

Evolution of national security structures in Pakistan

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It must be remembered that there is nothing more difficult to plan, more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to manage than the creation of a new system. For the initiator has the enmity of all who would profit by the preservation of the old institutions and merely lukewarm defenders in those who would gain by the new ones

The Prince

Background

Pakistan inherited its security structures at the time of partition in the form of both bureaucratic and military organizations which were designed for imperial rule. The new sovereign nation of Pakistan emerged on the map of the world but lacked necessary organisational structure to run the affairs of government of an independent State. In fact, it was the continuation of the same system of government under the same individuals with few changed titles and appointments. A large number of British officers continued to serve at important positions all over the country which ensured the continuation of the old structure. Whatever small numbers of Muslim officers were available at that time; they too had been trained in British Indian institutions and carried the legacy of adhering to British culture and tradition. Most of them were either reluctant to or incapable of initiating the change necessary for establishing a new system and structure.

The challenges of establishing a new State from scratch and running it with virtually no resource under hostile conditions were so grave that developing new structures was not a priority. Rather, functional modifications in the existing system were an attractive option. Expediency and short-sightedness continued and no worthwhile changes took place. As a result, national security remained subservient to the structures designed for imperial rule. Whatever may have been the reason for this oversight or omission is not important; over time, these structures should have been transformed to suit the requirements of the sovereign nation of Pakistan.

Now Pakistan is facing serious security challenges which are threatening its very existence. Increasingly, the situation is getting out of control and so far no comprehensive national response strategy has been formulated. There is an increasing requirement of connecting government with the people and arouse the sense of ownership of the State without which the nation cannot survive. The existing security structures have so far not been able to perform this daunting task, and one of the reasons is that they are not designed for the purpose. There is

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an inherent structural problem which does not allow them to respond and also transform.

This paper is aimed at tracing the evolution of our national security structures so as to understand their construct and culture as it exists today. The paper will try to highlight the basis of national security structures and major design determinants, followed by a brief history of evolution of the existing structures to understand their foundations and development. Finally, a brief analysis of the shortcomings/ weaknesses will be made and the way forward discussed.

Understanding national security structure

National security

The term “national security”, as being used today, has its origin in American “National Security Act of 1947”. This Act created a new structure (National security Council) aimed at taking the security or defence planning away from the military and placing it in the hands of civilian secretary of defence (defence minister). The Act was aimed at ensuring coordination of the activities of the National Military Establishment with other departments and agencies of the government concerned with national security.¹ “Uniting ... military forces under a single Department of Defence and creating the National Security Council to bring together defence, intelligence, and diplomacy.”².

Consequently, a strong central intelligence agency (CIA), under the direct control of U.S. president, was established, whose job was to identify existing and impending threats to national security, leading to collective national response, combining the overall effort of defence and diplomacy. This was the initial concept exactly at the time when Pakistan got independence. Since then, a lot of developments have taken place in the field of national security, but we will restrict our discussion to this basic understanding only. There is no denying that the recent developments are important and must not be ignored in today’s rapidly changing world, but it is more important to note that Pakistan has so far not been able to reach where from the U.S. had started ; so let us first examine only the basics.

At the basic level, national security has the core component of a nation which in political terms is composed of a society, a territory and an established central government.

At the basic level, national security has the core component of a nation which in political terms is composed of a society, a territory and an established central government. Protecting all these from likely threats, both internally and externally, whether kinetic or not, is what national security is. This is the primary

function of a government for which it is collectively authorised to make decisions and conduct its business. The nation allows its government to decide on their behalf regarding legislation and use of force, but within the prescribed limits. These limits are set by a central contract between the people and the government which is codified in the form of a constitution. At the core of this contract is the basic understanding that the government will use all possible means in all its fairness to maximise national security against all possible threats.

What is the government and how is it organized? The government in a democratic system has three main pillars: an elected legislature to make laws, an executive to implement laws, and judiciary to interpret laws and pass judgment in all disputes. Functioning of all these institutions is important for national security of a country, and the failure of any one of them has serious repercussions. If the legislature is not the true representative of its people and the laws are not in line with core values or disregarding the communities that form part of the nation, if laws are not implemented in their true spirit without prejudice on the basis of equality, if justice is not dispensed with on merit and in time; then the national security of the country is seriously threatened. National security, therefore, is an overall and overarching concept which lays at the foundation of all the government business and the structures dealing with both the internal and external situations.

