

PERFORMANCE of the **NATIONAL SECURITY COMMITTEE**

APRIL 11, 2023 – MARCH 4, 2024



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PREFACE

PILDAT conducts a review of the performance of the National Security Committee (NSC) from the citizens' perspective annually. Each year, we have chosen the performance period based on the date of the oath of office of the Prime Minister. The latest report covering the period of 2022-2023 was based on the oath of office of Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif from April 11, 2022 and covered the period until April 10, 2023.

The 2023-2024 report is covering the period from April 11, 2023 to March 4, 2024 by looking at the tenure of Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif and the tenure of the Caretake Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar, who held office from August 14, 2023 till March 4, 2024.

Disclaimer

Every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of the contents of this report. Any error or omission, therefore, is not deliberate.

Lahore
May 2024

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CCNS	Cabinet Committee on National Security
CJCSC	Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
DCC	Defence Committee of the Cabinet
GHQ	General Headquarters
NCOC	National Command and Control Centre
NLCC	National Locust Control Centre
NSA	National Security Advisor
NSC	National Security Committee
NSD	National Security Division
PID	Press Information Department
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
SC	Supreme Court
SIFC	Special Investment Facilitation Council
SPPC	Strategic Policy Planning Cell

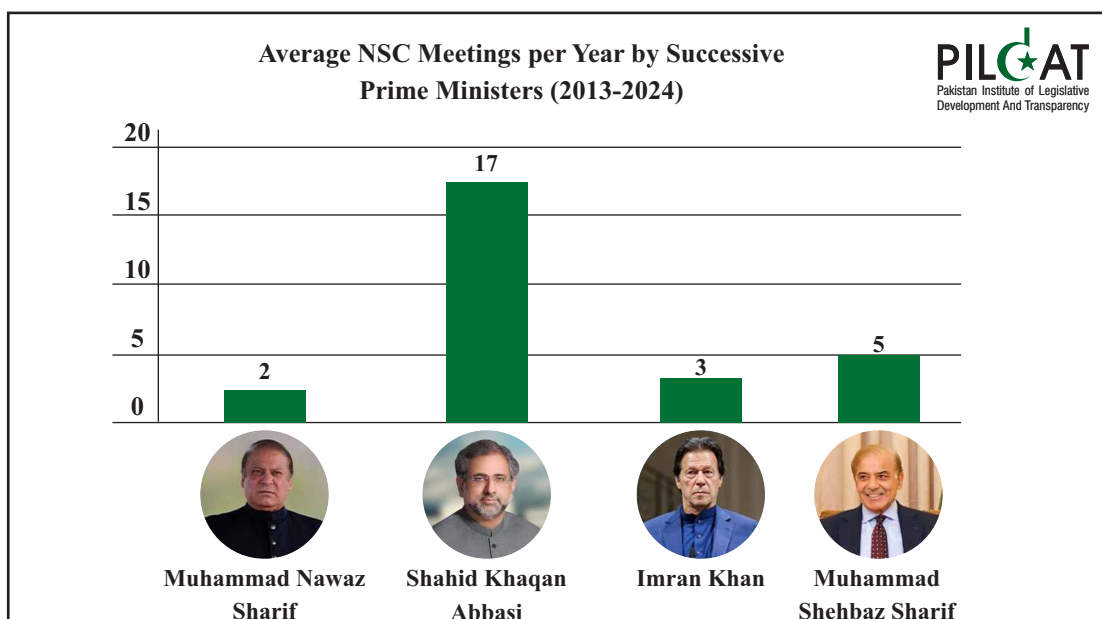
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PILDAT's annual assessment of the National Security Committee (NSC) reveals the persistence of the trend of underutilization of the NSC since it was created in 2013. Despite the NSC's mandate as the decision-making body chaired by the Prime Minister to address national security issues, successive governments have resorted to informal huddles instead of utilizing this institutionalized forum. The period from April 11, 2023, to March 4, 2024 appears to be no different. During this time period, only two meetings of the NSC were held, chaired each by Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif and Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar. Moreover, both meetings were held reactively, not proactively. The first meeting during this period, or the 43rd meeting of the NSC since its creation, was held on May 16, 2023 in response to the May 9 riots while the second meeting, or the 44th meeting of the NSC, was held on January 19, 2024, in response to escalating tensions along the Pakistan-Iran border.

For the past decade, almost all Prime Ministers barring one have shied away from effectively utilizing the NSC. Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif held, on average, 2 meetings of the NSC per year, during his 4 years and 2 months in office (2013-2017). Prime Minister Mr. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi held, on average, 17 meetings of the NSC per year, during his 10 months in office (2017-18). Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan held, on average, 3 meetings of the NSC per year, during his tenure of 3 years and 8 months (2018-2022). Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif held 5 meetings of the NSC per year on average, in his tenure of 1 year and 4 months (2022-2023). Since the creation of the NSC, Caretaker Prime Ministers have also chaired meetings of the body. Justice (Retired) Nasirul Mulk (June 1, 2018 – August 18, 2018) chaired 2 meetings and Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar (August 14, 2023 – March 4, 2024) chaired one meeting of the NSC.

Historically, in contrast to the infrequent NSC gatherings, smaller huddles held between Prime Ministers and Chiefs of Army Staff (COAS) in one-on-one settings have been more frequent, underscoring a reliance on ad-hoc interactions and personal relationships rather than structured consultations. From April 11, 2023 till August 14, 2023, Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif met the Chief of Army Staff General Syed Asim Munir once for a one-on-one meeting. However, he held 15 other interactions with him during this time. Overall, in his tenure, Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif met the Chief of Army Staff one-on-one at least 9 times, with 5 of these meetings held with General Syed Asim Munir and 4 with General Qamar Javed Bajwa.¹ Thus, Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif held more

Figure 1: Average NSC Meetings Per Year by Successive Prime Ministers (2013-2024)



1. "Performance of the National Security Committee, April 11, 2022 – April 10, 2023," PILDAT, June 2023, page 11, accessed May 7, 2024. <https://pildat.org/inter-institutional-relations/performance-of-the-national-security-committee-april-11-2022-april-10-2023>.

one-on-one meetings with the successive Army Chiefs than convened meetings of the NSC (6). Additionally, Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar held two (2) one-on-one meetings with COAS General Syed Asim Munir from August 14, 2023 till March 4, 2024 but convened only one meeting of the NSC.

This trend of informal interactions signifies the gross under-performance of the National Security Committee, which was created to serve as a formal forum for inter-institutional dialogue and meant to provide the military leadership with an official platform to offer its viewpoints where the elected civilian government is the final arbiter on decision-making. However, as proven by the infrequency of NSC meetings and the relatively higher frequency of interactions outside of this forum, we can safely assume that those in power from time to time, do not wish to institutionalize the NSC by keeping it dysfunctional.

