

Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan 2018-2019

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The study of the dynamics of civil-military relations in Pakistan following the emergence of a new political party after three decades of a two-party system in 2018 is a creative idea for research. The massive flow of information, as well as new modes of media and public engagement in the twenty-first century, has had a significant influence on Pakistanis, calling into question the military's lengthy involvement in Pakistani politics. Morris Janowitz's model of a 'constabulary force' has given the idea of submission of the military to civilian authority as an ideal state of civil-military relations. It is an important model for the survival of Pakistan as a democratic nation and the military as a professional institution. This study has investigated the impact of the indirect involvement of the Pakistan army on the functioning of civil government, the democratic process, and the stability in the country. This paper systematically examines the working relationship of Imran Khan as Prime Minister of Pakistan with military leadership in his first year of power in the light of related issues of national and international politics. This work investigates Pakistan's prospects under a constabulary paradigm because its army has avoided direct involvement in politics and extended its role sitting behind the civilian faces after 2008. The Pakistani military has been working to promote the idea of non-interference in politics, which gives hope for Pakistan as a nation with rule of civilian supremacy. This paper also explains why the Pakistan army has avoided imposing martial law and instead created a new approach to manage political power in Pakistan.



1. Introduction

It is true that Pakistan's unique circumstances, as well as the region's decades-long armed struggle, have made it impossible to limit the military's influence in Pakistani politics (Rehman, 2019). The role of Pakistan's military in preserving internal peace, disaster relief efforts, technical aid in development projects, and Pakistani defense is critical to the military's ability to gain popular support. Public support for Pakistan's military has provided a space to interfere in the political affairs of the country (Niaz, 2019). Public support for the armed forces in Pakistan has resulted in martial laws and open involvement of the military in the politics of Pakistan (Nihad, 2019). The people of Pakistan have started to question the idea of a military role in politics, which can result in distrust between people and armed forces. Innovative concepts and philosophical frameworks like the constabulary force of Morris Janowitz may mitigate the military's impact on Pakistan's political landscape (Ali, 2019). Morris Janowitz presented the model of 'constabulary force' to reduce the military involvement in politics. In his idea, Morris illustrated that a subordination of the military to civilian authority in democratic nations can preserve the faith of people in democracy and mitigate revolutionary outcomes (Kakekheh, 2019). According to Morris' model, the military must act according to the command of a democratically elected government, just like a police force. Countries like Pakistan have been experiencing the martial laws and indirect political maneuverings of the military, so the idea of a constabulary force cannot work due to such other reasons (Raza, 2019). Whenever the model of "constabulary force" has been anticipated by the civilian leadership of Pakistan, it has always been overruled by the military using its public support and disunity among the political forces of Pakistan (Ali, 2019). Politicians in Pakistan frequently ignore the reality that the military is more united than politicians because of their control over resources and direct access to international players (Niaz, 2019). Sometime in Pakistan, tense civil-military relations resulted in the end of civil rule. When Imran Khan took power following the victory of the 2018 general elections, the media tycoons were tasked by the military to describe Khan's entry into national politics as the product of a bargain, citing the military's history of direct or indirect involvement in political issues.

It is a matter of fact that all the civil governments in Pakistan, especially after 2008, overly rely on their relations with the military for survival. Imran Khan, in his first year as prime minister of Pakistan, welcomed the initiatives of the Pakistan army to develop good working relationships (Rehman, 2019). After years of criticism, the Pakistan Army wanted to utilize the popularity of Imran Khan to reduce the gap between people and armed forces. Military leadership deliberately threw positive gestures in media to demonstrate its support for Imran Khan and his party, which provided the opposition a chance to undermine the credibility of Imran Khan as an elected prime minister of Pakistan (Niaz, 2019). Imran Khan was well aware of the tactics of the opposition, composed of seasonal politicians. He knew that they were using such attacks to weaken him in the political field. He decided to use the newly developed atmosphere of civil-military relations to increase his support in public. The sit-in of Fazlur Rehman in Islamabad, as well as the delay in proceedings in investigations against the Nawaz Sharif family, plainly demonstrated the military's participation in political concerns, which Imran Khan had repeatedly ignored (Kakekheh, 2019).

