

The Army and Democracy

Military Politics in Pakistan

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Sept 12, 2014



The Data

- One hundred military interviews (2007-2013)
- Pakistan Army Green Book, 1991-2011
- The National Defense University (NDU):
 - Training Curriculum, journal and strategy papers
- Archives
 - Pakistan Cabinet Record, British Army Museum, India Office Records

Interview Findings: “Logic of Appropriateness”

- 3/4th of military informants viewed a coup as a legitimate form of regime change under “crisis” conditions
- 3/4th believed civilian politicians were incapable of managing national security
- 2/3rd considered politicians as unfit to rule
- Without exception, officers advocated a permanent “watchdog” role for the military in governance

3. Institutional Socialization

- “The army’s ‘guardian’ role is rooted in its professional training, which is based on developing patriotism and character. And more than that a sense of group relationship where a person sacrifices for the benefit of the group. And then as we progress in the army, this becomes ingrained in us.”

- General Pervez Musharraf, 2010.



Tutelary Professionalism

“Gone are the days when the sole role of an army was limited, either to invade or beat back the invaders. . . . Geopolitical and geo-strategic regional compulsions of South Asia have made the revision and redefinition of Pakistan Army’s role a necessity.”

- *Army Green Book*, 2000, 7.

The Musharraf-Era

- 70% percent of NDU officer's "declassified" research papers written between 2000-06, concerned with resolving civilian/political problems:
 - E.g., political party reforms, admin. decentralization, anti-corruption, civil service reforms, tax reforms, etc.

NDU Research Papers, 2000-2006

Disciplining Democracy

- “We need to adjust democracy to local conditions. Parliamentary system fragments power. Presidential system needed to achieve unity of command.”
- Pakistan has too many centers of power. The Senate should be abolished. National Assembly seats should be rationalized to include technocrats.
- “Regional parties should be banned. Political parties should be merged into two truly ‘national’ parties.”
- “Parties without internal democracy should not be allowed to contest elections.”

Norm Persistence: Post-transitional Military Politics, 2008-

- In 2012, of the 987 contact hours in the NDU course, only one 2-hour lecture on the constitution of Pakistan.
- 1/4th of that lecture on the constitutional role of the armed forces.



I. Domestic Politics

- Incompetent politicians: threat to national security

“The political leadership lacks the aptitude to read basic defense policy documents, and *even the ability to think...*they cannot formulate any policy.”

- Lt. General Ahmed Shuja Pasha, 2012

- Uneducated politicians unfit to rule

“Governance is a complex business and politicians lack the requisite education level...increase percentage of technocrats in parliament to 50% to ensure correct management and planning of available resources for the development of the country.”

- *Pakistan Army Green Book*, 2011, 14.