Given the continued enlarged role of the military in national political affairs, the NSC should have been utilized to discuss the ways to disengage the military from the political domain as per the Constitution. Instead, successive Prime Ministers have chosen to disregard the NSC for such a crucial dialogue and allowed the ever-expanding role of the military in national governance.

One major example of this during the reporting period has been the creation of the Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC).

On June 20, 2023, Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif announced the creation of the SIFC as the Government of Pakistan's "elaborated Economic Revival Plan in the wake of economic hardships being confronted by the country."² What was unusual about the SIFC was its announced membership which included the Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) as a member of the SIFC. What appeared as a supra-constitutional forum³ for economic decision-making by the inclusion of the Army Chief as a member of this forum, and the appointment of army officials to the roles of National Coordinator of the SIFC and Director General of the SIFC executive and implementation committees, the creation of the SIFC signalled a strengthening of the "hybrid model" of governance initiated by former PM Mr. Imran Khan. Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif in fact went a step further and defended the inclusion of the Army Chief in the SIFC by saying that hybrid model of governance was an acceptable reality for Pakistan and that his government was similar to previous hybrid models of governments in Pakistan.⁴

Since its creation, the bulk of economic initiatives have been directed through the SIFC. Its meetings are held regularly, including under the caretaker-set-up, and it held 9 meetings and one special session of its Apex Committee from July 5, 2023 till March 4, 2024. Notably, 7 of these 10 meetings were chaired by the Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar, who termed the SIFC as a 'ray of hope' for Pakistan.⁵ The saga of the SIFC encapsulates Pakistan's ever-increasing dependence on the "hybrid model."

The underutilization of the NSC is also alarming because of the socio-economic and geopolitical context that Pakistan found itself in during April 2023 to March 2024. Pakistan faced political crises such as the May 9 riots, economic crises such as the risk of defaulting on IMF repayments and a wider regional crisis in the form of the Israeli invasion of Gaza. Moreover, there was also an uptick in terrorism in the country, with 2023 seeing a six-year high in fatalities from terrorist acts.⁶ This context underscored the need for cohesive and institutionalized discussions on national security but only 2 meetings of the NSC were held. No National Security Advisor was appointed by Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif and by his caretaker successor.

2. "Eco Revival Plan – SIFC Meeting," *PMO* online, June 20, 2023, accessed June 30, 2023. https://pmo.gov.pk/news_details.php?news_id=1254.

3. "Creation of the Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC)," PILDAT, January 2024, accessed May 7, 2024. https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Creationofthespecialinvestmentfacilitationcouncilsifc_Jan2024.pdf.

4. "Who will be Caretaker PM? - Exclusive Interview with Shehbaz Sharif - Hamid Mir - Capital Talk," YouTube, August 10, 2023, accessed May 31, 2024. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uB70Sexl8s>.

5. "Creation of the Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC)," PILDAT, January 2024, accessed May 7, 2024. https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Creationofthespecialinvestmentfacilitationcouncilsifc_Jan2024.pdf.

6. Ayaz Gul, "Report: Terrorist Attacks Kill Nearly 1,000 Pakistanis in 2023," *Voice of America* online, December 31, 2023, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://www.voanews.com/a/report-terrorist-attacks-kill-nearly-1-000-pakistanis-in-2023-/7419344.html>.

Overall, in the assessment of the performance of the NSC over the past year, PILDAT found that while the NSC was created to serve as a formal forum for inter-institutional dialogue, where the military would have an official channel through which to offer its opinion, it was still not being utilized as such. In fact, instead of utilizing the NSC for this discourse, the government of the day gave the military leadership a permanent role in supra-constitutional, decision-making forums, further entrenching the military's role in Pakistan's governance.

In light of the disappointing performance of the NSC described above, PILDAT once again makes the following recommendations, as earlier outlined by PILDAT:⁷

1. **Regular Meetings:** The NSC should be required to meet at least once a month and this should be coded into the Rules of Business of the NSC.
2. **Strategic Dialogue on Civil-Military Relations:** Periodic meetings of the NSC should be dedicated to discussing the long-term issues of inter-institutional relations.
3. **Completing the NSC:** In 2013, the National Security Council (NSC) was designed to include two vital support institutions: a Planning Committee and an Advisory Board. While the National Security Division has a moderately active Advisory Board, the Planning Committee remains inactive after more than a decade of the creation of the NSC.

7. Performance of the National Security Committee, 2022-2023, PILDAT, June 2023, page 20, accessed May 22, 2024.
<https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/NSC-PerformanceReport2022-2023-180723.pdf?Submit=Download>

Overview of the National Security Committee

In August 2013, the newly inducted PML-N government under Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif reconstituted the existing Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC) into the Cabinet Committee on National Security (CCNS).⁸ Members of the committee included Prime Minister as Chair and Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Interior and Finance. The CCNS, however, also included the three Services Chiefs and the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (CJCS) as its members. The purpose of the CCNS was said to be to develop policies pertinent to issues of national security. In April 2014, it was further clarified that this body, which was soon renamed as the National Security Committee (NSC), was to be the 'principal decision-making body' on national security.⁹

From the outset, Pakistan's NSC differed from the National Security Councils in other democracies, such as the US, UK and India, in two significant ways. Firstly, service chiefs are generally not members but rather are invited to participate in any or all meetings of the forum in other countries. Secondly, these forums are generally consultative and do not have decision-making powers, which rest with the elected chief executive of the country. Thirdly, NSCs in various other countries meet regularly, often on a weekly basis.¹⁰

A new National Security Division (NSD) was created to serve as the secretariat of the NSC. Among its responsibilities was convening meetings of the NSC and coordinating input from all relevant Ministries and implementing decisions. The NSC was also to have two support institutions, the Advisory Board and the

Planning Committee, which would oversee research and planning. Former National Security Advisor Mr. Sartaj Aziz, who oversaw the creation of the NSC in its reformed status, later wrote that the creation of these institutions was stalled after objections about their composition.¹¹ Another body with a similar mission, the Strategic Policy Planning Cell, was created in the tenure of Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan in 2019.¹² All three aforementioned bodies are to be chaired by the National Security Advisor.¹³ In the NSD's 2021-2022 Yearbook, it was mentioned that the NSD was focused on "activating" the Advisory Board and 11 meetings were held.¹⁴ Meanwhile, in the 2022-2023 Yearbook, which is the latest uploaded, two meetings of the Advisory Board are said to have taken place.¹⁵ However, no update has been given on the activation and meetings of the Planning Committee.