Determinants of the structure

Structures have a direct impact on individual behaviour and the performance of an organisation; they must therefore be carefully designed on some rational ground. Design decision is made to support organizational strategy and the structure remains subservient to the strategy. Organizational strategy is represented by its long-term goals and the means employed to reach those goals so that it copes with the environmental uncertainty reflecting the beliefs and assumptions of those in power and to support its core functions /technologies.³ In some cases, the design is preordained and change is difficult, so the organisation cannot develop beyond a certain limit and may fail. The structure has a great impact on, strategy including its specialization, the shape of the organization, the distribution of power within the organisation and the departments concerned.

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There are two types of structures: narrow structures with large number of levels and relatively few individuals at each level, and flat structures with few levels and a large number of employees on each level. In narrow organisation, a

lot of time is spent in communication, supervision and decision-making. Large resources are wasted in running the organisation itself, but are useful for highly specialized service in an environment that does not change. On the contrary, flat organisations spend less time on internal processes, rely on teams and coordinating committees and quickly respond to changing requirements. Distribution of power also plays a role in the design of an organisation. For centralized decision-making, narrow designs are chosen; and for decentralized decision-making, flat designs are adopted. At the same time, centralized decision-making is less responsive to change.⁴

Why study structures

We have identified that the government is the highest organisation in a country which is responsible for national security and all institutions are subservient to it. It is a highly formal organisation, structured on agreed principles given in the constitution setting the overall direction, distribution of power between various State institutions and a system of checks and balances. Clearly, the structure has to remain subservient to overall national propose and must change whenever there is a change in the purpose. Even the constitution can be amended to suite the national purpose whenever required.

Government structure is not like the corporate organisational structure that can be changed easily. Therefore, designing the structure of a government is an extremely difficult and time consuming task requiring highest level of organisational, administrative and legislative skills and experience. It has to be universally acceptable to all the communities and stakeholders in a nation and robust at the same time to meet the existing and future requirements. Once designed and implemented, it cannot perform tasks for which it has not been designed; and if for some reason the national purpose changes, it also needs to be changed. The structure should be developed indigenously, though some guidance can be taken from other systems. However, it cannot be imported or copied from other nations or countries as every nation has its own peculiar character, identity and purpose.

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In general, the structure defines the distribution of work among different departments of the government and sets rules and regulations to harmonise

execution of work. The entire governance depends on the efficiency of this structure. Hence, there is a need to study structure. Organisational theory has developed over time some basic principles which can help understand the structure of an organisation and also some factors that influence its design. These principles can help build our understanding of the colonial structure which became the foundation of all the later structures developed in Pakistan.

The British legacy

The Colonial Structure

British domination of India spreads over two distinct periods, i.e., prior to 1857 under the East India Company and post-1857 under the British Crown. The first period was a time of occupation using trade, bribes and intrigue, and the second of complete control of Indian society under the domination of the Crown. Lord Macaulay, together with the Christian missionaries, played an important role in transforming society and culture. The new education policy, according to Macaulay, was aimed at producing a “class of Indians to interpret between us and the millions we govern ... which was Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect.”⁵ Initially, this class was dominated by Hindus but later Muslims also came forward and guaranteed their loyalty to the British Crown and bridged the gap between the Muslims and their rulers. Muslim Aligarh University and Hindu Banaras University played active part in this transformation of both the Muslim and the Hindu society.

During the British rule the Indian society transformed radically, mainly because of wide-ranging administrative reforms, educational and employment policies and attractive economic incentives. Three distinct classes emerged out of this change; one was the political elite which cooperated and showed their loyalty to the Crown. The other was government officials both in civil and military service consisting of mixed ethnicities and all of them maintained their apolitical tradition as engrained by their masters and did not participate in the freedom movement. The last and the downtrodden class of society was the general public which was under direct exploitation of the British rule through Loyal Servants, Princes, Nawabs and the Tribal Leaders on the authority of the British Raj.

