



REAPPRAISAL OF
INTERNAL SECURITY
CHALLENGES TO
PAKISTAN



Editorial Comments

This Two-Day seminar was arranged with the aim to comprehensively grasp the genesis of issues at hand, review the efficacy of steps taken by the Government so far and analyze emerging trends in Pakistan's internal security profile, in order to formulate suitable policy options and guidelines. The talks delivered by distinguished speakers and the discussion during interactive has been summarised in this report in form of synopsis. Recommendations have been extracted from the talks of speakers and proposed during interactive sessions by the audience.

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Mahroona Hussain Syed	Editor
Yasir Mehrban	Graphic Designer

Report Authors:

Ms. Mahroona Hussain Syed	Research Associate (IS Branch)
Mr. Farhan Hussain	Intern (IS Branch)
Ms. Irum Zahid	Intern (IS Branch)
Mr Zahid Hussain	Photographer

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C O N T E N T S

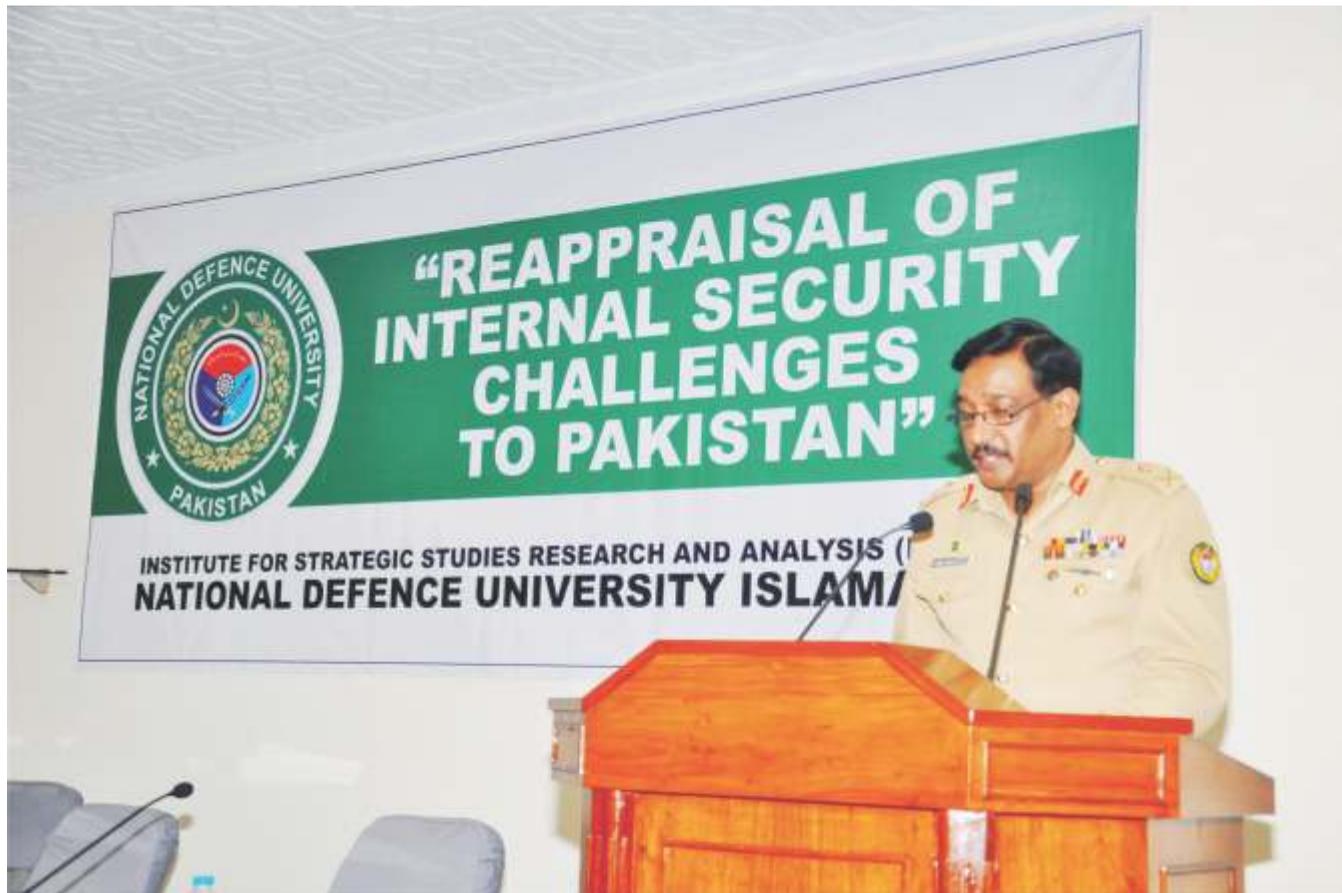
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PROGRAMME	
Session I : Plenary and Opening	
Tuesday, September 23rd 2014	
0900-0930	Registration
0930-0935	Recitation from Holy Quran
0935-0940	Opening Remarks
	Major General Noel I. Khokhar, DG ISSRA NDU
0940-0950	Welcome Address
	Lieutenant General Javed Iqbal, HI (M), President NDU
0950-1010	Keynote Address by the Chief Guest
	Governor Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Sardar Mahtab Ahmed Khan
1010-1020	Launching Ceremony of Book on FATA
1020-1030	Group Photograph
1030-1100	Tea Break

