

# Revolution in Civil-Military Affairs (RCMA): Debating the Contours and Relevance of Pakistan's Civil Military Relations (CMR)

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## Abstract

*Civil Military Relations (CMR) in Pakistan have always remained controversial. The power equation between the civil and military is being contested since the genesis of Pakistan. However, the pendulum has always swung toward the military side. Fewer journalistic writings argued about civil military integration (CMI) but it could not be materialized as an academic subject. Since the last century, the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) is changing the character of war as well as emerging threats. Similarly, the threats of 21<sup>st</sup> century have been transformed from state or political actors to non-state actors of any kind. This has, in turn, rendered the civilian side in conflict as critical as the military side. Consequently, the concept of Revolution in Civil Military Affairs (RCMA) became an academic subject. The paper will critically apprise of and debate the contours of RCMA, its civilian and military strands and how is it relevant in the case of Pakistan under the hybridity of threats in 21<sup>st</sup> century.*

**Keywords:** Civil Military Relations, Pakistan, Revolution in Civil Military Relations

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## Introduction

Civil Military Relations (CMR) has always remained in the limelight of Pakistani politics. However, it does not exclusively rest with Pakistan alone. The civil and military power equation has always been debated and contested. Likewise, the balancing act between the two sides of the said equation is a daunting task. Since its independence from British rule, Pakistan for the first time, witnessed a smooth transition of power from one civilian government to another civilian government. The only factor was that the government completed its term. From then onward, things around the equation of CMR are settling in. However, there are sincere voices from within the state that vouch for civil-military integration (CMI). As much academic as it sounds, CMI was not actually as it was perceived. It was a debate in order to integrate the two sides of the same coin thereby diverging away from the old rhetoric debate of CMR. Even literature on CMI is not sufficient enough to explain how it would be executed keeping in mind the decades old imbalance in the equation of CMR. With the advent of the concepts of Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), came many innovations in military tactics and strategy vis-à-vis technology. These innovations also developed and paved the way for the threats to emanate from non-traditional ways, may it be information or ideological domain. Therefore, the concept of revolution in military affairs (RCMA) is the focus of this article where the two sides; civil and military under the hybridity of the threats will be discussed. The literature will make a critical appraisal of the concept and argue its relevance for the 21<sup>st</sup> century threats Pakistan is facing.

## Civil Military Relations

Civil-military relations in Pakistan remained in a hostile condition during the past seven decades. One after another military coup is a practical example of inadequate trust among civil-military leadership. Though, Pakistan got independence in 1947 but in 2013, it was the first time when

a civil democratic regime was successfully transitioned to the new one. The role of military leadership in Pakistan is known as power seeker and the political leadership is deemed immature and it prioritized personal interests over national interests.

Moreover, the lack of harmony among all the institutions of Pakistan is another obstacle in national integration and creates more problems than paving ways for progress and prosperity. The internal and external threats related to security issues have also deviated the civil-military leadership from identification and resolutions of these threats. Civil leadership on the one hand, has difference of opinion among them due to diverse ideas and backgrounds but military leadership remained focused on its own interpretation of security dilemma. Due to diversity in approaches toward pursuing the security, socio-economic and foreign policy issues, civil-military relations faced lack of confidence which caused military coups and interruption in democratic continuity. With the passage of time, owing to the continuity of same conditions and relations, the rift between civil-military leaderships has grown up enough and is an existing as reality.<sup>1</sup>

War on terror was the factor which integrated most of the regimes of the world. However, in Pakistan there was not any national narrative against terrorism till 2014 APS Peshawar attack.<sup>2</sup> The civil leadership was divided into many groups as some of them were against Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and all terrorist organizations. However, some were differentiating these organizations as good and bad Taliban. The APS attack changed the mind-set of most of the political leadership and in a very long session of civil military conference just after the APS attack. After the successful session, it was announced by the Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif that National Action Plan (NAP) had been launched to counter terrorism across the state on 24 December 2014 in an

<sup>1</sup> Emil Lengyel, *Pakistan* (F. Watts, 1972) Pg 52.

