



Historically Cognitively Agile

Briefing Paper
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ABOUT COMMANDELEVEN

CommandEleven is a research organization focused on Pakistan’s national security aspects and enhancing global understanding and collaboration opportunities for the nation.

Founded in 2015, CommandEleven provides situational awareness to facilitate a better understanding of the key dynamics that effect Pakistan from a national security perspective, especially in relation to terrorism, insurgencies and extremism.

CommandEleven seeks to inform and guide public policy and decision makers in government, business and military through a rigorous program of publications, conferences, digital medias, policy briefings and recommendations.

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INTRODUCTION

We posted a screenshot of a printed page. The printed page had 8 points on it.

Many people commented on the origin of the screenshot rather than the points listed on the page. Some were quick to point out that the “suggestions” made in the 8 points aren’t such a bad idea.

CommandEleven, as an organization, does not support these points, whether real or inventive discussion points for political mileage, for a number of reasons.

Let’s start off with the points, because that’s the real conversation for the cognitively agile.

- Dissolution of the National Accountability Bureau (NAB), the only organization solely responsible for the investigation of corruption cases, also never fully empowered under its mandate
 - No NAB Reference without the approval of the Prime Minister or Chief Minister
 - Armed Forces and Judiciary under the purview of the revised NAB Act
- Re Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP): Disqualification limited to 6 months and no initiation of process 6 months prior to election
- Power of Chief of Army Staff (COAS) curtailed and balanced
- Powers of Chairman Joint Staff to be increased
- Armed forces budgets to be subject to detailed scrutiny of National Assembly for approval and disbursement
- All Armed forces promotions from Colonel to Brigadier and above subject to re-confirmation of National Assembly and/or Senate Committee

And for those questioning the validity of the document, please remember that the political party in power, who just had their Prime Minister disqualified on corruption charges, passed a law allowing those disqualified on corruption charges to lead political parties.

Also, remember Pakistan is an Islamic Republic meaning that Sadiq (truthful) and Ameen (trustworthy) mean something much more to this nation than others.

BACKGROUND

Pakistan has been plagued by massive corruption since the return of democracy in 1988. For those who would like to fool themselves into believing that the claims are false, international organizations, during the 1990s, rated Pakistan among the most corrupt nations of the world.

No matter the form of government, civilian or military, the core election promises have always been to tackle corruption and return the stolen wealth to Pakistan.

As a matter of fact, [Shahbaz Sharif, Chief Minister – Punjab, even threatened](#) to drag the sitting President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari, through the streets to get Pakistan's stolen money back.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nirf_frF-LY

Again, a hollow promise from the House of Sharif.

When the [Charter of Democracy](#) was signed in London, both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif stated that the corruption cases of the past were politically motivated. Taking that statement, in itself, would mean that State resources and courts were tied up in fraudulently filed corruption and abuse of power cases, by the leaders of the two major political parties in the country.

It would also be proof that both political leaders had lied and filed fraudulent cases costing the nation millions of rupees & hours of court time.

We believe that is the textbook definition of corruption, abuse and misuse of power.

This could also have been a cover statement, which was proven with the [National Reconciliation Ordinance 2007](#), when all politicians were forgiven of the corruption, murder and other cases on the insistence of the United States. If the cases were all politically motivated, why was the NRO a need before returning to Pakistan?

Corruption, however, has continued to survive. Hamza Sharif, son of the Chief Minister – Punjab, is even caught on camera telling a gathering of school students that “corruption is part of our culture,” and that “Pakistan can't survive without it.”

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZUwHknISQMU>

It should also be clear that, due to some friendly judges, many cases related to the Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz have been disposed of and the Sharif family given a clean chit. Some of those cases have, or will be, been re-opened by the Supreme Court of Pakistan because of the Panama Papers scandal and judgement.

Realistically, as we believed at the time, the Charter of Democracy was just a paper agreement to power sharing in Pakistan. It was cover for all the corruption they had done in their previous governments. It carried the same substance as their own party

manifestos – unfulfilled promises to the people of Pakistan and massive wealth for themselves and their cronies.