Session 1: Inaugural Session

Opening remarks DG ISSRA, Maj Gen Noel Israel Khokhar HI(M)



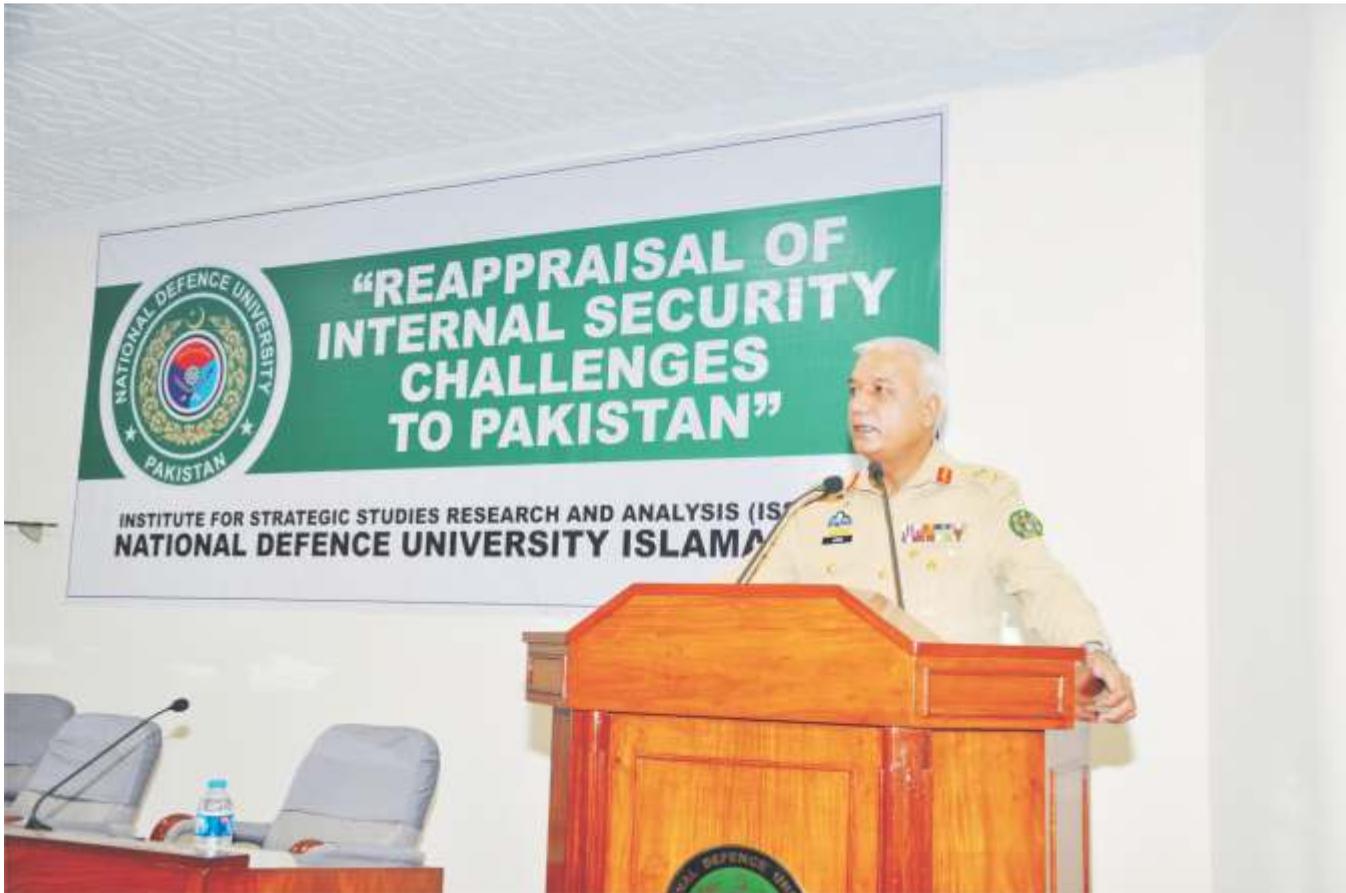
In the inaugural session, DG ISSRA Maj Gen Noel I Khokhar, HI(M) welcomed all guests and participants to this Two-Day Seminar on 'Re-appraisal of Internal Security Challenges to Pakistan' which was being held at a time when Pakistan is confronted with multiple security challenges, both kinetic and non-kinetic in nature. Operation 'Zarb-e-Azb' is in progress to root out the menace of terrorism from FATA and, in consequence thereof, from our society. Pakistan is also seething under growing political instability and socio-economic discontent. All these challenges need comprehensive response. The Government of Pakistan came up, for the first time in our national history, with a written Internal Security Policy this year, which was an