There was no impression of difference in the thinking of the political and military leadership. The better civil-military relationship also resulted in uniform policy on national and international issues, and Pakistan developed the courage to disagree with its Arab friends on the issue of recognizing Israel (Malik, 2019). On the other hand, when the OIC was criticized by the civil government of Imran Khan for not convening a meeting on Kashmir and complained to Arab friends, including Saudi Arabia, the Army Chief of Pakistan came up in front to clear up misunderstandings during his visit to Saudi Arabia. It is unfortunate and also a matter of fact that better civil and military relations in Pakistan are taken as a test case to check the stability of the civil government. The popular government of Imran Khan in its first year of power could have resulted in a constabulary model for the army to limit its political role. It is important to investigate the nature of the working relationship between the civil and military leadership of Pakistan during this era.

1.1 Objective

The purpose of this study is to look at the causes for new dynamics of civil and military partnership in Imran Khan's government in his first year of power. This research also aims to analyze the dynamics of significant local and foreign political issues during 2018-2019 that resulted in the development of a hopeful political landscape for democracy in Pakistan.

2. Literature Review

Taj et al. (2016) give details on some special aspects of Pakistan as a country that remained under the direct rule of the military for more than three decades. Pakistan's military influence overpowered the civilian rule in Pakistan in the remaining era. They suggested that to fully measure the civic-military relationship, both civil and military officials must analyze how they manage differences in policy matters. The entire premise of the civil-military relationship in Pakistan is predicated on the question of how to maintain civil authority over the military. The permanent role of Pakistan's military in politics, which remained direct and sometimes indirect, was everlasting and became visible in the era under study. During Musharraf's reign, the Pakistani military was tremendously aided by America and became more involved in civilian matters, while political leaders were put in the periphery. This phenomenon was disliked by the people of Pakistan, but despite this hostility toward the army, a strong political structure could not be found to stand up to military power and keep the troops restricted to their barracks. The civilian authority in Pakistan means the rule of two dynastic political parties, PPP and PMLN. This work by three authors is important as it provided the background of the current study, as it has focused on the important era of 1998-2015.

In another study, Rizvi (2015) focused on the military's hegemony and development in Pakistan, providing a brief overview of Pakistan's political history pre-independence period. He argued that since 1947, academics had focused on civil-military interactions, military adventures in the world of politics, and military retreats. He also said that the circumstances that led to the downfall of the military rule were premised on a conflict of interests between the leaders of the military junta, who preferred to continue their stronghold on political power, and those who tried

to protect, encourage, and move ahead of the military's business interests. This study becomes important because it has given an overview of the events that led to the foundation of the rise of military rule.

Bruck (2006), in his article, explained that Morris Janowitz was a person who coined the term "constabulary force" to illustrate how a professional military in a liberal democratic society may utilize sophisticated weapons while maintaining the existing political system. The meaning of this idea was examined using three methods in this paper. First of all, it analyzes the strategic principles that underlie the idea in order to explain why Morris believed it provided a more viable approach to minimizing the revolutionary repercussions of the use of force than competing military force models. Second, it examines the theory of moral consequences, outlining fundamental moral obligations that a constabulary force must achieve as it strives to overcome issues generated by the use of force in order to maintain a liberal democratic society. Third, it explores how these moral responsibilities are unique to a military that has become a constabulary force. This paper has provided the theoretical framework of the current study. Morris Janowitz's theory of constabulary force is very important to reduce the role of the military in politics and enforce the idea of civilian supremacy in Pakistan. The close working relationship and reduction of trust deficit can produce such an environment in which the military leadership will accept the supremacy of civilians.

3. Research Methodology

The discourse analysis approach is used to study the statements of the civil and military leadership after data collection, which is collected in the form of news, editorials, videos, books, and research articles. The analytical research model is a suitable method of research because in this research, existing data is used to analyze the factors involved in the research problem. Another suitable research model for the study is the narrative approach, as this study has to provide the details about the civil-military relationship in the first year of power of Imran Khan as prime minister.