Most of the points identified in the “leaked” document are part of the Charter of Democracy, and there is no doubt that the civilian governments have long wanted to curtail the powers of the Army Chief.

The judiciary wasn’t a target for the politicians after the 2007 Lawyer’s Movement to restore Iftikhar Chaudhry, Chief Justice of Pakistan, to the bench after he had been deposed on massive corruption and abuse of power cases. Nawaz Sharif financed and hijacked that movement for his own benefit.

Today, the points being discussed are a direct confrontation to the objectives achieved in the 2007 Lawyer’s Movement. Most importantly, the de-politicizing of the courts and the independence of the judiciary.

DISSOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY BUREAU (NAB)

The National Accountability Bureau (NAB) was founded in November 1999 through the [National Accountability Ordinance of 1999](#), under General Musharraf’s government. The first paragraph sets the guidelines for the institution:

An Ordinance to provide for the setting up of a National Accountability Bureau so as to eradicate corruption and corrupt practices and hold accountable all those persons accused of such practices and matters ancillary thereto;

WHEREAS it is expedient and necessary to provide for effective measures for the detection, investigation, prosecution and speedy disposal of cases involving corruption, corrupt practices, misuse or abuse of power or authority, misappropriation of property, taking of kickbacks, commissions and for matters connected and ancillary or incidental thereto;

AND WHEREAS there is an emergent need for the recovery of outstanding amounts from those persons who have committed default in the repayment of amounts to Banks, Financial Institutions, Governmental agencies and other agencies;

AND WHEREAS there is a grave and urgent need for the recovery of state money and other assets from those persons who have misappropriated or removed such money or assets through corruption, corrupt practices and misuse of power or authority;

AND WHEREAS there is an urgent need to educate the society about the causes and effects of corruption and corrupt practices and to implement policies and procedures for the prevention of corruption in the society;

AND WHEREAS there is an increased international awareness that nations should cooperate in combating corruption and seek, obtain or give mutual legal assistance in matters concerning corruption and for matters connected, ancillary or incidental thereto;

AND WHEREAS it is necessary that a National Accountability Bureau be set up so as to achieve the above aims;

The Ordinance is structured to encompass all Pakistani citizens, no matter what branch of government or armed services. While the Pakistan Army has their own investigative and judicial branches, which [successfully prosecuted](#), [convicted](#) and [punished](#) officers for [corruption and abuse of power cases during COAS General Raheel Sharif's term](#), also [subjected themselves](#) to the NAB Ordinance 1999.

The National Accountability Bureau has [never been fully empowered](#) to investigate and bring cases under their own institution, rather they have always been [limited in moving forward against politicians by politicians](#).

As a matter of fact, it was the Charter of Democracy that led to [allowing the Opposition to be part of the appointment of the NAB Director](#), which was previously the sole discretion of the Prime Minister.

You can [read the massive Constitutional changes](#) that were made through the 18th amendment and also notice that Article 62 & 63, core to the issue of Nawaz Sharif's disqualification, were enhanced, not repealed, even though those clauses were also added during General Zia ul Haq's martial law.

Recently, the [Sindh government](#) voted to [end the powers of NAB](#) in the province, which might have been the test before supporting PML-N to eliminate NAB completely. Sindh is "governed" by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the other signatory on the Charter of Democracy.

The NAB Ordinance itself is not a negative thing for Pakistan, but because it was implemented by a military dictator, it's unacceptable.

For the citizens of Pakistan, reading the italicized portion above, it's exactly what the country needs to end the VVIP culture in the country and return the stolen wealth to the nation.

Rather than dissolving the ordinance and organization, it should be brought on par with international standards and empowered to take real action. Instead, we are being shown that the ruling government will eliminate all checks and balances of a democratic system to stay in power.

Civilized countries call this dictatorship and so do these same politicians when it's the Pakistan Army doing it.