important initiative to provide solution to the security issues which can hardly be bifurcated in internal and external security paradigms. It was in this backdrop that the seminar had been arranged to conduct an appraisal of internal security challenges.

Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA) at NDU is a national level thin-tank. It has been its consistent endeavour to organize seminars, workshops and roundtables to debate various policy issues, so that input from the intellectuals and scholars can be shared with policy-makers and other stakeholders. This seminar was a step in the same direction. He hoped that it would be a rewarding and productive experience for all of the participants.

Session 1: Inaugural Session

Welcome address by President National Defence University Lt Gen Javed Iqbal, HI(M)



In his inaugural address, the President NDU extended his profound gratitude to the participants for taking keen interest in the academic discourse being held on a very crucial issue in the context of rapidly changing environment of internal security. Pakistan has undergone the most dreadful phase of countering the internal security challenges ever faced in its history. Though the menace of terrorism is being successfully defeated by the valiant sons of the soil, along with the unflinching public support and firm resolve of the government, yet the proposition has exposed numerous avenues to be explored and new strategies to be formulated to meet future challenges. We cannot remain oblivious of the issues in governance, political stability and

economic development that have a profound impact on our lives. Undoubtedly, security threats to any nation render irreparable damage to its safety and more importantly, economy. The present day environment forms integral part of the security profile of Pakistan.

The most viable way forward, therefore, needs to be arrived at and NDU stands committed to provide such platform for the intellectuals to outline workable resolution to the impending threats, particularly in the prevailing geo-political scenario. He hoped that the scholarly endeavours of speakers and active participation from the audience, all will contribute to arriving at some tangible conclusions.

Keynote Address by Governor Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Mr. Sardar Mahtab Ahmad Khan

While delivering the keynote address, Governor Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Mr. Sardar Mahtab Ahmad Khan stated that Pakistan's internal security is a complex cobweb of external and internal threats due to its geo-political and geo-strategic position; and troubles on eastern and western fronts for which we have paid a heavy price. In the post-2014 situation in Afghanistan, the “Modi” era along with the nexus of large businesses with a militant Hindu mindset, the recent statement of Al Qaida leadership and intentions of the so-called 'Islamic State' (IS) will pose even more internal security challenges in the days to come. Therefore, in the modern security archetype, every able-bodied person must shoulder the responsibility of ensuring a secure internal as well as external environment. It should also be realized that horizontal and vertical linkages, close communication and cohesion between the state institutions are of paramount importance for the purpose of achieving national goals. At the same time, importance of a periodic review as well as



accountability of the decisions taken by the state institutions cannot be over-emphasized. Only then, the review process holds its effectiveness, taking lesson from the 'War on Terror'. Another key message in this regard is that, civil and military institutions should talk and talk more with each other on all issues of national interest. However, there is also a need for media in Pakistan to play a key role, as a



for arranging this seminar and taking an initiative to hold a dialogue on the “Reappraisal of Internal Security situation in Pakistan”. He hoped that NDU would become the forum which assumes the responsibility of bringing all the state institutions together in achieving the mission statement of defining national interest as well as internal security. He requested the

President of NDU to share the findings of this Seminar with all the stakeholders and practitioners involved in policy-making, and also to share these recommendations with the National Security Committee so that these feature in our national policy on Internal Security.



Book Launching Ceremony

Launching Ceremony of NDU and
Centre for CPGS Joint Book

BOOK LAUNCHING CEREMONY

Launching Ceremony of NDU and Centre for CPGS Joint Book



'Evolving Dynamics of FATA: Reflections on Transformation'

On this occasion, Lt Col Manzoor Ahmed Abbasi announced the launching of a book 'Evolving Dynamics of FATA: Reflections on Transformation' which is a joint publication by National Defence University (NDU) and the Center for Pakistan and Gulf Studies (CPGS), Islamabad. Senator Sehar Kamran, President CPGS, presented the book to the honourable Chief Guest, followed by presentation of NDU

memento to the Chief Guest by the President NDU. The key feature of this book lies in its unique approach towards analyzing the evolving dynamics of FATA. The timing of launching of the book coincides with the ongoing Operation 'Zarb-e-Azb' in this region and it is hoped that this book would provide a fresh perspective on various issues of the FATA region.

