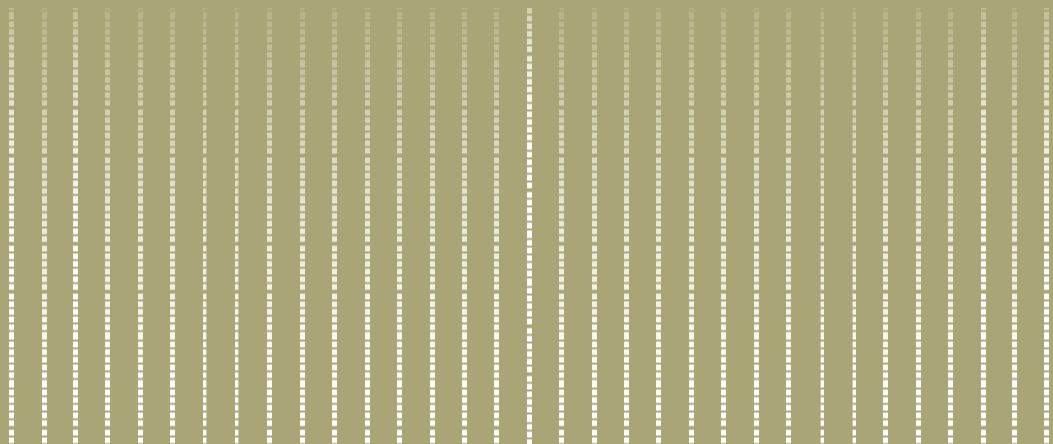


MONITOR

Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan

October 2016



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In this Issue

1. PTI: It is time to sign the Charter of Democracy!
2. Military Forced and Sucked into the Political Environment in Pakistan': Gen. (Retd.) Pervez Musharraf
3. Dawn's Exclusive Story and its Aftermath
4. Premier-COAS Interactions

PTI: It is time to sign the Charter of Democracy!

Given PTI's announced lockdown of Islamabad on November 02, 2016, old fears of alleged covert support of military behind the PTI agitation resurfaced again.

Although PTI has a democratic right to protest, and it is a totally different debate whether it should protest inside the democratic forums it is elected to or disrupt citizens lives, it has been observed that the party and its Chairman show little, if any, restraint towards leaning on the military to oust what it has termed to be its key foe – the elected Federal Government of the PML-N. Mr. Imran Khan's penchant for using cricket terms in politics such as the '*Umpire's Finger*' to wrap up the elected political system were on full display ahead of the November 2 planned lockdown of the country's capital, just as those were extensively used before and during the 126-day long *Dharna* in 2014.

In what perhaps defines PTI's leading strategy of the end justifying the means, it appears that the party has no qualms in exploiting the not-so-hidden differences in civil-military relations at this time. Consider for instance, the statement by PTI's Senior Vice President, Shah Mahmood Qureshi, MNA that '*the current distance between the military and civil government is not of ordinary nature*'. According to a leaked video of his address to party workers on October 17, 2016 in Islamabad, Mr. Qureshi reportedly said the ongoing relations between the civil and military leadership were not different than those in 1999. In the context of Mr. Imran Khan's earlier statement of endorsing a military coup against the civilian government led by prime minister Nawaz Sharif when he said "*people would celebrate and distribute sweets if there was a military takeover in Pakistan,*"¹ he seemed to be echoing the same when he said that if anything happened to the country's democratic setup, the Prime Minister would be responsible for it.²

In the checkered history of fledgling democracy between 4 coup d'états in 7 decades of Pakistan's history, espousing and advancing of such a policy for a political party that is a recipient of 16.92% of the popular votes in General Election 2013, along with the party forming the government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, is not just inappropriate for the party and its democratic ethos but extremely dangerous for the country. Two leading political parties of Pakistan, having learnt their respective lessons at the cost of huge disruption to democratic process during the decade of 1990s, signed a Charter of Democracy³ essentially agreeing to respect electoral mandate of representative governments and not to undermine it through extra constitutional means. Isn't it time that as a popular political party with a trailblazing record of galvanizing public support and changing its fortunes from 1 seat in the National Assembly in 2002-2008 to 33 seats in the current National Assembly, PTI should have faith in its own popularity, mandate and policies, and sign the Charter of Democracy?

1. For details please see *Imran Khan accused of endorsing military coup in Pakistan*, The Telegraph, July 19, 2016: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/19/imran-khan-accused-of-endorsing-military-coup-in-pakistan/>
2. For details, please see: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1290324/na-speaker-rules-out-military-coup>
3. For details, please see *Text of the Charter of Democracy*, Dawn, May 16, 2006: <http://www.dawn.com/news/192460> as accessed on November 11, 2016.