Simply suggesting that the no corruption reference can be brought without the approval of the Chief Minister or Prime Minister ends the possibility of eliminating corruption from Pakistan. And we say that taking the last 12 months in retrospect.

The Sharif family was implicated in corruption by leaked documents collectively called the Panama Papers. Prior to this, Pakistan's corruption, while internationally known, no one had ever released anything that could be used as proof.

Globally, politicians resigned from government to face the courts and clear their names. Nawaz Sharif stayed in power, forcing the courts to investigate a sitting Prime Minister and embarrassing the country in newspapers around the world.

When the court declared, he was not honest and trustworthy, ordering corruption cases opened at NAB, Nawaz Sharif started rallies and defamed the judiciary and armed forces. His party faithful fell in lockstep with their leader and did the same on nightly talk shows. Some members of his family continue to boycott the court proceedings because they refuse to be judged by mere men.

If this was not insult to the nation, the Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz passed legislation in the National Assembly this week, allowing corruption individuals to lead political parties.

And that is just since August of this year.

The former Prime Minister is still asking the public – why did they depose me – forgetting all the evidence that was presented before the Supreme Court of his lies and misrepresentations. When the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court compares your family to the Italian mafia, it's not difficult to understand why the Nawaz Sharif was disqualified.

By eliminating NAB, you would effectively eliminate the investigations, files, findings and recommendations of the institution, meaning all corruption cases would start from zero again.

But let's make this easy.... Could the Supreme Court of Pakistan please order that the MehranGate judgement be implemented in full letter and spirit of the law, and all those charged with taking funds from the ISI to collapse Benazir Bhutto's government be arrested and punished?

Or let's enforce Article 6, in letter and spirit, starting with Field Marshall Ayub Khan's government and ending with General Pervez Musharraf's government. Article 6, for those who have never read it, says:

6. High treason

1. Any person who abrogates or subverts or suspends or holds in abeyance, or attempts or conspires to abrogate or subvert or suspend or hold in abeyance, the Constitution by use of force or show of force or by any other unconstitutional means shall be guilty of high treason.
2. Any person aiding or abetting [or collaborating] the acts mentioned in clause (1) shall likewise be guilty of high treason.
 - a. An act of high treason mentioned in clause (1) or clause (2) shall not be validated by any court including the Supreme Court and a High Court.
3. [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] shall by law provide for the punishment of persons found guilty of high treason.

Aiding, abetting or collaborating in the subversion of the Constitution of Pakistan. Maybe we'll start building the list of all the politicians that supported the "dictators" of the past and built their political careers on their shoulders.

ELECTION COMMISSION OF PAKISTAN

Under the discussion points, disqualifications can't extend beyond 6 months and cannot be initiated before an election.

Let's be clear...

An elected member of government can steal billions in public money, the corruption case can only be brought with the approval of the Prime Minister, the leader of his party. And if he is found guilty of the theft, he is only disqualified for 6 months and then are free to contest elections.

How long do they serve in prison for theft? We can assure you its significantly more than 6 months.

This should even be challenged against Sharia Laws.

We will assume that you understand the sheer stupidity of this suggestion.

THE ARMED FORCES

Nawaz Sharif doesn't play well with others.

That probably seems like an outlandish statement, but when applied to Nawaz Sharif, it makes sense.

Contrary to public belief, Nawaz Sharif was not the choice of the Zia government. No, General Jilani wanted Shahbaz Sharif, but settled for Nawaz because Shahbaz was too important to his father's business, as stated in Asif Nawaz's *Crossed Swords*.

We believe it is that initial slight that has made Nawaz hate the same army that launched his political career and let him become a multi-billionaire many times over.

SHARIF'S SIX

The only Prime Minister of Pakistan to select six army chiefs has had an unhappy record of selecting generals.



◀ **General Asif Nawaz Janjua**
(1991-1993)
Distanced army from politics. Tenure cut short by untimely death.

▶ **General Abdul Waheed Kakar**
(1993-1996)

Selected despite being fifth seniormost in line. Forced Sharif and President Ishaq Khan to resign after 1993 constitutional crisis.



