

# Civil Military Relationship

## Introduction:

- Civil Military relations in a country are an ideal barometer of the quality of democracy and institutional harmony.
- An example is the French Third and Fourth Republics that vested authority in National assembly and national bureaucracy.
- According to Paul Staniland, a complex interaction between the nature of threat, Political institutionalisation and government legitimacy determines the nature of civil-military relations in a country.
- The civil-military relations are, therefore, a function of the strength of democratic institutions, the external threats, and the internal security environment.
- According to Feaver, the best civilian control is exercised when a state is beset with high external but low internal threats.

## Theories Relevant to Civil-Military Relations:

### i. Huntington's Models for Civil-Military Relation:

- Samuel Huntington's gave his own interpretations on civil-military relations, presented two models.

#### Objective Civilian Control:

- Objective civilian control means ceding of maximum professional autonomy to the armed forces by the civilians, in return for the military's political neutrality.

#### Subjective Civilian Control:

- The subjective civilian control was another approach of exercising civilian control wherein the military leadership was involved in the civilian governance functions with an attempt to civilianising the military with a purpose to build adequate spaces in the system for the military.

### ii. According to Morris Janowitz:

- He had expressed concern over an apolitical military drifting away from the societal values and amassing

- too much power through autonomy.
- He had suggested military role to be always "responsible and circumscribed to civilian authority."
- iii. **The notion of Garrison State:**
  - the notion of Garrison state was given by Harold Lasswell, according to which such a state would emerge in modern industrial societies where the experts in violence would dominate the national policy formulation due to their better organisational strength and monopolisation of the coercive apparatus of the state.

## Civil-Military Relation in Pakistan

### Introduction:

- Hassan Askari Rizvi, described in his book, "The Military and Politics in Pakistan", "Asian politics has shown two major characteristics over the last twenty years. The erosion of democracy and the vast and significant influence of the military on the course of political change."
- The relation/harmony between bureaucracy

Civil government and military is known as Civil-Military Relations.

- Governance in Pakistan is a delicate balancing act between the military chiefs and the elected civilian govt.
- It is a power share arrangement whereby the military has important influence over foreign, security and key domestic issues.

### Evolution of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan:

- Pakistan's civil-military relations grew under a political culture that retained the colonial overhang of governance structure and traditions.
- Since Pakistan was confronted with an external aggression right from independence, its political leadership had to rely disproportionately on the military leadership for important national security decisions.
- The failed opportunities in the Kashmir War in 1947-48, also created a disaffected group within Pakistan's officers' corps that viewed civilian decision-

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- making during the war with undisguised contempt.
- After the <sup>early</sup> departure of Quaid-e-Mam and Liaquat Ali Khan, the bureaucrats like Ghulam Muhammad and Iskander Mirza edged out politicians by forming an alliance with the military.
  - Military had actually assumed the reins of government without imposing martial law, when Gen. Ayub Khan accepted the offer of Governor General Ghulam Muhammad as a defence minister.
  - Samuel Huntington goes so far as regarding military intervention of Gen. Ayub Khan as a positive modernising experience for Pak.
  - After Ayub's deposition in 1969, reins of power were again handed over to a military leadership.
  - A democratic interlude of PM Zulfikar Ali Bhutto failed to achieve the desired results in politics, as well as civil-military relations.
  - Pakistan's subsequent political journey featured more military interventions in the

Shape of Zia and Musharraf's era when punctuated weak democratic inter-regimes were followed.

- The current, as well as the previous two civilian governments' tenures, however, indicate a change in the civil-military relations favouring democratic continuity as a national interest.

## Causes of Military Intervention in Pakistan:

### i. Initial Leadership Crisis:

- Unfortunately Quaid's death in 1948 created leadership crisis.
- Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister assassination in 1951.
- Gov. Gen Nazim-ud-din became PM.
- But Miss use of power by Gov. Gen Ghulam Muhammad and dismissal of Nazim-ud-din, create political instability.

### ii. Constitutional Crisis:

- Constitutional crisis create a vacuum for military to intervene.
- Due to which <sup>Iskander Mirza</sup> ~~Ali Khan~~ imposed first Martial law in 1958, and

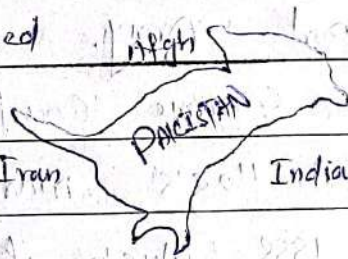
abrogated 1st Constitution of 1956.

