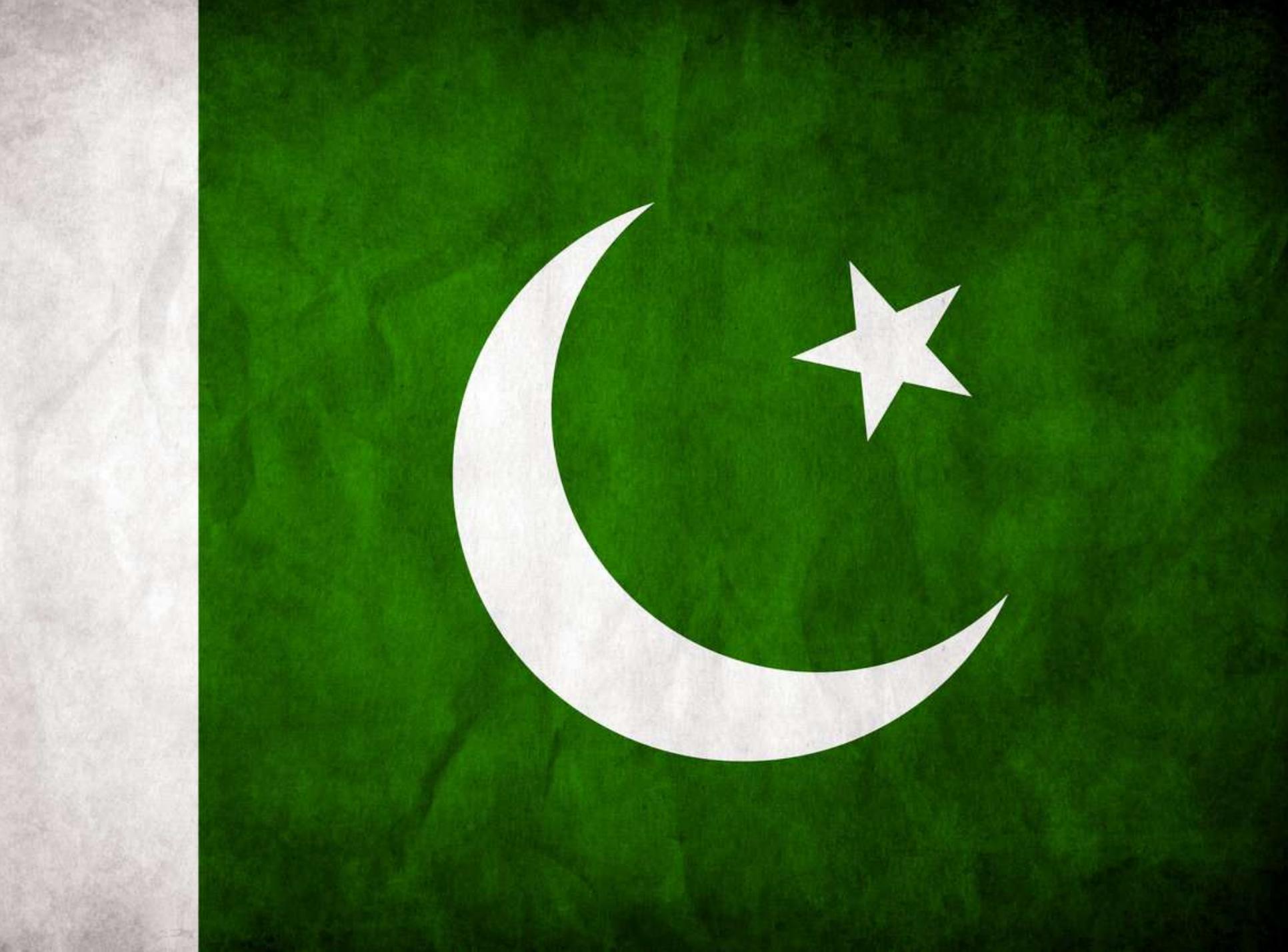


Civil Military Relations In Pakistan

By Dr. Tahir Jamil





Pakistan

- ▶ Four coups since its inception : 1958, 1969, 1977, 1999
 - ▶ Has ruled the country 33 out of its 66 years
 - ▶ Widely agreed army is most powerful institutional player, even when not in power rules from behind the scenes
- ▶ Pakistan: Globally important nuclear-armed country
 - ▶ Allegedly Haven for terrorists attacking internationally and domestically
 - ▶ Central to America's Afghanistan strategy
 - ▶ Regarded by some as soon to be failed state

Factors to be Analyzed

- ▶ External Threats
- ▶ Internal Threats
- ▶ Military Composition
- ▶ Condition of the State
- ▶ Military Institutionalization

Hypothesis

- ▶ It is a combination of the five factors that allow militaries to retain their dominant position in a state and society

1. External threats



Pakistan-India Relations

- ▶ Many in Pakistan consider India an existential threat to Pakistan's survival
- ▶ Issues
 - ▶ Hindu-Muslim antagonism dating from partition
 - ▶ Wars in 1947, 1965, 1971, 1999
 - ▶ Kashmir
 - ▶ Terrorism

Internal Factors

The Untimely Demise of the Jinnah and A Leadership Crisis.

- The first year of Independence was marked by heavy dependence on the charismatic personality of Jinnah; he was Governor-General and President of the Constituent Assembly.
- He had charismatic appeal, stature and unrivalled prestige that commanded and compelled unquestioned acceptance of his leadership all over Pakistan. However, he died on 11 September 1948, leaving behind an enduring political vacuum.

Liaquat Ali Khan,

- Jinnah's lieutenant and Pakistan's first Prime Minister, guided the country with courage and confidence during a difficult period but lacked the authority of the Jinnah.
- He endeavored to strengthen the parliamentary system, but his tenure was cut short by an assassin's bullet in October 1951.

- With Liaquat's death, the façade of "parliamentary democracy" began to erode . The bureaucratic elites did not take long to convert the office of
- Governor-General into an instrument of bureaucratic intervention. In the provinces, on several occasions, bureaucratic intervention occurred in the garb of the Governor's rule.⁷ The Chief Ministers were dismissed, despite the fact that their parties had a majority in the provincial assemblies.