▶ **General Ziauddin Butt**
(1999)

Chief for a few hours after Sharif sacked General Musharraf. Arrested, imprisoned by Musharraf after coup.



▶ **General Pervez Musharraf**
(1998-2007)

Instigated Kargil War under Sharif's tenure. Overthrew him in 1999 coup taking over as Pakistan's fourth military dictator.

▶ **General Raheel Sharif**
(2013-2016)

Undermined Nawaz's authority. Made India his priority. Created a personality cult. Civil-military relations hit a new low.



You will be hard pressed to find a single Nawaz Sharif government that didn't have a problem with the army. From General Aslam Beg to General Raheel Sharif, the Pakistan Army has always been a thorn in Nawaz Sharif's side, but his brother has always enjoyed strong relations with the army's top brass, whether in Lahore or Rawalpindi.

The points suggested look very similar to previous attempts to achieve the same objective by the Pakistan People's Party – weaken the influence of the Pakistan Army over the nation's governance. Some have also suggested that Nawaz Sharif would also like to weaken the strength of the Army at the behest of foreign powers.

MEMOGATE

During the previous PPP government, Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States, Husain Haqqani, wrote a memo to Admiral Michael Mullen, requesting the US military assistance in staving off a military coup after the bin Laden raid in Abbottabad.

The [MemoGate](#) case, by the way, was brought to the Supreme Court by Nawaz Sharif and his political party. The case is still pending because Haqqani refuses to return to Pakistan and face the courts.

We bring up MemoGate because some of the points being discussed carry similarities with the former.

"In the event Washington's direct intervention behind the scenes can be secured through your personal communication with Kayani (he will likely listen only to you at this moment) to stand down the Pakistani military-intelligence establishment, the new national security team is prepared, with full backing of the civilian apparatus, to do the following:

1. *President of Pakistan will order an independent inquiry into the allegations that Pakistan harboured and helped UBL and other senior Qaeda operatives. The White House can suggest names of independent investigators to populate the panel, along the lines of the bipartisan 9-11 Commission, for example.*
2. ***The inquiry will be accountable and independent, and result in findings of tangible value to the US government and the American people that identify with exacting detail those elements responsible for harbouring and aiding UBL inside and close to the inner ring of influence in Pakistan's Government (civilian, intelligence directorates and military). It is certain that the UBL Commission will result in immediate termination of active service officers in the appropriate government offices and agencies found responsible for complicity in assisting UBL.***
3. ***The new national security team will implement a policy of either handing over those left in the leadership of Al Qaeda or other affiliated terrorist groups who are still on Pakistani soil, including Ayman Al Zawahiri, Mullah Omar and Sirajuddin Haqqani, or giving US military forces a "green light" to conduct the necessary operations to capture or kill them on Pakistani soil. This "carte blanche" guarantee is not without political risks, but should demonstrate the new group's commitment to rooting out bad elements on our soil. This commitment has the backing of the top echelon on the civilian side of our house, and we will insure necessary collateral support.***
4. ***One of the great fears of the military-intelligence establishment is that with your stealth capabilities to enter and exit Pakistani airspace at will, Pakistan's nuclear assets are now legitimate targets. The new national security team is prepared, with full backing of the Pakistani government – initially civilian but eventually all three power centres – to develop an acceptable framework of discipline for the nuclear program. This effort was begun under the previous military regime, with acceptable results. We are prepared to reactivate those ideas and build on them in a way that brings Pakistan's nuclear assets under a more verifiable, transparent regime.***
5. ***The new national security team will eliminate Section S of the ISI charged with maintaining relations to the Taliban, Haqqani network, etc. This will dramatically improve relations with Afghanistan.***
6. ***We are prepared to co-operate fully under the new national security team's guidance with the Indian government on bringing all perpetrators of Pakistani origin to account for the***

2008 Mumbai attacks, whether outside government or inside any part of the government, including its intelligence agencies. This includes handing over those against whom sufficient evidence exists of guilt to the Indian security services."