- Yahya Khan on 25th March 1969 abrogated the constitution of 1969 and declared martial law.

- The abrogation of constitutions and delayed in constitution created a vacuum.

### iii. Security Conscious State:

- Pakistan is a sandwiched country.



- It had to face attack, from Iran and India from respective borders.

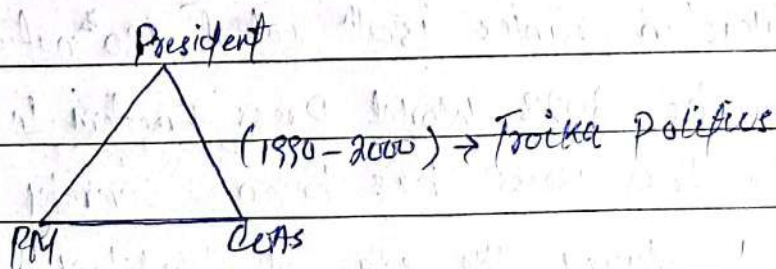
- Civilians have no expertise, therefore, army made its entry.

### iv. Army, Pivot in Power Structure:

- The Army Chief was a pivot in Pakistan's post 1988.

- Together with the president, and PM, he constituted one-third of the 'Troika'.

- Troika Politics:



**v. Army Well Resourced & Well Disciplined:**

- Pakistan Army from the day first is well disciplined.
- It is also well resourced, well funded, budget much part. (Rs. 1.8trn → 2023)
- Public have trust on army.

**vi. Judiciary Supports Army:**

- During martial laws Judiciary always support Army.
- The Supreme Court in 1977 validated Ziaul Haq's martial law.
- In 1998 Musharraf deals with Judges and fall the govt. of Nawaz Sharif.
- At the moment, there is no general trend in the Judiciary to restrict the military's interference in political and Policy decisions of political government.

**vii. No Freedom of Media:**

- Press freedom is a basic tenet of every democratic society, including Pakistan.
- Pakistan ranks 150<sup>th</sup> out of 180<sup>th</sup> nations in the 2023 World Press Freedom Index.
- The free press has been severely restricted during the era of military govt.



- Ayub Khan (1958-1969), imposed severe limitations on Journalistic freedom.
- Zia-ul-Haq's rule (1978-1988), also implemented strict censorship rules, restricts any news considered unfavorable of regime.
- General Musharraf (1999-2008), corporate media organizations grew, but Press freedom remained restricted.

### viii. Political Instability:

- In the history of Pakistan, all martial laws are imposed in the country due to political instability.
- In early years of Pakistan, the coalition of civil and military bureaucracy took advantage of weak political government, and let make the entry of military rule.

### ix. External Factors:

- During War on Terror, USA wants army in the government, to support USA in WOT in Afghanistan.
- It was difficult for USA to convince civilian govt for its support.

**x. Weak Civil Law enforcement Agencies:**

- Due to weak civil law enforcement agencies, it enables army to step forward in any situation in the country.
- During any disaster like floods, earthquake, or any other disaster army is on the front line.
- Moreover, in election, Census, Polio etc army is served.

**xi. Lack of awareness about Rule of Law:**

- Lack of awareness about rule of law among people, and weak rule of law a major threat to democracy.
- Due to lack of awareness, people are unaware of their rights.
- Such a situation create a vacuum for military to intervene.

**xii Bad Governance:**

- Bad governance is also one of the cause of military intervention.
- During the Kashmir war (1947-1948), the failed opportunities of politicians created a disaffected group within Pakistan's officers Corps.

## Tools Used by Military Leaders in Pakistan:

### i. Selective Cooperation:

- Army make good relation with politicians from early years.
- Military is the state apparatus, which provide assistance to politicians in state affairs.
- Ayub Khan accepted the offer of Gov. General Ghulam Muhammad and became Minister of defense.

### ii. Containment:

- After # take over, they eliminate democratic parties.
- For Example: Zia eliminated Zulfikar Ali Bhutto by capturing him in Kacuri case.
- As Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a democratic person.

### iii. Collateralization:

- Pressurized Bureaucracy.
- Army has lack expertise to run civil administration, therefore they need Bureaucracy.

## Case studies of Civil-Military Relations of different Countries:

### i. Bolivia and Venezuela:

- Both had socialist govt. that were unacceptable to capitalist countries.
- The civil-military relationship in Bolivia were discordant.
- The popular Morales, despite the public support, had to quit power b/c of the active opposition of army and police to his rule.
- After 1982, economic incentives, Hugo Chavez was elected as a president.
- The civil-military concordance resulted in the defeat of intended coup against President Hugo on April 11, 2000.
- Directly controlled of elected president a lessons for effective democratic control of the armed forces.