Provincialism

- The geographical separation of East and West Pakistan produced not only administrative, physical but social, economic and political problems as well.
- Pakistan was an agricultural country and poor. East Pakistan
- East was economically worse off than West Pakistan. The Pakistan Muslim League policies were purportedly directed toward overall economic development, but focused on West-Pakistan, which contributed to Bengali deprivation and alienation.

The Constitution Making Dilemma 1947-56 (Punjabi/Bengali Controversy)

- Constitution making in Pakistan was delayed for about nine years.
- The two most important factors which delayed constitution making in Pakistan were the differences between Punjabi dominated West Pakistani elite, and East Pakistani.

- East Pakistan demanded maximum provincial autonomy, whereas the West wing favoured a strong centre.
- The second most important issue was the quantum of representation: the East wing demanded universal adult franchise as Bengal constituted about 54% of the total population.
- Unfortunately, the West wing elite were not ready to concede this demand.
- The conflict created a huge political and constitutional problem in Pakistan at its very inception.

Extreme Political Instability

- After Quaide-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination resulted in the conversion of the office of the Governor General into an instrument of bureaucratic intervention.
- From 1951 to 1958, Pakistan had only two Governors-General and one Commander-in-Chief while seven Prime Ministers toppled one after the other.

- The appointment of Ghulam Muhammad, a former bureaucrat, as Governor General (October 1951) followed by another bureaucrat with an army background, Iskander Mirza, in August 1955, set the stage for the ascendancy of the bureaucracy, by the military in the background.
- They had close connections with the Army Chief, General Ayub Khan, who was reluctant to come into the limelight, but extended support to them in their resolve to establish a centralized bureaucratic and administrative polity.