<sup>2</sup> Aftab Khan et al., "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder among School Children of Army Public School Peshawar after Six Month of Terrorists Attack," *Pakistan Journal of Medical Sciences* 34, no. 3 (2018): Pg 525–29. *Pakistan Journal of Medical Sciences* 34, no. 3 (2018)

address to the nation on television.<sup>3</sup>

### **Civil Military Integration**

Nevertheless, these are all rhetoric that the controversy of CMR revolves around. However, certain journalistic writings did prevail on the concept of civil military integration (CMI) but it did not get materialised as an academic concept, let alone a strong debate over it.

Scholarly debates and analyses are missing from literature in the policy circles of Pakistan about civil military integration (CMI). Although it is an academic concept which was applied by the Chinese<sup>4</sup> in People's Liberation Army's (PLA) strategy for 21<sup>st</sup> century threats. Whereas, in Pakistan it was a mere concept to incorporate both sides with one another, thereby, giving it the name of integration. Moreover, the weak institutions<sup>5</sup> other than the security organizations are considered the reason of incompetency and fall short of integrating the two sides of the same coin.

### **21<sup>st</sup> Century Security Threats and Paradigms**

The evolutionary development of the subject of security studies is still ongoing. The world is constantly changing which is affecting the security paradigms in 21<sup>st</sup> century. The traditional concept of security rested with state and its armed forces. Nonetheless, it has expanded toward non-traditional<sup>6</sup> threats in 21<sup>st</sup> century which are also known as the sectors of security, as elucidated by Barry Buzan. These sectors are military, political, economic, societal and environmental. Therefore, previously it was security of the state but in contemporary times it is the security of individuals living within the states. So, security is to be perceived from

<sup>3</sup> Francisco Rojas Aravena, *The Difficult Task of Peace* (Springer Nature, n.d.), 355.

<sup>4</sup> Toby Warden, "A Revolutionary Evolution: Civil-Military Integration in China," Australian Institute of International Affairs, October 1, 2019, accessed November 10, 2019, <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/a-revolutionary-evolution-civil-military-integration-in-china/>

<sup>5</sup> Riaz Hassan, "Pakistan's Civil-Military Relations," Yale University, October 11, 2018, accessed November 10, 2019, <https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/pakistans-civil-military-relations>

<sup>6</sup> David J. Kilcullen, "New Paradigms for 21st Century Conflict," Small Wars Journal, June 2007, accessed November 11, 2019, <https://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/new-paradigms-for-21st-century-conflict>

different perspectives and approaches<sup>7</sup>.

## Revolution in Military Affairs

All the new methods of warfare have been powered by the role of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) which has included war-fighting concepts like network-centric warfare (NCW) and Information Warfare (IW) amongst others. The revolution in the affairs of security and military have been given the name of Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA)<sup>8</sup>

The ramifications of such a revolution do not only require to be understood by military officers but also by strategic planners as well as academics. The said concept of RMA has also introduced the fifth<sup>9</sup> dimension of information that aids in previous four dimensions of land, sea, air and space. Therefore, strategic planning accounts for all the sectors of society under the umbrella of RMA. James Adams in his book, "The Next World War: Computers are the Weapons & Frontline is Everywhere" explains as to how the evolution of technology has revolutionized warfare in tandem with extinction of many old concepts of war; siege warfare is one of them. The recent development in the concept of RMA has been established as a result of microchips.

Understanding whether the RMA has affected war-fighting concept is from how the technology has affected objectives, efficiency, effectiveness, magnitude and duration of war. Moreover, the new technologies that are being tested and employed in the war-fighting strategies are Artificial intelligence and autonomous systems and quantum science<sup>10</sup>. These will transform warfare as radically as the technologies that are emerging. It

<sup>7</sup> Astrid Orovcane, "Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: In Search of New Research Paradigms and Approaches," Academia, June 6, 2015, accessed November 11, 2019, [https://www.academia.edu/34556623/Title\\_SECURITY\\_IN\\_THE\\_21\\_ST\\_CENTURY\\_IN\\_SEARCH\\_OF\\_NEW\\_RESEARCH\\_PARADIGMS\\_AND\\_APPROACHES](https://www.academia.edu/34556623/Title_SECURITY_IN_THE_21_ST_CENTURY_IN_SEARCH_OF_NEW_RESEARCH_PARADIGMS_AND_APPROACHES)

<sup>8</sup> Sharjeel Rizwan, "Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA)," Defence Journal, accessed November 11, 2019, <http://www.defencejournal.com/2000/sept/military.htm>

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* 8.