Since the NSC was created, there have been 5 National Security Advisors (NSA), including Mr. Sartaj Aziz who served from June 2013-October 2015, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Nasser Khan Janjua, who served from October 2015-June 2018, Mr. Abdullah Hussain Haroon, who served for the month of June 2018, followed by Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Khalid Naeem Lodhi who served from June 2018 until August 2018. The position remained vacant from August to December 2018 until Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan appointed Dr. Moeed W. Yusuf as Special Advisor to PM on National Security Division and Strategic Policy Planning. Dr. Yusuf served in the post until May 2021 when his portfolio was changed to National Security Advisor and he served as NSA until April 2022.¹⁶

Prime Minister Mr. Muhamad Shehbaz Sharif did not appoint a National Security Advisor or a Minister overseeing the National Security Division from April 2022-August 2023. This practice continued under the Caretaker setup from August 2023 till March 2024.

8. "DCC to be reconstituted as Committee on National Security," *Dawn* online, August 22, 2013, accessed May 7, 2024. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1037613>.
9. "Performance of the National Security Committee, 2013-2018, PILDAT, January 2019, page 7, accessed May 7, 2024. <https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/PerformanceoftheNationalSecurityCommittee20132018.pdf>.
10. "National Security Council," PILDAT, April 2012, page 11-15, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://pildat.ipower.com/Publications/publication/CMR/NationalSecurityCouncil-debateonInstitutionsandprocessesfordecisionmakingonsecurityissues.pdf>.
11. "Performance of the National Security Committee, 2019-2020, PILDAT, August 2020, page 11, accessed May 22, 2024. https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/PerformanceoftheNationalSecurityCommittee_SecondYearofPTIFederalGovernment_Aug182019-Aug172020.pdf.
12. "Strategic planning cell to ensure better policymaking: PM," *Dawn* online, November 18, 2019, accessed May 7, 2024. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1515567>.
13. "National Security Division," Government of Pakistan, accessed May 8, 2024. <https://www.nsd.gov.pk>.
14. "Yearbook 2021-22," National Security Division, August 2023, accessed May 22, 2024, https://www.nsd.gov.pk/SiteImage/Publication/Year_Book_2021_22.pdf.
15. "Yearbook 2022-23," National Security Division, August 2023, accessed May 22, 2024, https://www.nsd.gov.pk/SiteImage/Publication/Year_Book_2022_23.pdf.
16. Performance of the National Security Committee, 2022-2023, PILDAT, June 2023, page 15, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/NSC-PerformanceReport2022-2023-180723.pdf?Submit=Download>.

Meetings of the NSC (April 11, 2023– March 4, 2024)

Only two meetings of the National Security Committee were held from April 11, 2023 till March 4, 2024. One was convened and chaired by Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif and another by Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar.

NSC Meeting of May 16, 2023

On May 9, 2023, the inter-institutional crisis in Pakistan intensified when the PTI supporters attacked army installations, including the GHQ following the arrest of Mr. Imran Khan. In the context of these events, a meeting of the NSC was convened by Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif on May 16, 2023. As per the press release issued by the PMO, the meeting was attended by cabinet ministers, three services' chiefs and Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee. All in attendance agreed upon a 'zero tolerance' policy for violence against State institutions. The NSC extended its full support to the Armed Forces and vowed to prosecute all those involved in the riots under applicable constitutional provisions, including the

Pakistan Army Act and the Official Secrets Act. They also pledged to strictly enforce social media rules and regulations to control the spread of propaganda. Finally, they stressed on the need for national unity and political reconciliation given the geopolitical atmosphere.¹⁷ This was the sixth and final NSC meeting held by Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif during his nearly 1.5-years in government.

A disagreement of sorts appeared to exist between the military and civilian elected government on whether to try perpetrators of the May 09 violence by the anti-terrorism or regular courts or the military courts. This disagreement became apparent through various statements emanating from the PM and the ISPR where the PM favoured trials under anti-terrorism courts while the Pakistan Army insisted for trials under the military courts.

On May 13, 2023, Prime Minister had stated that those involved in the May 09 riots would be tried in the anti-terrorism courts.¹⁸ However, two days later, the Special Corps Commanders Conference (CCC) which was held on May 15, 2023 announced that perpetrators of the May 09 violence would be tried under the Army Act.¹⁹ The NSC statement endorsed the same. On May



Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif chairing NSC meeting on May 16, 2023

17. “وزیراعظم محمد شہباز شریف کی صدارت میں قومی سلامتی کمیٹی (این ایس سی) کا اجلاس” PMO, May 16, 2023, accessed May 7, 2024. https://pmo.gov.pk/press_release_details.php?pr_id=4717.
18. Shehbaz Sharif (@CMShehbaz), X (Twitter), May 13, 2023, 3:29 pm, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://x.com/CMShehbaz/status/165733222276571137?ext=HHwWgsDU-YG4g4AuAAAA>
19. “General Syed Asim Munir, COAS presided over Special Corps Commanders Conference (CCC) held at GHQ,” ISPR, May 15, 2023, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://ispr.gov.pk/press-release-detail?id=6536>

20, the ISPR quoted the COAS who said that “legal process of trial against planners, instigators, abettors and perpetrators involved in 9 May tragedy has commenced under Pakistan Army Act and Official Secret Act as per existing and established legal procedures derived from the Constitution of Pakistan.”²⁰ On May 21, 2023, Prime Minister again highlighted that only those who attacked military installations would be tried under the Army Act while those who attacked civilian property would be tried in anti-terrorism courts.²¹ On June 12, 2023, the National Assembly passed a resolution moved by the Federal Minister for Defence Mr. Khawaja Asif, demanding trial of May 9 rioters without delay and under the Pakistan Army Act.²² The tabling of the resolution was preceded by a meeting between the COAS and PM on the same day, June 12, 2023 as Dawn reported.²³ On June 23, 2023, the Attorney General shared with the Supreme Court (SC) that at least 100 civilians were in the custody of the military.²⁴

The issue of trial of civilians under military courts has since been taken up by the Supreme Court, with a lot of back and forth and without a clear settlement, adding to the agony of those with pending cases against them. In October 2023, a 5-member Supreme Court bench declared that trying civilians in military courts for their alleged role in attacks on army installations in May 09 riots were ultra vires the Constitution. The SC verdict was challenged by the Federal Caretaker government on the grounds that under the light of the Supreme Court Practice and Procedure Act, the judgement was liable to be set aside for having been rendered without jurisdiction and thus a nullity in the eye of law. In December, a 6-member Supreme Court bench suspended the earlier October 2023 order and allowed proceedings against May 9 suspects to continue in military courts though it barred from convicting, acquitting suspects until the Supreme Court's final decision to come after the SC was set to resume hearing on the issue.²⁵ In March 2024, a six-judge SC bench modified the December decision, issuing a direction



Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar chairing NSC meeting on January 19, 2024

20. “General Syed Asim Munir, COAS visited Lahore,” ISPR online, May 20, 2023, accessed June 10, 2023. <https://www.ispr.gov.pk/press-release-detail?id=6539>.
21. Syed Irfan Raza and Amjad Mahmood, “Army Act only for those who attacked military property: PM,” Dawn online, May 22, 2023, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1754939>.
22. Nadir Guramani, “NA passes resolution to try May 9 rioters under Army Act without any delay,” Dawn online, June 12, 2023, accessed May 26, 2024. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1759363>.
23. Syed Irfan Raza, “Budget, May 9 top agenda in PM-COAS meeting,” Dawn online, June 13, 2023, accessed May 26, 2024. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1759483>.
24. Haseeb Bhatti, “102 people in army's custody, AGP tells SC,” Dawn online, June 23, 2023, accessed May 31, 2024. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1761297>.
25. “Update on Performance of Democratic Institutions, December 2023,” PILDAT, January 5, 2024, accessed May 31, 2024. <https://pildat.org/inter-institutional-relations/update-on-the-performance-of-democratic-institutions-december-2023>

that while military courts could commence trials but they will not convict or acquit any suspect until the pendency of government-instituted ICAs. The SC referred a set of intra-court appeals back to a three-judge committee against the October ruling in April 2024 though a final decision is awaited.²⁶

NSC Meeting of January 19, 2024

On January 16, 2024, Iran carried out missile and drone attacks into Balochistan, allegedly targeting extremist group Jaish al-Adl, which carried out attacks on Iranian forces. On January 18, 2024, Pakistan responded with air strikes into Iran's Sistan-Baluchestan province, allegedly targeting armed Baloch separatists.²⁷ The NSC meeting was convened a day later on January 19, 2024 by the Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar.²⁸

According to the press release issued by the Press Information Department, the NSC had agreed that “existing multiple communication channels between the two countries should be mutually utilised to address each other's security concerns in the larger interest of regional peace and stability.”²⁹ The NSC also reaffirmed that any violation of Pakistan's sovereignty would not go unreturned. The meeting was attended by Caretaker Ministers for Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Information, Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, Chief of the Army Staff, Chief of Naval Staff, Chief of Air Staff and the heads of intelligence agencies. This meeting was the only NSC meeting chaired by Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar during his time in office from August 14, 2023 to March 4, 2024.

26. “Update on Performance of Democratic Institutions, April 2024,” PILDAT, May 09, 2024, accessed May 26, 2024. <https://pildat.org/top-featured/update-on-the-performance-of-democratic-institutions-april-2024>.
27. “Iran and Pakistan rebuilding diplomatic ties following tit-for-tat strikes,” *Al Jazeera* online, January 22, 2024, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/22/iran-and-pakistan-rebuilding-diplomatic-ties-following-tit-for-tat-strikes>.
28. “Caretaker Prime Minister Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar Chairs a Meeting of the National Security Committee,” Government of Pakistan on X, January 19, 2024, accessed May 7, 2024. <https://x.com/GovtofPakistan/status/1748387727731748943>.
29. “PR No. 112 Islamabad: January 19, 2024,” Press Information Department, January 19, 2024, accessed May 7, 2024. https://pid.gov.pk/site/press_detail/24408.

Analysis of the Performance of the NSC

PILDAT has highlighted the underutilization of the National Security Committee in each of its previous reports. Unfortunately, the activity of the NSC during the time period covered by this report brings us, once again, to the same conclusion.

From April 11, 2023 to March 4, 2024, the National Security Committee was convened only twice. From this, the obvious inference drawn would be that Pakistan must not have many national security issues to deliberate on. However, this is clearly not the case. The political crises included the May 9 riots.³⁰ The dire socio-economic conditions of Pakistanis, the government's difficulties in meeting the IMF conditions and the risk of defaulting on repayments were major economic crises that posed a risk to national security.³¹ Pakistan also faced crucial challenges on its borders, including tensions with Afghanistan's Taliban government, whom Pakistan accuses of providing safe haven to the Pakistani Taliban.³² These challenges emphasized the need for cohesive and institutionalized discussions on national security. Moreover, the crucial issue of ever-increasing involvement and control of the military in Pakistan's national, economic, political and geo-strategic issues, is one that the NSC should have, by its very design, aimed to resolve through a sustained dialogue.

The underutilization of the NSC has been a trend that can be seen since its inception in 2013. Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, who can be credited for creating a reformed version of the NSC complete with a new National Security Division, held only 9 meetings of the NSC during his 4 years and 2 months in office. This comes to around 2 meetings a year on average. Prime Minister Mr. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi was an exception as he held a remarkably high number of NSC meetings. In his 10 months in office, he convened the NSC 14 times. This means around 17 meetings per year on average. Caretaker Prime Minister Justice (Retired) Nasirul Mulk (June 1, 2018 – August 18, 2018) chaired 2 meetings of the NSC. When it came to the Prime Minister elected on the promise of 'change', Mr. Imran Khan, in office for 3 years and 8 months, convened the NSC only 12 times. This comes to around 3 meetings a year on average. Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif did not choose to improve his predecessor's trend and held only 6 meetings of the NSC in his tenure of 1 year and 4 months. Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar (August 14, 2023 – March 4, 2024) chaired one meeting of the NSC. Over more than a decade after its creation, the reformed NSC has only been convened 44 times by successive Prime Ministers.

The complete list of NSC meetings can be found in Appendix A: List of NSC Meetings, 2013-2024.

Table 1: Summary of NSC Meetings by Successive Prime Ministers (2013-2024)

No.	Prime Minister	Years in office	Total NSC Meetings Convened	Average NSC Meetings convened per year
1	Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif	4 years 2 months	9	2
2	Mr. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi	10 months	14	17
3	Justice (Retired) Nasirul Mulk	3 months	2	8
4	Mr. Imran Khan	3 years 8 months	12	3
5	Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif	1 year 4 months	6	5
6	Mr. Anwaar ul Haq Kakar	7 months	1	2
	Total	10 years, 10 months	44	4

30. "Assessment of the Quality of General Election 2024," PILDAT, March 2024, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/AssessmentoftheQualityofGeneralElection2024.pdf>.