We've highlighted the relevant points that demonstrate attempts to weaken Pakistan's armed forces in the face of their hostile neighbors and, now proven, exporters of terrorism in the region. This was the government previous to Nawaz Sharif.

Husain Haqqani has since been linked to [providing diplomatic visas to CIA operatives without any background checks](#) by the military intelligence infrastructure.

In an article published in The Washington Post, Haqqani wrote: "Among the security establishment's grievances against me was the charge that I had facilitated the presence of large numbers of CIA operatives who helped track down bin Laden without the knowledge of Pakistan's army — even though I had acted under the authorisation of Pakistan's elected civilian (then President Asif Ali Zardari & then Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani) leaders."

Are you still surprised that we believe there is a foreign-driven attempt to weaken Pakistan's armed forces?

We will not discuss the curtailing, balancing or increasing of powers for either the COAS or CJS until we see what powers are being discussed.

We do, however, support the concept of forming of National Assembly and Senate Committees, like other civilized nations, for interaction with the military. The US, for example, has defense committees on intelligence, appropriations, veterans' affairs and a variety of others solely responsible for interactions between the Congress and the Pentagon.

We do, however, fully oppose the re-confirmations of promotions by a National Assembly or Senate committee for two very significant reasons.

In the past, when Prime Ministers have imposed their will over the Ministry of Defense or GHQ, the results have been less than desired.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto promoted General Zia ul Haq out of turn to Chief of Army Staff because he had overseen courts martial of military officers planning a coup against him. Zia executed Bhutto.

When Nawaz Sharif superseded General Ali Kuli Khan to promote General Musharraf out of turn, Nawaz Sharif was exiled for 12 years after spending some time as a guest of the Pakistan Army in Attock Fort.

Are we really ready to let politicians, more interested in protecting their government, appoint the leader of the armed forces on the opinions of the members of his party?

When army officers will be dependent on the politicians for their promotions to Brigadier and above, there will be a need to become more pliant to the political goals, rather than concerned with national security requirements of their position.

This will effectively limit, if not end, the meritorious promotion process in the Pakistan Army, Air Force and Navy.

We also have a sinking feeling that, with these changes, there may also be an attempt to interfere in the postings of Corps Commanders and other sensitive postings, exclusively in the purview of the Pakistan Army and it's Chief of Army Staff.

CONCLUSIONS

Again, while many of you are still debating the source/validity of the document, we recall history when these changes have been attempted unsuccessfully in the past.

It's no longer a question of if they will happen, it's when they will be attempted again that matters, that's when the country will be plunged into internal unrest, much like during the Lawyers Movement in 2007.

But let's be honest, Nawaz Sharif believes that he is Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Delusional belief is a very dangerous thing.

Nawaz Sharif has become delusional based on his public speeches and statements to domestic and international media outlets.

He believes that he defeated the national security establishment with DAWNLeaks. He believes that he has a soft corner with the judiciary because of his vocal (and financial) support of the 2007 Lawyers Movement. He believes that he was unfairly victimized by the judiciary to disqualify him as Prime Minister.

Now, he is attempting to consolidate power in the seat of the Prime Minister through disinformation, fostering rifts between institutions, and internationally insulting those same institutions for his own benefit.

The only question becomes will he achieve his 1998 goal of becoming Amir-ul-Momineen (King) of Pakistan.

No matter how much you may doubt us on this statement, Nawaz Sharif has shown his hand once before and you can be sure he will attempt it again.

History has shown us, he always repeats.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

As Director General of **CommandEleven**, Khalid Muhammad takes over 26 years of international experience to guide and drive his team to deliver accurate, reliable and actionable analysis for private organizations, institutions, government policy and media outlets. He provides tactical and comprehensive analysis into terrorist and extremist groups operating in the Indian sub-continent and Middle East, including recruitment, financing, operations and warfare strategies. His experience and vision guide the growth and expansion of CommandEleven into new opportunities.

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