The colonial masters wanted raw material, trained manpower for their industry and a market for their products. Accordingly, they established exploitative and repressive systems which were highly centralised and discriminatory to the natives. Societal identities were instigated to promote division among different classes and segments on the basis of casts, creeds and religion, which was the dominant colonial principle of divide and rule. As a consequence, the structure of government established in India was highly

centralised and authoritative with a restricted, rather narrow span of control and well defined rules and regulations.

The so-called British democratic principles and traditions of law were applied selectively and often denied to the natives. A strong sense of fear was instilled in the general public by executing inhuman torture and disgraceful punishment in public, both to males and females, against the local traditions.⁶ The judiciary was under the control of the executive and often passed partial and discriminatory judgements through laws and proceedings codified and written in English, a language foreign to the locals and not widely understood except a small well educated class.

Constitution and government structure

The Government of India Act, 1935, laid down the final colonial structure which set the foundations for all the coming constitutions framed in Pakistan. This was the first constitution that recognised federal status of India, giving autonomy to the provinces. It had three components, a legislature both at the federal and provincial level, an executive headed by the governor-general and the judiciary consisting of a supreme court and high courts. Elections were held in 1937 and 1945 with a very small electoral college on communal basis resulting in the emergence of Muslim League and Congress as leading parties of the Muslim and Hindu communities, respectively.

At the federal level, there was a council of minister comprising not more than 10 members appointed by the governor-general. They were responsible for various departments. However, the commander-in-chief (C-in-C) of Indian army was also a member of this council and looked after the affairs of defence as minister of defence department. The federal legislature was not allowed to discuss defence-related matters including the defence expenditure in the assembly and the governor-general enjoyed discretionary jurisdiction to act on the advice of the C-in-C.

The C-in-C was also not completely under the governor-general. He was appointed by the British monarch and had to operate in the overall defence policy of the British Empire including operations outside the Indian soil over which the legislature had no jurisdiction. The judiciary was composed of a supreme court at the federal level as an appellate court and high courts at the provincial level. The judges were appointed by the British monarch on the recommendation of the governor-general.

Military structure

The governor-general exercised executive authority over C-in-C who was responsible for the superintendence, direction and control over the civil and

military affairs in India. He was the head of the army, the navy and the air force and also a member of the governor-general's executive council.⁷ At the same time, the executive council included a military member who was military advisor to the governor-general and would be an officer junior to the C-in-C.

This arrangement was not liked by the military, and Lord Kitchener, as C-in-C of India, objected to this arrangement. In 1909, the post was totally abolished and the C-in-C became the overall in charge. Lord Kitchener also instituted large-scale reforms in the army; the most important of which was the merger of the three armies of the presidencies into a unified force. He formed higher-level formations, constituting eight army divisions, and formed brigades of Indian and British units which still acts as the basic organisational structure of the Pakistan Army.

The defence department in the governor-general's executive Council always included the C-in-C as a minister till 1946 when for the first time an Indian, Sardar Baldev Singh,⁸ was appointed defence member and replaced the C-in-C in the executive council. Another development was the appointment of Lt Col Sikandar Mirza as defence secretary who was also the first Indian appointed in joint India and later became the secretary defence of Pakistan in 1947.

Indian civil service (ICS)

Another important structure created by the British Raj was an elite group of civil servant. This group was the true product of the policies advocated by Lord Macaulay, Indian in colour and blood, but English in taste and opinion. Recognising their importance, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons in 1935, said of the ICS that it was "the steel frame on which the whole structure of government and of administration in India rests."⁹ At about the same time, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote that Indian civil service is neither Indian, nor civil, nor a service¹⁰

The British left their legacy in the shape of a strong steel structure in all departments with the same titles, the same rules and regulation, even the same building. They also protected the rights of this class in the Indian Independence Act of 1947 which stipulated that no appointment was to be removed or downgraded. The only thing that changed was the name of the country and the flag and not the spirit of administration being run by the ICS, disregarding the reality that now Pakistanis was an independent State with people as the sovereign owner of the country and not the British Crown.

