

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL TRANSITIONS AND NUCLEAR MANAGEMENT IN PAKISTAN

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Pakistan's independent political history has experienced dramatic changes since the death of its founder, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who died 13 months after the country gained independence from British India. Jinnah's death led to a succession of political leaders who have been assassinated, overthrown, or exiled. Pakistan's political history is further checkered, with the dismissals of six prime ministers in the 1950s,¹ four military coups,² and four dissolutions of the parliamentary government using presidential constitutional powers.³

Given this history of tumultuous political changes in Pakistan and with simultaneous progress occurring in its nuclear program for the past 40 years, scholars and policymakers have often questioned the impact of leadership transitions on authority, decisionmaking, the consistency of nuclear management, and the ultimate control of nuclear arsenals in various periods of the country's nuclear history.

Since Pakistan embarked upon its nuclear program, three key political transitions, which are analyzed in this chapter, have affected the nature of Pakistani nuclear management. The military coup in July 1977 brought down the government of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who transformed the peaceful nuclear program into a weapons program. At the time, however, the nuclear weapons program was in its incipient stages. The next transition occurred 11

years later when President Zia-ul-Haq's plane, which also carried the bulk of the ruling military leadership, crashed in August 1988. Pakistan had by then developed a nascent nuclear capability, putting together a nuclear device that could be delivered through a bomber or transport aircraft. Finally, in October 1999, the military once again took over power after a dramatic military coup. This transition happened 1-1/2 years after Pakistan conducted its nuclear tests and while it was in the process of establishing a National Command Authority, under which a robust command and control system would evolve.

The last political transitions were in 2008 and 2013. General Musharraf handed over political power to the elected civilians in 2008. Recently, Pakistan saw its first civilian-to-civilian democratic transition. Both power transitions were orderly, but preceded a period of unprecedented violence in the country that included a civil society movement as well as a spate of violence from extremists and suicide attacks from radicalized forces within Pakistan; this violence continues to date with varying intensities. However, it took a decade for Pakistan to transform its demonstrated nuclear weapons capability into an operational deterrent force. Now it is about to complete building a triad of strategic forces that are integrated under a robust command and control system. In general, Pakistan has experienced 40 years of managing a nuclear program during a tense period of its history.

Within the broad spectrum of Pakistani politics and the strategic community, there is a strong consensus on the rationale and role of nuclear weapons in Pakistan's national security as well as on the current organizational structure that manages both its

civil and military nuclear program. Each successive ruler since Zulfikar Ali Bhutto initiated the program has advanced the nuclear program from where his or her predecessor left it. This pattern has continued regardless of any bitterness between successors and predecessors.⁴ While there is national consensus on the question of Pakistan's nuclear deterrent and, more broadly, its management structure, there is a lack of consensus on the system of governance in the country.

At the heart of the controversy regarding the Pakistani political system is a lack of consensus regarding the system of political governance. Pakistan has vacillated between presidential and parliamentary forms of government. Generally, military rulers prefer a presidential form of governance, believing in strong centralized control of the federal government and devolution of power at the local (district) level. By keeping provincial (state) government in check, the military believes it can prevent ethnic polarization and/or secessionism. Political leaders, on the other hand, support a parliamentary form of governance and prefer a federation with restricted powers for the central government but strong provincial governments.

The former school of thought fears provincialism perpetuates ethnic politics, feudalism, and tribalism, and creates conditions for corruption and nepotism. The latter school rejects such a basis and asserts that the presidential system failed to keep the state united and caused the dismemberment in 1971. Devolution at the local level could be manipulated to promote authoritarianism and perpetuate military dominance.⁵ The 1956 and 1973 constitutions are thus manifestations of national political will and a consensus about the parliamentary system of governance, the hallmark

of which is the devolution of powers to the federating provinces.

The dialectic between these two schools has resulted in the vacillation of political authority between the president and the prime minister.⁶ Given the history of military rule in the country, the office of the Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) has developed significant clout in the country's political system. Against this backdrop, the power struggle between the president and prime minister only strengthens the army chief, who then becomes the arbitrator of national politics in extremis and in particular is the custodian of national security policy.⁷ On nuclear matters specifically, the COAS became the most powerful sponsor on behalf of the military-scientific community until the National Command Authority was formally announced in February 2000.⁸

After the return of full democracy in 2008, the Pakistani Parliament approved the nuclear management system in 2010, which is an endorsement of the military-dominated nuclear management system that evolved under the dictatorship of President General Pervez Musharraf.⁹ Because of an overwhelming national consensus regarding the nuclear program, Pakistan's nuclear management remains unaffected by the turbulence of national political change, as this chapter will show.

Notwithstanding this fact, the international community continues to worry about the security of the Pakistani nuclear program. Three interconnected factors are at the roots of this oscillation in national politics. First is the debate between the presidential versus parliamentary system, as highlighted above. Second are poor civil-military relations, which have bedeviled the evolution of stable democratic governance in

the state. Last is the dominance of bureaucratic power over the representative government or elected leaders. The civil bureaucracy is believed to be heavily under the influence of the military and intelligence agencies, which are euphemistically referred as the “establishment.” Other factors that undermine Pakistani state efforts toward securing arsenals are the proliferation track record under the infamous A. Q. Khan nuclear network and the rise of radicalism in some sections of the society, which has seen bouts of violent attacks on security forces and the establishment in the past 5 years. At the time of this writing, the deterioration of relations with its key ally, the United States, and continued security problems with two key neighbors, India and Afghanistan, has compounded Pakistan’s image problem. Thus, organizational efforts and best practices to manage the security of arsenals and sensitive materials developed during the last decade remain inadequate to quash the perceptions of insecurity in the Pakistani nuclear program.

This chapter analyzes Pakistan’s political transitions in relation to their impact on the national nuclear program, the security of nuclear arsenals, and the evolution of a nuclear command and control system. The first section gives the background of Pakistani political transitions and nuclear management from the nation’s birth through its dismemberment as a unified country in 1971. The second section examines the period under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, when the nuclear weapons program commenced; it ends in his ouster from power after a military coup, which marked the end of the civilian-controlled nuclear weapons program. The third section studies the military-dominated command system under which Pakistan attained a nascent nuclear weapons capability. It

ends with the sudden transformation from a military system to a cycle of democratic regimes as a result of the plane crash in which the bulk of the military leadership perished. The fourth section explains the two-phased transition back to military control.

From 1993 to 1999, the nuclear program remained under quasi-military control while the president and prime minister jockeyed for political power. For over a decade, the president, prime minister, and COAS (the troika) shared political power, while the nuclear program advanced covertly, under the guidance and support of the military. This quasi-control finally transitioned into a fully military-dominated system after the coup of 1999. The fifth section examines the Pakistani force posture that evolved under a command and control system during the Musharraf era. The next political transition occurred with the return to civilian democratic rule in 2008. Nevertheless, even as General Pervez Musharraf departed from the scene into exile, the nuclear command authority remained unscathed, and the new government adopted the system, ensuring a smooth transition. The sixth section analyzes concerns about Pakistani nuclear management against organizational efforts and best practices by the state to nurture nuclear security culture and a regime to keep arsenals and sensitive material secure, especially due to the deteriorating political climate, disturbing internal security threats, and tense relations with the United States after the events of 2011.