'Military Forced and Sucked into the Political Environment in Pakistan': Gen. (Retd.) Pervez Musharraf



The former President and COAS, Gen. (Retd.) Pervez Musharraf in an interview on September 29, 2016 with Mr. Robert Siegel of the Atlantic's Washington Ideas Forum stated that '*the Army has always played a prominent role in the governance of Pakistan, mainly because of the mis-governance of the democratically elected governments... the Military is forced and sucked into the political environment, especially when miss-governance is going on and Pakistan is going down in various socio-economic indicators*'.⁴

PILDAT believes that the former President has raised some probing questions regarding Civil Military Relations in Pakistan.

Dawn's Exclusive Story and its Aftermath

While PILDAT expressed and shared its opinion on the need to remove Mr. Cyril Almeida's name from the ECL,⁵ there are many questions that are important to be raised with regards to the unusual hullabaloo and developments following Dawn's exclusive news story of October 06, 2016 titled ***Exclusive: Act Against Militants or face International Isolation:***

4. The complete transcript of the relevant part of Gen. (Retd.) Pervez Musharraf's interview on September 29, 2016 with Mr. Robert Siegel at The Atlantic's Washington Ideas Forum is below:

Mr. Robert Siegel: *One thing that people say about your having been able to leave Pakistan despite of a no travel order is that it confirms whatever we think about Pakistan. This is that no matter what the Government of the day says, and no matter who may be the Prime Minister, the Army has the power in your country. You're an Army guy and it helped you, despite the wishes of the Government. Fair?*

Gen. (Retd.) Pervez Musharraf: *Reasonably fair. The Army has always played a prominent in the governance of Pakistan, mainly because of the mis-governance of the democratically elected governments. Therefore, the Army enjoys a certain stature and the people of the nation love the Pakistan Army. They demand a lot from the Army. I am very proud of the fact that the Army has backed me, because I have been with them for over 40 years. I have fought wars and been part of various combats with them. I know they are my constituency.*

Mr. Robert Siegel: *You ruled as a military leader, and many of Pakistan's leaders were military men. Apart from what you would say is the people's love for the Army, does not this reflect some inherent weakness in Pakistan that it is ruled so often by the military?*

Gen. (Retd.) Pervez Musharraf: *I would agree. The inherent weakness is that the democracy in Pakistan has not been tailored according to the dictates of the environment. There are no checks and balances in the system. The Constitution does not provide the checks and balances. Therefore the Military is forced and sucked into the political environment, especially when mis-governance is going on and Pakistan is going down in various socio-economic indicators. The public massively runs towards the Army Chief and the Army gets involved. Therefore, may be we have to tailor the system according to the local dictates to introduce checks and balances so that mis-governance does not take place and the Army does not have to come into politics.*

5. For details, please see PILDAT demands immediate removal of Mr. Cyril Almeida's name from ECL; calls for investigating unauthorized leaks and resolving underlying issue: <http://www.pildat.org/eventsdel.asp?detid=907>

1. While violative of rules and contrary to the entire principle of in-camera meetings, leaks emanating from such meetings are not a novel phenomenon and have, in both the recent and distant past, emanated not only from security related in-camera sessions of the Parliament and All Parties Conferences, but also from one-on-one interactions between the Prime Minister and the Chief of Army Staff. Indeed one cannot fail to recall the insider account of the Prime Minister and COAS' one-on-one meeting on May 10, 2016, published in the very same newspaper, citing the COAS '*weighing in*' on the elected Premier of this country to '*resolve the Panama Papers issue at the earliest*' whereas the presser issued by the Prime Minister Office gave out no such details.⁶

In fact, there is a penchant for such leaks to surface after national security huddles, highlighting differences of civil-military leadership, especially in the case when the Military leadership is seen to be sitting in judgment of the elected Government's performance. In the sad reality of what constitutes the lop-sided civil-military relations in Pakistan, such leaks apparently constitute 'business-as-usual' and either the elected Government chooses to ignore them or thinks unwise to depict similar outrage.

