Fire" and an alternative source by Murtaza Rizvi, "Musharraf: The Years in Power".

The reason for selecting this discourse is its close match in terms of the theme and the content. Hence, a comparison between these two narratives is the most valid and feasible.

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

The prime objective of this study is to identify the characteristics of historiography during martial law regimes, particularly during Pervaiz Musharraf's period. The research digs into the approach used by the official narrative, i.e., "*In the Line of Fire*". The study finds out what is the overall agenda behind writing a book like this. What aspects are emphasized and what are conveniently ignored?

The study compares the writing style of the two books and compare the contents of both as well. It focuses on finding differences in two different accounts of a single regime in two different rather opposite manner and perspectives. Moreover, keeping the socio-political background in view, the study finds out why the discourse is diverse in these two accounts, though it covers the same era.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Below are the important research questions the study seeks to answer.

- Is the state narrative biased or one-sided?
- The paper particularly highlights the human rights violations common during military regimes. It investigates if human rights are given a space in the official narrative (freedom of expression, political opposition, journalism, etc.)?
- Similarly, how democratic norms are compromised in the official narrative (referendum, emergency, state-controlled elections)?
- Is the clash between different institutes during Musharraf's regime covered in the official narrative or compromised? For example, a crisis

that emerged between the judiciary and government during Musharraf's period, and the siege of Lal Masjid.

- Is the critical analysis done on the War on Terror (US – Afghanistan) in which Pakistan was a frontline ally?

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

The paper is written with a qualitative analysis research method. The primary sources to conduct the study are two publications reflecting official and alternative accounts. One composed by Pervaiz Musharraf himself i.e. "In The Line of Fire" and the other by Murtaza Rizvi i.e. "Musharraf: The Years in Power".

Deductive reasoning is used primarily in this study. Existing theory related to the impact of military rule on historiography is tested. Content from the two primary sources are compared and analyzed one by one, and a deduction is made to highlight if the theory being tested is valid here or not.

In a nutshell, this research is to give an in-depth knowledge of the discriminated and biased history written from the official accounts. The study seeks to prove that historiography during a military regime is likely to be a state's version, with many facts and crucial socio-economic and political aspects deliberately ignored and compromised.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A wide range of literature was reviewed first for the selection of topic and then to further get into the details. This includes books on General Historiography and Military Rule in Pakistan. The most significant contribution in this regard is from Ayesha Jalal in her books. These include books like "The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense", which provides a critical analysis of the origins and development of Pakistan's military-dominated political system. Similarly, "The Struggle for Pakistan" was yet another important work on Pakistan's political history, including the chapters on military regimes.

Another prominent contribution is from Hussain Haqqani in his discourse of "Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military". Authors like Ayesha Siddiqi also have a similar impact in her book "Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy."

This paper, however, was looking for historical writings specifically on Pervaiz Musharraf's regime. Despite thorough research, no publication has been found highlighting the characteristics of historiography during Pervaiz Musharraf's regime. Similarly, difficulty was faced even for Zia-ul-Haq's period of military dictatorship. Hence, this study will fill this gap and produce a compelling paper analyzing the history writing during the period of Pervaiz Musharraf (1999-2008).

Two important publications are considered and are studied to judge and analyze the historical discourse during Pervaiz Musharraf's rule i.e. "In the Line of Fire: A Memoir" (2006) by Pervaiz Musharraf himself depicting state's / official narrative and "Musharraf: The years in Power" (2009) by Murtaza Rizvi, which provides an alternative perspective and a critical examination of Pervez Musharraf's rule in Pakistan, covering his rise to power through a military coup,

his governance, policies on modernization, and the challenges he faced, including his role in the War on Terror.

The content in these two books is relevant to the research statement and hypothesis. These books suffice to answer our research questions mentioned in this synopsis and meet the objective of the research. Hence, a conclusive study can be conducted by using this discourse.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Knowledge Is Produced and Maintained by Power Structures by Michel Foucault Mid-20th C.¹

French scholar Michel Foucault argues that knowledge is produced and maintained by power structure. Whatever discourse is produced it is influenced by power dynamics. In other words, he argues that power and knowledge are intertwined, and knowledge is no way unbiased, instead, it is always tilted toward the ruling class.

