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## Pakistan: New Generals on the Block

By Wilson John

It is becoming clear even to President Pervez Musharraf, Chief of Army Staff, Pakistan, that he will have to step down sooner than later. There are at least three immediate reasons to make such an assumption:

- **The deal with former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.** The two key issues on which the entire deal hinges are the re-election of Musharraf without the uniform and the scrapping of the bar on becoming the Prime Minister for a third time (under the Qualification to Hold Public Offices Order, 2002, of the Chief Executive's Order No 19 of 2002, which has been made part of the Sixth Schedule under the 17th Amendment to the Constitution.) Since both Bhutto and Musharraf are bound together by a sense of desperation to retain their respective positions of parity in Pakistan, Musharraf is likely to announce his retirement and announce the next Chief of Army Staff.
- **The retirement of the Vice Chief, Lt. General Ahsan Saleem Hayat and Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, Lt. General Lt. General Ehsan ul Haq, on October 8, 2007.** Both these officers are considered last of the Musharraf loyalists in the upper echelons of the army and their retirement would leave Musharraf with only a handful of officers who have been in his kitchen cabinet since October 1999. The retirement would put additional pressure on Musharraf from within the Army to appoint a successor. In normal circumstances, Musharraf should have retired in 2001 and by that count he has had four

stints as the Army Chief. This has blocked promotions down the line and has been a cause of concern, if not dissension, within the top hierarchy.

- Under the Constitution of Pakistan (as amended by the 17th Amendment), Musharraf can hold the dual positions till November 16, 2007. After that, he will either have to give up the option or get another amendment to extend the period, which seems to be a near impossibility given the mood in the country and his own lack of grip on things at home.

These factors lead us to the possible contenders for the post of Army Chief and the key Corps Commanders and Principal Staff Officers who will, directly or indirectly, decide which way Pakistan will go in the near future.

### **LT. GENERAL AHSAN SALEEM HAYAT**

#### *Vice Chief of Army Staff*

General Hayat, 59, a Rajput Muslim, is considered a key member of Musharraf's kitchen cabinet. He is known within the military circles for his personal loyalty to Musharraf and his proximity to Washington.

General Hayat, who survived an assassination attempt in 2004 when he was the Corps Commander, Karachi, was appointed as the Vice Chief over six other three-star contenders.

An alumnus of the PAF Public School, Sargodha, Gen-

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**THE PAKISTAN ARMY LEADERSHIP**

- General Pervez Musharraf, Chief of Army Staff
- General Ahsan Saleem Hayat, Vice Chief of Army Staff
- General Ehsan ul Haq, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee.
- Lt Gen Ashfaq Pervez Kiani, Director General Inter-Services Intelligence,
- Lt Gen Salahuddin Satti, Chief of General Staff General Headquarters
- Lt Gen Tariq Majeed, Corps Commander Rawalpindi,
- Lt Gen Waseem Ahmed Ashraf, Corps Commander Gujranwala,
- Lt Gen Masood Aslam, Corps Commander Peshawar,
- Lt Gen Shafaatullah Shah, Corps Commander Lahore,
- Lt Gen Sikandar Afzal, Corps Commander Multan,
- Lt Gen Sajjad Akram, Corps Commander Mangla,
- Lt Gen Khalid Shameem Wynne, Corps Commander Quetta,
- Lt Gen Ahsan Azhar Hayat, Corps Commander Karachi,
- Lt Gen Raza Muhammad Khan, Corps Commander Bahawalpur
- Lt Gen Syed Absar Hussain, Commander Army Strategic Forces Command.
- Lt Gen Muhammad Yousaf, Vice Chief of General Staff General Headquarters
- Lt Gen Khalid Ahmed Kidwai, Director General Strategic Planning Division,
- Lt Gen Malik Arif Hayat, Director General C4I (Command, Control, Communications, Computers, and Intelligence),
- Lt Gen Safdar Hussain, Chief of Logistics Staff General Headquarters,
- Lt Gen Mohammed Sabir, Director General Military Services, General Headquarters,
- Lt Gen Syed Athar Ali, Director General Joint Staff at Joint Staff Headquarters,
- Lt Gen Hamid Rab Nawaz, Inspector General Training and Evaluation General Headquarters,
- Lt Gen Imtiaz Hussain, Adjutant General General Headquarters,
- Lt Gen Afzal Muzaffar, Quarter Master General, General Headquarters,
- Lt Gen Syed Sabahat Hussain, Chairman Pakistan Ordnance Factories,
- Lt Gen Israr Ahmed Ghumman, Director General Heavy Industries Taxila,
- Lt Gen Hamid Khan, President National Defence University,
- Lt Gen Mushtaq Ahmed Baig, Surgeon General, General Headquarters,
- Lt Gen Nadeem Ahmad, Deputy Chairman Earthquake Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Authority (ERRA),
- Lt Gen Muhammad Zaki, Director General Infantry General Headquarters,
- Lt Gen Ijaz Ahmed Bakhshi, Director General Weapons and Equipment General Headquarters,
- Lt Gen Mohammad Ashraf Saleem, Commander Army Air Defence Command,
- Lt Gen Shahid Niaz, Engineer-in-Chief Frontier Works Organisation.