### ii. Indonesia:

- In Indonesia, Soekarno presided over a guided democracy, maintaining delicate balance between various ethnic communities.
- The army launched a coup in 1967 and

allowed to keep its presence in central as well as provincial and district legislatures.

- Some reforms were introduced, reducing army's presence in legislature.
- Due to weak political and judicial institutions, and reliance of the civilian govt. on military for internal security still retains disproportionate influence in the Indonesian policies.
- The lesson from Indonesian example are the need for the armed forces to remain away from active involvement in politics.

### iii. USA Example:

- US secretary of state, Mike Pompeo, a former military officer and the director of CIA is the best example of played such a role.
- Bob Woodward in his book Obama's war discusses the 2008 tension between the Pentagon and the white house.
- Richard Kohn, a well-known commentator on contemporary civil-military relations.

#### iv. A Case study of Turkey: History of Coup in Turkey:

- First Coup in the Turkish Republic in 1960. President, PM and other arrested.
- Economic downturn leads to widespread unrest in 1971. The military intervenes once again, in an effort to "restore order" and other offences.
- Clashes between left- and right-wing groups lead to another army coup in 1980. Hundreds of thousands of people arrested in following years, dozens executed.
- Military offers series of "recommendations" after rise of Welfare Party Govt. has no choice but to accept, PM forced to resign in 1997.

### RECOMMENDATIONS:

#### i. Transition from National Security towards Development State:

- The ideal model for Pakistan would be Huntington's fifth model of civil-military relations with low military political power, and high professionalism.

- To achieve this, Pakistan would have to make a transition towards a development state from a national security state.
- With attenuated threats and better governance, space could be created for increased spending on human security & development.
- ii. **Improve Human Capital of Political Parties:**
  - Political Parties should improve human capital and democracy within the parties.
  - The political processes and structures for decisions making and consultation should be transparent and merit based.
- iii. **Armed Forces should not be employed on Non-military Tasks:**
  - The role expansion in the civilian sphere should be studiously avoided by the armed forces in the best tradition of objective control.
  - The military needs to develop a healthy respect for the civilian institutions and avoid a tendency to interfere in politics.

#### iv. Decision Making Structures should be addressed:

- In the parliamentary oversight committees of Senate and NA & Political parties should get experts on defence and security matters, elected in parliament, to provide strong oversight capacity to govt.
- The National Security Advisor should serve directly under the PM and should have a Council of experts in the military affairs, economy, diplomacy, nuclear strategy.

#### v. Ministry of Defence should be Properly Resourced:

- To provide meaningful policy guideline and administrative oversight over the armed forces.
- A permanent cadre of defence bureaucracy needs to be created from amongst the civilian bureaucracy & armed forces.
- The Higher defence organization (HDO) should be reorganized by creating a unified tri Service command in Joint Services Headquarters, should exercised operational control over the three services.



- This will better civilian control of the military in achieving operational synergy and economy.

### Conclusion:

- A healthy balance in the civil-military relations is absolutely essential for a democratic control of the armed forces in countries like Pakistan.
- In order to effect a qualitative change in the civil-military relations both the civilian and the military components of the state have to take steps at moral, intellectual and structural planes.
- Peter Feaver, who thinks that a military should be strong enough to do anything the civilian asks it to do, while being subordinate enough to do only what civilian authorize it to do.

### Reference:

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Quest for an Ideal Balance by;  
Brig. (R) Raashid Wali Tanjua (IPRI JOURNAL).

# Economic Challenges in Pakistan

## Introduction:

- Pakistan Today, confronts multiple challenges which vary in intensity.
- The poor economy of Pakistan remains the chief aim among the challenges since the country's birth.
- The decade of the 1960s is considered the golden age of economic growth in Pakistan.
- Due to policies of Ayub Khan regime, economic growth was so impressive that it was seen as a model of economic development by many developing nations.
- Other developing countries followed the example set by Pakistan and established their own planning organizations, i.e. Malaysia (EPU), Indonesia (BAPPENAS), Thailand (NESDB), Philippines (NEDA), Korea (EPB). (Governing the Ungovernable, by Dr. ISHRAT HUSAIN).