<sup>10</sup> Christian Brose, "The New Revolution in Military Affairs," Foreign Affairs, June 2019, accessed November 12, 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-04-16/new-revolution-military-affairs>

will no more be a fictional concept of movies alone.

As far as the technologies are concerned, the first revolution came in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was the rise of modern nation-state system that brought order and organization over the conduct of war. The second revolution is called the French Revolution<sup>11</sup> which elucidates rise of mass politics and allowed the state to field nationalistic armies larger and more disciplined than before. The third is commonly known as the industrial revolution in which the concept of mass production<sup>12</sup> emerged as a result of mushrooming of business consortiums and organizations. It also allowed states to maintain huge armies and logistics to fight the conventional wars. The fourth revolution occurred during the latter parts of the First World War when militaries developed the modern system of small unit manoeuvres and combined arms to reduce enemy's lethality and increase survivability<sup>13</sup>. The Fifth, and final, revolution was the adoption of nuclear weapons. Current arguments for a new<sup>14</sup> RMA say technological changes to the tools of war will revolutionize how it is fought. However, historically, only once in more than 600 years was an RMA caused by a technological change in the tools of war alone—during the nuclear revolution.

The revolution in military affairs (RMA), began during America's involvement in the First Gulf War<sup>15</sup>. It has been accepted as a common precedence for the advent of RMA.

Strategic theorist Colin S. Gray said, “...in common with war, strategy has an enduring nature but an ever shape-shifting character<sup>16</sup>.”

<sup>11</sup> Jonah Walters, “A Guide to the French Revolution,” *Jacobin Magazine*, July 14, 2015, accessed November 12, 2019, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/07/french-revolution-bastille-day-guide-jacobins-terror-bonaparte/>

<sup>12</sup> History, “Industrial Revolution,” July 1, 2019, accessed November 12, 2019, <https://www.history.com/topics/industrial-revolution/industrial-revolution>

<sup>13</sup> Adam Wunische, “Nothing New: Why the 'Revolution' in Military Affairs Is the Same as the Old One,” *The National Interest*, September 2, 2019, accessed November 12, 2019, <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/nothing-new-why-revolution-military-affairs-same-old-one-77266>

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.* 13.

<sup>15</sup> Anthony H. Cordesman, “The Real Revolution in Military Affairs,” *Center for Strategic & International Studies*, August 5, 2014, accessed November 12, 2019, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/real-revolution-military-affairs>

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.* 13.

This explains that strategy is always dynamic in its character and it can be adaptive to the evolving concepts and technologies.

The overarching concepts of such a revolution as a result of technological advancements also drove the thought process of strategists and academics to develop and craft new concepts to resolve the old issues of the last century. Such was the case where Anthony H. Cordesman developed the concept of Revolution in Civil Military Affairs (RCMA).

### **Revolution in Civil Military Affairs**

The concept of Revolution in Civil Military Affairs (RCMA)<sup>17</sup> was coined by Anthony H. Cordesman who presented a working draft paper<sup>18</sup> at the Centre for Strategic and International Security (CSIS) in 2018. He deliberated on the said concept from the perspective of the United States. The lessons can also be drawn from it for Pakistan's civil military equation in tandem with understanding the novel concepts in general.

Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) has changed the conflicts in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and its effects need to be looked at carefully. The mainstream as well as social media<sup>19</sup> is depicting on daily basis that how national security threats are changing from non-state actors to individual security. Special focus can be given to ongoing wars of Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq. Therefore, the re-examining of the conflicts is also in flux. The United States and its allies have paid special attention to such changes since the liberation of Kuwait from the first Gulf War in 1991 followed by the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The acute threats from extremism, terrorism and insurgency renders the United States to redefine security which is

<sup>17</sup> Anthony Cordesman, "The Revolution in Civil-Military Affairs," Center for Strategic & International Studies, February 15, 2018, accessed November 13, 2019, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/revolution-civil-military-affairs>