PROGRAMME

Session II

Review of External Environment & its Implications for Pakistan

Tuesday, September 23rd, 2014

Chair	DG ISSRA
1100-1130	Political Development in Middle East & its Implications Ambassdor Ashraf Jehangir Qazi
1130-1200	Evolving Situation in Afghanistan & its Impact Mr. Rahimullah Yousafzai
1200-1245	Interactive Session
1245-1300	Closing Remarks by Chair
1300-1400	Lunch and Prayer

SESSION-II

'Political Development in Middle East & its Implications'

In this session, Amb Ashraf gave a brief review of the historical background of the countries of the Middle East, especially after the two world wars which created a number of artificial states for vested strategic reasons, including exercising control over the region's immeasurable mineral wealth, especially its seemingly endless oil supplies.

European colonialism gave way to US hegemony which served the strategic interests of the US to a much greater extent than the socio-economic development-related interests of the people of the region. This caused rise of externally-dependent Arab elite versus the Arab street. The richer gulf countries bought the Arab street off by offering a life style without work, in exchange for the renunciation of the citizens' rights__ including participation in the states' national policies, especially external policies. The repressive, authoritarian, pro-West regimes, therefore, caused the rise, first of moderate Islamist organizations, and later extremist organizations. The creation of Israel and its militaristic aggression and brutal occupation policies added fuel to this fire, fanning the flames of extremist politics in different shapes and forms. The Islamist revolution in Iran also had a similar impact in many regions of the Middle East. ISIS is the latest manifestation of this phenomenon. Iraq is effectively being invaded for the third time, having already lost well over a million lives due to the direct and indirect consequences of the US attacks and occupation, in addition to the



estimated deaths of over 6,00,000 children due to UN sanctions prior to the US invasion in 2003. The deepening and widening sectarian fault lines in the Middle East, as a result of wars of regime-change, pursued by the US and the internal dynamics, have had a terrible impact on Pakistan also. Poor quality of local governance in the regional countries themselves and the resulting export of destabilizing ideologies have combined with low quality of governance in Pakistan to bring it to its current state. However, Pakistani leaders cannot pass on the responsibility for this state and only better governance will increase Pakistan's options to cope and deal with external and domestic developments. The 2050 outlook for Pakistan is indeed bleak and the time to address and change it begins right now.

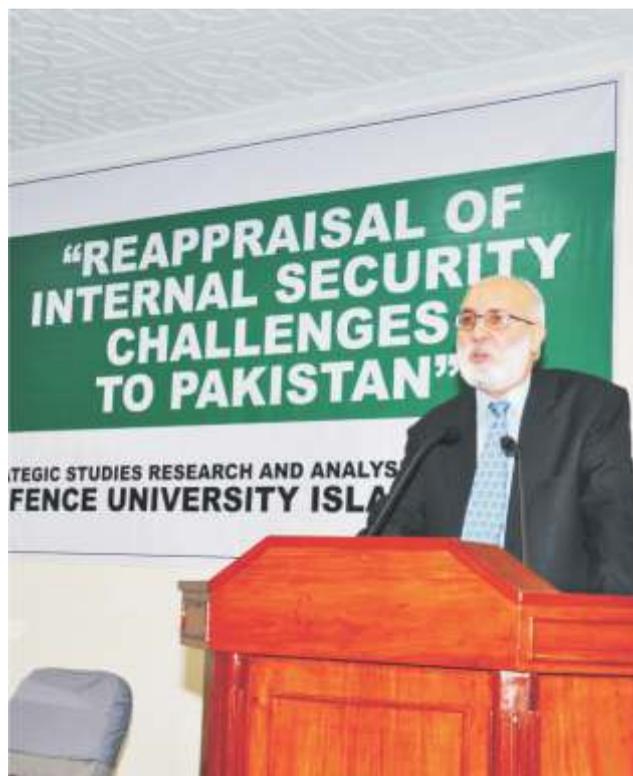


'Evolving Situation in Afghanistan & its Impact'

The second speaker, Mr Rahimullah Yousufzai gave a comprehensive account of the latest developments in Afghanistan, the likely trends and their implications for Pakistan.

He referred to the latest power-sharing arrangement between Mr. Ashraf Ghanni and Mr. Abdullah Abdullah to break the electoral deadlock that had lasted for almost six months. He was of the view that the long delayed Bilateral Security Agreement with the US__ the BSA_ once signed, will ensure the new government an access to vitally needed military and financial assistance for their war economy dependent to the extent of 97% of the GDP on external assistance. The major challenge is to ensure the viability of the power-sharing arrangements which would require a constitutional amendment and a political sophistication that, in turn, would require a nation-wide commitment to maintain the unity of Afghanistan despite several fissiparous tendencies.