Foucault's key works include "The Archaeology of Knowledge" (1969) and "Discipline and Punish" (1975). In these texts, he delved into the relationship between discourse, power, and knowledge.

Antonio Gramsci's Notion of Cultural Hegemony (Early 20th C.)²

Gramsci, an Italian Marxist theorist, introduced the concept of cultural hegemony. It refers to the dominance of a ruling class's ideology over society. The ruling class maintains control **NOT ONLY** through coercion but also by shaping cultural norms, values, and beliefs.

Gramsci believed that cultural institutions (such as education, media, and religion) play a crucial role in maintaining hegemony. These institutions disseminate dominant ideas and maintain consent from the masses.

He also emphasized the potential for resistance. [He believed that subaltern groups \(those marginalized by the ruling class\) could challenge hegemony by creating alternative cultural narratives and organizing collective action.](#) His ideas are primarily found in his "*Prison Notebooks*," written while he was imprisoned during Mussolini's fascist regime.

The above framework is particularly relevant in order to understand the historiography under Pervez Musharraf's regime in Pakistan (1999-2008).

CONTENT REVIEW: "*In the Line of Fire – A Memoir*" by Pervaiz Musharraf

"*In the Line of Fire – A Memoir*" is a biographical and political book authored by Pervaiz Musharraf and first published in 2006 by Siemen and Schuster UK Ltd. He dedicated this book to the "*people of Pakistan*" and his mother. The book is composed in a chronological order and consists of six parts with a Preface and Prologue, and Epilogue. It starts with the years "In the Beginning", "Life in the Army", "The Hijacking Drama", "Rebuilding the Nation", "The War on Terror" and "Pakistan at Home and Abroad".

In the preface, Pervaiz Musharraf writes, “*My autobiography is my contribution to the history of our era.*”³

Pervez Musharraf considers his discourse a history book, though in reality, it's a perspective of a single person. In the book, he boasts about his bravery and adventures and the bold steps he took since he became active in his professional life, i.e., recruitment in the Army. He has presented his views on various historical developments in Pakistan since its inception to the time when he was in power himself.

He talked about how courageously he participated in the 1965 war, and he had been very honest about the 1971 war in which the Pakistan army could not accomplish its mission and lost East Pakistan. He wrote, “Blame ultimately fell on the army.”⁴ about the 1971 war.

He conveniently ignored to discuss the Tashkent Accord in the decline of Ayub Khan.⁵

He called Bhutto a “despotic dictator” and did not admire “Islamic socialism” and nationalization of different sectors of Pakistan in his period.⁶ Tomorrow moreover, He blamed Bhutto of rigging 1977 elections.

About Zia-ul-Haq regime, talking about lashing in public, he wrote that “only the poor were given this punishment” while rich managed to avoid it somehow.⁷ Musharraf asked not to give such harsh punishments at least under his jurisdiction. He concluded Zia-ul-Haq martial law as; when there is martial law, military distracts from its “vital military duties”, civilian institutes stop functioning and in any form of government only poor suffers, rich class manages to remain safe and sound.⁸

He called period from 1988 to 1998 a “dreadful decade of democracy”.⁹ He claimed that during this army was most involved to stabilize the country and specially mend the differences between politicians including differences between president and prime minister. He believed that the Pakistan Army is “the only powerful stabilizing factor in the nation”.¹⁰ He also blamed politicians for the military involvement in democracy because politicians themselves play very ugly politics and are immature.¹¹

Pervaiz Musharraf has denied several myths about Kargil operation in his book, including that Mian Nawaz Sharif then Prime Minister was not informed.¹² Also he stated that whatever movement has taken place so far to solve Kashmir issue is due to Kargil conflict.¹³

The book contains a thrilling chapter “The Hijack Drama”, when Nawaz Sharif did not allow Musharraf's [plane to land inside Pakistan's territory. He claimed that the army takeover of the Karachi Airport to let his plane land was a “countercoup”.¹⁴

He calls Taliban and al-Qaida and other extremist organizations' personals as “terrorists” but not ‘warriors’ or ‘fighters’ or ‘*mujahideen*’. He gives profound information about investigation of assassination attempt on his own self. Musharraf agrees to the danger of soviet invasion on Pakistan during Soviet-Afghan war, to reach Pakistan's “warm waters”.¹⁵ He supports Zia's 8th

amendment giving President power to dissolve National Assembly, as according to him it prevents military takeovers of the country and President can dissolve an inefficient parliament then announce reelections.¹⁶

Furthermore, he accepts that the referendum he conducted had some irregularities.¹⁷ However, he denies accusation that he accepted all preconditions of the US over war on terror. He writes that he gave a counterproposal with some changes which the US accepted.¹⁸

Some events are described in extensive details like Daniel Pearls kidnapping and murder. He described a number of terrorist attacks in Pakistan in good details without realizing that it points out at the inefficiency of his governance and lack of control on terror activities in chapter 22 “The War Comes to Pakistan”.