2. Contents of the said news report yet again signify a broad problem that besets civil-military relations in Pakistan. As PILDAT had stated in its Report on State of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan⁷ there is often a disturbing divergence between civil-military leadership on how to conduct the affairs of the State with regards to our foreign policy (especially vis-à-vis India) and security policy. Although a divergence of opinion is not necessarily something undesirable, the mandate for final decisions on national security, as on other policies, resides with the elected Government though it is seen to be exercised by the Military, as Pakistan moves further away from a constitutional equation on civil-military relations. Military is a crucial and well-recognized part of national security of Pakistan and its views should be regularly sought and given the most serious consideration but it is not and should not be the final arbiter on national security decision-making.
3. Since the publishing of story and resulting developments, many journalists have publicly shared that they also had the contents of the same story as Mr. Almeida, thus providing a tacit support to the veracity of the story. While one may or may not agree with Mr. Almeida's judgment to file the story, and the newspaper's editorial decision to carry it as important for public consumption regardless of the national security considerations, the news story, in the judgment of some readers, may have carried slightly sensationalist and vivid hue, which may not have been desirable in reporting on such sensitive matters. However, the real issue of concern is that a participant at the meeting disclosed in such vivid detail what should have been kept behind closed doors. The development may take away from the atmosphere of trust and official secrecy that are crucial to such meetings and therefore, PILDAT supports an investigation into where the leak emanated from and holding those responsible accountable as a matter of paramount importance. However, the inquiry needs to be focused on where and how the leak has occurred.
4. The sacking of the Federal Minister for Information, Senator Pervaiz Rasheed for allegedly not being able to stop the newspaper from publishing the story was also particularly perplexing. Isn't it the Honourable Minister's job to ensure coverage of Government's activities instead of working to promote a blackout?

Simply due to the cleavages it exposed in civil-military relations, we believe a timeline of development emanating from publication of Dawn's exclusive news story of October 06, 2016 is important to be produced in PILDAT's Monitor on Civil-Military Relations:

6. For details, please see Raheel urges PM to resolve Panama issue, Dawn, May 11, 2016, which may be accessed at: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1257602>
7. The complete text of the Report may be accessed at: <http://www.pildat.org/Publications/publication/CMR/StateofCivil-MilitaryRelationsinPakistan-June012015July312016.pdf>

Table 1: Timeline of Developments on Dawn's Story

No.	Date	Development
1.	October 06, 2016	<p>Reported by Mr. Cyril Almeida, daily Dawn ran a story titled <i>Exclusive: Act Against Militants or face International Isolation.</i>⁸ It contained details of the deliberations that took place apparently in a meeting of the National Security Committee on Monday, October 03, 2016.</p> <p>Two main actions emanating from the meeting, according to the report were that firstly, the DG ISI accompanied by the NSA would visit each of the four provinces with a 'message for the Provincial Apex Committees'; secondly, apparently, the Prime Minister ordered that fresh attempts be made to resolve the Pathankot investigations.</p> <p>The news report also contained a dramatic and vivid account of an altercation between the Chief Minister of the Punjab, Mr. Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif, MPA and the DG ISI, Lt. Gen. Rizwan Akhtar over rounding up of non-state actors in the Punjab.</p>
2.	October 06, 2016	<p>First rejoinder issued by the Spokesman of the Prime Minister saying the story is 'an amalgamation of fiction and half-truths which too are invariably reported out of context. It is imperative that those demanding the right to information at par with the international best practices also act in a manner, which is at par with international reporting norms and standards'.</p>
3.	October 06, 2016	<p>Another rejoinder issued by the Prime Minister Office the same day, while the previous one was deleted from the website, decrying the news story as 'fabricated'.</p> <p>Meanwhile, the office of the Chief Minister of the Punjab also denied the comments attributed to Mr. Shahbaz Sharif in the news story. Dismissing it as a baseless story, he emphasized that besides his respect for the institution of the armed forces, on an individual level he also had 'the highest respect for the present DG ISI for his professionalism, commitment to duty and sincerity of purpose'.⁹</p>
4.	October 10, 2016	<p>Meeting held at the Prime Minister House, chaired by the PM, and attended by the Federal Minister for Interior, Finance, Chief Minister of the Punjab, the COAS and the DG ISI.</p> <p>Presser released after the meeting stated that 'the participants of the meeting expressed concern over the publication of a fabricated news story in Daily Dawn pertaining to security issues purportedly discussed in a meeting of National Security Committee in the last week and the participants were unanimous that the published story was clearly violative of universally acknowledged principles of reporting on National Security issues and has risked the vital state interests through inclusion of inaccurate and misleading contents which had no relevance to actual discussion and fact'.</p>