What 1,50,000 NATO troops could not achieve in 13 years, i-e the defeat of Taliban, was unlikely to be achieved by an uncertain Afghan National Army, aided by less than 10,000 western troops in much less time. The Taliban, after all, remain undefeated and cannot be excluded from any meaningful settlement process. They seem unlikely to acknowledge the hybrid government in Kabul or agree to be a junior partner in it for fear of creating a split in their ranks. Nevertheless, the Taliban have also learnt a few lessons and may alter their political strategies accordingly. Despite these uncertainties, there are undoubted gains achieved by Afghanistan,



including a peaceful transfer of power in a democratic and flawed manner, the improvement of education and services for the people, the rise of a middle class and better quality of life, an assertive parliament, an active civil society and free media. Of concern, however, is the durability of the power-sharing arrangement, a narcotics-based economy, rampant corruption, a politics of patronage and a possible collapse in the rate of growth which went as high as 14 % and collapsed within a year to 3%. A weak government in Kabul, exit of foreign combat forces and an absence of a peace process could encourage the Taliban to resort to another military push, amidst uncertainties.

Interactive Session

During the interactive session, various issues were discussed in response to queries raised by the participants



These included: the global powers and their interests which might be influencing and shaping the external environment of Pakistan; the possibility of Pakistan adopting a position of neutrality regarding regional conflicts, tensions and power contests; the fate of Afghanistan after 2017; significance of the reported establishment of an Al-Qaida branch for South Asia which has included Kashmir in its agenda; ISIS replacing Al-Qaida as the main extremist umbrella organization in Afghanistan, Pakistan and South Asia; Gulbadin Hikmatyar developing links with ISIS; the significance of emergence of Khurasani and the apparent split in TTP; likelihood of an India concern over ISIS and probability of a Pan-Asia

militant response to the Pan-Asia militant agenda of the ISIS.

It was observed that the new government in Kabul would need to be able to reverse the desertion rate and improve the ethnic balance of the ANA i-e the Afghan National Army. Pakistan's policies towards these latest developments in Afghanistan need to be worked out immediately to counter its past failures. Pakistan needs to decide through discussions in parliament and other public forums, on whether its policies should remain India-centric, if the Zarb-i-Azb has really broken the back of the TTP and other militants in FATA, and if so, for how long? Also, whether we would distinguish between good or bad militants?



PROGRAMME

Session III

Reappraisal of Internal Security Situation

Tuesday, September 23, 2014

Chair:

Mr Tariq Khosa, Former Inspector General Police

1400-1430

Approaches to Handle Internal Security Challenges since 9/11
AVM (R) Shahzad Aslam Chaudhry