4. Findings

The first meeting between Imran Khan as chairman of PTI and Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa was held on March 30, 2017, in which issues of mutual interest were discussed. Imran Khan extended greetings to General Qamar Javed Bajwa on his appointment and promotion as COAS (Chief of Army Staff) on November 29, 2016. Imran Khan discussed the issue of terrorism and the repatriation of Afghan refugees with the newly appointed COAS. This meeting was not taken for granted in political circles. The meeting was unexpected because military leadership rarely meets the opposition party leadership unless the military has intended to convey a message to the parties in power about their undesired policies. From the vantage point of the meeting's dynamics, two things were apparent. First, from the government's standpoint, General Bajwa was appointed primarily because of his ostensible support for democracy and, second, his determination to maintain effective civilian supremacy. The meeting between Imran Khan and General Bajwa sent a strong message to PMLN (Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz) as the ruling

party that the new COAS was not a neutral umpire in terms of the country's domestic affairs. At the moment of his appointment, General Bajwa had the reputation of an officer primarily interested only in military matters; later on, he got a reputation as an army chief who was interested in such political matters that concern his institution. Secondly, the meeting demonstrated that the political role of the military was unavoidable, as the institution's objectives were far larger than the constitution assigned to it. As a result, while the chief may not be interested in meddling in political matters, his institution's needs may determine his involvement.

For the civilian political circles, this meeting signaled the return of the army to the typical "political chessboard" under the new COAS, where the military keeps a close eye on political matters. It was visible that institutional interests were the one constant factor in the activities of COAS and also in developing the nature of the civil-military relationship. As a result, the civilian leadership could ensure that the COAS enabled the government to function normally if it corresponded to the military's interests. What the civil government could not guarantee was a general as COAS who would give the civilian leadership carte blanche when it came to adopting policies that directly contradict the military's own internal and foreign security policies. The said meeting was taken as a means to give a level playing field to political parties in the upcoming elections in 2018. The said meeting was also taken as a message to then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that he had no choice but to retaliate against the Supreme Court if a verdict came against him. It is a matter of fact that when the verdict came against Nawaz Sharif, he opted to politically contest on the road. During the political rallies, he asked the army leadership (Mujhe Qiyon Nikala), "Why was he ousted?" Anyhow, the said meeting created good chemistry between Imran Khan and General Qamar Javed, which could have played a positive role in the development of civil-military relations in the first years of Imran Khan as prime minister.

Speeches and statements against the army by the leadership of PML-N resulted in a shift in army policy, as the military used its influence to reduce the influence of Nawaz Sharif in PML-N, which became productive for PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf). In the new political environment, a large number of electables of different parties defected and joined PTI. When the general elections of 2018 were held on July 25, 2018, PTI emerged as the largest party in the center and two provinces, KPK and Punjab. PMLN and PPP started to blame the military leadership for rigging the elections. Imran Khan was titled as the selected prime minister of the military, but such allegations started to dump under the pressure of corruption cases. Meanwhile, all opposition parties started to develop a new strategy of working relationships with the army. The judiciary was under the direct control of the military establishment of Pakistan, according to the report of Pakistani media. Opposition parties had decided to renegotiate the army to seek relief from the military in court cases.

After assuming office, the first meeting between COAS Qamar Javed and Imran Khan as prime minister of Pakistan was held on August 26, 2018. During the meeting, COAS extended congratulations to Prime Minister Imran Khan for his new responsibilities as the leader of the nation. Before this event, Imran Khan was sworn in as Prime Minister of Pakistan on August 18,



2018. Imran Khan and the COAS of Pakistan, in their meeting, both discussed the security issues and situation in the region. Army Chief General Qamar Javed invited the Prime Minister of Pakistan to visit the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Pakistan Army for a briefing. Imran Khan visited GHQ on August 30, 2018, and got a briefing on the security issues. This briefing was prolonged for eight hours, in which top leadership of the Pakistani army, including COAS and DG ISI, discussed areas of mutual interest with civilian leadership. Prime Minister Imran Khan and ministers of defense, foreign affairs, finance, and information were briefed. This was the first time such a meeting was reported on in Pakistani media. The meeting at GHQ was chaired by Pakistan's prime minister. The media reported that it was a token of honor for Imran Khan because the PM and COAS had previously co-chaired sessions. The media also said that Imran Khan was Pakistan's first prime minister to spend eight hours in GHQ. The PM, Imran Khan, assured the army in the meeting that the PTI government would afford all means to uphold the proficiency and ability of the army.