Evolution of structures

Governmental structure

Pakistan got its independence on paper on August 14, 1947, but not in true sense and spirit even now as the British constitutional and organisational structure still exist in one form of the other. The government is the top most structure dealing with national security, while all the other structures remain subservient to it, whereas the constitution defines the limits and powers of each. It will not be wrong to say that the constitution lays down the primary structure of national security under which different subordinate institutions are created. Unfortunately, our constitutional history is plagued with controversies, conspiracies and incompetence; with the result that even the first basic structure has not yet been framed properly.

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In the succeeding paragraphs, the story of the last sixty-five years will be summarised to draw some conclusions at the end. For ease of this study, the history of the development of the existing governmental structure can be divided into six periods:-

- First period: 1947-1958(week governments, unstable period).
- Second period: 1958- 1969 (strong military regime and stable period of development).
- Third period: 1972-1977(political period, relatively stable).
- Fourth period: 1977-1988(military regime dominated by the Afghan war period).
- Fifth period: 1988-1998 (week democratic and unstable period)
- Sixth period: 1998- 2008 (military rule under war on terror period).

First period: 1947-1958

The Government of India Act, 1935, together with the Indian Independence Act, 1947, became the interim constitution of the newly established dominion of Pakistan. The first constituent assembly met on 10th August 1947 and adopted the said provisional constitution till a new constitution was to be prepared. The new government established after independence was faced with serious problems threatening the very survival of the country and therefore had little time to concentrate on the important task of constitution-making.

The problems did not end but were aggravated with the death of Quaid-i-Azam and assassination of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan within the first few years, creating a serious leadership crisis. No constitution-making process could start except for the "Objectives Resolution" which only laid down the Islamic character of the State without clarifying as to what it means and how is to be established. That has since been incorporated into the constitution.

There were frequent changes in the government one after the other till the entire constituent assembly was finally dissolved in 1954 without having framed the constitution. A new assembly was appointed from the existing provincial assemblies, and the first constitution was approved in 1956. It provided for a republican and parliamentary form of government with the State declared as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. President was the head of State, with a cabinet of ministers headed by the prime minister to be selected from the national assembly to aid and advise the president. The legislature, i.e., the national assembly was unicameral with 300 members equally divided between West and East Pakistan to be elected for a five-year term on the basic adult franchise (21 years of age).

According to Keith Callard, many of terms and clauses of this constitution were transferred from the Act of 1935.¹¹ No major change could be made. Instead, it raised new controversies. It dissolved all the existing administrative units to merge into one unit in West Pakistan. It contained Islamic provisions so that no law could be enacted which was repugnant with the injunctions of Islam. The constitution was framed but the sitting assembly did not resign to hold fresh elections. Additionally, the internal situation also deteriorated sharply and, finally, the constitution was abrogated after two years of its coming into force, and martial law was imposed.¹²

Second period: 1958 to 1969

President Iskandar Mirza imposed martial law on 7th Oct 1958, dismissing the central and provincial governments and banning all political activity. During his speech, he declared the constitution of 1956 as unworkable, full of dangerous compromises threatening disintegration of the country. A few days later, he resigned to make way for the C-in-C, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, who appointed a constitutional commission under Justice Shahbuddin to investigate the causes of failure of parliamentary system which had led to abrogation of the constitution.

The commission came to the conclusion that due to lack of proper elections, undue interference by the head of State and lack of leadership, the system had failed.¹³ It also recommended a federal and presidential form of government with a bicameral legislature, but the recommendations of the commission were modified in a cabinet meeting. According to A. K Brohi, President Ayub rejected

all recommendations of the commission, and accepted only one, that is, the presidential form of government. A new constitution was drafted in June 1962 with presidential form of government with a unicameral national assembly as the central legislature. It also reduced the seats to 150 to be equally divided between the two federal units of East and West Pakistan.

