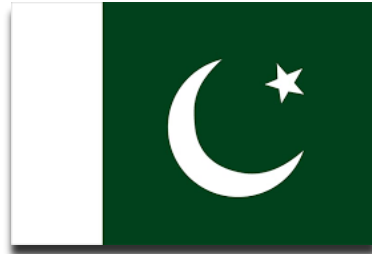


Pakistan Affairs

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Lecture Handouts for CSS

Module 5

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Civil Military Relations in Pakistan

Understanding Civil Military Relations

- According to **Vladimir Rukavishnikov** and **Michael Pugh**:
 - “The relationship between civilians (people without arms), the society at large, and the military (the people with arms)”.
- If democracy functions smoothly, it means that Civil Military relations are strong. However, if there exists a military dictatorship it means that the civil military relationships are weak.

British Legacy and Roots of Colonialism

- Colonial Purpose to rule over India.
- Development of state institutions during colonial period.
- Role of Civilian and Military Bureaucracy in the colony.
- Growth of Democracy, democratic culture and institutions in colonial India.
- Literacy Rate in the colonial society

Civil Military Relations in Pakistan

- Pakistan has experienced 33 years of military rule.
- “Story of Pakistan is one of the remorseless tug and pull between the civilian and military rulers on the one hand, and the liberal and religious forces on the other.”

~ Pakistan and World Affairs by Shamshad Ahmad

Story of Civil Military Relations in Pakistan

1. Incompetent Political Leadership
2. Weak Political Forces
3. Weak Institutions
4. Rising Power of Civil-Military Bureaucracy
5. Perpetual Security Threats
6. Civil Dependency on Army

Incompetent Political Leadership

- Leadership Void created by death of Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and murder of Liaquat Ali Khan.
- Failure of the second row leadership.
- “...As for the other leaders, according to Akbar Hameedi, the Quaid had said that he had fake coins in his pocket. He traced the history of the internal bickering of the politicians, which, according to him, led to the imposition of martial law in the

country. According to him, they, in fact, played a very negative role in bringing the sister of the Quaid on the political stage. None of them had an all Pakistan following at that time. Unlike the earlier leaders, many of them were not that clean in politics. In their shrewd “hypocrisy” they “used” the unblemished, political reputation of the Quaid’s sister, playing their game from the backstage by bringing out the only rallying point available for advancing their interest.”

Writings on Fatima Jinnah part of resistance literature

- Induction of the bureaucracy in the Cabinet for instance A.M Malik, Ghulam Muhammad and Zafarullah Khan.
- In 1954 almost nine members of the cabinet were chosen out of the Parliament including General Muhammad Ayub Khan.
- Delay in constitution making increased the authoritarianism mode of ruling.
- Lack of healthy democratic traditions/ activities
- Delay in Elections- Politician without their political power till 1970.

Weak Political Forces

- For healthy Constitutional and political system, strong and well-entrenched political parties are essential.
- In Pakistan, political parties have failed to develop strong vehicles of national political will.
- Pioneer Political Party was not well organized.
- Native Pakistani based politicians mostly belonged to feudal class or land-lord class.
- Elite class of a politicians never hailed true democratic aspirations.
- In 1953 First Martial law was imposed due to clash between Federal and Provincial government
- That examples of clashes between federal and provincial government replicated in 1990’s as well.

Weak Institutions

- Pakistan like India inherited colonial legacy in the matter of government institutions.
- India got its institutions intact while Pakistan had to start from scratch.
- In Pakistan (after independence) not even a single institution was well established i.e Parliament, Civil Secretariat, Supreme Courts, Central Bank and Armed forces.
- This dilemma increased the prospects of authoritarian regime.
- There was a weak paucity of competent parliamentarians.
- The civil bureaucracy was short in strength including judiciary bureaucracy.

- Muslims in British Indian Army were in greater proportion comparatively, almost 33%.
- In this backdrop, Pakistan Army established itself since the beginning as compared to other institutions.