8. The complete story may be accessed at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1288350>

9. Ibid.

PILDAT
Monitor

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN PAKISTAN

October 2016

5.	October 11, 2016	Mr. Cyril Almeida's name placed on the Exit Control List (ECL). However, after a meeting of the Federal Minister for Interior with representatives of APNS, CPNE and PFUJ on October 15, 2016, Mr. Almeida's name removed from the ECL.
6.	October 14, 2016	Corp Commanders' Conference takes place at the GHQ, chaired by the COAS. The Press Release issued by the ISPR stated that ' <i>participants expressed their serious concern over "feeding of false and fabricated story"¹⁰ of an important security meeting held at PM house and viewed it as breach of national security</i> '.
7.	October 28, 2016	<p>The Federal Ministers for Interior and Finance, along with the Chief Minister of the Punjab '<i>call on</i>' the COAS at the GHQ. According to the Press Release issued by the ISPR, the meeting took place between 4:00-5:30PM and stated that '<i>the delegation briefed the COAS on the progress of investigation and recommendations related to planted story of National Security breach of 6 Oct 2016</i>'. The DG ISI was also present on the occasion.</p> <p>PILDAT believes that this particular development was peculiar, given that the Warrant of Precedence for Pakistan, issued on March 07, 1963 clearly places the Federal Ministers and Provincial Chief Ministers at a seniority as compared to the COAS and the DG ISI. Therefore, the members of Federal Cabinet and the Provincial Chief Minister calling on the COAS and briefing him on the investigation seem out of place with regards to official protocol.</p>
8.	October 29, 2016	A Press Release was issued by PMO stating that ' <i>the planted story related to the NSC and NAP meetings published in Daily Dawn on 6th October was a breach of national security. Evidence available so far points to a lapse on part of Information Minister, who has been directed to step down from office to enable holding of an independent and detailed inquiry. An inquiry committee including senior officers of ISI, MI and IB is being formed by the Government of Pakistan to clearly apportion blame, identify interests and motives and expose all those responsible for this episode for stern action in the national interest</i> '.

10. Parenthesis used by PILDAT

Premier-COAS Interactions

The Prime Minister and the COAS met thrice during October 2016. In each of these meetings, Federal Minister of Defence was not present. The details are as follows:

- i. According to the daily Dawn's story, on October 03, 2016, during a meeting of the National Security Committee, although no official presser for this was issued
- ii. On October 04, 2016, when the Prime Minister chaired a meeting to review progress on implementation of the National Action Plan. The meeting was attended by Governor Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Mr. Iqbal Zafar Jhagra; Chief Minister of the Punjab, Mr. Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif, MPA; Chief Minister of Sindh, Syed Murad Ali Shah, MPA; Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Mr. Pervez Khattak, MPA; Chief Minister of Balochistan, Mir Sana Ullah Khan Zehri, MPA; Chief Minister of Gilgit Baltistan, Hafiz Hafeez-ur-Rehman; Federal Minister for Finance, Senator Muhammad Ishaq Dar; Federal Minister for Interior, Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan, MNA; The then Federal Minister for Information, Senator Pervaiz Rashid; Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs, Syed Tariq Fatemi; the National Security Advisor, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Nasser Khan Janjua; DG ISI, Lt. Gen. Rizwan Akhtar; the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Aizaz Ahmad Chuadhary; DG IB, Mr. Aftab Sultan; DG MO, Maj. Gen. Sahir Shamshad Mirza and DG MI, Maj. Gen. Nadeem Zaki Manj.

The Federal Minister for Defence, Khawaja Muhammad Asif, MNA, was conspicuous by his absence from the meeting.¹¹

- iii. On October 10, 2016 when the Prime Minister chaired a meeting related to the news story published by Dawn. The meeting was also attended by the Federal Minister for Interior, for Finance, Chief Minister of the Punjab and the DG ISI.¹²
- iv. On October 17, 2016, during a one-on-one meeting chaired by the Prime Minister in which '*matters pertaining to national and regional security*' came under discussion.¹³

11. For details, please see: http://pmo.gov.pk/press_release_details.php?pr_id=1560

12. For details, please see: http://pmo.gov.pk/press_release_details.php?pr_id=1571

13. For details, please see: http://pmo.gov.pk/press_release_details.php?pr_id=1574



Islamabad Office: P. O. Box 278, F-8, Postal Code: 44220, Islamabad, Pakistan
Lahore Office: P. O. Box 11098, L.C.C.H.S, Postal Code: 54792, Lahore, Pakistan
E-mail: info@pildat.org | Website: www.pildat.org