The president was to be elected by an electoral college of 80,000 members of local body governments. The structure of judiciary was not changed, but a supreme judicial council¹⁴ was established with powers to remove any judge of the supreme and high courts. All the Islamic provisions of the previous constitution were restored with an additional advisory Council of Islamic Ideology and an Islamic Research Institution. The constitution did not provide for the separation of power between the president, the legislature and the judiciary. The government established under the 1962 Constitution was highly centralized and authoritarian. That led to the autocratic rule of the president and, finally, President Ayub had to resign, handing over power to C-in-C General Yahya Khan who imposed Martial Law on March 25, 1969.

General Yahya issued a Legal Framework Order under which general elections were held in December 1970 for a total of 300 seats distributed among five provinces and the tribal areas.¹⁵ The results of the election gave a clear majority of 160 out of 162 seats in East Pakistan to Sheikh Mujib's Awami League while Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party managed to get 81 seats out of 138 seats allocated to all the provinces in the western wing. Sheikh Mujib presented six points mainly concerning provincial autonomy and economic independence which were rejected by Bhutto, creating a serious deadlock. The national assembly was not convened on its scheduled date, and the situation got worse which finally resulted in an armed aggression by India and the country got divided into two.

Third period: 1972-1977

Soon after the dismemberment of the country, General Yahya resigned and handed over power to Bhutto who became the President of Pakistan. The national assembly met for the first time on April 14, 1972 and during this session again adopted the Indian Act of 1935 together with Act of 1947 with some amendments as the interim constitution of the country. Later, a 25-member committee was constituted to prepare the draft of the new constitution of Pakistan to be presented before the national assembly. The job of the committee was assisted by a constitutional accord which set the basic principles of the constitution. It outlined a parliamentary form of government with a strong prime minister as its head, and a bicameral legislature with a permanent senate of 60 members and an elected national assembly of 200 members. The constitution was finally adopted on April 11, 1973. An important clause was Article 6 which

declared any attempt to abrogate the constitution an act of high treason. Moreover, the functions of military were clearly defined in the new constitution so as to stop any future military takeover. The new constitution remained effective for the next five years. During this period, many reforms were introduced, including a major military reform in which Higher Defence Organizations were established.

The government appointed General Sharif as the first Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee on Mar 1, 1976, and General Zia-ul-Haq the new Army Chief after the retirement of General Tika Khan. The situation drastically changed when general elections were held in March 1977. The election resulted in a clean sweep by the ruling PPP which was resented by the opposition parties who boycotted the forthcoming provincial elections, blaming Bhutto of massive rigging and demanding fresh polls and resignation of Bhutto. The situation worsened to such an extent that Chief of Army Staff General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq stepped in and imposed martial law on July 5, 1977, Unfortunately, even before the system could evolve into a cohesive working structure, the July 1977 coup disturbed the power balance totally. The military reforms could not effectively carried out to achieve their intended purpose before they were rolled back.¹⁶

Fourth period: 1977-1988

For the next 10 years, a military regime under Zia ruled the country, using a similar technique as had been done by Gen Ayub earlier. Zia retained the rank of Army Chief till his death and remained the President of Pakistan. He was convinced that the military needs to be accommodated in decisionmaking with the political elite at the national level. He tried to establish a National Security Council (NSC) empowered to make recommendations relating to the issue of a Proclamation of Emergency under Article 232, the security of Pakistan and any other matter of national importance that may be referred to it by the president in consultation with the prime minister.¹⁷ That was opposed by most of political circles and the idea had to be dropped.

Fifth period: 1988-1998

After the death of General Zia in a plane crash on August 17, 1988, a new era dawned in Pakistan during which four democratically elected governments were installed and three out of them were removed one after the other on charges of corruption and maladministration by the then presidents. No major reforms could be initiated during this period as the governments themselves were very weak. It was during the second tenure of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that the issue of establishment of the National Security Council was raised again by the then Army Chief, General Jehangir Karamat, in the first week of October 1998.

The Chief of Army Staff maintained that “a National Security Council or Committee at the apex would institutionalize decisionmaking if it was backed by a team of credible advisors and a think tank of experts.¹⁸” This was not liked by Prime Minister Nawas Sharif; consequently, Jehangir Karamat had to resign. The problem did not end here but took a new turn when controversy over a military-led operation in Kargil failed and dispute between the civilian and military structure aggravated. This struggle resulted in another military rule that was slightly different from all the previous takeovers. No martial law was imposed and the sitting government was dismissed and the constitution was held in abeyance.