This meeting in GHQ was important as it was held in line with the visit of American foreign secretary Mike Pompeo. This visit had already been tarnished by a spat over a phone call between PM Imran Khan and American foreign secretary Mike Pompeo. Following the telephonic conversation, the two nations published opposing statements. After it, the Pakistani government disputed the State Department's claim that Mike Pompeo argued with the Pakistani PM on the presence of terrorist groups on the soil of Pakistan. Mike Pompeo's visit to Pakistan was scheduled for September 5, 2018. Before this visit and the arrival of Mike Pompeo, the American government announced it would cut aid for Pakistan. American leadership also urged the IMF to not bail out Pakistan. Americans began to blame Pakistan; IMF money will be used to settle Chinese loans. Behind the scenes, similar developments may have been leveraged by the army to get access to the US administration while accusing the civil government of its anti-American position.

Prior to Mike Pompeo's visit, Prime Minister Imran Khan's visit to GHQ may have served as a symbolic means to send a strong message to Americans that civilian and military leadership were on the same page, despite the fact that it was not a prerequisite for the military. The objective of the visit of Mike Pompeo was to seek help from the civil and military leadership of Pakistan to bring the Taliban of Afghanistan to the negotiating table with Americans. The Pakistan army and Prime Minister Imran Khan had shared views about the Taliban and Afghanistan so that civil-military leadership could demonstrate unity on the issue during the visit of Mike Pompeo. The third meeting between COAS General Qamar Javed and PM Imran Khan was held on September 4, 2018, in which issues related to the visit of the American foreign secretary and Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan and America were discussed. This meeting was reported in the context of the visit of Mike Pompeo, then foreign secretary of the USA. COAS also invited PM Imran Khan to participate in the ceremony of Martyr Day in GHQ. Later on, in the interview, PM Imran Khan praised Qamar Javed Bajwa as the best COAS in Pakistan's history. When he was asked about the extension of COAS for another term of three years, PM replied that Qamar Javed hopefully would not ask him for this. Imran Khan as PM also said that his government would

discuss the issues with the military during the policy-making process, but the civil government would be the policy maker. Any such statement would not have been taken smoothly by COAS and the military as institutions because the Army chief had planned to get an extension and made the civil government realize a number of times before that the Army was a real policymaker.

The record number of votes of parliamentarians for the bill of extension in the term of COAS and the cancellation of PM Imran Khan's visit to the Malaysian summit were key examples in this regard. On September 05, 2018, the prime minister of Pakistan and COAS again met when the delegation of American visitors under the leadership of Mike Pompeo, the USA foreign secretary, and General Joseph Dunford, the American chairman of the committee of the chiefs of the joint staff, visited Pakistan. This was the fourth meeting in which both civilian and military leadership expressed uniform policy towards the issues related to America, Afghanistan, and India. Before this visit, Iranian Foreign Minister Jawad Zarif also met PM Imran Khan, and during the visit of the American foreign secretary, Pakistan defended the Iranian interests with courage. A low-profile officer received Mike Pompeo and his 27-member delegation at Noor Khan Airbase, which was the result of American statements before this visit. suspension of military aid for Pakistan would have not resulted in anything good for Imran Khan as prime minister and the strong and courageous stance against Americans in dealing with America would have resulted in a distance between civil and military leadership.

Because Americans were familiar with the direct dealing with the Pakistan army and the dominant approach to deal with Pakistan, but this time things were in opposite directions. The fifth meeting of PM Imran Khan and COAS was held on September 06, 2018, on Martyr and Defense Day. The prime minister made a speech in which he expressed the idea of the noninvolvement of the military in politics and the strengthening of the institution. Prime Minister Imran Khan also said that the political involvement of the military resulted in the destruction of the institutions, and individuals were not important compared to the institutions, whereas institutions were not important compared to the state of Pakistan. He also said there was no issue of civil-military relations, and he would have been a retired army officer if not a cricketer. COAS General Qamar Javed also said that continuity of democracy was important for the country (Malik, 2018). Such remarks from the prime minister of Pakistan would not have been welcomed, as military involvement in the politics of Pakistan was a blatant fact, and the individuals were more important than institutions, and institutions were more important than the state. The army was cashing in on popular support of Imran Khan to rebuild its reputation in public, and Imran Khan was working to promote the constabulary model in Pakistan for the army. The sixth-time COAS met with the prime minister in the president's house during the oath-taking ceremony of President Arif Alvi on September 09, 2018. COAS said democracy was flourishing in Pakistan, and these were the wonderful moments of Pakistan's history (Malik, 2018). The seventh meeting was held in ISI Headquarters when PM Imran Khan visited the headquarters and received an eight-hour-long input from the military on national and international issues as he was briefed by the army chief and DG ISI.