eral Hayat joined the Armoured Corps in 1967. His career spanned several command, staff and instructional appointments including commanding an armoured Division, Brigade and a regiment. A graduate of the Command and Staff College, Quetta, and the National Defence College, General Hayat has served as the Quarter Master General before being appointed as the Karachi Corps Commander.

In June 2006, Pakistan's Ambassador to US, General Mahmud Durrani hosted a dinner for him in Washington which was attended by US Congressmen, diplomats and other movers and shakers. General Hayat has also been participating in the tripartite commission, representing the US, Afghanistan and Pakistan, to work out a blueprint for Afghanistan. As a representative of Musharraf, he has been dealing with US Centcom and the Afghan National Army. He has been awarded Legion d'Honneur by the French government, an indication of his popularity with western governments.

As the Vice Chief, he assists Musharraf in day-to-day functioning of the army, especially the anti-al Qaida operations. In fact, for the past two years, Hayat has been virtually running the Army since General Musharraf has been heavily involved in political and foreign policy matters.

Known to be mild-mannered, General Hayat poses no threat to Musharraf. Unless appointed as the Chief, he retires on October 8, 2007.

**LT. GENERAL EHSAN UL HAQ*****Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee***

General Haq, 58, an urbane officer with moderate religious beliefs, superceded at least seven three-star officers to become the Chairman, JCSC, an indication of his proximity to General Musharraf.

A firm Musharraf loyalist, General Haq was appointed as the Director General of ISI shortly after the 9/11 attacks. His orders were to clean up the stables and prevent the Americans from leaning heavily on Pakistan to investigate the ISI's role in sustaining the Taliban and al Qaida in neighbouring Afghanistan. General Haq, with a vast experience of command, staff and instructional appointments, successfully purged radical elements within the intelligence directorate without causing trouble either for himself or the President.

No less important was his role in shutting down the Kashmir directorate in the ISI in January 2002.

His tenure in the ISI was, however, not without controversies. He came under suspicion in February, 2002, when Omar Sheikh, one of the principal accused in the case relating to the kidnapping and murder of US journalist Daniel Pearl, reportedly told the Karachi Police during the interrogation that during a visit to Kandahar before 9/11 to meet

Osama, he had come to know of Al Qaeda's plans for the 9/11 terrorist strikes in the US and had mentioned this to Ehsanul Haq at Peshawar on his return.

Omar Sheikh's allegation did not, however, affect Ehsanul Haq's position as the DG, ISI. The US was reported to have been quite happy with his stewardship of the ISI for three years during which some pro-jihadi officers were eased out and many key Al Qaeda operatives, who had taken shelter in Pakistan, including Khaled Sheikh Mohammad, were arrested by the ISI and handed over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Though concerns over his perceived inaction against the Taliban leaders operating from the Pakistani territory persisted, this did not affect his standing with Washington.

With the ISI firmly reined in, he was promoted to the position of Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, a position which was held by General Mohammad Aziz, a radical Kashmiri officer who had helped Musharraf to depose Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief on October 12, 1999 but grew unhappy with Musharraf's reconciliatory move on Kashmir.

Ehsanul Haq is a Pashtun from North West Frontier Province. He is a close family friend of Qazi Hussain Ahmed, the Amir of the Jamaat-e-Islami (JEI), but is not a fundamentalist himself. In 2001, when Musharraf accepted an invitation from then Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee to visit India for the Agra summit, the Qazi was strongly critical of it and refused to attend an all-party meeting convened by Musharraf before his visit to India. It was Ehsanul Haq, then a Corps Commander at Peshawar, who met the Qazi at Musharraf's request and persuaded him to support Musharraf's visit to India.