- Unfortunately things continued getting worse, and most economist think that Pakistan is heading towards bankruptcy.
- The economic situation of Pakistan is at a critical stage.
- Today, the country faces serious economic challenges, including ever-rising inflation, increasing unemployment, shrinking GDP & diminishing exports level.
- According to Economic Survey of Pakistan 2022-23:
  - The inflation rate grew to 29.2% in 2023, from 11.3% in 2022.
  - GDP growth decline to 0.28% (2023), from 6.1% in 2022.
  - Per capita income US\$1568 (2023), from US\$1765 (2022).
  - Exports decline by 11.7% from \$26.2bn to \$23.2bn.

### • An Overview:

- In 1947, Pakistan had 30 million people with per capita income of 100\$.
- Agriculture accounted for almost 50% of economic output, with hardly

- any manufacturing, as all industries were located in India.
- Manufacturing and industry now account for 25% of the income; when we recall there was not even a single industry worth its name at the time of partition.
- In 1969, Pakistan exports of manufactured goods were higher than the combined exports of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and Thailand.
- Vietnam which was completely devastated by the war has now overtaken Pakistan.
- India was way behind Pakistan till 1990s, now is the world 5<sup>th</sup> largest economy in 2023.

## Challenges to Pakistan's Economy:

### i. Lack of Governance and Development:

- One of the challenge of Pakistan's economy is lack of governance and development.
- There is no focus on the development of efficient use of factors of production such as labour.
- Due to weak manifests of political

Parties, they failed to improve the quality of government.

## ii. Political Instability:

- Political instability, poor law and order situation, and insecurity are the major challenges of economy in Pakistan.
- Due to political instability, the economic situation of a country is uncertain and economic crisis came into being, it also discourages foreign investors.
- In 2007, Pakistan was one of the most favorite countries among the international investor community.
- It is imperative that we resume the journey which has been interrupted by nurturing a stable, secure and peaceful political environment.

## iii. More Government Expenditures than Revenues:

- Pakistan's government takes away 20% of national income as its own.
- 80% left in private sector. From 2011, govt. spent on defence, debt servicing

- development on education, health etc.
- Country budget deficit of 2023-24 is recorded at 6.54% of GDP.
- In expenditure the govt. spent Rs. 7303 bn on debt servicing, Rs. 1804 bn on defence & Rs. 850 bn for development.
- Continuing large fiscal deficit year after year may plunge the country into debt trap.

#### iv. Defective Policies of Public Spending.

- Because of Bad Governance, Policies of Public Spending are defective.
- Subsidies are provided to landlords and Feudals instead of Poor people.
- Due to less spending on public institutions decline and slow down its productivity.
- Delay in completion of projects is also due to low spending on public, specially labour force.

### v. More Consumption than Saving:

- People in Pakistan save only 14% of their salary, while worldwide average standard of saving is 27%.
- Pakistani needs to at least double on savings rate otherwise we will remain dependent on foreign sources.
- According to "The Race to Save", survey conducted in 8 countries including Pakistan, "that emerging affluent consumers in Asia could boost their savings by an average of 42%, if they move from a basic savings approach to a low risk wealth management strategy!"

### vi. Trade Deficit: More imports than Exports:

- Trade deficit is also a challenge to economy.
- Pakistan trade deficit recorded at 40.58% (\$25.78 bn) in 11 months of FY-2023.
- As a nation we prefer to use even the basic commodities of foreign countries rather than locally manufactured

goods.

- The lower is the gap between our exports earnings and expenditure on imports can only be achieved by expanding our exports. So reliance on external sources would be reduced.

### vii. High Cost of Doing Business:

- Although Pakistan ranking on the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Index 2020 has been improved and stand at 108 out of 190 countries from 136 in 2019.
- But still this ranking is not satisfactory, to attract foreign investors.
- Serious impediments are lack of coordination among various government agencies, innumerable laws and regulations that are antiquated and outdated.

### viii. Uncertainty and Unpredictability due to Lack of Continuity:

- Every government whether military or civilian starts with a clean slate, as if nothing happened before them and nothing will happen after them.



- You take the projects and programmes which were initiated by the previous governments, evaluate them as to what the strengths and weaknesses were, fix those weaknesses and carry them forward.
- But the blame game of successive govt. results into abrupt termination of all such projects and programmes.

### viii Crisis of Energy and Water Shortage:

- Another challenge, Pakistan face today is energy and water shortage, although Pakistan generating enough electricity and having enough water.
- 55% people are paying billing for those who are stealing the electricity.
- Govt. out of its limited resources is paying Rs. 200 bn every year as a subsidy for electricity.
- Low-cost sources of hydroelectric powers have been neglected.
- ~~There~~ No additional dams have been constructed since Tarbela in 1974.