It was also a historic moment when he chaired a meeting at the top intelligence agency's office, during which he was briefed on various national security and strategic intelligence issues. The prime minister lauded the contributions of the agency for national security, particularly in the continuing counter-terrorism work. Imran Khan said that ISI was Pakistan's first line of defense and stood out as one of the superlative intelligence agencies of the globe (Reporter 2018). At that time, this statement of Prime Minister Imran Khan was proving him confident in his approach towards the military and trying to bridge the little bit of gap created by his remarks on the importance of individuals and institutions and also regarding the extension of COAS and noninterference of the military in political affairs.

The 8th meeting between PM Imran Khan and COAS was held on September 28, 2018, in which DG (Director General) ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) General Naveed Mukhtar also participated. Civil and military leaders discussed the issues related to Afghanistan, India, and the merger of FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Area) in KPK (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) province. Hate speech of the Indian Army Chief that was a result of the killing of border guards and policemen in IOK (Indian Occupied Kashmir) and cancelation of a scheduled meeting of Pakistani and Indian foreign ministers on the sidelines of the UNO. The discussions included PM Imran Khan's visit to China and Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi's visit to the UNO. Information Minister of Pakistan Fawad Chaudhary said that the army and judiciary of Pakistan wanted to see the PTI government be successful (Ali 2018). Fawad Chaudhary's statement was problematic in the larger scope because political leadership and civil government do not need any institutional backing to prove their credibility. On October 01, 2018, Rana Mashahud, ex-minister of Punjab from PMLN, claimed that PMLN had mended its relations with the military, and the army had given a green signal to the leadership of PMLN to form a government in Punjab and later on the same in the Center. He claimed all has happened during the Shahbaz Sharif meetings with the military establishment. These reports were rejected by the foreign minister of Pakistan, Shah Mahmood Qureshi (Zia 2018). Imran Khan and his party should have taken notice of such claims, but they did not do so because they were thinking that after only two months of their government, such could not have happened. But the statements and developments in the political landscape proved that the claims of Rana Mashahud were authentic. All was designed and could have happened, but some domestic and international events stopped further developments.

PM and COAS's 9th meeting were held when Prime Minister Imran Khan visited Baluchistan to head the provincial cabinet and, along with Chief Minister Jam Kamal Khan and other ministers of the federal cabinet, visited Quetta Cantonment to get a briefing in the headquarters of the Southern Command. He was accompanied by General Qamar Javed Bajwa, who received him at Quetta Airbase. On the security situation of Balochistan, challenges and rejoinders, the Khushal Balochistan Programme, the progress of fencing along the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the security of CPEC projects, a briefing was arranged by the military for PM Imran Khan. The army chief said they had achieved stability in disturbed areas of KPK, and they had focused on Balochistan, which was the financial future of the country. Imran Khan acknowledged and valued the contributions of the Armed forces towards refining the

stability, peace, and socio-economic development of Baluchistan. He emphasized the coordination of the civil and military leadership to seek the true potential of the province (Shahi 2018).

It was reported in the media that the army was not happy with Imran Khan for his statements to limitize the role of the military. On November 01, 2018, TLP (Tehreek Labaik Pakistan) started protesting against the acquittal by the Supreme Court of Pakistan of Aisa Bibi, a Christian woman facing blasphemy charges. The Pakistan army showed solidarity with the government and stood behind the PTI government against the protestors. The army warned the protestors not to drag the military into politics and that it could use force against protestors if the civilian government asked for help (Malik, 2018). It was a time when the army was trying to develop a working relationship with TLP, but Allama Khadim Hussain Rizvi refused to do so. The brutal dealing with the TLP protest was used by the hidden hands to curtail the public support for PTI from Islamic circles. After it, the 10th meeting between civil and military heads was held when the prime minister met COAS on November 06, 2018, at the meeting of the National Security Council, and leadership gave a message of unity and lured the rule of law in the country. Before the meeting, COAS and PM met and discussed the details of PM's visit to China that continued from November 02 to 05, 2018. They discussed the issue related to talks between Americans and the Taliban and new developments in Afghanistan, and the army chief briefed the prime minister on Operation Radd-ul-Fasad (Saeed, 2018).