31. "Pakistan, IMF reach \$3bn staff-level agreement," *Al Jazeera* online, June 30, 2023, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/30/pakistan-imf-reach-3bn-staff-level-agreement>

32. Abid Hussain, "What explains the dramatic rise in armed attacks in Pakistan?" *Al Jazeera* online, December 21, 2023, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/12/21/what-explains-the-dramatic-rise-in-armed-attacks-in-pakistan>.

One-on-One and other Interactions Between PM and COAS

Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif and the Chief of Army Staff General Syed Asim Munir held a solo one-on-one meeting during April 11, 2023 to August 14, 2023. While there was no official word on this meeting, it was reported in the media that the COAS called on PM Sharif on June 12, 2023.³³ This huddle came three days after the presentation of the budget in the National Assembly. It was reported that on the same day, Federal Minister of Defence moved a resolution in the National Assembly that demanded the trial of the perpetrators of May 9 under the Army Act without delay.³⁴ The COAS and the Prime Minister interacted on 15 more occasions during April 11, 2023 and August 14, 2023.

Overall, in his tenure, PM Sharif met the COAS one-on-one 9 times, with 5 of these meetings being with COAS Munir and 4 with the former COAS Bajwa. Thus, the Prime Minister held more one-on-one meetings with the successive Chiefs of Army Staff than he convened meetings of the NSC.

Overall, during his 1 year and 4 months in office, Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif met COAS Bajwa 12 times and COAS Munir 31 times. During his 4 years and 2 months in office, Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif met COAS Raheel Sharif 106 times and COAS Bajwa 13 times. Prime Minister Mr. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi met COAS Bajwa 26 times during his 10 months in office. Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan met COAS Bajwa 136 times during his tenure of 3 years and 8 months.³⁵

Caretaker Prime Mr. Minister Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar held two one-on-one meetings with the Chief of Army Staff during his tenure. Both of these meetings were held before the meetings of the Apex Committee of the Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC), on November 17, 2023³⁶ and February 2, 2024.³⁷ They were only reported in the media and no official announcement was made. However, the Caretaker PM and COAS Munir interacted on 16 other occasions.

The lists of interactions between PM-COAS are given in Appendix B: List of PM-COAS Interactions, April 11, 2023 – August 14, 2023, and Appendix C: List of PM-COAS Interactions, August 14, 2023 – March 4, 2024.



General Syed Asim Munir, Chief of the Army Staff (COAS), called on Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif after his appointment as COAS on November 24, 2022

33. "Budget, May 9 top agenda in PM-COAS meeting, *Dawn* online, June 13, 2023, accessed May 8, 2024. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1759483>.
34. *Ibid*.
35. Performance of the National Security Committee, 2022-2023, PILDAT, June 2023, page 11-12, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/NSC-PerformanceReport2022-2023-180723.pdf?Submit=Download>.
36. "Army Chief General Asim Munir Meeting With Caretaker Prime Minister," Samaa TV, Youtube, November 17, 2023, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ptkK3mS4ysE>.
37. "Anwar ul Haq Meeting With Army Chief General Asim Munir | Breaking News," BOL News, Youtube, February 2, 2024, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luHEqHEFBE>.

Creation of the Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC)

On June 20, 2023, Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif announced the creation of the SIFC as the Government of Pakistan's "elaborated Economic Revival Plan in the wake of economic hardships being confronted by the country." The SIFC, it was announced, was created as a "Single Window interface for the potential investors as well as to adopt a unified approach" and would create "horizontal-vertical synergy between federation and provinces, facilitating timely decision making, avoiding duplication of effort, and ensuring swift project implementation."³⁸

What was unusual about the SIFC was its announced membership which included the Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) as a member of the SIFC though its other members included PM's Cabinet colleagues, as well as Provincial Chief Ministers.

The SIFC appeared as a supra-constitutional forum³⁹ for economic decision-making as a National Economic Council already exists under Article 156 of the Constitution in this regard. Furthermore, the inclusion

of the Army Chief as a member of the SIFC, and the appointment of army officials to the roles of national coordinator of the SIFC and director general of the SIFC executive and implementation committees, the creation of the SIFC signalled a strengthening of the "hybrid model" of governance initiated by former PM Mr. Imran Khan. Under Mr. Khan, creation of new structures, such as the National Command and Operation Centre (NCOC) and the National Locust Control Centre (NLCC) had given the military an institutionalized role in the governance of the country.⁴⁰ Former PM Mr. Khan had also created the National Development Council which had very similar aims as the SIFC and had inducted the then COAS as its member.

Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif defended his inclusion of Chief of Army Staff into the SIFC, saying that the hybrid model of governance was an acceptable reality for Pakistan and in that his government was similar to previous hybrid models of governments in Pakistan.⁴¹

Later, a post-effect bill was laid in the Parliament by his government to include the SIFC in an amendment to the



Prime Minister Mr. Shehbaz Sharif chairing the 2nd Meeting of the Apex Committee of the SIFC on July 21, 2023

38. "Eco Revival Plan – SIFC Meeting," *PMO* online, June 20, 2023, accessed June 30, 2023. https://pmo.gov.pk/news_details.php?news_id=1254.
39. "Creation of the Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC)," PILDAT, January 2024, accessed May 7, 2024. https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Creationofthespecialinvestmentfacilitationcouncilsife_Jan2024.pdf.
40. "Performance of the National Security Committee, 2019-2020," PILDAT, August 2020, page 14, accessed May 7, 2024. https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/PerformanceoftheNationalSecurityCommittee_SecondYearofPTIFederalGovernment_Aug182019-Aug172020.pdf?Submit=Download.
41. "Update On The Performance of Democratic Institutions | August 2023," PILDAT online, September 10, 2023, accessed January 14, 2024. <https://pildat.org/inter-institutional-relations/update-on-the-performance-of-democratic-institutions-august-2023>

[Board of Investment \(Amendment\) Act, 2023 \(Act No. XLI of 2023\)](#) as part of the government's hurried legislative agenda before the conclusion of the term of the 15th National Assembly. The law further defined the post-establishment rationale of the SIFC, its scope, functions, formation of its committees including the executive and implementation committees, the SIFC's power to issue directions, its power to relax or exempt from regulatory compliance and its immunity from prosecution or any legal action, etc.⁴²

Haq Kakar held 18 cabinet meetings during the time period between August 14, 2023 and March 4, 2024. Thus, all Prime Ministers, barring Mr. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, failed to meet the requirements of Rule 20 of the Government of Pakistan Rules of Business.⁴⁴

Since its creation, the bulk of economic initiatives have been directed through the SIFC. Its meetings are held regularly, including under the caretaker-set-up and it held 9 meetings and one special session of its Apex Committee from June 20, 2023 till March 4, 2024. Notably, 7 of these 10 meetings were chaired by the Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar, who termed the SIFC as a “ray of hope” for Pakistan.⁴³

The saga of the SIFC encapsulates Pakistan's ever-increasing reliance on the “hybrid model.”