Dissolution of CA

- When in 1954, the political leaders attempted to take on the bureaucratic-military axis by reducing the powers of the Governor General, as head of state to a titular office in the British Parliamentary tradition.
- The Governor General retaliated by dissolving the Constituent Assembly and removing the government.

Factionalism: The Breakdown of the PML

- Research about the ascent of the army in Pakistan typically focuses on the vacuum in the political system due to disintegration of the Muslim League after Partition and the decay of political institutions in general.
- When Pakistan came into existence it had no well-developed party organization which had a significant bearing on the process of state formation in Pakistan.

- The Muslim League (ML), which took credit for the creation of Pakistan, has never been able to transform itself from a nationalist movement to a national party that could lead the nation on the path to democracy, constitutionalism and planned economic development.

- According to Lawrence Ziring, the bureaucratic-military elites the political arena not by intent but by default.
- The popular means of contact between the masses and their party were the open general annual conventions the most popular feature of the old All-India Muslim League but during the first nine years of Pakistan's existence, no such convention was held.
- Another factor which accelerated the Muslim League's waning prestige was internal disputes.

- Democracy means self- government. Democracy and political parties are inextricably linked with each other and there is no concept of a successful democracy without true political parties.
- Pakistan has relied on its civil services—the steel frame of the Raj—and, ultimately, on the army to maintain the Functioning of government.

Failure of Political Leadership

- After the death of Jinnah, his political successors badly failed to create consensus politics.
- The second line leadership could not translate the political achievements of Jinnah into a vibrant, moderate and forward-looking democratic policies.

Role of Judiciary

- Chief Justice Munir in his epoch-making judgment in 1955 in the Maulvi Tamizudin Case upheld the incomprehensible and arbitrary action of Governor General Ghulam Muhammad of the dissolution of first constituent assembly under the Doctrine of Necessity.
- Justice Munir opened the door for military and civil political adventurists in Pakistan.
- Pakistan has been suffering since 1950's till the dismissal of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhri by Pervez Musharraf in 2007.

Absence of Land Reforms

- Large landholdings or feudalism are medieval hangovers and inherently opposed to democracy.
- Landlordism and democracy cannot go together hand in hand because they are the antithesis of each other.

Absence of Independent Election Commission

- Another factor which facilitated the army's rise to power in Pakistan was that the country had no democratic elections for eleven years after Independence, and democratic values had scarcely struck roots.
- An independent and powerful election commission is the guarantor of free, fair and multi-party based elections.

