



PAK. AFFAIRS (CIVIL MILITARY RELATIONS)
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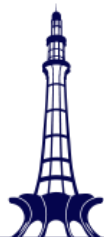
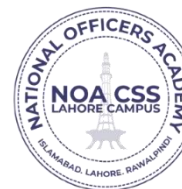
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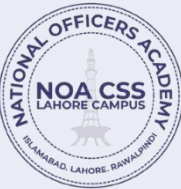
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Civil and Military Regimes in Pakistan – 1947-2021

Structure of Leadership	Duration	Period
Semi-Civilian (non-elected government)	11 years 1947-1958	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1947-1951: Liaqat Ali Khan 1951-1953: Muhammad Ali Bogra 1953-1955: Ch Muhammad Ali 1956-1957: H.S Suhrawardy 1957-1958: Sir Feroz Khan Noon
Direct Military Rule	17 Years	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1958-1962: Ayub Khan 1969-1971: Yayha Khan 1977-1985: Zia ul Haq 1999-2002: Pervez Musharraf
Elected government under a military president	16 Years	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1962-1969: Ayub Khan 1985-1988: Zia ul Haq 2002-2008: Pervez Musharraf
Elected government under a civilian president		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1971-1973: Zulifqar Ali Bhutto (President) 1973-1977: Zulifqar Ali Bhutto 1988-1990: Benazir Bhutto 1990-1993: Nawaz Sharif 1993-1996: Benazir Bhutto 1997-1999: Nawaz Sharif 2008-2013: Yousaf Raza Gilani 2013-2018: Nawaz Sharif 2018-present Imran Khan



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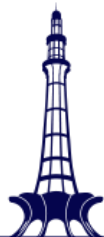
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History serving as a guide 1947-1958. The foundational stage

- Quaid-i-Azam vs Frank Messervy and Douglas Gracy
- Budget imbalance
- The first budget of the country (1948-49) Rs. 375 million were allocated to defense out of Rs. 520 million in total. While in the second budget (1949-50), the defense expenditure increased from Rs. 375 million to 472.2 million.
- Martial law 1953
- Broadening military's role (Induction into cabinet)
- Mutual Defense Agreement
- Seato Cento
- Political instability (1951-58). Degeneration of political process. Hurting the process of state building.



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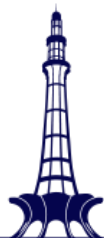
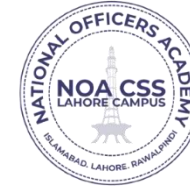
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1958-1971

- Façade of democracy (Basic democracy)
- Military man but civilian clothes in 1962.
- Handing over power to Yahya (violation of his constitution)
- Failure to convene session of national assembly (Constitutional Assembly).



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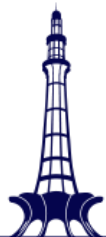
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Relations under first elected leader (1971-1977).

- A democrat takes over as “civilian martial law administrator”
- Life of constituent assembly extended
- FSF: organization to reduce dependency on military in terms of internal affairs.
- Replaced Gen Gul Hassan with Gen Tikka Khan as Army Chief (Gen Tikka Khan was earlier by-passed when Gen Gul Hassan was appointed). Similarly Air Marshal Raheem Khan was replaced by Air Marshal Zafar Chaudhary as Air Chief
- Executing Bhutto
- Traumatized
- Back with a bang by ousting Bhutto.



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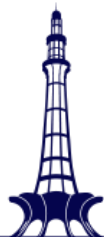
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The Long Haul

- Zia's period is the longest among the military rulers.
- Moving from an overt 'rule' to a more subtle but still ubiquitous 'role.'
- Junejo's assertion not accepted. Ojri Camp and Geneva accord
- Stayed in power until at the discretion of military.



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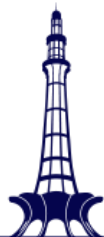
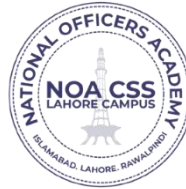
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Trying a hand at the civilians

- Transition to civilian rule
- No direct involvement
- Lets consider military as a major stake holder (Elephant in the room).
- Intelligence agencies creation of a new sub-sets of political elite
- Corps commander meeting (an other platform to look up to)



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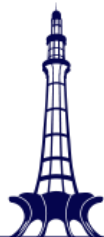


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- Military's support ensures smooth running of state. Energies and focused is diverted towards governance rather than protecting the office.
- Any serious difference creates political instability and uncertainty.
- Political elite is divided and mutually hostile. This creates a vacuum to which military gets sucked into.



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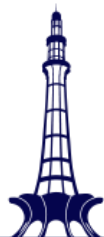
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- Two Afghan wars
- 1979-1988
- 2001-continued
- Strategic depth



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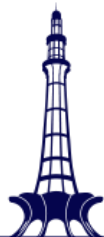
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- In Sept 1989 “Operation Midnight Jackals.” No-Confidence motion against PPP. MQM switched sides on the insistence of ISI.
- Interim government 1996-1997: Induction of military officers into IB.
- Benazir Bhutto in 1988
- No change in Kashmir Policy
- No say in Afghanistan
- Increase in military budget
- Pressler Amendment 1995-1996: One time waiver granted to Pakistan. Appreciated by the military.
- Unsuccessfully attempted to retire Admiral Iftikhar Ahmaad Sirohi, Joint Chiefs of Staff committee in 1989. Interfering with retirement and extension of some senior officials.
- Use of military to settle scores with political adversaries.



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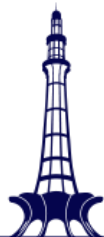


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- Ethnic violence in urban Sindh pitched MQM hardcore against law enforcement agencies.
- Jahangir Karamat acted as a broker between Benazir and Farooq Leghari. Lack of flexibility led to Benazir's ouster.