The chapter concludes that despite the domestic instabilities and rough political transitions, control of the nuclear program has remained unaffected. The main reason for this is the general national consensus over the state's nuclear policies: the decisionmaking system under the National Command Authority, its

employment and development goals, and the status of the program. Notwithstanding this conclusion, internal security challenges and domestic instabilities in Pakistan are real; therefore, Pakistan has to work hard continuously to meet these challenges as well as redress the perceptions of the world.

POLITICAL TRANSITIONS AND NUCLEAR MANAGEMENT, 1947-71

When the British left Pakistan in 1947, the birth of a new nation took place in a massive vacuum, caused by factors such as a leadership crisis, weak political institutions, a nonexistent constitutional direction, and economic challenges. At the time of partition in 1947, Pakistan was distressed on three counts: It was recovering from the trauma of a bloody partition that involved millions of deaths, migrations, and internal displacements that crossed hurriedly demarcated borders; an unfair distribution of assets was compounded by India's refusal to deliver Pakistan's due share; and finally, the fate of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir—over which India and Pakistan fought an immediate war, and which to date remains a bone of contention even after 6 decades—was uncertain. As one author described the Pakistani situation, "Pakistan inherited a paper army and skeleton navy and air force."¹⁰ Though a professional military structure developed over time, in contrast, social institutions remained weak or nonexistent, feudal lords and tribal leaders wielded power, much of the population was uneducated, and ethnic groups were polarized. This structural imbalance has plagued Pakistan throughout its history.¹¹ The failure to establish a viable political system in the first decade of its exis-

tence led to the military coup in 1958, which set the pattern for all future military takeovers. The military institution quickly became a vital stakeholder in Pakistan's governance system and security policy.¹²

Atomic science in the 1950s was a low priority for the policymakers in Pakistan. Consolidating the nation-state was a monumental task, as the country was veritably beginning nation-building from scratch in the absence of strong leadership because of the death of the nation's founder in 1948. Facing multitudinous domestic political instabilities, regional crises with neighbors, and lacking adequate infrastructure, Pakistan readily accepted a U.S. military alliance (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization [SEATO] and Central Treaty Organization [CENTO]) that, coupled with military leadership, gave the nation a semblance of stability and a new direction toward national development. By the mid-1960s, the nation was stable and prospering economically; its political structures remained weak, however, and ethnic resentment and polarization between West Pakistan and East Pakistan began to grow, ultimately coming to a head by 1971.

Under these disturbing political conditions, Pakistan's nuclear program was founded in the mid-1950s. President Dwight Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace initiative generated interest in nuclear energy, and soon after, the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission began to study the feasibility of atomic science and prepare blueprints for peaceful uses of atomic energy.¹³

It was not until a young Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became Minister of Fuel, Power, and Natural Resources in 1959 that political interest and insight in the Pakistani atomic energy program emerged. Bhutto later wrote: "When I took charge of Pakistan's Atomic Energy Commission, it was no more than a signboard

of office.” He explained how under his stewardship, he “put his entire vitality behind the task of acquiring nuclear capability for [his] country.”¹⁴ The combined efforts of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto; Dr. Abdus Salam, an eminent physicist, Nobel Laureate, and Advisor to the President on Science and Technology; and Dr. Ishrat Hussain Usmani, the Chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC, 1960-72), enabled Pakistan to send hundreds of young men to top Western universities to train in the new atomic sciences.¹⁵

Around the mid-1960s, a bomb advocacy lobby emerged under the leadership of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who as Foreign Minister (1963-66) urged President Ayub Khan to purchase nuclear power reactors and a reprocessing plant from France. Bhutto argued that India was proceeding ahead with nuclear weapons development after China’s test in 1964, and the window of technological availability was becoming short as deliberations on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) drew to a close.

Ayub disappointed the bomb enthusiasts, however.¹⁶ His concern was that any move toward obtaining such technologies would jeopardize the country’s Western alliance, military aid, and economic progress. Ayub’s focus on national development was disastrously affected by his decision to up the ante in Kashmir, which resulted in the 1965 war with India and the subsequent downward slide of the nation. Ayub was reluctant to put Pakistan on the path toward nuclear weapons. As revealed in his dairies, he was never convinced nuclear weapons were good for mankind.¹⁷

Ayub was forced out of office after his protégé, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto – who founded Pakistan’s People’s Party in 1967 – led a movement in late-1968. Ayub’s

failing health and street protests forced him to hand over power to the army chief, General Yahya Khan, who declared martial law and became president. In essence, this political transition was rather orderly, but did not occur until after months of violent protests. Bhutto in West Pakistan and Sheikh Mujib Rahman in East Pakistan led political movements that rocked the foundations of a united Pakistan. Yahya Khan's military regime allowed fair elections, but was unable to cope with the results—to hand over power to majority East Pakistanis. His poor handling of the situation resulted in violent protests, leading to civil war. India exploited Pakistani miseries, invading East Pakistan and dismembering the once united country.

Throughout his term as president, General Yahya Khan was too consumed with domestic crises to focus on any other aspect at the time. The so-called “bomb lobby” blamed the military leadership for its failure to grasp the changing regional strategic environment and remained critical of the faith in American-led security alliances (SEATO, CENTO),¹⁸ which had given a false sense of confidence in Pakistan's national defense capabilities against India's intentions and conventional force capability.¹⁹

BHUTTO'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM AND THE ZIA COUP, 1971-77

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was undoubtedly the political father of the Pakistani bomb. Within a month of assuming power, President Bhutto summoned a meeting of all the scientists in Multan on January 20, 1972. He removed the incumbent Chairman PAEC, Ishrat Usmani, who, Bhutto believed, had little interest in pursuing the nuclear weapons program, and

replaced him with his friend and confidante, Munir Ahmad Khan. Formerly the Director of the International Atomic Energy Commission (IAEA), Khan had worked on plutonium reactors.²⁰ Bhutto's objective was to indicate the shift in the nature of the nuclear program. Bhutto was aware that the wherewithal needed for nuclear capability would take time. He simply wanted to boost the morale of the scientists and let it be known that the new government meant serious business.

It was in 1974, however, after India's nuclear test, that Bhutto's strategy of a slow-and-subtle acquisition of nuclear capability transformed into a crash nuclear weapons program. Bhutto brought the entire civil and military leadership into his confidence and galvanized the nuclear program to become the highest national priority. He made a vow to the nation: "I give a solemn pledge to all our countrymen that we will never let Pakistan be a victim of nuclear blackmail."²¹

Bhutto tightly controlled the nuclear program for secrecy. He had little time to devote to the program, however, since he was focused on many national issues. Bhutto constituted an interministerial committee of senior ministers, bureaucrats, and scientists. The main purpose of the committee was to ensure the continued progress of the nuclear program and remove any bureaucratic obstacles or snags, particularly in finances and the procurement of technologies.

Prime Minister Bhutto later convinced Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, a Pakistani scientist, to return from Holland to run the centrifuge program. In the summer of 1976, Bhutto directed the separation of the centrifuge project from the PAEC and gave A. Q. Khan independent responsibility to run it, free from any outside pressures. Bhutto promised open-ended funding to A. Q. Khan to complete the task as well as direct access

to the prime minister, a privilege until then employed only by the Chairman of the PAEC.