International Factor

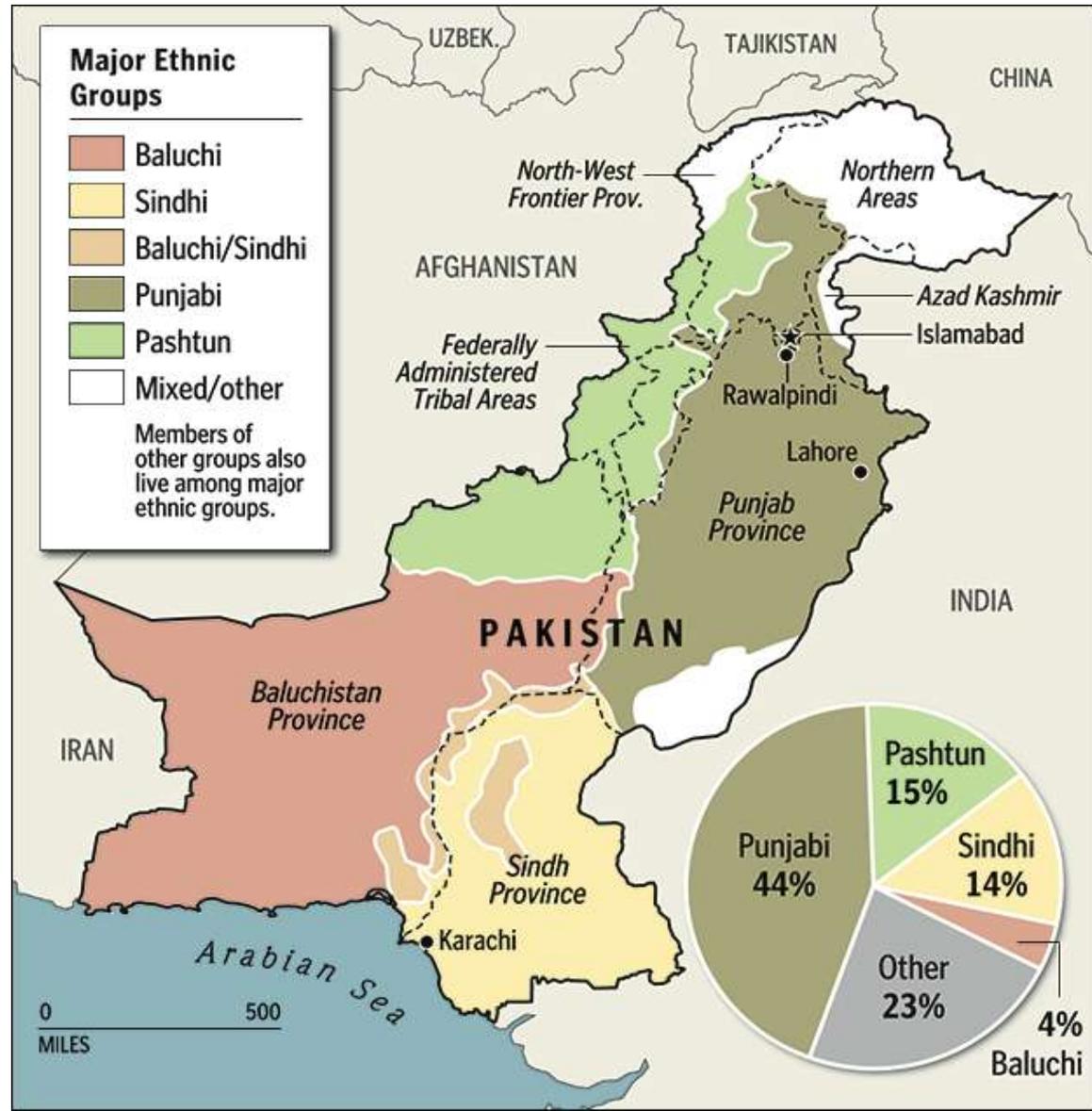
- The post-World War II world order was known for its rigid bipolarity.
- The whole world was more or less divided into two hostile blocs, the capitalist bloc led by the U.S. and Communist bloc led by USSR.

- America invited India in the early 1950s to become a part of U.S. sponsored policy of containment against Communist block.
- Nehru refused to identify India with the 'Western World and toed the path of neutrality in the East-West confrontation.
- Pakistan welcomed the U.S. move and happily became a part of U.S. sponsored military pacts-SEATO and CENTO respectively.
- The Pakistani Army was at the centre of this move.
- For the U.S. it was easy to deal with military leadership than political elite.

- America extended her tacit support to the military intervention into politics in Pakistan.
- Whereas Pakistan's real concern was her security vis-à-vis India.
- The nature of international politics during the Cold War years was a major factor of the military interventions in Pakistani

2. Internal Threats

- ▶ 5 main ethnicities: Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtun, Baluchi, and Mohajir
- ▶ Punjabis dominate upper echelons of society and army
- ▶ All minorities have transnational links
- ▶ 1971: Bangladesh
- ▶ Karachi: city of death