<sup>18</sup> Anthony Ho. Cordesman, "21st Century Conflict: From "Revolution in Military Affairs" (RMA) to a "Revolution in Civil-Military Affairs" (RCMA)," Center for Strategic & International Studies, February 15, 2018, accessed November 13, 2019, [https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180215\\_RCMA\\_Report\\_cordesman.pdf?ANPFgt3cD.iGOKCBA.hw6tsbmGiqu5SD](https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180215_RCMA_Report_cordesman.pdf?ANPFgt3cD.iGOKCBA.hw6tsbmGiqu5SD)

<sup>19</sup> Hammaad Salik & Zaheema Iqbal, "Social Media and National Security," The Geopolitics, September 9, 2019, accessed November 13, 2019, <https://thegeopolitics.com/social-media-and-national-security/>

being driven by different kinds of revolution, that is, a revolution in civil-military affairs. This concept in one liner elucidates that the civilian dimension of warfare is equally important vis-à-vis its military one. This RCMA has its political and economic dimension as well owing to failing or weakening of the states<sup>20</sup>. This asymmetric conflict between the state and non-state actors calls for the greater role of winning the hearts and minds of civilian population which has become as critical as to win a battle itself. The concept can be exemplified with the civilian aspect of Russian involvement in Ukraine as well as the growing instability in Europe in the post-Brexit political environment<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, it can be measured by the peaceful rise of China which combines the power of military and economic manoeuvres in Asia-Pacific as well as the ongoing civil-military conflicts in Middle East, Central Asia and Africa. All of the said actors and regions pose a new security and threat matrix.

The aforesaid examples depict the combination of violent terrorism, religious extremism and sectarian violence blended with contours of insurgency by non-state actors. At the same time, each of these aspects has emerged as a result of political disunity, ineffective governance structures as well as scarce opportunities for economic and social development which would again amplify regional threats and instability<sup>22</sup>. These linkages at the tactical level of conflict

needs to create security and stability at the civilian level for which the United States and its partners need to ponder over. Therefore, a direct link is to be established between political unity, effective governance and economic development as part and parcel of a lasting peace and stability in any military conflict. It is also tantamount as a fact that the worst challenges are also emanating from the weak and divided states, where

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<sup>20</sup> *ibid.* 19.

<sup>21</sup> Andreas Umland, "What Brexit Means for Ukraine," Atlantic Council, June 27, 2016, accessed November 14, 2019, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/what-brexit-means-for-ukraine/>

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.* 19.

least has been done for its population and civilian needs<sup>23</sup>. Henceforth, all the above said debate culminates threats from both civilian as well as military side and demands a more comprehensive engagement with civilians on the same side of the conflict as the military. That means it also requires innovations in concepts.

### **The Limits to “Military” Aspects of RMA**

The needs of modern warfare cannot be fulfilled only by a pure military aspect of revolution in military affairs (RMA). Same goes for the United States and its grand strategy that relies heavily on the military aspect. The era of the 1990s was a moment where the United States and Europe emerged as a dominant mix of global military forces where the former was considered as a sole super power and the latter, its biggest ally in any conflict. The same decade also paved the way for internet and social networking platforms as a result of forces of globalization<sup>24</sup>. Despite warnings and analyses from the experts that the threats would now evolve from state actors to non-state actors; from traditional security to non-traditional security, United States and its allies did not pay heed. In the same era, however, the coalition of US forces with European and Arab forces, fought to liberate Kuwait in 1991. The battle to liberate Kuwait involved advanced tactics and technology but relied on military operations fought by conventional forces in direct air-land engagements and ended in a formal ceasefire between state actors<sup>25</sup>. This first gulf war saw the “revolution” in military affairs where the use of precision-guided weapons, deep strike, radical advances in technology in tandem with stealth operations emphasized on the role of joint warfare and a near real-time decision cycle based on equal advances in secure communications and digital aids.

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid.* 19.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* 19.

<sup>25</sup> John M. Goshko, “IRAQ ACCEPTS U.N. TERMS TO END GULF WAR,” *The Washington Post*, April 7, 1991, accessed November 15, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1991/04/07/iraq-accepts-un-terms-to-end-gulf-war/9800a4ea-62c1-4215-8119-f21cf4630b78/>

Similarly, from 2006 onward, the United States and its allies have fought the conflicts which were not purely military in nature. As said the two “long wars<sup>26</sup>” – Afghanistan and other in Iraq and Syria. Both the conflicts were driven by failures and weaknesses of host governments to cope with the needs of their populations. Hence, both wars were dominated by non-state actors using the methods of insurgency, irregular and asymmetric warfare and both became caught in the dilemma of civil-military challenges to which the United States is only responding militarily.