Throughout the Bhutto era, decisionmaking on the nuclear program did not involve the military leadership. Bhutto kept the military hierarchy away as a means to maintain civilian control of national security, particularly with regard to the nuclear program. The military as an institution, however, provided the resources and assistance that the PAEC needed. Later, when the construction of the Engineering Research Laboratories commenced, the military provided manpower and equipment from its technical branches and played supporting roles in helping select sites for future tests. The military also provided barracks and ammunition depots for housing centrifuge facilities and supplied knowledge for explosives training. The military was well aware of the nature of the classified project but remained aloof from the technical details, blueprints, or goals of the program.²²

In the spring of 1977, Prime Minister Bhutto held elections. His party won the elections, but allegations of rigged ballots triggered massive protests from the opposition. A coalition of nine right-wing political parties mounted a massive campaign to oust Bhutto from power in the summer of 1977. Bhutto summoned the military to control the protest, resulting in a temporary martial law in Lahore and foreshadowing the military takeover on July 5, 1977.²³

After the bloodless military takeover, General Zia-ul-Haq became the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA). Prime Minister Bhutto and his family were taken into protective custody at the nearby hill station in Murree. A few days later, the new military leader visited his former prime minister and discussed the future course of action, which included holding elec-

tions within 90 days as stipulated in the constitution. But Zia reneged on the promise to hold elections in 3 months' time. Instead, he decided to become president and formed an interim government, bringing in several ministers who were members of Jamaat-i-Islami, a religious political party that was in the forefront of the opposition against Bhutto throughout the summer of 1977. Meanwhile, Bhutto faced trial for abetting the murder of a political opponent.

Bhutto was concerned that the nuclear weapons program was adversely affected by Zia-ul-Haq's coup. He doubted Zia had the ability, much less the vision, to see it through. Given his experience with Ayub and Yahya Khan, it was possible Bhutto did not trust that the military was even interested in pursuing the nuclear weapons program. He feared that Zia might barter away the nuclear weapons with conventional weapons to expand the army or simply get some financial aid to support the ailing economy.²⁴

Bhutto was convinced that had he remained prime minister, France would not have backed out of the reprocessing plant agreement that he had negotiated with it, a deal he believed was struck because he had personal rapport with President Giscard d'Estaing and because he had satisfied the international community by agreeing to have an IAEA safeguard agreement over the French reprocessing plant. On August 23, 1978, when President Zia-ul-Haq admitted that France had defaulted on the reprocessing plant, Bhutto held the military regime responsible for this failure and responded that:

The French had concluded the agreement with a civilian and constitutional government, not with a military and dictatorial regime . . . what does the [Zia-ul-Haq]

regime propose to meet the threat of this qualitative change? More Foreign Aid? Now that it is officially admitted that nuclear reprocessing plant is lost, with or without foreign aid, Pakistan would have to unquestionably move towards steeper dependence and alien-reliance . . . it will be more at the mercy of those who are professionals in the art of nuclear blackmail . . . what a fall, my countrymen! What a shattering blow to the dream of a lifetime.²⁵

NUCLEAR MANAGAEMENT UNDER ZIA-UL-HAQ, 1977-88

When General Zia-ul-Haq overthrew the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1977, the nuclear weapons program (highly enriched uranium) was in its nascent stages. The PAEC, however, continued building the infrastructure needed to complete the nuclear fuel cycle. The military takeover in 1977 marked the first transition from civilian-dominated control of the nuclear program to a military-dominated one, which lasted over a decade. Under General Zia-ul-Haq, a unified command system evolved because he held the office of both president and COAS.

Like Bhutto, Zia-ul-Haq took personal charge of the nuclear program. Zia, however, retained the same core senior civil servants in the coordination committee and brought the military and scientific communities together, further shrouding the program in secrecy. Zia-ul-Haq received briefings from the two main scientists in the program, Munir Ahmad Khan and A. Q. Khan, and he retained the two most important people in the interministerial committee, Defense Secretary Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Foreign Secretary Agha Shahi.

Zia appointed Lieutenant General Khalid Mahmood Arif as his Chief of Staff, an office that became the focal point of all coordinating activities; all nuclear matters were transferred to Arif's office from what had been the prime minister's office. The office was closely connected with his Military Secretary, Major General Imtiaz Ali, who was removed from the office and posted back to the army.²⁶

General Zia-ul-Haq made all decisions and issued personal directives in close consultation with his team of Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Agha Shahi, and General Arif, who ensured the continuity of the nuclear program. Initially, Zia had some doubts about the loyalty of PAEC Chairman Munir Khan, who he considered a protégé of Bhutto, and even suspected many in the nuclear program to be from a minority sect.²⁷ Zia also feared the infiltration of Western spies into the nuclear program. He directed scientific organizations and intelligence agencies to keep a close eye on the "insider threat," which could have been a mole in the program who would sabotage it from within or perhaps facilitate an attack from the outside. Zia directed the army to undertake the defense of the Kahuta centrifuge plant and the Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP) installations. Such fears about threats to Pakistan's program began in late-1979 after reports surfaced that the United States was contemplating a preventive strike against Pakistani nuclear installations. These fears gained more credence in 1981, after Israeli planes attacked and destroyed an Iraqi power plant at Osiraq.

Throughout the 1980s, the Pakistani nuclear program steadily progressed, though Zia-ul-Haq downplayed the nuclear card by insisting on its peaceful nature. Zia had made a secret agreement with Presi-

dent Ronald Reagan that he would not embarrass Reagan by pursuing any nuclear activities. The United States had given four nuclear restraint requirements to Pakistan: not to conduct hot tests; not to enrich low-enriched to high-enriched uranium; not to machine existing stocks into core; and not to transfer any know-how or material to any entity or state.

ZIA'S PLANE CRASH

On a bright sunny afternoon on August 17, 1988, President Zia and some of Pakistan's top military leadership were returning from Bahawalpur, a city in southern Punjab, after witnessing the trial of a U.S armored tank. Within minutes of takeoff, Zia's plane lost contact and mysteriously crashed. Zia was killed, along with the U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan—Arnold Raphel—and Defense Attaché, as well as senior Pakistani military leaders, most prominently the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Akhtar Abdul Rehman, and Lieutenant General Mian Muhammad Afzal.

This event was really dramatic and left a huge leadership void. From 1985 till 1988, Pakistan functioned under a hybrid system of governance, with an active duty army chief as president and an elected prime minister who headed the government with a functioning elected parliament. On May 29, 1988, General Zia-ul-Haq, in exercise of his presidential powers, dismissed Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo and Parliament. When Zia's plane crashed, there was no political government, except for the Senate, that had not been dissolved. With the bulk of the military leadership now deceased, the leadership transferred to the Vice Chief of Army Staff, General Mirza Aslam Beg, who, after witnessing the same tank demonstra-

tion, had flown in a separate plane on that fateful day. Under military rules of succession, General Mirza Aslam Beg automatically assumed the responsibility as acting Chief of Army Staff.

Under the country's constitution, the Chairman of the Senate becomes the acting president, which in this case was Ghulam Ishaq Khan. General Beg had the option of declaring martial law and overruling the constitutional succession of the president. To his credit, General Beg allowed the constitutional process to proceed. Thus, Chairman of the Senate Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the acting president of Pakistan. President Khan then formally named General Mirza Aslam Beg to become the Chief of the Army Staff. He also appointed the Chief of Naval Staff, Admiral Iftikhar Sirohi, as the new Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to replace General Akhtar Abdul Rehman, who had also died in Zia's plane crash.