Sixth period: 1999- 2008

General Pervez Musharraf assumed power on October 12, 1999, after removing Nawaz Sharif’s government. He announced the establishment of the National Security Council (NSC) under the Chief Executive which was formally established on October 30. One of the changes brought by the new government was the insertion of Article 152-A in the constitution which established the NSC as a consultative forum for constitutional cover to the top military commanders in policymaking at the highest level.¹⁹ The government moved a bill in the national assembly on April 2, 2004 for setting up the NSC. The president signed the bill on April 19, which established the NSC for the first time through an act of parliament.

The National Security Council comprised 13 members and a secretariat to be headed by a secretary, appointed by the president. The NSC acted as a forum for consultation with the president and the government on matters of national security, including the sovereignty, integrity, defence, security of the State and crisis management. This organisation still exists but has become dysfunctional. The rules of business as applicable under the 1973 Constitution as listed in paragraph 20A still mention the complete organisation of the NSC and its function. However, Article 152 A of the constitution has since been deleted.

Evolution of military structure

The military structure has evolved in two distinct periods. The first period is from 1947 to 1973 when the British structure continued in Pakistan despite the changed realities. The military officers who opted to join the Pakistan Army consisted of four lieutenant colonels, 42 majors and 114 captains.²⁰ Pakistan retained a large number of British officers to compensate for this deficiency even at the highest level. Muslim officers also lacked command and staff experience, so large numbers were sent to England, the U.S. and other Commonwealth countries for necessary training.

Additionally, accelerated promotions were given at the lower level. The first C-in-C of Pakistan Army was promoted from lieutenant colonel to general in just four years.²¹ The army was quick in transformation. However, the navy and the air force took longer. The first Muslim C-in-C of Pakistan Army was General Ayub Khan who took over in 1951, whereas the naval commander and the air force commanders took over in 1953 and 1957, respectively. The problem of inter-services co-ordination and integration aggravated over time due to the location of Headquarters at Karachi for Navy, Peshawar for PAF and GHQ at Rawalpindi. A small Joint Services Secretariat was raised at Karachi for inter-service coordination in the Ministry of Defence at Karachi but it failed to play any active role.

The next phase of reorganisation took place in 1976, when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto brought about major changes in the overall structure. The government issued a white paper which reorganized the defence planning structure and for the first time mentioned national security. This paper clearly mentioned:²²

National security is the responsibility of the whole nation...the strength, composition and preparedness of defence organisation and the quality of political and military leadership and institutions would deter those with aggressive designs from encroaching the country.... Defence policy is no longer a military affairmilitary strategy, if it is to succeed, needs to be integrated with political, diplomatic and economic strategies, reflecting the essential unity of defence policy.

The white paper realised that although the Defence Committee of Cabinet (DCC) did exist, it was not functioning; the Joint Chiefs Committee served by a secretariat also existed but was not effective. The system of control and direction of armed forces was a hodgepodge of colonial and totalitarian feature.²³The Defence Ministry was no more than a routine coordinating agency. Isolated individual service plans evolved without considering the requirements and the capabilities of the other services.

It reorganised the Ministry of Defence and established a separate Defence Production Division, transferred Naval Headquarters from Karachi to Islamabad as also the Air Headquarters from Peshawar to Islamabad. The title of Commander-in-Chief of Army was changed to Chief of Army Staff, and the ranks of Naval and Air Chiefs were raised to be equal to the Army. A separate Military Wing in the Cabinet Division was established to work as the secretariat of DCC. Some of the other principles adopted for defence planning included:²⁴

- Unity of effort , unity of aim and overall strategy for the national defence plan.

- A permanent, cohesive Higher Defence Organisation.
- Defence planning as a continuous process in inter-service setup.
- Transcending inter-service rivalry by giving accurate military advice.
- Most judicious and cost-effective use of meagre resources by unbiased planning and controlling authority.