1430-1500

National Internal Security Policy 2014: Critical Analysis
Mr Ahmed Bilal Mehboob

1500-1545

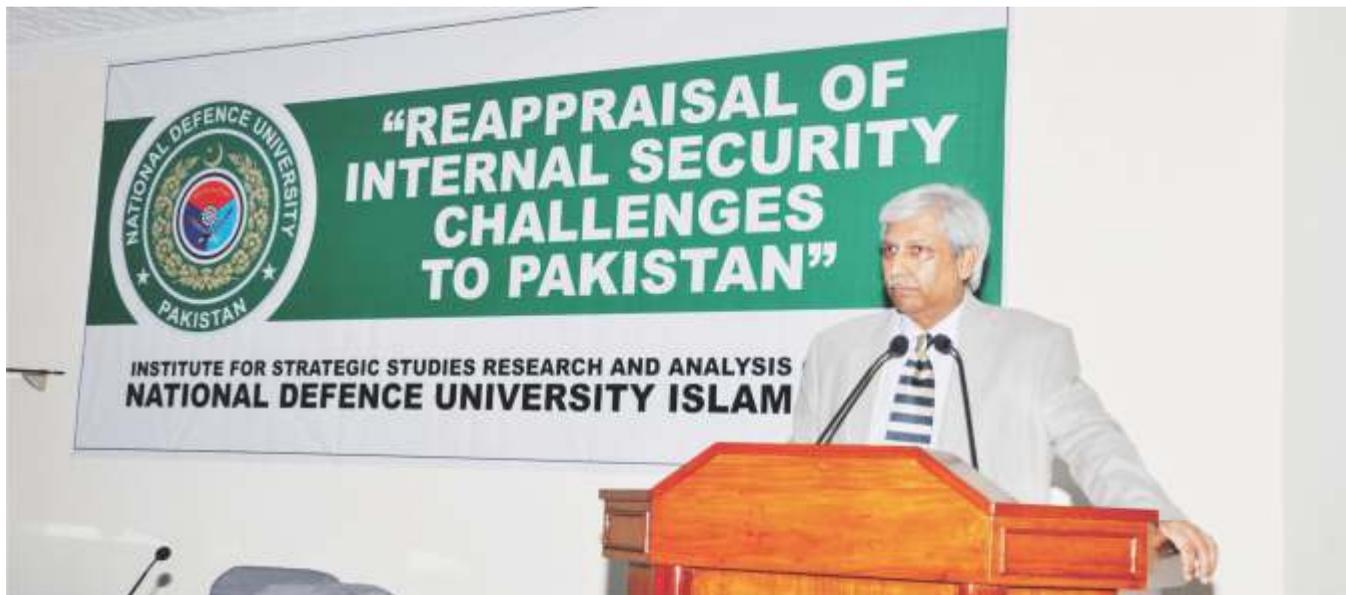
Interactive Session

1545-1600

Closing Remarks by Chair

Session - III

Approaches To Handle Internal Security Challenges since 9/11

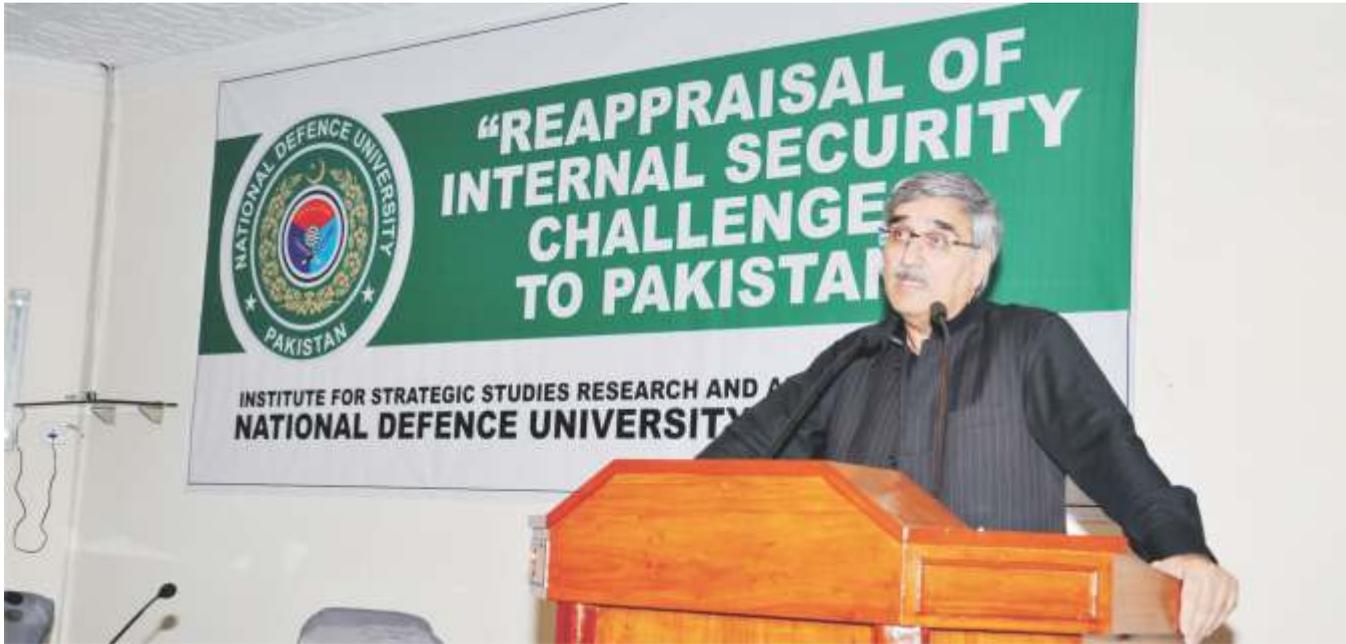


AVM (R) Shahzad Aslam Chaudhary analyzed the geo-strategic environment of the world where USA moved into Afghanistan, carrying the uni-polar hubris. Amidst transitional uncertainties, ideological muddles and economic imperatives influenced by economic inter-dependencies, and debates on irrelevance or changing nature of war, an unstable state is indeed an insecure state.