This was the second major change in the system after the nuclear weapons program had commenced. By this time, Pakistan had developed enough fissile material to put together a few devices on short notice. Though Zia had agreed on nuclear restraint with President Reagan, there was no agreed-upon mechanism to verify its implementation. Zia prohibited nuclear explosion tests (hot tests), but he allowed scientists to carry out cold tests and continued research and development on bomb designs and delivery means. Like his predecessor, Bhutto, Zia tightly controlled the nuclear program, personally making all related decisions.

After Zia's death, the nuclear responsibility naturally acceded to the most knowledgeable and experienced man in the country. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan had significant institutional memory and had held a role in the nuclear program since it began in the 1970s.²⁸

Together, President Ishaq Khan and COAS General Aslam Beg guided the nuclear program. Army Chief General Beg coordinated the nuclear program on behalf of the president and provided the defense of key atomic institutions as well as support from the army to facilitate the goals of the strategic organizations.²⁹ The interministerial committee disappeared, as the offices of the president and the COAS managed decisions until the election of the prime minister, who then became the third pillar of decisionmaking.

Elections were held in November 1988 and, as expected, Benazir Bhutto won a plurality to form a government. In the aftermath of the 1988 election, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Army Chief General Mirza Aslam Beg emerged as the guarantors of the policies of the Zia era, and gradually allowed Benazir Bhutto to share power in a limited manner.

THE DECADE OF DEMOCRACY AND THE POWER TROIKA

The Pakistan People's Party had barely ended the electoral victory celebration when COAS General Mirza Aslam Beg invited Ms. Benazir Bhutto to discuss the modalities of the power transition. General Beg explained his role in ensuring fair and free elections and the return of democracy after years of autocratic rule. Beg assured Ms. Bhutto of full cooperation from the Army and, in a detailed exposé, explained the precarious regional and internal security situation. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was proceeding apace to meet the February 1989 deadline; tension between the United States and Ayatollah Khomeini was continuing despite the end of the Iran-Iraq War; and most importantly for the nuclear program, an unprecedented India-backed uprising in Kashmir

had begun, which had severe implications for Pakistan. With the end of the Cold War in sight, the alliance with the United States was unclear.

Pakistan's overall domestic situation was tense and fragile. In order to prevent further domestic turbulence, General Beg suggested a continuity of policy and the retention of key personalities in the government once power was handed over. The army would fully back the prime minister if she agreed to four major points: 1) continue to support and elect President Ghulam Ishaq Khan; 2) pledge not to seek revenge for her father's death from General Zia-ul-Haq's family; 3) continue the services of foreign minister Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan; and, 4) not to meddle in the internal matters of the armed forces.

Beg emphasized that Benazir Bhutto was extremely intelligent but young and inexperienced, and therefore she needed the wisdom and guidance of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who had a long, distinguished career and, more importantly, had been a constant in the evolution of the nuclear program ever since her father's time in office. The vast experience of veteran foreign minister Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan would allow continuity of the country's foreign policy, especially given the regional uncertainty. Finally, Ms. Bhutto needed to consolidate her position and would need constant help from the army. Bhutto agreed to these conditions and was sworn in as prime minister.³⁰

Benazir Bhutto was charismatic and an international icon for her struggle against the conservative military dictator who had hanged her father. As the first female prime minister in a Muslim country with a nuclear program, she had extraordinary celebrity appeal. She emerged as a leader from the shadows of war and instability, but did not realize that the office

she assumed was not as powerful as it had been during her father's time in the 1970s. Ms. Bhutto was actually sharing power with the president and army chief on the terms she had agreed to in exchange for a smooth power transfer. In essence, it meant she could operate within the agreed framework with the president and the army.

Benazir Bhutto was new to the vicissitudes of statecraft and the role of the state bureaucracy and a powerful military in national policy. The president represented the bureaucracy and had the ultimate power under the constitution to dismiss the prime minister as well as the parliament. Additionally, the Army held the key to national security policy and was the backbone of presidential power.

The diffusion of power at the apex of national governance resulted in a troika of leaders: president, prime minister, and COAS. This governance structure in the political system of Pakistan was not formal, but the execution of policy was based on the consensus of the three. In reality, it was the president and COAS who wielded decisive power over the most critical security policies of the state, which included the nuclear policy.³¹ For the next decade, the Pakistani governance system functioned under this diffuse structure, which saw three dismissals of governments (1990, 1993, and 1997), successively recycling the governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif before the military coup in 1999.

In the context of nuclear management, the decade of democracy (1988-99) was divided into two periods. The first half was during the tenure of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan (August 1988-July 1993), during which he was the ultimate authority on all decisions and financial approvals on all civil and classified projects. The president had the final say on all nuclear

matters, and the Army Chief supported and coordinated the nuclear program on his behalf.

Benazir Bhutto maintained that she was never kept fully in the loop on nuclear matters and claimed the president and Army did not trust her.³² COAS General Aslam Beg denies Benazir Bhutto's assertion that she was not informed or that she was intentionally kept out of the loop regarding the nuclear program. In an interview with the author, General Beg said that both Chairman of the PAEC Munir Ahmad Khan, as well as A. Q. Khan, Director of the Khan Research Laboratory (KRL), briefed the prime minister in complete detail on the status of the nuclear weapons program soon after she took office and that she was regularly updated on all nuclear developments.³³ General Beg insists that the ruling troika (which Beg dubbed as the national command authority of the time) collectively agreed to a nuclear restraint policy in 1989, in which Benazir Bhutto's consent was primary.³⁴ This so-called restraint policy involved capping the production of weapons-grade uranium and permitting only the KRL to enrich up to low-enriched uranium (LEU) levels; prohibiting turning the existing stock of highly enriched uranium (HEU) into bomb cores; not conducting hot tests; and not transferring any technical expertise or technology to a third party or country.³⁵ In substance, this restraint policy was no different from the pledge General Zia-ul-Haq had secretly made to the Reagan administration in 1981.³⁶ In reality, the fissile production continued apace; the only real restraint was on refraining from conducting hot tests.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto made a public commitment to the U.S. Congress during her state visit to Washington, DC, in June 1989.³⁷ During that visit she also agreed to receive a detailed briefing from U.S. Central Intelligence Agency Director William H. Web-

ster on the progress of Pakistan's nuclear program. This event finally broke the trust of the troika. The president and COAS were miffed about Prime Minister Bhutto's distrust of her own country's system, symbolized by her bid to seek an outside briefing from the United States—a country that was fundamentally opposed to the Pakistani nuclear program. From then on, the president and Army Chief never trusted the prime minister. Thus, a cloud of suspicion loomed over the office of the prime minister. Subsequently, the president and COAS were reluctant to share classified details of the strategic development program with Bhutto.

Benazir Bhutto's government was dissolved in August 1990 after months of tension between the president and prime minister. After a brief interim government, Nawaz Sharif was elected prime minister. Sharif was a protégé of President Zia-ul-Haq and was expected to have a harmonious relationship with the military. But he, too, was soon involved in tension with both the president and successive army chiefs until he was removed from office in 1993.