Rising Power of Civil-Military Bureaucracy

- Lack of basic infrastructure.
- Political leadership crisis - lack of leadership qualities in the Second Row leadership.
- Bureaucracy had to fill the gap of leadership.
- Dissolution of National Assembly (1954).
- Role of judicial bureaucracy and interpretation on the basis of the philosophy “Law of necessity”.
- Abrogation of the constitution 1956 – dissolution the assemblies – general elections postponed.
- CMLA’s period and origin of military dictatorship in Pakistan resulted in Era of military dominancy.
- General Ayub’s era (1958-1968) is considered as a golden era for bureaucracy, immense power enjoyed without political interference.
- Yahyah’s period (1969-71) and new generation of politicians- breakup the country along with disunity of politicians as well as common masses.
- Bhutto’s rule marked with the authoritative civilian rule against the powerful bureaucracy.
- Induction of third military dictator in the corridor of power on the base of weaknesses of political leadership.
- Decade of 90’s where troika was influential.
- Bureaucratic behavior of the Presidents and weak political government.

Security Threat

- Due to internal and external threats-Pakistan converted into security state.
- Situation favoured the military dominancy.
- Internal threat Communism, religious extremism, ethnic ambitions and now terrorism.
- External threat from neighboring countries including Indo-Pak wars of 1947-48, 1965, 1971 and 1998 and war threats such as in 1947-48, 1951, 1984, 1999 and 2002.

Civil Dependency on Army

- Due to weak welfare and law and force institutions army remained involved in civil administration.

- In 1947 Pakistan Army established civil secretariat in Karachi.
- Military was asked to vacate their barracks for the civil servants.
- To take the help in rehabilitations of the refugees and to provide the security to them.
- Army is also called frequently in aid of civil authorities in natural disasters, emergencies, and other civil functions.
- During election Army was called.
- During census Army has to provide security cover in the past and also in future army will be required for this purpose.
- To maintain law and order situation in the society army is considered reliable and effective like in Karachi many times army played an important role, in Balochistan, in Swat and in erstwhile Fata.
- Minute operations are also done by the Pakistan Army instead of Police and other departments like Lal Masjid, Chotto Gang in Punjab, Karachi Operations and Targeted operations in rural Sindh and Hyderabad.
- Military's induction in the civilian department like Civil Services, Education, WAPDA, Railway, PIA and Steel Mill.

Recommendations for improving Civil Military Relations:

- Followings are some key recommendations for a constitutional equation of CMR in Pakistan.
 - Passage of an Act of Parliament to regulate the workings of the National Security Committee.
 - Relevant Standing Committees of the Senate and National Assembly and the Plenary sessions should undertake periodic review of the progress on the implementation of the National Security Policy after it is announced.
 - Rejuvenating of the Defense Council under the chairmanship of the Defense Minister. The Defense Council should meet once a month or as often as required.
 - Issuance of notifications defining the membership, role and functions of the Provincial Apex Committees.
 - A Defense Minister should formally head the Ministry of Defense (MoD) who shall not be bypassed by direct meetings and links between the Head of the State and the Head of the Military, on the one hand, and the Services Chiefs on the other.
 - Key positions of the Foreign Minister and National Security Advisor shall never be kept vacant.
 - Effective independent role for the Provincial Police Forces at least to the extent envisaged in the Police Order 2002 should be provided for each

Provincial Government and the Federal Government should take a lead in this respect and undertake effective Provincial coordination.

- Federal Government should present a comprehensive plan to reform the rule of law structure of Pakistan in light of our security needs.
- Separate institutional framework for the security of VVIPs, VIPs and constitutional setups must be crafted.

Conclusion

- The term “Civil-Military relations” with predominant emphasis on “Civilian Supremacy” is conceptually flawed to explain the situation in Pakistan.
- In Pakistan “Civil-Military Relations” are always dependent upon the incident to incident and clash of interests of the civilian and military leadership.
- Supremacy of civilian government over military leadership will be possible if the political leadership has set a superior agenda of national interest above their personal interests and present a comprehensive doctrine regarding national unity, internal and external threats, and also own the military interests along with the civilian leader’s interest.