Their close working relationship was noted in the next 6 meetings of PM Imran Khan and COAS, which was a good thing in the civil-military relationship. In their 17th meeting, COAS with PM (Raza, 2019), PM Imran Khan met COAS on February 20, 2019, and PM presided over a key meeting of the National Security Council (NSC), during which the nation's security condition was examined, amid mounting tensions between Pakistan and India in the aftermath of the Pulwama terror incident, which killed 40 Indian soldiers. Before the NSC meeting, PM Imran Khan and Army Chief General Bajwa met one-on-one to appraise the regional security situation, and it was their 18th meeting. Political and military leadership conversed about national security and the geostrategic environment and the situation arising after the suicide attack on the Indian military in IOK (Indian Occupied Kashmir). Indian media and leadership blamed Pakistan for the attacks in India and threatened to counterattack Pakistan. In this crucial time, civil and military leadership showed unity, and the leadership qualities of Imran Khan as a national-level leader became visible. In the meeting of the National Security Council, the PM announced strict actions against Jamat-ut-Dawa and its organization Khidmat-e-Insaniat, which were implemented by security institutions. Imran Khan urged the Indian government to provide any proof against any person or group operating on the soil of Pakistan against India so that Pakistan may act against such person or group. He guided the nation assertively, and for the first time, the military perceived themselves overshadowed by a political leader. Such a situation for the army was not favorable because before it, politicians in public were presented as inefficient and ineligible. Before, in the PMLN era, the civilian government disassociated from the military stance on its involvement in India and registered an FIR against the Pakistani nationals in Gujranwala just after the Pathankot Attack and undermined the stance of the Pakistani military in February 2016. ("Pakistan PM

Approves Military Response If India Attacks” 2019: Gabol 2016), but in 2018, the special meeting of the National Security Committee was called to show unity to India and chaired by Prime Minister Imran Khan; the same was attended by the chiefs of the three armed forces as well as the foreign minister and the defense minister on the very next day, after February 27, 2019.

Prime Minister Imran Khan said India carried out the attack unnecessarily, and Pakistan reserves the right to respond to this attack, and the place and time will be decided by Pakistan itself. Imran Khan, as prime minister, asked the National Assembly of Pakistan to adopt a resolution in support of Pakistan's stance, and it unanimously passed a resolution strongly rejecting India's unfounded assertions that the Pulwama attack was linked to Pakistan, and it was done without any inquiry or evidence (Rehman, 2019). Civil and military leadership's close working relationship was demonstrated in unity when the Indian Air Force attacked Pakistan on February 26, 2019, and was repulsed by the Pakistan Air Force. The prime minister praised the vigilance of Pakistan's armed forces, and he developed a political consensus of all political parties to stand behind the military so that it could give a befitting response. This leadership model after Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1948 has a significant impact on the nation and military troops, which could have turned into a beginning point to work for a constabulary model force in Pakistan. Pakistan's armed forces were directed by civilian leadership to give a befitting response to Indian escalation. Pakistan's civil leadership contacted all regional and international powers and developed a pro-Pakistan environment in which the Pakistani military felt comfortable attacking India (“Pakistan Will Respond at the Time and Place of Its Choosing: NSC,” 2019).

Pakistani military launched a surprise attack inside India and in retaliation, when the Indian air force crossed Pakistani airspace, it shot down Indian aircraft and captured its pilot and presented it before the media. Such courage and leadership qualities were never demonstrated by any Pakistani civil leader after Jinnah. After the victory, Prime Minister Imran Khan offered India a truce. Speaking in the parliament house, he also announced the release of captive pilot Abhi Nandan as a goodwill gesture; the military stood firmly behind the decisions of Prime Minister Imran Khan (Kakekhe, 2019). The army chief, after the actions of the civil government, clearly stated that army forces would follow the policy line of the civil government and the right to use force was reserved in the hands of civil leadership (Malik, 2019). All of it happened due to the courageous and leading role of PM Imran Khan. Imran Khan, as leader of the nation, led the armed forces, and his courage and resilience were disclosed by Ayyaz Sadiq of PML-N. He disclosed the discussion and environment of the meeting after the shooting down of the Indian aircraft in the parliament. In the 19th meeting, the PM met the COAS and discussed the issues related to the Indian threat and encouraged the military to stand firm in the testing time. COAS General Qamar Javed and PM Imran Khan, in the meeting on March 2, 2019, discussed the situation that developed after the Indian adventure and Pakistan's reaction, and PM said Pakistan wants good relations, not war, with India (Ali, 2019). PM Imran Khan met with all service chiefs on March 20, 2019, and discussed security issues and warned India that any misadventure in the future would be hit back again. This was the 20th meeting between the civil and military leaders. In this meeting, civil and military leadership also discussed the arrival of Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad,

who was arriving in Pakistan on a three-day visit to attend the Pakistan Day parade as a guest of honor (Niaz, 2019).