General Haq, 41st PMA Long Course at Pakistan Military Academy, Kakul, was commissioned in 1969 in the self-propelled regiment of Army Air Defence. He graduated from the Command and Staff College, Quetta, and National Defence College, Islamabad. During his long career, he has commanded Infantry and Air Defence Divisions and Brigades. He has also served as the Deputy Military Secretary at the General Headquarters and as the Director General Military Intelligence.

He has attended several courses in Saudi Arabia, China and the United States. He was awarded Hilal-e-Imtiaz for his military services. He is also the recipient of the 'King Abdul Aziz Excellence Medal' from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Legion d' Honneur from the Republic of France.

Although the position of CJSC is ceremonial, the office is privy to everything that happens in the country by virtue of its access to secret communications and minutes of confidential meetings within the military and presidential office.

General Ehsan ul Haq's chances of becoming the Army

Chief are remote, as traditionally the officer who has been an ISI chief is not favoured for the top position.

Besides, General Haq has a problem on the US front. Although he has a working relationship with the US, his Pashtun identity could become a handicap in the present context. The US is keen on keeping a General in the saddle who can take on the Taliban-Al Qaeda combine dominated by Pashtuns.

He is married and has two sons and two daughters. The General is widely travelled and is a keen golfer as well as an avid reader. He retires on October 8, 2007.

### **LT. GENERAL ASHFAQ PERVEZ KIANI** **DG ISI**

Strongly considered as Musharraf's successor, Lt. General Ashfaq Pervez Kiani is a Musharraf confidante who has also worked with Benazir Bhutto as a Deputy Military Secretary during her first tenure as the Prime Minister.

Kiani, from the Baloch Regiment, has had training stints at US institutions and retains links from that period with the US army and security framework.

Kiani is considered to be a hard-line, experienced General with an ear to the ground on India. He has been part of the inner coterie among the principal staff officers advising the President on Kashmir and India-Pakistan peace process.

Kiani is at present part of the team led by National Security Council Secretary Tariq Aziz negotiating with Benazir Bhutto on agreeing to a political deal with President Musharraf. He was one of the handful of Musharraf's confidants when the latter met Benazir Bhutto in Abu Dhabi on July 27, 2007.

General Kiani held the key posts of Corps Commander, Rawalpindi and Lahore, and DG Military Operations, before being appointed as the DG, ISI.

As Commander X Corps he made a breakthrough in penetrating terrorist cells which had planned the assassination attempts on President Musharraf. He was conferred the award of Hilal-i-Imtiaz by President Musharraf for the investigations.

Kiani also played an important role in unraveling the London terrorist plot in 2006. It was the ISI tip-off that led the British and the US police to foil the plot. Kiani, it is reported, worked in tandem with western intelligence agencies to do the follow-up investigations.

Incidentally, it was Lt Gen Kiani who did not file an affidavit in the Chief Justice's case in the Supreme Court while all other intelligence chiefs did.

He is President, Pakistan Golf Association. He retires in December 2007.

**LT. GENERAL TARIQ MAJEED*****Corps Commander, X Corps, Rawalpindi***

The X Corps based at Rawalpindi is the most important command, given its proximity to Islamabad, its primary role of handling military operations against India and keeping alive the Army's Kashmir agenda. The Rawalpindi Corps Commander's importance could be gauged from the fact that no General can attempt a coup without his support.

Inevitably, therefore, the Corps Commander, Rawalpindi, enjoys the confidence of the Chief of Army Staff and is more than likely to be a staunch loyalist when the Army Chief also happens to be the President of Pakistan.

Lt. General Tariq Majeed is more a loyalist than a Musharraf confidant. His name has even been mentioned as the likely successor to Musharraf during the talks with former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto at Abu Dhabi in July this year.

But considering the fact that Bhutto had complained about Majeed to the National Accountability Bureau on November 27, 2005, his chances seem to be dim. Benazir accused him of indulging in corruption in contracts for night vision equipment (worth \$37 million) with a French firm and unmanned aerial vehicles (worth \$27 million) from a German firm. Musharraf, however, refused to either institute an inquiry or take action against Majeed.

Majeed is quite junior to Musharraf—he was a Lt. Colonel when Musharraf was a Corps Commander. In fact, it was Musharraf who promoted him through the ranks of Brigadier and Major General. It was perhaps for the first time that Chief of General Staff was appointed from top commanders.

Majeed is a 1997 graduate of Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, the Honolulu-based institute funded by the U.S. Department of Defense.