In the chapter titled “The symbiosis of Terrorism and Religion”, Musharraf exposes all the tactics he used to propagate his idea in terms of creating a balanced Muslim society not extremist. These methods are in complete alignment with our theoretical framework. According to our framework, **Antonio Gramsci’s Notion of Cultural Hegemony**, the ruling class maintains control NOT ONLY through coercion but also by shaping cultural norms, values, and beliefs. Musharraf confesses that he used cultural reformation methods by utilizing institutions such as education, media, and religious representatives.¹⁹

In order to support his actions against Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, Musharraf gives detailed information about how Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan was involved in suspicious activities in the process of transferring nuclear technology to North Korea and Iran and later charged him for doing so.²⁰ However, this is only his side of the story. The book does not give the chance to defend the other side in his case and in all the other cases where an accusation is involved to someone else e.g. Mian Nawaz Sharif being unaware of the Kargil operation.

“I must say that he (US CIA Director) showed complete trust and confidence in me. The trust that President Bush and his entire state department team had in me by this time...”²¹ These paragraphs show how closely the two governments were working in War on Terror.

Finally, referring to India Pakistan dispute over Kashmir, he believed when he became the statesperson that, “There is no military solution to our problems.”²²

In the chapter “Socials Sector” he has discussed education and health. He increased funds for these sectors and established HEC. He also discussed how Madrassas were brought under the government’s umbrella.

He sided with Mukhtara Mai in her case and did many reforms for the emancipation of women. He talked about his efforts to produce a soft image of Pakistan by working on history, heritage, art, culture, tourism and entertainment. He also dedicated one short chapter to the 2005 earthquake that jolted the northern parts of Pakistan in particular.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS: “In the Line of Fire – A Memoir” by Pervaiz Musharraf

Modern historiography must have some vital characteristics which are lacking in Musharraf's discourse. Though, Musharraf had been very confident in calling his book a "contribution in the history of his era", but in reality, his book "*In the Line of Fire*" cannot fall under the category of an authentic history book. A credible history book must have a proper methodology, founded on primary, secondary and tertiary sources of knowledge, conscious about the facts and figures, using research methodology tools; for example, interviews, surveys, polls, 3rd party opinions and citation of other literature produced on the same subject.

Evidently, his book seems a simple narration of his memoirs. Pervez Musharraf selected only those developments that highlighted his achievements, bravery, and accomplishments, etcetera. He has very conveniently ignored a number of crucial developments that had been an immense, unignorable part of his political career. However, the book is very thrilling and gripping, especially where he jotted down events like hijacking of his plane, operation against terrorists, and the whole account against Doctor Abdul Qadir Khan had been revealing and surprising.

His book has no critical analysis of different events. It has no comparisons with any other similar events in history. He has not bothered to take or mention opinions of third parties to support his claims and arguments; for example, he never cited or referred to any other publication that supports his claim. Similarly, the book does not consist of interviews or surveys that can give strength to his perspective.

The greatest shortcoming of this book is to ignore mentions of some drastic and irrefutable developments, which render his book strongly and heinously biased. Such developments include the war crimes conducted by the US army in Guantanamo Bay, the operation in Balochistan against Nawab Akbar Bugti, the siege of Lal Masjid in Islamabad, the emergency imposed in November 2007, dismissal of Chaudhary Iftikhar Ahmad the Chief Justice of Pakistan and the lawyers' movement to restore him and the one-sided account of case against Doctor Abdul Qadir Khan.

Similarly, he did not talk about the war crimes that were conducted in war against terror in Afghanistan and its impacts on Afghani and Pakistani society. Moreover, how severely the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan have deteriorated since then is also overlooked. Pakistan is suffering from the consequences of war against terror to this day in 2024.