Domestic Terrorism

- ▶ COAS Ashfaq Kayani: internal terrorism is a greater threat to Pakistan than India
- ▶ 30,000 killed from 2009-2012 from only terrorism
- ▶ Many terrorist and militant groups operate in Pakistan
 - ▶ Anti-Shia (SSP, LEJ), anti-India (LeT), Haqqani network
 - ▶ Afghan Taliban and Pakistani Taliban (TTP)
 - ▶ Al-Qaeda

3. Military Composition

- ▶ “Martial races” turned into Punjabi-Pashtun army over-representation
- ▶ Army as an ethnic movement due to internal unity and cohesion
- ▶ Generous benefits, meritocracy, control over promotion turns into discipline, compliance
- ▶ Culture of military superiority over politicians

4. Weak State

- ▶ Cannot provide for economic or physical security
 - ▶ 184 million citizens: 60% live in poverty, 22% in extreme poverty, 56% literacy rate, low human development index, low global competitiveness
- ▶ Corruption: systematic, affecting PMs, Presidents, including both current ones
- ▶ Unstable constitutional history
- ▶ Electoral Cycles
- ▶ Military seen as antithesis of civilian politicians

5. Military Institutionalization

- ▶ Pakistani army has entrenched itself into the state
 - ▶ Suspended and then rewrote constitutions to favor itself, giving the president, not Prime Minister, control of the executive
 - ▶ Controls large part of the economy, intelligence, and defense services, overrepresented in government
 - ▶ Culminated in the 2004 National Security Council

Conclusion

- Pakistan inherited the well established tradition of supremacy of civil-political over military institution under British political theory.
- Within a few years of her independence, Pakistan encountered the ever growing influence of military into politics.

- Ultimately, unlike India, Pakistan degenerated into a praetorian state with dreadful political, social and economic fallouts.
- This process of militarization of Pakistan owes its transformation to multiple variables as have been discussed. No single factor can be cited as the sole cause; rather, a cluster of causes led to the intervention of military into politics in Pakistan.