Meetings of the Federal Cabinet

As per Rule 20 of Government of Pakistan Rules of Business, a weekly meeting of the Federal Cabinet should be held. This translates to about 52 meetings per year. From April 11, 2023 till August 14, 2023, or 18 weeks, Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif convened 10 Federal Cabinet meetings, which are 8 short of the 18 required. During his tenure of 1 year and 4 months, or 70 weeks, he convened 53 Cabinet meetings as opposed to the 70 meetings he should have held. This also means, on average, Mr. Shehbaz Sharif held 40 meetings per year.

His predecessor, Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan convened 169 meetings of the Cabinet. On average, he held 46 Cabinet meetings per year. Prime Minister Mr. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi held 45 meetings during his 10 months in office, which translates to an average of 54 per year.

The lowest average meetings per year (8) were held by Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, who held only 35 meetings during his 4 years and 2 months in office. Meanwhile Caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Anwaar-ul-

42. “Creation of the Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC),” PILDAT, January 2024, accessed May 7, 2024.

https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Creationofthespecialinvestmentfacilitationcouncilsifc_Jan2024.pdf.

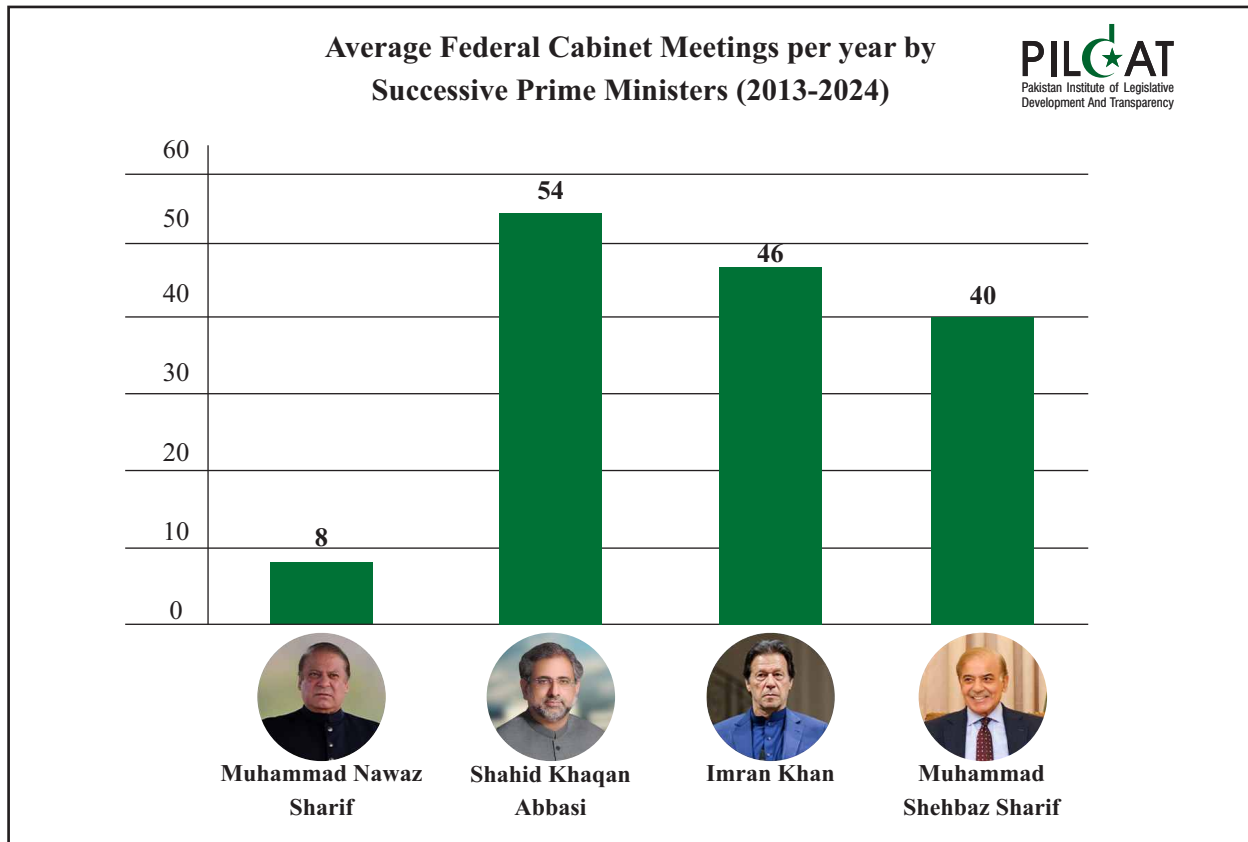
43. “Update on The Performance of Democratic Institutions | August 2023, PILDAT online, September 10, 2023, accessed December 24, 2023.

<https://pildat.org/inter-institutional-relations/update-on-the-performance-of-democratic-institutions-august-2023>.

44. Performance of the National Security Committee, 2022-2023, PILDAT, June 2023, accessed May 22, 2024.

<https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/NSC-PerformanceReport2022-2023-180723.pdf?Submit=Download>.

Figure 2: Average Federal Cabinet Meetings per year by Successive Prime Ministers (2013-2024)



Given that similar bodies as the NSC world over meet regularly, it is important that a periodicity of NSC meetings is also mandated.

Incomplete NSC Framework

The NSC framework includes an empowered National Security Division, a National Security Advisor (NSA) and a National Security Policy document. The NSA is a permanent member of the National Security Committee and is also meant to head the Planning Committee, Advisory Board and the Strategic Policy Planning Cell of the National Security Division. However, Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif did not appoint a National Security Advisor during his tenure from April 2022 to August 2023. Under the Caretaker setup from August 2023 till March 2024, no NSA was appointed either. During April 2023

to March 2024, no Minister was made in charge of the NSD either.

National Security Policy 2022-2026

A key responsibility of the NSC was determined in 2013 “to formulate a national security policy that will become the guiding framework for its subsidiary policies – defence policy, foreign policy, internal security policy, and other policies affecting national security”.⁴⁵ However, this was only achieved nearly eight (8) years later towards the end of December 2021 when in a meeting of the NSC, the Prime Minister at the time Mr. Imran Khan unveiled and approved what his government termed as “Pakistan’s first ever National Security Policy 2022-2026.”⁴⁶ A public version of the National Security Policy was only unveiled on January 14, 2022 by Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan. The policy placed economic stability as a key component of

45. “DCC to be reconstituted as Committee on National Security,” *Dawn* online, August 22, 2013, accessed May 7, 2024. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1037613>.
46. Prime Minister’s Office, Pakistan (@PakPMO), Twitter, December 27, 2021, 5:24 pm, accessed December 28, 2021, <https://x.com/PakPMO/status/1475442513230114823>.

national security.⁴⁷ The policy has distinct chapters on National Security Framework, National Cohesion, Economic Future, Defence and Territorial Integrity, Internal Security, Foreign Policy and Human Security.