Tariq Majeed, along with DG ISI Ashfaq Kiani, is considered as the “most experienced” serving general officers on Indian affairs. As a key advisor to President Musharraf in the present India-Pakistan talks, Majeed (and Kiani) has the key responsibility to brief Musharraf on Pak-India military matters. Majeed was one of the senior officers with Musharraf during the Agra Summit

Although he was shifted out from the position of DG Military Intelligence in 2004 after the twin assassination attempts on Musharraf, he was accommodated as the Chief of General Staff at GHQ.

Musharraf's proximity to Majeed can be traced to the events of Oct. 12, 1999. Majeed, a Major General, was a Divisional Commander posted at Lahore when Musharraf decided to take over from Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Majeed ordered the detention of the Punjab Governor and the take-over of two family estates of Nawaz Sharif, the television and

radio stations and the airport.

It was Majeed who led the military operation against Lal Masjid in July this year, a factor which will weigh in his favour when Musharraf considers his options in the next few weeks.

Majeed retires in December 2007.

**LT. GEN SALAHUDDIN SATTI*****Chief of General Staff***

Lt. Gen Salahuddin Satti, Commander X Corps, Rawalpindi, till October 5, 2006 is known for his close association with President Musharraf which dates back to the latter's tenure in Siachen. He had served with the Special Services Group (SSG) in Siachen as a Brigadier.

In fact, Musharraf's dependence on Satti could be gauged from the fact that he was appointed as Brigadier General 111 Brigade, in September 1999 to checkmate Sharif's plans to oust Musharraf. The 111 Brigade, part of the Rawalpindi Corps, protects Islamabad and is the first military responder in case of a coup. It was the 111 Brigade which carried out the military operations on Lal Masjid.

Lt. Gen Satti, 56, 47th PMA Long Course, had played a pivotal role in the coup of 1999 when as the then Brigade General he provided crucial support to General Musharraf. It was he who had captured the television and radio stations on October 12, arrested Sharif and took him to an Army guesthouse at Chaklala. He refused to withdraw the troops from the television station despite Sharif loyalist ISI Chief Lt. General Ziauddin's attempts to bribe and coerce him.

Satti later worked as the Chief of Staff at the 10 Corps HQ Chaklala and as Brigade Major under Musharraf. He was made a Major General on December 7, 1999. He has served as DG Rangers and Deputy DG ISI.

From the Punjab Regiment, Satti, in his 36 years of service, has commanded an Infantry Division and an Infantry Brigade. He is a graduate of the Command and Staff College, Quetta, National Defence College, Islamabad and Turkish Armed Forces War College.

General Satti is considered as a highly competent officer in the military circles. As the Chief of General Staff (CGS), he supervises army intelligence and operations.

General Satti is likely to get a higher assignment once the reshuffle begins at the top.

**LT. GENERAL SHAFATULLAH SHAH*****Corps Commander, IV Corps, Lahore***

Graduated from Staff College, Kimberley (UK), General Shah was commissioned in the Baloch Regiment in 1971. He has commanded an Infantry Brigade and a Division. Before being appointed as the Corps Commander, General Shah was the

Military Secretary to Musharraf in 2003. He is known to be an outstanding soldier with a splendid record, and is likely to get one of the top slots.

#### **LT. GENERAL SAJJAD AKRAM**

##### *Corps Commander, I Corps, Mangla*

Born in 1954 in Hyderabad, General Akram was commissioned in the 11th battalion of the Baloch Regiment, an elite infantry battalion. He has commanded two infantry Divisions, a Brigade in Azad Kashmir and a Division in a Strike Corps. He has also held important Staff assignments with independent Infantry Brigade Group and as the Chief of Staff of a Strike Corps. His instructional appointments include Platoon Commander in the Pakistan Military Academy and Directing Staff on the Faculty of Command and Staff College, Quetta. Other important assignments include that of DG, ISI, DG, National Accountability Bureau and Force Commander of UN Forces in Sierra Leone.

He was appointed as the Corps Commander, Mangla, in April 2006. General Akram is a Jat from Gujrat and nephew of Major General Imtiaz who was the Military Secretary to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He is considered one of the best officers in the Pakistan Army. General Akram is known to be an extremely strict officer with strong likes and dislikes. As a Platoon Commander, he was obsessed with cadets in his platoon.

Extremely ambitious, many army watchers believe him to be a possible successor to General Musharraf.