He composed a complete chapter on women's emancipation and talked about many positive steps he took for women empowerment, but he never mentioned Dr. Afia Siddiqi in his book. Similarly, he mentioned Mukhtara Mai case, but he conveniently ignored Dr. Shazia Khalid's rape case because some army personnel were allegedly involved in it.

His expressed his dislike for the two major political players of Pakistan, i.e. Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. He made many amendments in constitution including a change which did not allow any person to stay in power for more than two terms, hence, creating a barrier for Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto to ever become PM again. However, when he was forced to have elections due to internal

and external pressure in 2008, he had to give an NRO - National Reconciliation Order. He dismissed all the cases against the two leaders and invited them to participate in the upcoming elections of 2008. Similarly, he did not include an account of the assassination of Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto in any of the new editions of this book.

Hence, Pervez Musharraf's book is a drastic read for a person who does not compare his book with any other publication on the same subject. Anyone who solely relies on his book for information or understanding the politics of Pakistan during 1999- 2008 will surely be disinformed and misguided because the book is totally biased and just includes self-praise and boasting. It is a one-sided account presenting himself free of all kinds of charges, mishandlings and mismanagement. Therefore, the book could only be read for the purpose of understanding how self-centered Pervez Musharraf was and how dishonest he has been in presenting the history of Pakistan during his period in power.

CONTENT REVIEW: “Musharraf - The Years in Power” By Murtaza Razvi

“Musharraf - The Years in Power” is a political book by Murtaza Razvi. It covers all the significant political developments that occurred between 1999 and 2008, from the time when Pervez Musharraf took over the country by a military coup, and then he was ousted from the presidency by the resistance opposition and the judicial process. Murtaza Razvi holds a master's degree in political science and history. He was working as a journalist in Dawn Media Group when he composed this book.

In his book, Murtaza Razvi used words like autocrat, despot, and dictator for Pervaiz Musharraf, rejecting the legitimacy of his rule. In the Prologue, he said about Musharraf that “he left behind a nation badly fragmented”. He called his book “documenting Pakistan's political history”.

According to Musharraf's supporters, “He was a clean man, though not made of the same stuff as politicians are; nobody can accuse him of any financial wrongdoing. All his actions, right or wrong, were undertaken in good faith and in the cause of Pakistan. He will be remembered as someone who gave unprecedented freedoms to the media, which in turn contributed to his downfall. More than that, it was the Americans who finally wanted Musharraf out and got their way.”²³

The author has considered the opinions of both supporters and opponents of Musharraf to find out the reality of his rule. He took accounts of different witnesses and included them in his book. E.g., when the military took over the PTV station while undergoing a coup. He has critically analyzed Musharraf's own publication “In the Line of Fire” as well.

Musharraf supported freedom of the media, and the media itself became one of the primary factors for his downfall. It was unprecedented media freedom during his regime. Such freedom of media was not given even during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto or Nawaz Sharif's civilian government. The same is the case with the judiciary; judges had been controlled, sacked, or replaced during dictators as well as in civilian governments.²⁴

He has covered the Baloch Nationalist movement and its causes and has given a detailed account of the operation against Nawab Akber Bugti and his killing. He writes:

“The establishment of cantonments in Balochistan whereby the army appropriated huge chunks of land became the rallying cry for Baloch nationalists.”²⁵

Murtaza Razvi has written following words over the grief of KPK and Balochistan; “Musharraf's failure to take the two most underdeveloped provinces along on his reform agenda.”²⁶

“In an interview from his hideout in February 2006, he (Nawab Akbar Bugti) said:

'Our options are clear: resist and die or die without resisting' (Herald, March 2006).”²⁷

He covered the role of NAB and its ineffectiveness after the NRO. “National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) of 2007 proved the proverbial last nail in the coffin of the so-called National Accountability Bureau and its mandate to arrest the corrupt and recover looted public money from them.”²⁸

He talks about interference of center on KPK government led by MMA. For example, Hasba Bill which applies Islamic restrictions on certain matters was announced unconstitutional by Supreme court.