FROM THE PRESIDENCY TO THE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

The political transition in July 1993 was a significant development in the history of Pakistani nuclear management. In early-1993, after several months of a bitter power struggle between President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, the Chief of Army Staff, General Abdul Waheed, intervened and pressured both to resign from the office.³⁸

The resignation of both the president and prime minister created a power vacuum at both the state level (the president) and the government level (the

prime minister). Under the constitution, the Chairman of the Senate, Waseem Sajjad, became the acting president, and Moeen Qureshi, a former vice president of the World Bank who was living in Washington, DC, at the time, was made the interim prime minister for 3 months. The task of the interim government was to hold free and fair parliamentary elections in October 1993 and hand over power to the newly elected government.

After a brief interim government, Benazir Bhutto returned to power by the end of the year. She ruled for about 3 years until President Farooq Leghari dismissed her government in 1996, only for her rival, Sharif, to return in 1997. Sharif made constitutional amendments to make it impossible for the president to dismiss the parliament. After 3 years, the military removed Sharif from power, completing a full circle.

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who had been custodian of the nuclear program until then, could not trust the interim arrangement, and the political future of the country was uncertain at the time. He handed over the responsibility of the classified nuclear weapons program, including all documents, to COAS General Abdul Waheed.³⁹ For the first time, the nuclear responsibility and records were transferred from the office of the president to Pakistan's Army General Headquarters (GHQ). General Abdul Waheed tasked Major General Ziauddin, Director General of the Combat Development Directorate (CD Directorate) in the GHQ, to take charge of the documents and coordinate the nuclear program on his behalf. All nuclear issues were coordinated at the CD Directorate in the GHQ from July 1993 until December 1998, when the Strategic Plans Division (SPD) was established. The SPD later became the secretariat of the National Command

Authority (NCA) and functions as such to date.⁴⁰ From 1993 through 1999, until the military formally took political power, the GHQ was the custodian of sensitive documents and coordinator of the nuclear program even though political power continued to vacillate between the president and prime minister.

Under such circumstances, and given their previous dismissals, Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif preferred not to ruffle feathers with the military-civil bureaucratic-scientific nexus that was managing the nuclear program, an arrangement that by and large became politically acceptable to all. It suited both the president and prime minister to let the GHQ be the locus of coordination and resources. But despite this tacit understanding, the military did not have the legal authority to intervene in the autonomy of the scientists, who had direct access to any of three power centers. This diffusion is what prevented one single authority from having final oversight until after General Musharraf's coup, when the institutional control of scientific organizations were made effective through both *de jure* and *de facto* measures.

Under the leadership of General Jehangir Karamat, Chief of the Army Staff from January 1996 till October 1998, the army steered away from the political feud in Islamabad in 1997. Once the 13th Constitutional Amendment became law in 1997, presidential powers were clipped, and maximum political power rested with the prime minister.⁴¹ In 1998, the nuclear decisionmaking authority rested with the prime minister, but the nuclear coordination continued to be with the GHQ (CD Directorate).

By October 1998, after a tense summer that involved nuclear tests and resulted in nuclear sanctions, Prime Minister Sharif attempted to gain abso-

lute control when he asked COAS General Karamat to resign from office. Sharif replaced Karamat with General Musharraf in October 1998. Within a few months, civil-military relations went sour, especially after the Kargil crisis with India – resulting in much bloodshed and regional tensions less than a year after Pakistan’s nuclear test – and eventually lead to a military coup. This brought an end to the era of democracy and domestic instability.

Despite political instability and jockeying for political power among the leadership, the nuclear weapons development continued apace. In the process, the nexus between the military, scientific, and civil bureaucratic communities was strengthened. The three communities developed a synergy of thoughts and action over nuclear policy and provided considerable autonomy to the scientific organizations to achieve national goals.⁴²

ESTABLISHING ACCOUNTABILITY AND ROBUST COMMAND AND CONTROL, 1999-2008

General Pervez Musharraf led the last military coup in October 1999. This was the first power transition after Pakistan had declared itself an overt nuclear power and returned the unity of command that had existed in the Zia era when the president served in the role of both the president and the COAS.

After taking over as the army chief, one of the first organizational changes Musharraf made was to create a dedicated organization – the Strategic Plans Division (SPD) – that would exclusively deal with the nuclear issues. He returned the conventional operations and acquisitions in GHQ to the Military Operations (MO) directorate. Musharraf merged the nuclear

components of the CD Directorate with the SPD and moved it to the Joint Services Headquarters (JSHQ), where the nuclear operations and assets of Pakistan's Air Force and Navy were merged into one coherent command system under whose control all scientific organizations were brought. The head of the SPD was Lieutenant General Khalid Ahmad Kidwai, who has retained this position since December 1998; he serves in this role as a civilian now, after his retirement from active military duty in 2007.

In April 1999, some 6 months after becoming the Chief of Army Staff, General Pervez Musharraf presented a new plan to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif for the establishment of a National Command Authority (NCA). The plan was presented in a detailed briefing in the GHQ, which included key cabinet ministers, senior bureaucracy, and service chiefs. The proposal envisaged a three-tier institutional structure over the country's nuclear weapons. The first tier constituted an Employment Control Committee (ECC), the apex body of decisionmaking under the prime minister, comprised of five key cabinet ministers and four service chiefs; and a Development Control Committee (DCC), which is subordinate to the ECC and tasked to implement the nuclear development directive of ECC. The DCC was also chaired by the prime minister and comprised four service chiefs and four heads of scientific organizations.

The SPD was already functioning by this time in the JSHQ. The SPD constituted the second tier of the NCA. The third tier of the command system constitutes the three services' strategic forces commands, which exercised training and administrative control of nuclear forces. The operational control of nuclear forces remained with the NCA, where all members would make decisions by consensus.

Prime Minister Sharif approved the proposal in principle but asked his foreign minister to examine it. Sharif's skepticism resulted from long-time fears of the military obtaining an overarching role in national security affairs. The military has been a long-time proponent of establishing a national security council at the apex of power to ensure an institutional forum to discuss serious national issues.

As long as President Musharraf stayed in office, the president of Pakistan was the Chairman of the NCA, and the prime minister was the Vice Chairman. This structure was promulgated in the NCA Ordinance on December 13, 2007, and later approved by Parliament in 2010.⁴³ In February 2008, elections brought civilian government back to power. In August 2008, Musharraf resigned under pressure of impeachment from the elected parliament, and this formally ended a prolonged transition from a hybrid system into a fully democratic parliamentary system. As a result of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution, executive power returned to the prime minister, who is now the Chairman of the NCA.

Before the military takeover and formulation of the SPD, the nonaccountability of the A. Q. Khan network and weak oversight resulted in the loss of control of procurement activities and illicit trade in nuclear weapons.⁴⁴ The existence of diffused authority and ambiguity in responsibilities over the nuclear procurement activities in the 1990s led to A. Q. Khan's freelancing. The beneficiaries of the proliferation network business were spread worldwide; in Pakistan, however, several individuals—including politicians, scientists, and civil and military bureaucrats—who were responsible for protecting the nuclear program took advantage of this profit-making enterprise.

Several complex factors contributed to this lack of oversight and control. The national nuclear program was freed of all bureaucratic hurdles and provided with sufficient autonomy for the scientific community; finance incentives and innovative financial means were created to lure suppliers and to ensure the continuity of the program; unfettered access was allowed to conceal and transfer the procured technologies within the country to reach their destinations safely; and a peculiar diffusion at the apex of political power allowed space for A. Q. Khan to exploit and conduct a lucrative trade in nuclear technology.⁴⁵

With the military in control and an altered regional and international environment after September 11, 2001 (9/11), President Musharraf instituted a tight control on the nuclear program, and his efforts contributed in unraveling the A. Q. Khan network. He also shaped the nuclear command and control system, and ensured it was robust enough to withstand political shocks and to deal with Pakistan's nuclear posture in peace, crises, and war. Since the 1998 nuclear tests, Pakistani deterrent forces and its command and control structure have been tested under both regional crises and domestic violence.