### **Coping with the Emergence of a Revolution in Civil-Military Affairs**

The events of 9/11 had already made it clear that the emerging forces were changing the nature of conflict. They also were caught up in the failures of host countries’ governments to deal competently with any major aspect of their civil needs: politics, governance, economics, or forging national unity. Like most of the countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Central Asia faced acute stress from population growth, while creating modern economies for jobs as well as to control corruption and favouritism and nepotism.

The “Arab Spring<sup>27</sup>” helped lay the groundwork for the transformation of Al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) into what is now called as the Islamic State (IS). The Great Recession of 2007-08 showed that “globalism<sup>28</sup>” of labour and financial markets formed an inevitable mixture of collapse. The Russian invasion of the Ukraine showed that “little green men” could implement a different kind of asymmetric warfare that will further aid into and qualify the sources of revolution in military affairs being applied in modern warfare.

<sup>26</sup> Anthony H. Cordesman, “Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Yemen,” Center for Strategic & International Studies, October 25, 2019, accessed November 15, 2019, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/afghanistan-iraq-syria-libya-and-yemen>

<sup>27</sup> Alex S. Wilner, “Opportunity Costs or Costly Opportunities? The Arab Spring, Osama Bin Laden, and AlQaeda’s African Affiliates,” *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 5, no. 3/4 (2011): 50, accessed November 16, 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26298523>

<sup>28</sup> Robert Creamer, “How Globalization Set the Stage for the 2008 Economic Collapse,” Huff Post, September 2, 2009, accessed November 16, 2019, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/how-globalization-set-the\\_b\\_156172](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/how-globalization-set-the_b_156172)

China has developed its own construct of civil-military approaches to these threats by creating artificial islands in South China Sea and East China Sea disputes thereby increasing its strategic influence. In addition to that, it also created network of investments, ports, and transit routes through Belt and Road Initiative<sup>29</sup> (BRI) in the regions of Europe, Middle East, South Asia, and Africa.

Speaking in terms of human cost, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)<sup>30</sup> warned in early 2018 that humanitarian support was required for 3.3 million Afghans, 2.4 million of whom had conflict-related needs and no alternative lifeline. Life-saving responses related to trauma care, emergency shelter, food, nutrition, and safe water needed to be provided to 2.8 million people, including 1.6 million severely food insecure, 585,000 acutely malnourished children and women, and 635,000 people living in damaged housing. Syria faces more direct and brutal threats and more than 250,000 civilians have been killed.

### **Dealing with the Military Aspects of the Revolution in Civil Military Affairs**

Anthony H. Cordesman, based upon the aforesaid facts elucidates that the United States and its allies had to deal with the emerging realities not seen before. Same goes for any state on the geopolitical landscape since threats are transnational and global. As of yet, the United States has made progress more on the military side than the civilian side of the equation<sup>31</sup>. However, the challenges remain. The threat of non-state actors was not gauged or understood from the Algerian Civil War that took place from 1991-1998. Since then, non-state actors have become a major threat.

Military doctrines, training programs and education, in tandem with

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Chatzky and James McBride, "China's Massive Belt and Road Initiative," Council on Foreign Relations, May 21, 2019, accessed November 16, 2019, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounders/chinas-massive-belt-and-road-initiative>

<sup>30</sup> United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, *Humanitarian Response Plan Afghanistan 2018-21* (New York: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2017), 1.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.* 19.

their training manuals, need up-gradation of the tactical level of operations to protect civilians and providing them with relief efforts to restore the civil way of life. The effectiveness of civil-military actions requires more than a tactical approach in order to create a local capability to hold, recover, and build on both the military and civil levels.