As part of unveiling the NSP 2022-2026, Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan also announced that the National Security Advisor would present a report on its regular implementation to the NSC “every month” as he also advised that “revitalization of the Planning Committee and the expansion of NSC's Advisory Board was also unanimously approved” by the NSC.⁴⁸ However, despite setting the target of receiving monthly progress on implementation of the NSP, only one other NSC meeting was convened by Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan while he was in office for next 5 months until April 10, 2022.

The NSP 2022-2026 also stated that the “NSD will review and recommend updates to the policy on a yearly basis, when a new government is formed, or in case of a major event that has far reaching implications for Pakistan's security.”⁴⁹ However, the new government that replaced the PTI government in April 2022 did not carry out a monthly, quarterly or yearly review of the NSP 2022-2026. The 2022-2023 NSD Yearbook, which is the latest uploaded, states that the “implementation of the National Security Policy is a longstanding continuous process and to this effect the meetings are being conducted across the country with quarter concerned from time to time.”⁵⁰ It does not comment on the periodical review and updating of the NSP.

Performance of the National Security Division (NSD)

The NSD Yearbook 2022-2023 sums up its achievements in the year in the following words:

“The immediate task before the Division, soon after its establishment, was to fulfil its function of providing

secretariat support to the National Security Committee (NSC), the principal decision making body on national security matters. The Division discharged this responsibility efficiently and meetings of NSC were convened as and when desired by the political leadership. Since August 2013, the Committee has met on Forty-Two (42) occasions. The meetings afforded an opportunity to political and military leadership to discuss and make decisions on national security issues including situation in the Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir (IOJ&K); Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and other important matters of internal and external security.

As part of its overall mandate, the Division has initiated National Security dialogue with international counterparts for enhancing understanding and forging cooperation on security matters. Two notable (Tashkent (in person) and Delhi (virtual)) international meetings of SCO were attended by Secretary NSD along with Joint Secretary, NSD. Furthermore, regular meetings are also held with Islamabad-based foreign diplomats.”⁵¹

The Yearbook 2022-2023 also details that the division “has focused specially on activating the Advisory Board to ensure input from partnering think tanks on relevant and vital issues policy input for premieres.”⁵²

During April 11, 2023 to March 4, 2024, the 28th and 29th meetings of the Advisory Board were chaired by Mr. Aamir Hasan, Secretary of the National Security Division.⁵³ However, there is no mention of the activation of the Planning Committee, nor of the meetings of the Strategic Policy Planning Cell.

The NSD Yearbook 2022-2023 had also highlighted the 3rd Edition of Islamabad Security Dialogue held on May 10-11, 2023 where the National Security Advisors of China, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and the Military Heads of China and Indonesia participated.⁵⁴

47. Baqir Sajjad Syed, “Security policy places economy front and centre,” *Dawn* online, January 15, 2022, accessed February 3, 2022. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1669494>.
48. “Prime Minister Imran Khan chaired the 36th meeting of the National Security Committee (NSC),” PMO online, December 27, 2021, accessed September 10, 2022. https://pmo.gov.pk/press_release_details.php?pr_id=3890.
49. “National Security Policy of Pakistan 2022-2026,” National Security Division, August 27, 2022, accessed May 31, 2024. <https://www.nsd.gov.pk/SiteImage/Publication/NSP%20Policy.pdf>
50. “Yearbook 2022-23,” National Security Division, August 2023, page 12, accessed May 22, 2024. https://www.nsd.gov.pk/SiteImage/Publication/Year_Book_2022_23.pdf.
51. “Yearbook 2022-23,” National Security Division, August 2023, page 6, accessed May 22, 2024. https://www.nsd.gov.pk/SiteImage/Publication/Year_Book_2022_23.pdf.
52. “Yearbook 2022-23,” National Security Division, August 2023, page 11, accessed May 22, 2024. https://www.nsd.gov.pk/SiteImage/Publication/Year_Book_2022_23.pdf.
53. “Latest News,” National Security Division, accessed May 28, 2024. <https://www.nsd.gov.pk/LatestNews>
54. “Yearbook 2022-23,” National Security Division, August 2023, page 12, accessed May 22, 2024. https://www.nsd.gov.pk/SiteImage/Publication/Year_Book_2022_23.pdf.

Parliamentary Oversight of the NSC

Much like other ministries and divisions of the federal government, the Parliament of Pakistan has the constitutional responsibility to oversee the working of the NSD which is charged with the responsibility to manage the NSC, among other responsibilities mentioned earlier. However, parliamentary data from the period shows that neither the National Assembly nor the Senate of Pakistan questioned the dormancy of the NSC.

A Parliamentary Committee on National Security (PCNS) under the Speaker National Assembly was formed in the beginning of the parliamentary year in 2018. However, data on the working of the PCNS does not indicate any oversight of the NSC or its infrequent meetings. Similarly, respective Standing Committees of Defence in the National Assembly and the Senate have also not raised any public issue or scrutiny of the dormancy of the NSC and the NSD.

The lack of involvement of Parliament in oversight of the NSD and the dormancy of the NSC despite the fact that there is clear evidence of the increasing role of the Army in national governance is both unfortunate and alarming.

Recommendations for the NSC

Successive Prime Ministers have rarely and infrequently convened meetings of the National Security Committee reducing a crucial forum of consultation to a dysfunctional body with a government division, NSD, without much work to do.

Our examination of the past decade reveals that successive Prime Ministers have made no real progress in terms of making NSC an institutionalised forum of consultation on national security issues. The state of relations between elected civilian governments and successive leadership in the Army went through their ebb and flows resulting in two elected governments of Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Mr. Imran Khan that were sent packing mainly due to losing the support of the military. During the past decade, while influence of the military and its encroachment into civilian political and governance affairs increased, as acknowledged publicly by the outgoing COAS Bajwa, the NSC was not utilised to discuss deep and core problems of the issue of civil-military relations that may have served as a cause of military's ascendancy in national political affairs.

The NSC was created to serve as a formal forum for inter-institutional dialogue, where the military would have an official channel through which to offer its opinion. Performance of the NSC in the past year also shows that the NSC was not activated to serve as a forum for inter-institutional relations.