GROWING ARSENALS, INTERNAL STABILITY AND PAKISTANI NUCLEAR MANAGEMENT

After 9/11, Pakistan once again became a front-line state and a conduit to the war against al-Qaeda and the Taliban in neighboring Afghanistan. As several hundred terrorists were killed and captured, billions in aid and investments poured into the country. The investments propped up Pakistan's national economy, which began to show impressive growth by 2005-06,

averaging a 6.5-percent annual gross domestic product (GDP). Pakistan was declared a non-NATO ally, which brought international support and recognition for its role in the war against terrorism. During this period, Pakistan went through several crises, including a 10-month military standoff with India in 2001-02 and the unraveling of the A. Q. Khan network in 2004. Pakistan was caught between international appreciation for its vital cooperation against the War on Terror and global condemnation for its role in the proliferation of nuclear technology, which overshadowed the establishment of the nuclear command and control system.

The handling of the 2001-02 military standoff with India and the shattering of the A. Q. Khan network were two main crises that tested the efficacy of Pakistan's nascent command and control structure. The Pakistani military countermobilized in response to India's military mobilization in December 2001-January 2002, at a time when U.S. military forces were deeply engaged in military operations around the Pakistani western border at Tora Bora (Operations TORA BORA and ANACONDA). The NCA tightly controlled the situation and ensured that no nuclear deployments or threats occurred throughout the military standoff, which lasted until October 2002.⁴⁶ The SPD successfully dispersed nuclear assets into silos and made them impenetrable, ensuring secrecy and invulnerability.

In 2004, when the A. Q. Khan crisis erupted, the SPD handled the inquiry and took swift and effective measures to shut down the network in concert with international efforts. The SPD's task was tough: It had to balance international cooperative expectations against domestic public opinion (many Pakistanis viewed A. Q. Khan as a national hero), while simul-

taneously preserving operational secrecy associated with Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. Western critics saw this balancing act as an attempt to hide the network activities from scrutiny, whereas domestic critics of Musharraf viewed A. Q Khan's public confessions as the scapegoating of a national hero in order to protect the military's alleged complicity in the Khan network. The SPD's primary tasks were to preserve operational security, protect classified aspects of the nuclear program, and determine the extent of the network and international damage to national interest. General Musharraf instigated a full inquiry, which led to arrests that included several military officials, scientists, and others. The SPD subsequently shared the findings of its inquiry with all concerned allies, particularly the United States, and cooperated with the IAEA in its investigation on the matter.⁴⁷ These two crises resulted in the maturation of the Pakistani command and control and accountability systems. The 2001-02 standoff galvanized Pakistani force postures, and the A. Q. Khan crisis, as well as other instabilities, resulted in formation of a dedicated Security Division under the SPD, which now has over some 20,000 dedicated troops under a carefully constructed nuclear security architecture.⁴⁸

Musharraf Downfall and Internal Crises.

Since the spring of 2007, after years of stability and growth under the military rule of Musharraf, Pakistan's internal situation has deteriorated. In March 2007, President Musharraf fired the Chief Justice of Pakistan, which resulted in a civil society movement against him. In July, after months of deliberations, he approved a military operation against *Lal Masjid* (Red Mosque), a radicalized mosque, that unleashed a

Taliban-style vigilante movement in Islamabad. These two events triggered movements from both the liberal left and the religious right that were directed against President Musharraf. At one level, the civil society and judiciary weakened the grip of Musharraf on the state, while simultaneously, suicide terrorists struck with impunity in cities, bazaars, and mosques – targeting civilians, military intelligence officers, and their families. Combined with the spillover of the Afghanistan conflict into tribal areas, and the general radicalization of society, Pakistan became a tinderbox and has been unable to fully recover from it.

In December 2007, a new organization, the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), was formed in tribal areas, and, in the Swat valley, another radical organization with links to terror organizations and the Taliban took over the valley. Meanwhile, in Baluchistan Province, a separatist insurgency commenced after a Baluch leader, Akbar Bugti, was killed in a military operation. The Pakistan Army was now at war with radical and separate forces within the country, on its western borders. It was simultaneously caught between balancing two-front contingencies on the borders with India and Afghanistan, and maintaining internal stability. The army's dilemma was compounded from both man-made crises (political, sectarian and extremist violence), as well as natural calamities (floods and earthquakes). At the same time, as custodian of nuclear weapons, the military had a responsibility to the NCA. These were monumental tasks for the military, which was under constant pressure from the United States to do more on the terror front.

The drivers of Pakistani strategic anxieties are not just the security situation described above. Other factors have immensely contributed to them. First is the

progressive downslide in U.S.-Pakistan relations. The relationship between the two countries had spiked to new heights of cooperation and amity in the first half of the decade after 9/11. Then it gradually began to spiral down for multiple reasons, leading to rapid deterioration after the Barack Obama administration came to power, but especially related to Afghanistan policy and distrust of each other.

Second is the outright strategic tilt to India, which Pakistan views as detrimental to its security, and, specifically, the nuclear deal offered to India. The nuclear deal, in Pakistan's view, is inherently discriminatory, and tantamount to appeasing a non-NPT member. India is veritably accepted as a de facto nuclear-weapons state that has no legal obligation to a NPT regime. From the Pakistani standpoint the deal frees up nuclear trade with India, which allows India to use domestic uranium resources entirely for dedicated military purposes, and international suppliers to trade in nuclear energy. Pakistan thus has stopped cooperation in international multilaterals forums. It had blocked the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) negotiations at the Conference of Disarmament and ramped up its fissile production.

Third is the Indian military's continued pressure on the Pakistan military when the latter is engaged on multiple fronts, as described above. The pressure on Pakistan is manifested in several ways: India military exercises each year; the announcement of new military doctrines, such as limited war under nuclear umbrella (Cold Start) and its force posture; and modernization and deployment patterns directed toward Pakistani borders. Though India's public position is that it is modernizing in response to its own rise and against the perceived China threat, its physical manifestation

and orientation are against Pakistan. Since Pakistani conventional forces are spread thin so as to balance all contingencies, Pakistan has clearly signaled lowering the nuclear threshold to deter any military adventure.

Pakistan's growing nuclear arsenals and upgrades in nuclear security are a result of the above circumstances, perceptions, and anxieties. The international community's focus is on a nuclear-armed country under internal stress and the threat of violent extremism, where growing arsenals and terrorism are at a dangerous crossroads. The Pakistani response is that it is cognizant of the dangers and that its organizational response, best practices, and measure of performance in nuclear security need to be weighed against the fears of insecurities.⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

Despite a tumultuous political history and challenging security circumstances in which the Pakistani nuclear program progressed, there has not been any terrifying moment when there existed a danger of the nation losing control of its arsenals. From the early-1970s, when the weapons program commenced, it was directed from the highest political office in the country, from Z. A. Bhutto (1971-77) to Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88) to President Ghulam Ishaq Khan (1988-93).