Pakistan's Internal security challenges thus include today; political instability which is caused by lack of democratic values, questionable credibility of the political leadership, lack of continuity of democratic governments, economic depravity and poverty, social fragmentation, radicalism and extremism. Other miscellaneous factors like separatism in Balochistan, law & order failures in Karachi and insurgency in FATA are only adding fuel to the fire. The external challenges faced by the state of Pakistan arise out of rise of the fundamentalists in India, an uncertain Afghanistan, a tentative Iran, sectarian creeps with impending consequences of ISIS and the Shia Crescent, increasing geopolitical isolationism and nuclear isolationism. Therefore, policies are needed which clearly spell out state's priorities, provide guidelines

and allocate resources accordingly. For any such policy to work well, Pakistan would require political will, reforms in all sectors and establishing supplementing social attitudes which uphold: public service instead of increasing hold over power, parliamentary processes, effective governance, and elimination of corruption, Rule of Law, accountability and positive change in social attitudes. For this purpose, media can play a very effective role. Also, the parliament needs to show political will and have a parliamentary committee on national security where in-camera sessions can be held and all stakeholders, provinces and elements of power can review it, so that the supremacy of parliament is ensured and understood by all stakeholders. The initiator of policy framework is always the cabinet. The Cabinet-made institution of National Security Committee must be commended. However, it must be seen as to how many times it has actually held meetings ever since its inception. Also, there is a need to establish a National Security Advisory Council for a regular, fresh and professional input which should go into policy and strategies.

National Internal Security Policy 2014-A Critical Analysis



Speaking on the occasion, Mr Ahmed Bilal Mehboob was of the view that in the context of internal security challenges, internal security cannot be separated from the quality of overall governance in a country. Additionally, internal security has a close link to a society's value system or ideology. However, the key question is-- do we have the delivery mechanism for an effective implementation?

The main institution, with a civilian set up, created as a premier institution in Pakistan for delivery is NACTA, i.e. National Counterterrorism Authority but it suffers from various issues of lack of capacity or authority, absence of permanent national coordinator and there is a huge burden of implementation on NACTA.

Another key issue is related to coordination with NSC. Undoubtedly, constitution of NSC is a substantive step. But we need to create rules of business and a hierarchy of professionals, key members of different organizations and stakeholders which support him, working under the Prime Minister's secretariat in terms of institutional arrangement. There is a requirement of a National Security Advisory Council, since

National Security Council semantics have somehow not gone well with our political and other stakeholders. Moreover, even though internal security falls within the scope of national security, the NISP (National Internal Security Policy) does not define the linkage with NSC (National Security Committee) and NSA (National Security Advisor). Also, NSC meetings should be held at least on a monthly basis. There is a need to constantly measure and monitor the progress, and develop an oversight mechanism, for which parliamentary committees on Interior should constitute sub-committees dedicated to issues related to NISP.

A great challenge under any conditions will be coordination with provinces. Current state of Centre-Province relations, especially in the context of KP only highlights the importance of this challenge. Inter-provincial coordination division needs to be strengthened and there should be greater interaction with the Senate. In the end, Pakistan needs to hold a national dialogue on a 'National Narrative' for its people, so that the whole nation shares a united stance on all issues of national interest.

Interactive Session

Interactive Session

During the interactive session, questions were raised about Pakistan police; the contribution of cultural ministry and the media specially which is projecting Pakistan's culture shaping the policy; and the suggestions on implementation of the policy of national security; the involvement of internal elements in the insider attacks like those of naval and KAMRA Bases attacks, violation of the national security policy by the officials; ways to make Afghanistan agree on border issue; need to focus on governance which is the bedrock of internal security especially the local government that has been being missing for past many years; need for a role of judiciary in the context of policy formulation; and how to ensure that the decaying institutions in Pakistan and other different dimensions of internal security policy become effective in terms of implementation and service delivery.

The House observed that there is a need to put forward a counterterrorism strategy. Police should be depoliticized, made operationally autonomous, and highly accountable. The politicians must realize that this is the voice of the people and therefore, there is no short-cut to this issue. Another concern regarding police reforms is coordination in the context of the terrorism and the ensuing challenges. Police, civil forces, intelligence agencies and armed

forces, should have excellent coordination, where they all work together and put up the required teamwork. Technical equipment, which is a sole prerogative of the premier intelligence agency to utilize, needs to be shared and since under the Fair Trial Act, the telephone records and other such records are admissible as evidence, therefore, these should be shared with investigating officers and made part of the prosecution. Pakistan has an independent judiciary but it works in isolation. The judiciary should be consulted through forums like law and justice commission where the chief justice and all high court chief justices are part of this commission. Any institution which is not delivering efficiently, whether police, judiciary, civil services or our political institutions, must be reformed. Why do we assume that civilian institutions, like police, that are responsible cannot be better institutions? These institutions actually should be given autonomy, the allowance to be apolitical and enough resources to deliver. We must have a national security policy before having an internal security policy. As far as Pakistan and Afghanistan are concerned, the two can have a visa system on the likes of Shengan visa in Europe to ensure ease of travel for the two peoples.