The Indian attack on Pakistan resulted in a delay of the planned removal of PM Imran Khan, as he became a popular leader of the people of Pakistan despite the fact of price hikes all over Pakistan. The 21st meeting of the PM and COAS was on the Pakistan Day Parade when they accompanied Mahathir Muhammad to the parade ground. Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's visit opened the door to trade and defense cooperation. (Shahi 2019). The 22nd meeting between the PM and COAS was held on March 28, 2019, when the PM chaired a meeting of the National Security Council in which he discussed the issues related to Pakistan's name on the FATF (Financial Action Task Force) grey list as a country that is suspected of financing terrorism. The PM ordered the goals of NAP (National Action Plan) to counter the terrorism and extremism in the country (Desk, 2019).

On March 30, 2019, the 23rd meeting was held in Baluchistan between COAS and PM Imran Khan, in which the prime minister thanked Qamar Javed Bajwa as COAS for supporting the infrastructure development of Baluchistan, as the Pakistan Army had gifted a health complex in Quetta to the Baluchistan government (Nihad, 2019). On April 04, 2019, COAS met PM Imran Khan and discussed gratuitous firing from the Indian side at the Line of Control (LoC), progress on the application of the National Action Plan (NAP), and the Afghan peace process. COAS briefed PM Imran Khan about the decisions of the 220th meeting of corps commanders that was held the day before the meeting with the PM. This meeting was also important as it was held before the special visit of the American representative for Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad (Rizwan 2019). During all these meetings between the heads of civil and military, a cordial civil and military working relationship was reflected. The military of Pakistan, which has a long history of direct rule in Pakistan, has reflected its commitment to serve under the command of civilian leadership; such a situation could have become an initiative for the constabulary model force in Pakistan.

During all these months, civilian leadership was in the driver's seat of the government, whereas military leadership demonstrated a number of times that they would follow the directions of the civil leadership. The prime minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, also took briefings on internal and external security issues and always owned the actions of the Pakistan military within the country and abroad. The productive working relationship between civil and military leadership in the first year of Prime Minister Imran Khan led to the foundation of the journey that could force the military to work according to the theory of constabulary force. It is unfortunate that all this happened under special circumstances, not with the will of the strongest institutions in Pakistan. Imran Khan, as prime minister of Pakistan, provided all possible support and trust to the military institutions and played the role of a true leader under whom the institutions could have been proud to work smoothly. The interests of internal and external forces in Pakistan never allowed it to function in the right direction, which resulted in pseudo-democracy.

5. Conclusion

The working relationship between the civil government of Prime Minister Imran Khan and the military leadership of Pakistan remained excellent in the first year of the PTI government. It is a matter of fact that relations in the first year of any civilian government with a military establishment in Pakistan used to remain smooth; things always start to become adverse after the passing of the first year. Imran Khan, as prime minister of Pakistan, had all such skillfulness to set new directions in civil and military relations, especially his role during the crisis with India, which was very impressive. His approach can be assessed in the fact that since 2018 there was no official statement on the record from the civil government that criticized the military leadership, even during the Indian attack on Pakistan. Pakistan had a unique and ideal atmosphere of civil and military relations, as the military of Pakistan allowed the civil government to perform utilizing this environment. The benefit of this coordination was that the civil government became able to use its energies to meet the challenges that emerged from the wave of COVID-19, present the Kashmir and Palestine issues to the whole world, and improve the lives of the people of Pakistan. Good chemistry between civil and military leadership became possible due to some key issues developed at the national and international levels. Prime Minister Imran Khan and army leadership have to show a productive working relationship, especially towards the policies of Pakistan for India and Afghanistan. Pakistan needs a long road to achieve the Morris Janowitz constabulary model for army role in the country with visionary leadership.

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