The role of the COAS historically has been pivotal in Pakistani nuclear history. When Zia was both president and COAS, he did not involve the military institution in the nuclear oversight program, but in a support role. After Zia's death, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan made the army his right hand; he asked the COAS to help coordinate and support the program on his behalf until he departed office in 1993. Presi-

dent Ishaq Khan never trusted the political leadership with the sensitivity of the nuclear program. Fearing political uncertainty and the diffusion of authority, he handed over the responsibility to the Army, which gradually formalized its role until it took over power.

In this history, there were two especially important political transitions during which there could have been a control problem, but on each occasion, the military had an organizational system in place to prevent any such danger. The first was immediately after the sudden plane crash of President General Zia-ul-Haq, when the entire military leadership vanished, but the nuclear program came under the control of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who was a veteran insider and consistent member of the coordination committee for the nuclear program.

The second occasion was in July 1993, when both the president and prime minister left office after political infighting. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was a veteran bureaucrat, who had seen the bulk of the nation's political history. In his wisdom, his last step as a public servant was to shift the sensitive responsibility to Army Headquarters, which was the most viable and robust national institution in Pakistan. Though this move deprived the oversight of elected representatives, which is the norm of all democracies, in hindsight, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was proven right.

From 1993 until the military took over in 1999, the tussle between the president, prime minister, judiciary, and Army continued to keep national governance in turmoil. It was during this period when the A. Q. Khan network, hitherto contributing inward into Pakistani procurement activities, turned its activities outward. It took several years of effort after the SPD

was formed and after the Khan network was revealed for complete control of all organizations to be made fully effective. As command and control evolved, a more scientific methodology of material accountability and protection system was installed. The oversight mechanism that came into effect included strict access to control and personnel reliability programs. All these best practices were derived from cooperation with and training from the United States and other advanced nuclear countries. However, the nuclear security architecture in Pakistan and the oversight system established is indigenous, with an emphasis on cultural norms and national sensitivities.

The progress of the nuclear weapons program throughout this period remained firewalled from all political shocks. Though Pakistan's civil-military relations are still unsettled, the existing command and control structure is viewed as robust, institutional, and professional, and it has support across the entire political system.

During the 10-year period of democracy in the 1990s, the role of prime minister on nuclear control was a matter of controversy and power struggle. When the military coup occurred around the end of the decade, there was no ambiguity about where the apex of power rested. It took a decade to develop a robust command system, which transited to the civilian setup without any hiccups in 2008.

For over 4 years, since the return of representative government, Pakistan has undergone tremendous domestic tumult resulting from a series of regional crises and violent extremism—a democratic system facing multitudinous threats to its security. Meanwhile, Pakistan's nuclear capability and force goals have grown steadily, keeping pace with its rival,

India, where force modernization and strategic development in both the conventional and nuclear realms have significantly improved. Pakistan's nuclear force posture in part has been influenced by the lucrative nuclear deal granted to India by the United States. Above all, Pakistan went through a peaceful transition in 2008 for the first time in history, even though it had gone through violence and a domestic crisis that was unprecedented in its short history as a nation.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 5

1. Governor General Ghulam Mohammad removed Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin in 1953. He removed Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1955. Next, Prime Minister Choudhury Muhammad Ali was removed in 1956. Prime Minister H. S. Suharwardy was the first prime minister after the 1956 constitution; he was removed in 1957. Prime Minister I.I Chundrigar replaced him for a short while in 1957. Finally, Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon was removed by President Iskandar Mirza in 1958. President Mirza was removed by General Ayub, leading to the first military coup in 1958.

2. General Ayub Khan led the first military coup in October 1958 when he removed President Iskander Mirza; General Yahya Khan replaced Ayub Khan in March 1969; Zia-ul-haq deposed Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in July 1977; and General Pervez Musharraf deposed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in October 1999.

3. In May 1988, President General Zia-ul-Haq removed Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo; in July 1990, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan sacked Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan sacked Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in April 1993, and then President Farooq Leghari removed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto from power.

4. Author's interviews with former politicians, bureaucrats, military officials, and scientists between 2005 and 2006 are unanimous on this question. Former PAEC Chairman Ishfaq Ahmad

(1991-2001) told the author that the classified nuclear program was never short of funds under all regimes, since Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and every national institution in the country is the stakeholder in the nuclear program.

5. After the 1958 military coup, Ayub Khan dissolved the first constitution in 1956 and replaced it with the 1962 constitution, ushering in the presidential form of government. That included the introduction of a basic democratic system—the “Electoral College”—comprised of locally elected members who voted for the president. He nevertheless handed over power to General Yahya Khan, whose martial law lasted until the end of his presidency in 1971. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto brought in the parliamentary form of government under the new 1973 constitution, which is still effective. General Zia-ul-Haq made the 8th amendment to the constitution, which retained the parliamentary system but made the president all powerful, with the authority to dissolve the assembly—essentially making the prime minister subordinate to the president. In 1997, Nawaz Sharif won a two-thirds majority in the parliament; he promptly clipped presidential powers with the passage of the 13th amendment to the constitution, once again returning all powers to the prime minister and reducing the authority of the president to merely a ceremonial one. General Musharraf then introduced 17th amendment, which returned powers to the president so he could dismiss the prime minister and dissolve parliament. Once Musharraf was ousted, President Asif Zardari reverted the powers back to the prime minister under the 18th amendment to the constitution.

6. Pakistan now has a functioning parliamentary form of government, strengthened with the 18th amendment to the constitution. However, the current president, Asif Ali Zardari, also retains the leadership of the ruling political party—the PPP. By doing so, he has the authority to fire any incumbent minister, including the all-powerful prime minister, who serves at the pleasure of the party leader. As president of the country and chairman of the political party in power, the president thus retains *de facto* power and influence, even though *de jure* parliamentary powers are with the prime minister. In practice, the troika of power is still in effect at the apex of country governance.

7. According to Pakistan's 1973 constitution, a parliamentary form of government has the prime minister as the chief executive with the power to run the country. In the 1970s, after seven amendments to the constitution under Bhutto, the prime minister became the most powerful office, with only nominal powers residing in the president. In 1985, General Zia-ul Haq initiated the 8th amendment to the constitution, as *quid pro quo* for restoration of the parliament, which gave him the powers to dissolve the parliament and the government. Successive presidents used this power four times in a row (1988, 1990, 1993, and 1997) to remove the civil government. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif then introduced the 13th amendment to the constitution, which made the prime minister all-powerful again. Once again, a military coup removed him from power. In a repeat of history, Musharraf brought back presidential powers through the 17th amendment upon restoration of democracy in 2002. When he was ousted from power, the 18th amendment to the constitution brought back the powers to the prime minister.

8. Until November 2007, General Musharraf was both the president and army chief, so the unity of command rested in his office, and continued with him as civilian president until August 2008. After Musharraf resigned, President Asif Ali Zardari became the head of the National Command Authority (NCA), but he also voluntarily gave his powers as head of NCA to the prime minister in deference to the reform and reintroduction of the parliamentary form of government. This form was later promulgated after the 18th amendment to the constitution, which—for the fourth time—came back to the prime minister.

9. "NA passed National Command Authority Bill 2009," *Daily Times*, January 29, 2010, available from www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2010%5C01%5C29%5Cstory_29-1-2010_pg7_5.

10. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defense Policy 1947- 58*, New York: St Martin, 1990, p. 85. The division of army units, ordnances, and infrastructure was always viewed as unfair in Pakistan. In general, the distribution of finance, defense, and administrative assets was among the bitter part of the tragedy that accompanied the bloody partition. Border disputes and the fate of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir were two major blows that were, and remain, at the root of India- Pakistan rivalry.

11. Hasan-Askari Rizvi, *The Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003, pp. 3-24.

12. This term is a euphemism for the institutional role of the military and refers to the combination of armed forces, intelligence, and civil bureaucrats whose interests and line of thinking are supported by a strategic community composed of retired civil bureaucrats, military leaders, scientists, and academics backed by right-leaning conservatives.

13. Munir Ahmad Khan, "Nuclearisation of South Asia and its Regional and Global Implications," *Regional Studies*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, Autumn 1998, p. 11.

14. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *If I am Assassinated . . .*, New Delhi, India: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1979, p. 137.

15. *Ibid.* Also see Feroz Hassan Khan, "Nuclear Proliferation Motivations: Lessons from Pakistan," in Peter Lavoy, ed. *Nuclear Weapons Proliferation in the Next Decade*, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2007, p.71.

16. Author's interview with the late Agha Shahi, Islamabad, June 19, 2005. Also see Farhatullah Babar, "Bhutto's footprints on Nuclear Pakistan," *The News*, April 4, 2006.

17. Craig Baxter, ed. and annotated, *Dairies of Field Marshall Ayub Khan, 1966-1972*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 55.

18. Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, Central Treaty Organization.

19. Khan, "Nuclear Proliferation Motivations," p. 505.

20. Author's interview with Dr. Ishfaq Ahmad, former Chairman PAEC (1991- 2001), Islamabad, December 20, 2005.

21. Article on Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Press Conference of May 19, 1974, *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, Punjab Province, Pakistan, May 20, 1974.

22. Author's interview with PAEC scientists, civil and military officials from 2005 until 2011, during the author's research.

23. Lahore was brought under martial law in 1953, when sectarian riots to declare the Ahmadi community as non-Muslim went violent, forcing the army to step in. That event foreshadowed martial law in 1958.

24. Bhutto, *If I am assassinated*, pp. 135-137.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Major General Imtiaz Ali was posted back to the army to become Commandant of School of Infantry and Tactics, from where he eventually retired. Throughout the reign of General Zia-ul-Haq, the president's chief of staff coordinated the nuclear supervisory board.

27. Dr. Abdus Salam, a Nobel laureate, who helped lay the foundation of the nuclear program, had recruited several hundred scientists and technicians in the PAEC. Zia suspected all of them to be secretly Ahmedis, who were not considered loyal enough to be involved in the classified program. This bigoted approach affected the classified nuclear program, as many individuals were sidelined because of mere suspicion until they could be cleared after scrutiny. This was a sort of criterion of the personal reliability program prevalent at the time.

28. Ghulam Ishaq Khan was a long-time civil servant and Zia's finance minister and later Chairman of the Senate. After the accidental death of President Zia, he became acting president of Pakistan; after the general elections of 1988, he was elected the President of Pakistan.

29. Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir*, New York: Free Press, 2006, p. 285.

30. Author's interview with General Mirza Aslam Beg, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, September 1, 2005.

31. Also see Devin T. Hagerty, *The Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation: Lessons From South Asia*, London, UK: The MIT Press, 1998, pp. 135-136.

32. In an interview with the ABC television network, Benazir Bhutto stated that she was kept in the dark about the country's nuclear program. Cited in Zahid Hussain, "Deliberate Nuclear Ambiguity," in Samina Ahmad and David Cortright, eds., *Pakistan and the Bomb: Public Opinion and Nuclear Options*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1998, p. 39.

33. Author's interview with General Mirza Aslam Beg, Rawalpindi, September 1, 2005.

34. *Ibid.* Also see Douglas Frantz and Catherine Collins, *The Nuclear Jihadist*, New York: Hachette Book Group, 2007, p. 181; and Hussain, "Deliberate Nuclear Ambiguity," p. 30.

35. Author's interview with General Beg. Also see Hagerty, *The Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation*, pp. 128-129.

36. Zia-ul Haq's restraint agreement was explained to the author in an interview with Lieutenant General (Ret.) Syed Refaqt Ali, Chief of Staff to President Zia-ul-Haq (1985-88) in Islamabad, December 19, 2005. Also See Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*, Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001, pp. 257- 258.

37. In her speech before a joint session of Congress in June 1989, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said: "Speaking for Pakistan, I can declare that we do not possess nor do we intend to make a nuclear device. That is our policy." Benazir Bhutto, "The Policies of Pakistani Nuclear Problems and Afghanistan," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, June 7, 1989, p. 553.

38. The crises between the president and the prime minister had been brewing over the course of several months, especially after the sudden death, in January 1993, of COAS General Asif Nawaz, who had succeeded General Aslam Beg in August 1991.

39. Author's interview with Dr. Ishfaq Ahmad, Islamabad, December 20, 2005.

40. The author was posted to this new covert nuclear setup in November 1993 and served in the Combat Development Directorate and then (after the nuclear tests) in the Strategic Plans Division, which was formed as the nuclear secretariat; his setup was merged with this new organization.

41. In 1997, after a bitter struggle between the president, prime minister, and chief justice of Pakistan, the latter two had to resign from office, making the prime minister all-powerful. The Army refused to be drawn into the institutional struggle and allowed the parliamentary process to continue. In October 1998, the prime minister sacked General Karamat, and thus became even more powerful with no accountability. When the prime minister tried this move a second time, the military retaliated and overthrew the prime minister on October 12, 1999.

42. Joseph Cirincione, *Bomb Scare: The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007, p. 64.

43. *Dawn*, Pakistan, December 14, 2007. On January 2010, the Pakistani parliament passed the bill that endorsed the NCA and brought it under direct control of the prime minister. See Tahir Niaz, "NA Passes National Command Authority Bill 2009," *Daily Times*, available from www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2010%5C01%5C29%5Cstory_29-1-2010_pg7_5.

44. In October 2006, during a visit to the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California, Lieutenant General Khalid Kidwai, Director General, Strategic Plans Division, admitted the failure of the state on oversight but forcefully denied complicity in the network.

45. For details, see *Nuclear Black Markets: Pakistan, A. Q. Khan and the Rise of Proliferation Networks, a Net Assessment*, International Institute for Strategic Studies Strategic Dossier, London, UK: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2007.

46. In October 2002, elections were held in Pakistan, which brought civilian parliamentarianism into participation under the continued military-dominated system of governance. General Musharraf continued to serve as the president, and Prime Min-

ister Zafrullah Jamali was chosen by the parliament. This hybrid system of governance continued until the 2008 elections brought back civilian government, and the military withdrew from political administration.

47. Despite stiff opposition from the hardliners, Pakistan agreed to send samples of centrifuges to the IAEA to help it complete its investigation on the A. Q. Khan network's sales to Iran.

48. Adil Sultan, "Nuclear Weapons and National Security," *The Tribune*, May 27, 2012, available from tribune.com.pk/story/384907/nuclear-weapons-and-national-security/.

49. For a detailed analysis, see Feroz Hassan Khan, "Pakistan Nuclear Security: Separating Myths from Reality," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 39, No. 6, July/ August 2009, pp. 12-20.