### **Dealing with the Civil Aspects of the Revolution in Civil Military Affairs**

The most basic determinant on the civilian side of RCMA, identified by Cordesman, is ideological and religious threats. On the other hand, the military should be cognizant of the fact that with security it should become stable through civil governance. By using civil means, it can resolve and eliminate internal disputes, create jobs, fight corruption, implement economic reform, and raise living standards – all to be done by the civilian infrastructure. This in turn, demands from both civilian and military professionals to educate as to what amounts to nation building<sup>32</sup>. One key area where military and civil operations interact is the need to fight new kinds of ideological battles using new kinds of weapons. Ideological warfare in secular premise has been largely replaced by warfare in the religious premise, religious extremism, and by the ideological aspects of ethnic, racial, tribal, and sectarian tensions and conflicts.

The ideological warfare,<sup>33</sup> that involves the role of communications technology, is a new and critical threat to internal security not just in the Islamic world but across the geopolitical landscape. This type of warfare drives violent non-state actors to commit widespread acts of terrorism and launch violent new forms of insurgency, divide nations and religions, and produce retaliation of the kind. Religious extremists are fighting their ideological battle using all of the tools of Internet as well as other forms of media, modern communication, social networking, and civil society.

Therefore, it is a matter of dealing not with the symptoms but the causes. Nation building on the civil side of a conflict will often be

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.* 19.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.* 19.

the foundation of any lasting success to win at the ideological level. The best way to prevent the ideological and extremist violence is through effective governance, successful development, national equity between all elements of society, and an effective rule of law. To win the ideological battle, it is pertinent to deal with the causes of anger, alienation, and indifference as well. It means to convince people of that nation, and those factions which have remained divided or misrepresented, that they would receive fair benefits in politics, governance, economy and rule of law.

These broader aspects of the civil dimension of warfare must also be supported by security and counterinsurgency operations, in limiting civilian

casualties and collateral damage, in protecting the population, and by providing for civil recovery after operations take place. Where possible, civil prevention will also be far better than any civil-military or military cure. Once the threat of terrorism or insurgency becomes serious, however, the host country government and/or the forces seeking peace and stability must deal with the key portions of the population that have become violent, support violent movements or stand aside from the conflict. No form of military victory can successfully terminate and bring enduring stability to a conflict where the "winner" loses the population or fails to win its support. Today's ideological and civil conflicts are being fought in ways that both exploit the broader fault lines in a given state's civil society and on a generational level. A large share of those who have become extremists and now fight this conflict on the web and in the field are younger men and women alienated from the power structure in their countries and their traditional religious leadership.

Accordingly, "nation building" needs to concentrate on encouraging wartime reform and planning for post-war recovery. It needs to focus on broad national policies and plans, and serious efforts to improve governance as well as economic policies that stimulate development and help unite the country's factions. Military and civil aid need to be made

conditional on countries developing and actually implementing such reform efforts. Far too often, plans remain unexecuted contentions.

### **The Need for a Civil-Military Approach to National Security – Pakistan Perspective**

With this, the debate comes to a point where the traditional notion of civil military relations (CMR) in Pakistan can be compared with the novel concepts of revolution in civil military affairs (RCMA). The power equation of civil and military has always remained tilted toward the latter. Irrespective of the reason, this has been the case for the past several decades in the history of Pakistan. The military side of the equation has always confronted the emerging threats of the last century as well as the threats of contemporary era. Speaking in terms of last century, only at one point, where the decisive use of military was not fruitful and it back-fired; that was Indo-Pakistan 1971 war<sup>34</sup> that eventually culminated into the creation of Bangladesh. The internal discord in tandem with the grievances of the other part of Pakistan were not addressed, since, there was not enough political, economic, and social as well as analytical clout of political elite of that time. Moreover, the dilemma was further compounded by the separatist elements that eventually regard their own power projection and prestige.