Pervaiz Musharraf had composed an extensive charge sheet in his book “In the line of Fire” against Dr. AQ Khan. Murtaza Razvi did not conduct his own investigation into the matter to find out whether the military was really involved in the process of nuclear proliferation or not. However, Razvi commented that, “Dr Khan after being set free by the high court told journalists at his residence in Islamabad that his position had been vindicated by the court's annulment order, and that Musharraf had lied about not being in the loop about his activities.”²⁹

Murtaza Razvi has critically analyzed the war against terror and its repercussions in Pakistan itself. In his words, “He (Musharraf) has left behind in the form of home-grown terrorism, which is now a full-blown monster that threatens to strike beyond Pakistan's borders.”³⁰

He criticized Musharraf for not acting against the imposition of Shariah law in Swat region of Northern Pakistan. Moreover, he points out lack of management and government writ in FATA and Waziristan where militants were training to launch an assault on Karzai led government in Afghanistan.³¹ Finally, Murtaza Razvi has dedicated a whole chapter “School of Bigotry” over the crises of Lal Masjid in Islamabad. This weakness in control and governance by Musharraf's state machinery is conveniently ignored in Musharraf's “In the Line of Fire”.

Similarly, Murtaza Razvi has given details about dismissal of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry and then the lawyers movement. “Over time, he (Chief Justice

Iftikhar Chaudhry) established himself as one with an independent bent of mind.”³² He initiated taking *sou moto* actions on issues of social injustice, “missing persons” and privatization resulting in the dismissal of Chief Justice. “The lawyers declared an open war on the Musharraf regime, vowing to fight on until the restoration of Justice Chaudhry.”³³

Musharraf banned certain media talk shows who were critical of Musharraf’s suppressive actions in the lawyers’ movement. However, he later lifted the bans.

“On 20 July, the Supreme Court dismissed the government’s plea to indict the chief justice, reinstating him to his post and declaring Gen. Musharraf’s summary suspension of him illegal and without due process—just as Musharraf’s own sacking by Nawaz Sharif had been seven years earlier.”³⁴

Razvi has efficiently compared the dismissal of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary with Musharraf’s own sacking by Nawaz Sharif and opined that if Musharraf considered his sacking illegal, then how Chief Justice’s dismissal can be legal.

Judges refused to take fresh oath of Provisional Constitution Order (PCO). Musharraf’s opposition supported the judiciary and Musharraf put these activists under house arrest and dismissed sixty judges. In retaliation, lawyers long march started in Islamabad led by Barrister Aitzaz Ahsan.

Razvi has highlighted the double standards of Pervez Musharraf by referring to Mukhtara Mai and Doctor Shazia Khalid’s rape case. Hence, he wrote, “While Musharraf had promised to bring [Mukhtara] Mai’s tormentors to justice, he had exonerated the [Army] captain accused in the second instance [Dr. Shazia Khalid’s rape] even as he ordered an enquiry.”³⁵

Razvi has given some insights about Pervez Musharraf approach towards Kashmir by referring to a proposal given to PM Benazir Bhutto about an assault on Kashmir in following words, “The general (Pervaiz Musharraf) had made out a case before the prime minister (Benazir in 1993), suggesting an all-out assault on Kashmir as an indigenous insurgency.” However, she “rejected the idea”.³⁶

In chapter 13 “The Bhutto Magic” and 14 “The Final Coup”, return of Benazir Bhutto and her assassination is profoundly covered with all the political developments including NRO and state of emergency.

Talking about cooperation of PPP and PMLN against Musharraf, Razvi wrote, “The two parties decided to take on the General together.”³⁷

“Those who met him at social gatherings after his resignation detected little loss of oomph and zest for life in general. He was still his boastful, daredevil self, making uncanny predictions of the fall of the elected government as being ‘only a matter of time’.”³⁸

The second part of the book consist of opinion of different prominent intellectuals about Pervaiz Musharraf and his politics.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS: “Musharraf - The Years in Power” By Murtaza Razvi

“Musharraf- The Years in Power” is a political book written in an academic style. It has taken care of the required characteristics a history book should have. This book can be considered as an unofficial historical account of the years when Pervez Musharraf was in power i.e. from 1999-2008. The book has extensively covered all the important political developments during the period of Pervez Musharraf’s military rule. The book is a scholarly work and is not dramatic or very thrilling as compared to the account that has been studied in Pervez Musharraf’s publication “In the line of Fire”.