The prime minister was recognised as the Chief Executive of the Federation and made responsible to the nation for safeguarding the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Pakistan, and preserving and protecting its constitution. He was, therefore, responsible for allocation of resources, establishing, expanding and /or reorganising institutions, raising and developing the armed forces as per requirements, resources and priorities, and coordinating defence policy with domestic and external policy.

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For this purpose, the DCC was strengthened to be chaired by the prime minister, with members that included the ministers of defence, interior, states and frontier regions, Kashmir affairs, information and broadcasting, communication, commerce, industries and production. The Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (CJCSC), the three Services Chiefs, the secretary generals of defence and finance, along with the secretaries of defence, foreign affair and finance were also made to be in attendance at the meetings.

The DCC was asked to define the task of armed forces in accordance with national strategy and secure necessary assessment and plans for the defence policy from CJCSC. In view of this assessment, to review the organisation for defence, and take appropriate actions through the ministries of foreign, political, economic and administrative affairs. It was also mandated to evaluate the total threat and lay down minimum force requirement to meet it. Also, to review from time to time the preparedness of each service and supervise the conduct of war whenever it occurs.

A defence council was also established which was held responsible for translating the defence policy into military policy. It was to be chaired by the prime minister, and include the ministers of finance, defence and foreign affairs, the CJCSC, the three services chiefs, the secretary generals of defence and finance and the secretaries of foreign affairs, defence and finance. A joint staff headquarter was established to coordinate the three services' efforts, with the

chairman joint chiefs of staff committee to act as military advisor to the prime minister, and by virtue of this appointment, take precedence over all other officers of the armed forces irrespective of their seniority.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto did succeed in establishing a new organisation, but before the new system could fully function, his government was removed. The military takeover of General Zia derailed the entire process. Thereafter, no structural reforms could be brought in except for some effort in establishing a national security council initially by General Jahangir Karamat under Mian Nawaz Sharif's government and later by General Musharaff which could not succeed. However, a new military structure of national command authority got firmly established after the 1998 nuclear tests. This institution has civil and military representations with a permanent secretariat in the form of the strategic plans division.

Analysis of structural evolution

Having discussed the entire process of evolution of both governmental and military structure, it can be deduced that Pakistan has not yet been able to develop a clear national security structure. Some of the observations are given below:

Constituent assemblies

Pakistan has had three constitutions with two coming from the legislature and one from a military ruler. The first constituent assembly which drafted the Constitution of 1954 was not an elected assembly but was formed after dissolution of the first assembly. The second assembly which formulated the 1973 Constitution was not a constituent assembly; it had been elected for Pakistan consisting of East and West Provinces. After the dismemberment of the country, there should have been fresh elections to a constituent assembly for making constitution. The tradition of the constituent assembly resigning after making of the constitution has also not been followed, which is highly important. According to the organisation theory, those who design a structure must be different from those who run the system. How can an assembly be unbiased once it starts functioning with its self-crafted structure? This is a major drawback which has not been addressed.

Political elite

Unfortunately, the political elite in our federal and provincial assemblies come mostly from the same families which had linkages with the British imperial rule and were its loyal servants. The independence of Pakistan will never be

complete till these Loyal Servants of the British Crown are segregated from society, are identified as undesirable and ineligible to participate in the political process. The electoral system should be redesigned in a manner that true representatives of the people are elected and not those who were privileged by the colonial masters. Once the political scene is clear of the colonial legacy/influence, the real change will come and national institutions can be transformed.

Civil-military relations.

The frequent military takeovers in the country have resulted in a serious weakness of the system. It has damaged the image of the country worldwide and has also affected the growth of other institutions. The military must refrain from interfering in politics as that is detrimental to its own efficiency and performance. Interestingly, in Pakistan, military takeover have not been initially resented by the general public, but often celebrated, even some politicians have been

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instigating a military takeover. This is a serious concern as it leads to a dangerous conclusion that the people at large have lost faith in the democratic system due to the poor performance of governments. Another reason of popularity of military takeover in Pakistan has been the egalitarian and merit-based structure of the military as against the corrupt political culture based on nepotism, which also highlights the importance of reformation of our political structures.