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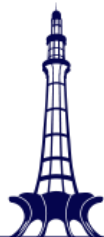


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Nawaz Sharif's Two term 1990-93 and 1997-99

- Groomed during Zia's martial law.
- Resilient posturing against Benazir won him admiration from senior commanders.

- At odds Gulf war
 - Pro-US
 - Pro-Iraq



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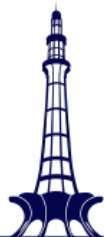


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- May 1992 operation in Sindh: Embarrassment for Nawaz
- 1992 US State dept placed Pakistan on terror financing list. Differences over Afghanistan and drug trafficking.
- Military wanted the government to do more to improve relations. Considered as vital for procurement of weapons from abroad.
- Nawaz back in power for the second time in 1997 with two-third majority
- Structure based on “troika” and reduced to a dichotomy after passage of 13th amendment
- Accommodating the military
Governors in Punjab and KPK
Karamat allowed hold Joint Chiefs Positions.



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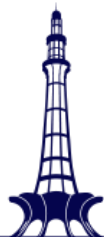


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- New Low: Nawaz and Sajjad Ali shah's confrontation
- Lahore Declaration
- Kargil war



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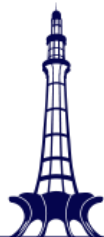
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Back in the driving seat

- Musharraf takes over on 12th October 1999.
- 2002 elections results in a civilian face.
- 17th amendment 2004. Imbalance
- Judicial activism and societal reaction
- Pushed out of power equation



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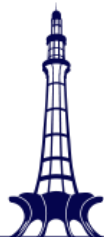
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Over-cast shadows

- Is the transition complete
- Elections in 2008 brought a more representative civilian government in power but still with a military personnel as President.
- No-Confidence and end of Musharraf rule.
- Mumbai attacks
- Kerry-Lugar Bill
- Memogate
- Rise of PTI
- Abbottabad and Salala incidents



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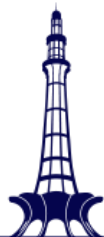
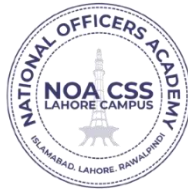


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- 2013 Elections
- Musharraf's in the courts
- 2014 Dharna
- Panama papers
- Ouster of Nawaz Sharif for the third time
- Elections 2018 and Imran Khan elevation as Prime Minister



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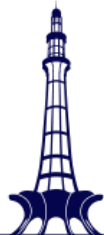
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Summing Pakistan's Case

- Consolidation of every politician has raised eyebrows within the institution.
- Failed to develop consensus on power sharing
- Playing the role of an arbitrator
- Recognize and consider sensibilities.
- Military hangover and identity crisis
- Political fragmentation and non-democratic arrangements
- If power hunger which drives the military to assume direct control?
- Oppose any unilateral reduction in defense expenditure
- Public outburst against the elected government



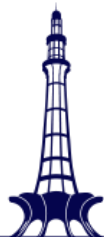
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- History has witnessed that both politicians and military have employed religion as a tool.
- Civilians for personal interests while military for state's interests.
- New Elections
- Long March



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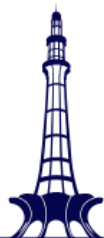
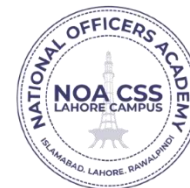


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- Indian Hegemonic designs at least in the last decade.
- Procurement of military equipment ———> Requires foreign policy
- Opposes any unilateral cut in military expenditure
- A polity in turmoil cannot sustain a professional military
- As politicians are unable to settle their feuds military steps in is asked to mediate and act as a power broker.



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Global Standards and Benchmarks

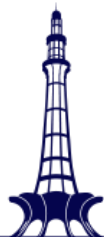
- Objective control or subjective control
- Is the defense budget distributed fairly

No military control (civilian control)

Two Trajectories:



Military takeovers (Military control, military takeover, transition to democracy).



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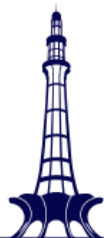


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- Clausewitz visualized it as a relationship between the state, people and the armed forces.
- civil military relations revolves around three major questions.
 1. First relates to the process of democratization and political construction.
 2. How civilian control over military can be improved
 3. What inspires a military intervention and coup and its relationship with the institutional interests of the military.



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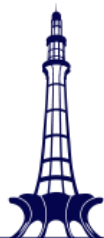
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- Huntington: Objective and Subjective control
- Janowitz: societal control and power sharing at the state level
(convergence)
- if the external threat is high and internal threat is low than the civilian control is good? Is it really the case in terms of Pakistan



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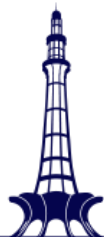


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Feaver



- Emphasized on the right of the civilians to exercise control over military.
- In terms of what to control, five decision making areas are identified; “civil-military relations, elite recruitment, public policy, internal security, national defense, and military organization.



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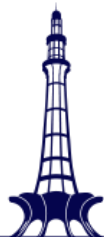


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- Waltz indicated that civilian control has to be maintained “through persistence and hard work” by the civilians.
- States with a history of military takeover: whether the military yields political influence, but how and how much”
- Huntington: apolitical, de facto and de jure powers



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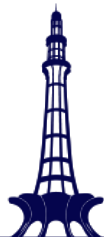
Re-Evaluating

- How do you formulate a foreign policy or an economic policy?

Involve all stake holders and military is one of them.



- Push and Pull factors
- Musharraf; Military cannot stay immune to events in its surrounding.
- Political change
- Political contestation



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