#### **LT. GENERAL SYED ABSAR HUSSAIN**

##### *Commander, Army Strategic Forces Command*

Lt. General Hussain was commissioned in the Artillery in April 1972. He is a graduate of Command and Staff College, Quetta, Egyptian Army Staff College and National Defence University Islamabad. He has varied experience of command, staff and instructional appointments. He has commanded Strategic Forces North. Before his appointment to one of the key Army posts, he was Director General Defence Export Promotion Organisation.

#### **LT. GENERAL AHSAN AZHAR HAYAT**

##### *Corps Commander, V Corps, Karachi*

Commissioned in the Armoured Corps in 1971, he has experience of important Staff, Command and Instructional assignments including Commandant, Pakistan Military Academy. He has been an instructor at Command and Staff College and National Defence College besides being the Staff Officer to the Chief of Army Staff. His command appointments include Corps Reserve in Malir, Independent Armoured Brigade and Armoured Regiment.

General Hayat belongs to the well-known family of Hayat of Wah, known for their services to the British. Considered pro-West, he could be another officer on the list of probables after Musharraf decides to retire.

He retires in December 2007.

#### **LT GEN KHALID SHAMEEM WYNNE**

##### *Corps Commander, XII Corps, Quetta*

Lt. Gen. Khalid Shameem Wynne, who belongs to an army family, joined his father's battalion, 20 Punjab Regiment, in 1972.

During his career of over 35 years he graduated from Command & Staff College Quetta, Fuhrungs Academy in Hamburg, Germany and the National Defence College, Islamabad. He holds a Masters degree in War Studies from Islamabad University.

Gen. Wynne has held various command, staff and instructional appointments during his military career. He has commanded two Infantry Brigades, including the prestigious Siachen Brigade and an Infantry Division in Quetta. He has also been a Brigade Major of two Infantry Brigades. On the academic side, he has held various instructional appointments and remained on the faculty of School of Infantry and Tactics Quetta, Command & Staff College Quetta and Pakistan Military Academy Kakul.

Gen. Wynne also remained Chief of Staff in a Corps Headquarters and Commandant, School of Infantry and Tactics, Quetta. He was the Deputy Chief of General Staff (DCGS) before being posted as Corps Commander.

#### **LT GEN HAMID RAB NAWAZ**

##### *Inspector General, Training and Evaluation, GHQ*

General Nawaz, 55, is a Special Forces veteran and was hand-picked by General Musharraf to head the XII Corps at Quetta, to lead operations against Baloch rebels in Balochistan. He is at present Inspector General, Training and Evaluation.

A Punjabi from Chakwal, and a Commando, General Nawaz believes and supports Musharraf's strategies and policies.

Born on November 28, 1952, General Nawaz was the Commandant of Pakistan Military Academy when he was appointed as the Corps Commander.

#### **LT. GENERAL MUHAMMAD YOUSAF**

##### *Vice Chief of General Staff*

General Yousaf was commissioned in Artillery in April 1972. He graduated from Command and Staff College, Quetta, German Army Staff College and National Defence University, Islamabad. He has extensive experience of Command, Staff and Instructional appointments. He has commanded an



infantry Division and has also served as DG MO. He is considered a candidate for a higher assignment

**LT. GENERAL HAMID KHAN**

*President, National Defence University*

Commissioned in 1971 in the Armoured Corps, General Khan has graduated from Staff College, UK. Besides commanding Infantry and Armoured Brigades, he has also been Inspector General, Frontier Corps. He was the Chief Instructor at National Defence College, when he was appointed as the Peshawar Corps Commander.

As Inspector General Frontier Corps (IGFC), he was actively involved in military operations to hunt down local and foreign militants hiding in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), particularly in South Waziristan and North Waziristan. Around that time, Pakistani troops entered bor-

der areas of Mohmand Agency for the first time after Independence and occupied territory that was either no-man's land or claimed by Afghanistan. Earlier in 2000-2001, he served as the General Officer Commanding (GOC), Kohat, a position that gave him control over troops deployed in the border areas of South Waziristan and Kurram tribal agencies.

Lt Gen Hamid Khan's family belongs to Charsadda district. His father, late Mohammad Hashim Khan, was a respected educationist of the province and had served as vice-chancellor of University of Peshawar. Being a Pashtun, General Khan Commander would find it easier to establish rapport with the tribal elders and commoners in the tribal areas by speaking to them in Pashto. He could be a key commander in case Musharraf decides to take terrorists in the tribal area head on.

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