The Afghan war is also an example in this respect. The military decisively waged proxy war against the then Soviet Union (U.S.S.R) in Afghanistan by evoking the ideological sentiments of the Pakistani people in general and the Muslims of Islamic world in particular. The war ended with the demise of the Soviet Union after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989<sup>35</sup>. However, those elements which were at that time known as freedom fighters or Afghan Mujahideen were left on their own. This was the time

<sup>34</sup> Business Standard, “1971 war: The story of India's victory, Pak's surrender, Bangladesh freedom,” December 16, 2018, accessed November 17, 2019, [https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/vijay-diwis-how-india-ended-pak-s-atrocities-and-ensured-freed-bangladesh-118121600120\\_1.html](https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/vijay-diwis-how-india-ended-pak-s-atrocities-and-ensured-freed-bangladesh-118121600120_1.html)

<sup>35</sup> History, “Berlin Wall,” December 15, 2009, accessed November 17, 2019, <https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/berlin-wall>

when the civilian side had to come in for nation building of Afghanistan as well as to inculcate the said elements back into the society. Pakistan also did not pay heed to such a strategic blunder and that ultimately resulted in non-state actors which is the biggest threat in the 21<sup>st</sup> century security paradigm<sup>36</sup>. It can also be rightly argued that at that time there were no such concept of RCMA.

The threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> century from non-state actors, information warfare, cyberspace, strategic communications, competing narratives, and low intensity conflicts<sup>37</sup> (LIC) have increased the importance of civil as well as military side of revolution in strategic affairs or to be more precisely the revolution in military affairs. The regime security, in tandem with the economic security in terms of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) which is the flagship project of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is tantamount to the sectors of security elucidated by Barry Buzan and are covered also by Cordesman in his concept of RCMA. These aspects require the civilian side to be educated to the extent that the threats as well as security related dynamics must be understood by them.

The warfare methods and threats have become hybrid in nature. Its acute example as discussed above is the hybrid war waged by Russia in Ukraine where civilian side of the conflict was equally pivotal as was the military side. In fact, at some points in time, the civilian side weighs more than its military counterpart. Same goes for Pakistan where we initially witnessed hybrid conflict against Pakistan in 1971 and in contemporary times as Water wars by India, the terrorist attacks by non-state actors, cyber-attacks in terms of Stuxnet that was meant for Iran, but it did pass South Asia to acquire its target. The development of war-torn areas in northern areas of Pakistan as well as the no-go-areas of Balochistan requires *jus post bellum* (justice after war) that also entails the concept of nation building not just to reconstruct the destructive aspects of society

<sup>36</sup> Rizwan Asghar, "Security in the 21st century," *The News*, December 12, 2015, accessed November 18 2019, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/81313-Security-in-the-21st-century>

<sup>37</sup> Dr SHIREEN M MAZARI, "Low Intensity Conflicts: The new war in South Asia," *Defence Journal*, July 1999, accessed November 18, 2019, <http://www.defencejournal.com/jul99/low-intensity.htm>

but even during the conflict where asymmetry leads to elements like Pashtoon Tahaffuz Movement (PTM).

It is high time that matters relevant to the civilian side must be left to civilians on which the military has no influence whatsoever be the case. It involves soft power projection, political stability, economic development, and societal cohesion. Nonetheless, the advisory opinion and concerns of the military must be taken aboard. It is also high time that the military must evolve itself and equip with novel ideas which are emerging on the geopolitical landscape in order to fight terrorism, extremism like it was adopted in the National Action Plan (NAP).

## **Conclusion**

It is agreeable without a single shred of doubt that the concept of security is changing with the change in the character of warfare in tandem with technologies with which these wars are being waged. It is tantamount to argue that hybridity of threats has left no room for mere debates for old rhetoric of civil military relations. The concept of civil military integration did not take place owing to its generality and journalistic writings. The revolution in strategic affairs sparked a revolution in military affairs that rendered us with revolution in civil military affairs. The two sides of the coin in the 21<sup>st</sup> century can be blended as well as balanced as a consequence of hybrid warfare which is continuously being waged on Pakistan. In contrast to conventional threats from India, in terms of water disputes and Kashmir quagmire, the war of narratives is also very critical in contemporary times. Acute examples can be quoted from Uri attack and Pulwama crisis. Educated elite in a comprehensive concept of nation building combined with the art of statecraft has to blend different aspects of knowledge-base in order to secure the civilian side in any conflict. The non-traditional threats would further create a security dilemma for the state of Pakistan, and for that, the traditional notion of security from military and civilian side would not bear enough analysis to mitigate the threats. As an academic concept, the

revolution in civil military relations can bring both the civilian and military aspects of Pakistan on a single platform to fight the emerging and future threats based on nation building and use of force respectively.