Islamic democracy

The concept of Islamic democracy is often used by both the Islamic and other political parties as a rallying slogan to win elections, but, so far, no theoretical work in this regard has been done or even promoted. What Islamic democracy is needs to be probed. The Council of Islamic Ideology and the Islamic Research Institute established in the 1960s have not performed their assigned task and neither been held accountable for this failure. These should be reorganised or disbanded so that this urgent task can be initiated and completed at the earliest.

Public opinion

Public awareness regarding the rights and duties of citizens of an independent nation has not yet developed. So far, there is no nationwide demand for national security structures or for the required constitutional reforms. The

economic conditions of the general public are deteriorating day by day leaving them with no time to think of national issues which are vital for national survival. The public needs to be educated on these issues through all possible means. There is a dire need to redefine our educational policy which should focus on nation-building rather than State-building. Ironically, all the national symbols are fading away, the national flag is seldom seen and the national anthem heard in our schools, and important national days are also not celebrated in a meaningful way.

National identity and nationhood

There is a serious crisis of identity in Pakistan which has been ignored ever since our independence. It is important that this be addressed and serious attention paid to develop Pakistani national identity and promote it through all possible means from education to our media.

Way forward

National security has not always been correctly understood In Pakistan; it has often been confused with the national defence. The 1973 Constitution thrice mentions “security or defence” which show the mixed understanding, taking these two terms as interchangeable, which they actually are not. Similarly, national security structures are often considered military structures which they are not. This study has highlighted that national security is the primary function of the government, and the government itself is the highest structure of national security.

Unfortunately, our existing government structures have not been able to change despite the overall change in the situation and national purpose. The only serious effort was made after the dismemberment of the country in 1971 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. But again his effort could not hold ground and the process were reversed. It is a historical dilemma that everyone who came in power discarded the efforts of his predecessors and took the nation back to the starting point. Both the constituent assembly did the same and invariably took their start of constitution making with the India Act of 1935 and the Independence Act, 1947. Our political leaders have not yet come out of the mindset of old structures.

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The discussion in this paper leads to the conclusion that Pakistan so far has not been able to determine as to how it needs to be governed and by whom. Lack of identity: we do not know who we are; lack of direction; we do not know what we want; and lack of strategy: we do not know what to do.

of identity: we do not know who we are; lack of direction; we do not know what we want; and lack of strategy: we do not know what to do. These are very basic questions which have not been answered. Unfortunately, Pakistan could not make much progress towards nationhood which has serious repercussions for us and for generations to come. The famous quotation is so true that sixty years ago there was a nation in search of a country and now a country in search of a nation.

Let us then look back and ask the question as to what kind of Pakistan our founding fathers wanted to make. This may help set our direction right toward understanding our national purpose. Here are some extracts from the speeches of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah:

The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principle of Islam. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fair play to everybody. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims — Hindus, Christians, and Parsis — but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.²⁵

The constituent assembly has got two main functions. The first — framing our future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal legislature of Pakistan. Dealing with our functions in assembly ... The first function of the government is to maintain law and order, so that life, property and religious belief of its subjects are fully protected by the state ... The second ... biggest curse ... bribery and corruption (system of government functioning) ... we must put it down with iron hand ... black marketing (food security) is another curse ... I think they ought to be very severely punished because they undermine the entire system ... and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death. The next is ... the evil of nepotism and jobbery (principle of merit) ... must be crushed relentlessly. If we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous ... we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well being of people (human security), especially of the masses and the poor ... Citizen of a state with equal rights, privileges and obligations there will be no end to the progress you will make ... I shall always be guided by the principle of justice and fair play without ... any prejudice or ill will ... I look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world.²⁶

Nature has given you everything you have got unlimited resources. The foundation of your state has been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you God speed²⁷

Summing up the above makes the overall sense of national purpose clear which can serve as the foundation stone for the working of any government in Pakistan. Pakistan should be a welfare state with the focus on well being of its people (human security), having democratic form of government based on the essential principles of Islam. Establishing efficient system of government based on merit, capable of maintaining law and order (internal security) and executing rapid transformation to new realities (change). With this national purpose as set forth by the founding father, the country is likely to move toward the desired direction of becoming one of the greatest nations of the world.

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