PILDAT asserts that Pakistan's national security policies will remain reactionary, reacting to events in Pakistan's volatile geopolitical and socio-economic context, if the NSC continues to be underutilized for long-term policy development. Moreover, without sustained discussion on inter-institutional relations at a forum such as the NSC, the military's role in Pakistan's governance will become further entrenched.

PILDAT has consistently demanded, and continues to demand, the following reforms to improve the functioning of the NSC:

1. **Regular Meetings:** While ideally meetings would be held weekly, the minimum number of meetings to be held should be once a month. This should be coded into the Rules of Business of the NSC.
2. **Strategic Dialogue on Civil-Military Relations:** The decades-long confusion about which political and governance systems should prevail in Pakistan ought to be openly discussed. To understand each other's perspectives and to develop a unified national position, civil and military leadership can use the forum provided by the NSC for consistent, long-term and regular engagement on this issue. At least one meeting in a month or two months should be dedicated to these strategic subjects alone.
3. **Completing the NSC:** Sensitive and complex national security issues require high-quality research input. When the NSC was formed back in 2014, an independent secretariat and two subsidiary bodies, the Planning Committee and an Advisory Board, were also to be established along with it. As mentioned in the prior section, while 2 meetings of the Advisory Council were held during 2022-2023, there is still no mention of the activation of the Planning Committee.⁵⁵ Without the strengthening of the Division and its sub-components, the NSC itself cannot be revitalized.⁵⁶

55. "Yearbook 2022-23," National Security Division, August 2023, accessed May 22, 2024, https://www.nsd.gov.pk/SiteImage/Publication/Year_Book_2022_23.pdf.

56. Performance of the National Security Committee, 2022-2023, PILDAT, June 2023, page 20, accessed May 22, 2024. <https://pildat.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/NSC-PerformanceReport2022-2023-180723.pdf?Submit=Download>.

Appendices

Appendix A: List of NSC Meetings, 2013-2024

Prime Minister	Meeting No.	Date of NSC Meeting
Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif	1	August 22, 2013
	2	December 17, 2013
	3	April 17, 2014
	4	October 10, 2014
	5	April 06, 2016
	6	July 22, 2016
	7	May 31, 2017
	8	June 07, 2017
	9	July 07, 2017
Mr. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi	10	August 16, 2017
	11	August 24, 2017
	12	August 30, 2017
	13	September 29, 2017
	14	November 15, 2017
	15	December 18, 2017
	16	January 02, 2018
	17	February 02, 2018
	18	February 27, 2018
	19	April 04, 2018
	20	May 02, 2018
	21	May 14, 2018
	22	May 19, 2018
	23	May 29, 2018
Justice (Retired) Nasirul Mulk	24	June 8, 2018
	25	July 7, 2018

Appendix A: List of NSC Meetings, 2013-2024

Prime Minister	Meeting No.	Date of NSC Meeting
Mr. Imran Khan	26	November 6, 2018
	27	February 21, 2019
	28	February 26, 2019
	29	May 22, 2019
	30	August 04, 2019
	31	August 07, 2019
	32	March 13, 2020
	33	August 16, 2021
	34	October 8, 2021
	35	October 29, 2021
	36	December 27, 2021
	37	March 31, 2022
Mr. Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif	38	April 22, 2022
	39	September 28, 2022
	40	October 14, 2022
	41	December 30, 2022
	41 (continued)	January 2, 2023
	42	April 7, 2023
43	May 16, 2023	
Mr. Anwaar ul Haq Kakar	44	January 19, 2024

Appendix B: List of PM-COAS Interactions, April 11, 2023 – August 14, 2023

PM Shehbaz Sharif-COAS Interactions (April 11, 2023 – August 14, 2023)

No.	Date	Nature of Interaction
1	May 2, 2023	The News: COAS, ISI DG call on PM
2	May 16, 2023	Dunya News: COAS and CJCS call on PM Shehbaz
3	June 12, 2023	Dawn: Budget, May 9 top agenda in PM-COAS meeting
4	June 20, 2023	Eco Revival Plan Meeting to Establish SIFC
5	June 29, 2023	Geo News: PM spends Eid with soldiers in Parachinar
6	July 05, 2023	1st Apex Committee Meeting of SIFC
7	July 07, 2023	Launch of Land Information and Management System-Centre of Excellence (LIMS-CoE)
8	July 10, 2023	PR No. 38: National Seminar on Agriculture / Food Security
9	July 20, 2023	APP: National IT Seminar
10	July 21, 2023	2nd Apex Committee Meeting of SIFC
11	August 1, 2023	Express Tribune: PM, army chief assess security in Bajaur visit
12	August 1, 2023	Pakistan Minerals Summit
13	August 4, 2023	Inauguration of National Aerospace Science & Technology Park in Rawalpindi
14	August 7, 2023	3rd Apex Committee Meeting of SIFC
15	August 8, 2023	Radio Pakistan: PM launches various developmental projects for twin cities
16	August 8, 2023	PM's Farewell Visit to GHQ

Appendix C: List of PM-COAS Interactions, August 14, 2023 – March 4, 2024

PM Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar-COAS Interactions (August 14, 2023 – March 4, 2024)

No.	Date	Nature of Interaction
1	August 28, 2023	4th Apex Committee Meeting of SIFC
2	September 8, 2023	5th Apex Committee Meeting of SIFC
3	September 9, 2023	Second session of the 5th Apex Committee Meeting of SIFC
4	September 17, 2023	DAWN: Justice Isas swearing-in as CJP
5	October 3, 2023	National Action Plan Apex Committee Meeting
6	October 4, 2023	6th Apex Committee Meeting of SIFC
7	October 10, 2023	PR No.59 Quetta: Provincial Apex Committee
8	November 7, 2023	APP: Martyrs of Tirah operation laid to rest in native towns
9	November 16, 2023	7th Apex Committee Meeting SIFC
10	November 16, 2023	SAMAA TV: Army Chief General Asim Munir Meeting With Caretaker Prime Minister
11	November 24, 2023	Special session of Apex Committee, SIFC
12	November 29, 2023	COAS-PM in Kuwait
13	December 29, 2023	National Farmers' Convention at Islamabad
14	January 3, 2024	8th Apex Committee Meeting of SIFC
15	January 24, 2024	PTV: Pakistan National Youth Convention
16	February 2, 2024	BOL News: Anwar ul Haq Meeting With Army Chief General Asim Munir
17	February 2, 2024	9th Apex Committee Meeting of SIFC
18	February 5, 2024	APP: PM, COAS visit Muzaffarabad Monument



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