- Pakistan have water losses of about 20-25%. even after these losses, the water is inequitably distributed.
- Pakistan has no enough dams to store water.
- With the climate change taking place with all the glaciers in Himalayas (melting 65% faster from 2011 to 2020), we are going to have difficulties in future due to global warming.

### ix. Inadequate and Low Human Capital and Development:

- It was thought that rising education attainment among the population would be sufficient to generate adequate growth.
- Pakistan's human capital story has been disappointing, the rate of growth of educational attainment has been low.
- The quality of education has remained very poor.
- It is not the quantity that matters so much for growth as its quality of human capital.
- Indicators relating to the quality of

health and access to health remain dismal.

- Stunting affects brain development, cognitive ability, educability and health and through all these channels it affects productivity.

#### x. Bad Social Indicators:

- Pakistan is badly lag in social indicators like literacy rate, infant mortality, fertility rate, primary enrolment ratio.
- Even Tajikistan which is a very poor country, has better literacy rate and primary enrolment ratio than Pakistan.
- If we had literacy rate of 100% instead of 59% then our per capita income will be much better.
- There is a direct correlation between regional inequities and backwardness with the level of education.

#### xi. Extremism and Sectarianism:

- Pakistan is a country where extremism and sectarianism remained

- dominant.
- Both of these affects politics, economy and social life.
  - There are various ethnic groups associated with Karachi, a hub of Pakistan's economy.
  - Due to extremists in KP, terrorists attacks badly affect economy.
  - Both the groups create violence and results in less human development and demotivate Foreign Direct Investment.

## Recommendation / Prospects to Improve Economy:

### i. Governance, Devolution and Decentralization:

- As the population is increasing, one cannot govern Pakistan sitting in Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar or Quetta.
- OAR has to develop powers, decentralise and delegate authority, provide resources to the local/district

governments so that they can take decisions at their own.

- Sitting in Islamabad one cannot visualize what is needed in in Chaghi or Coralai, let us develop powers to the people at the grassroots level and there would be much better allocation and utilization of resources.
- If we do that, then a lot more can happen with same amount of resources which are being wasted today and the economic growth rate can be raised from 6-7% average to 8-9% annually.

## ii. Political Stability, Law & Order:

- The overall overarching theme is that for a robust economy we should have political stability, law and order and security.
- The armed forces deserve gratitude for what they have done in Malakand division to bring about stability as far as the law and order situation is concerned.
- The sooner the country is gotten

aid of Political instability, poor law and order situation and insecurity, Pakistan will not be able to make any progress.

- For economic stability of Pakistan a stable, secure and peaceful political environment is necessary.

### iii. Improved Energy outlook and Policies:

- The supply of power to industrial and residential consumers has improved over the past five years.
- The greater supply and predictability of supply to industrial consumers has helped raised industrial production.
- The distributional network has not expanded as needed and the circular debt problems has not fully resolved.
- Strict policies should be designed to prevent electricity stealing, and best utilize natural resources.

### iv. Changing National Psyche & Mindset:

- Pakistanis as a nation are too much negative oriented & too much cynical

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- There is a need to change the psyche and mindset of the people as no body do his / her jobs with sincerity and honesty.
  - We should not expect any Messiah to come and fix our problems, we have to do it ourselves individually and collectively.
  - Each one of us should change our mindset rather than blame the govt. and the system.
- v. **Building up of Human Capital:**
- There is no substitute to building up human capital.
  - Private sector, Public sector, NGOs, local communities, Philanthropists etc, all here to put their hands on deck and participate in making sure that every child goes to school.
  - Unless we build up human capital, we are just going to be left behind because the world economy is going to be a knowledge based economy.

- Human Capital is as important as machinery and equipment. Pakistan has no choice but to accelerate the pace to catch up with other countries.

vi. Young Labour Force: (Utilization):

- Pakistan is one of the few countries which has a young labour force which can be harnessed for its own and global economy.

- Pakistan's youth cohort makes up over 60% of population, providing Pakistan an opportunity to leverage this strategic position in order to enhance the country's economic growth.

- If we tool these young men and women properly, this will give a big boost to Pakistan's economy.

- In 2001, worker remittances were less than a billion dollar; today we have almost \$25 bn, which were \$28 bn in 2022.

- It is imperative to train young



labour force in the kind of skills needed by the national and international economy.

vii. Use of Technology:

- The Technology is spreading like a wild fire.
- Technology can be used to provide banking services, information on climate / weather, agriculture extension, health, education etc.
- Using information technology for the betterment of social and economic problems of Pakistan is something which needs to be done.
- A more holistic and comprehensive approach that deploys technology for poverty reduction has to be put in place.