Dictators in Pakistan



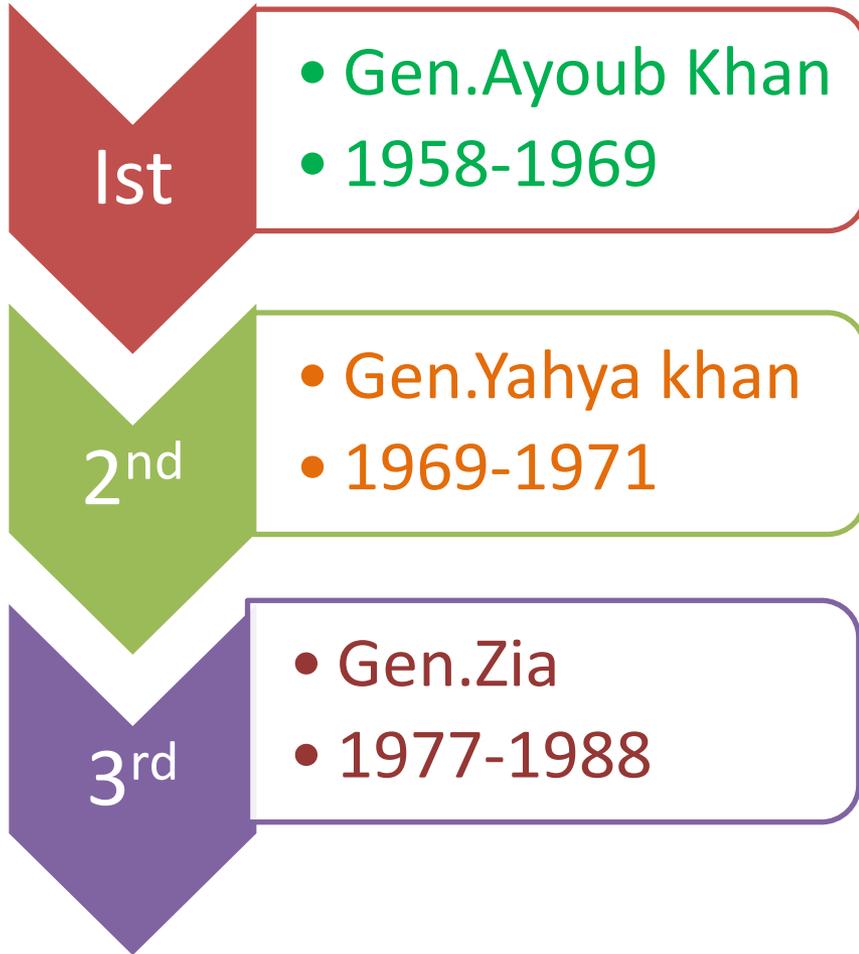
Dictatorship

- “Autocratic form of Absolute rule unrestricted by law, constitution, or other social and political factors within the state”.



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Chronology



Events

Gen. Zia

1977

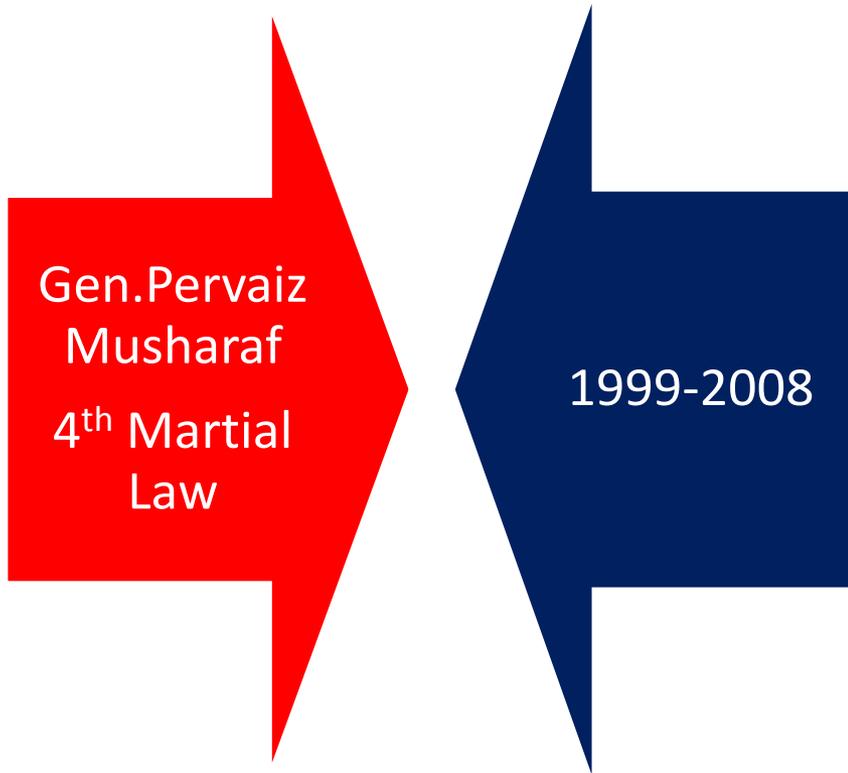
- 3RD Martial Law

1988

- Died in Plain Explosion

- Execution of ZA BHUTTO.
- AFGHAN JEHAD AND IT AFTERMATH.
- ISLAMIZATION OF PAKISTAN.
- NUCLEAR PROGRAMME OF PAKISTAN.
- ISI
- MQM
- JAMAT-E-ISLAMI
- RELATIONS WITH INDIA
- PAK-US RELATIONS

Events



- **Kargil war 1999.**
- **War on Terror.**
- **17th amendment in constitution.**
- **Devolution plan for Civil Bureaucracy.**
- **Visit to India.**
- **Judicial Coup 2007.**
- **Lal Masjid Massacre**
- **Assassination of Akbar Bugti.**