The author “Murtaza Razvi” has included analysis from different credible political publications in this work like Herald, Talbott, Dawn, Indian Express etcetera, as well as excerpts from biographies of prominent political figures, e.g. L. K. Advani of India.

Musharraf never talked about how extremely Pakistan was isolated internationally after his coup in his book. Moreover, how he jumped into War against Terror to get acceptance from the international community for his rule in Pakistan. This aspect is well captured in Murtaza Razvi’s discourse.

Razvi has added interviews of witnesses, like in the case of army takeover of PTV when Nawaz Sharif was arrested. All the major events that were ignored in Musharraf’s discourse are extensively covered in Murtaza Razvi’s perspective. Moreover, his account does not seem anti Musharraf or pro Musharraf which means it is unbiased.

However, some important questions have remained unanswered even in his publication. For example, he did not investigate and presented his conclusion whether Nawaz Sharif knew about Kargil operation or not? Similarly, Pervez Musharraf has outrageously accused Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan of nuclear proliferation in Iran and North Korea and his charges against Doctor Abdul Qadeer Khan had been very convincing due to the style of writing in “In the line of Fire”. Murtaza Razvi did not investigate this matter. Instead, he simply relied on the decision by the Pakistani judiciary freeing Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan from all of the accusations.

Murtaza Razvi has given both sides of the story, but he has not analyzed the case himself and presented his own conclusion in most of cases, which is a weakness in his account.

Overall, Murtaza Razvi’s work is up to the mark and meets the standards of academic writing. It is a well-researched book with the most prominent feature of “an extensive coverage” of all the important political developments that occurred during Musharraf’s rule (1999-2008).

CONCLUSION

After the thorough study of both of these publications, i.e. “In the Line of Fire” and “Musharraf- The Years in Power”, following conclusions can be made with respect to the modern trends and characteristics of historiography.

First of all, it is evident that the perspective of Pervaiz Musharraf is outrageously biased and one-sided. It is simply an account of one's personal memories and stories of his success and accomplishments. No one can question him, including many accounts that have been missing in his discourse as an autobiography is a person's personal narration. However, he should never have mentioned in the preface to consider his book as a "contribution to the history of his era". This is because his book lacks many requirements of an authentic history book. Still, it is a contribution as one of the sources to study that era i.e., 1999-2008.

Musharraf's discourse does not highlight human rights violations during his period, including political freedom by imposing an emergency in 2007, banning Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif from becoming Prime Minister for a third term by constitutional amendment.

Moreover, no critical analysis has been done on the "war against terror". There is no talk about the war crimes conducted during the assault on Afghanistan. There is complete silence on human rights violations in Guantanamo Bay, as well as the impact of the War on Terror in Pakistan to this day.

Democratic norms were brutally compromised in the case of the referendum and state-controlled elections when the PPP and PMLN were not allowed to participate.

Musharraf's periods consist of a new trend in liberty in the case of the media. Several new media outlets opened, like Geo and Aaj, as well as Bollywood movie shows in cinemas. He used these channels particularly to propagate his ideology of "Enlightened Moderation".

The most surprising omission was not to include the dismissal of Chaudhry Iftikhar Ahmed, the Chief Justice of Pakistan and a successful Lawyer's Movement. This is definitely because Pervaiz Musharraf disgracefully lost this battle; hence, skip this part in his autobiography.

Hence, the clash between different institutes during Musharraf's regime was not efficiently covered. Apart from a clash with the judiciary, the siege of Lal Masjid and resistance from religious sections are another example of such a clash.

On the contrary, all of the above aspects are efficiently covered in Murtaza Razvi's perspective, "Musharraf- The Years in Power".

Hence, we can also deduce that both of our theories discussed in the theoretical work frame are tested positively. i.e., "Knowledge is produced and maintained by power structures"³⁹ by Michel Foucault, Mid-20th C and Antonio Gramsci's "Notion of Cultural Hegemony"⁴⁰ (Early 20th C.) which says that the ruling class maintains control NOT ONLY through coercion but also by shaping cultural norms, values, and beliefs.

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- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 34
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 65
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 70
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 77
- ³² *Ibid.*, 94
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 96
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 97
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 109
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 121
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 133
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 137
- ³⁹ Christensen, G. (2024). Three concepts of power: Foucault, Bourdieu, and Habermas. *Power and Education*, 16(2), 182-195. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17577438231187129>
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