PROGRAMME

Session IV

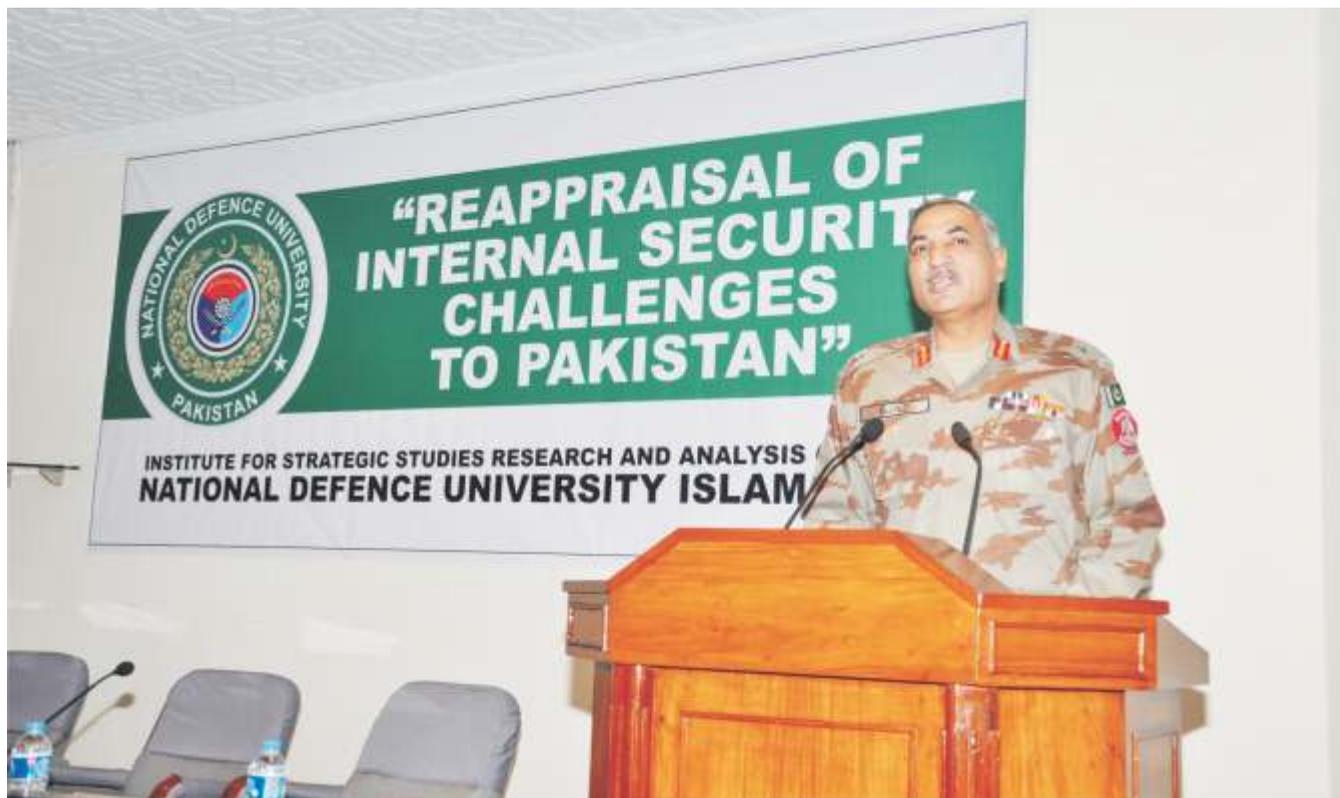
Internal Security – Provincial Perspective I

Wednesday, September 24, 2014

Chair	Lt Gen (R) Asif Yasin Malik
0900-0930	Registration
0930-0935	Recitation of Holy Quran
0935-1005	Internal Security Challenges in Balochistan Maj Gen Muhammad Ejaz Shahid, IG FC Balochistan
1005-1035	Internal Security situation in KPK/FATA with special reference to Operation Zarb-e-Azb, Comd 11 Corps
1035-1115	Interactive Session
1115-1130	Closing Remarks by Chair

Session - IV

Internal Security Challenges in Balochistan



Maj Gen Muhammad Ejaz Shahid, IG FC Balochistan gave a detailed overview of situation in Balochistan and suggested the way forward. First and foremost, he was of the view that there is a need to develop a common understanding of the difference between a miscreant and a naraz Baloch, and also an approach to handle the problem accordingly. Secondly, it is a common observation that the strong counter-narrative or the narrative of the state vs. the narrative of the sub-nationalist is missing or weak in Pakistan.

In the diplomatic domain, there is a need for re-negotiation of bilateral border agreements with Iran and Afghanistan to stop the exploitation of the loopholes. If repatriation of Afghan refugees is not possible, then at least, they should be confined to the camps. Thirdly, curtail the freedom of action of the self-exiled Baloch leadership. In the Political domain, the devolution of power through local government system, reducing the centrality of the Federal Government

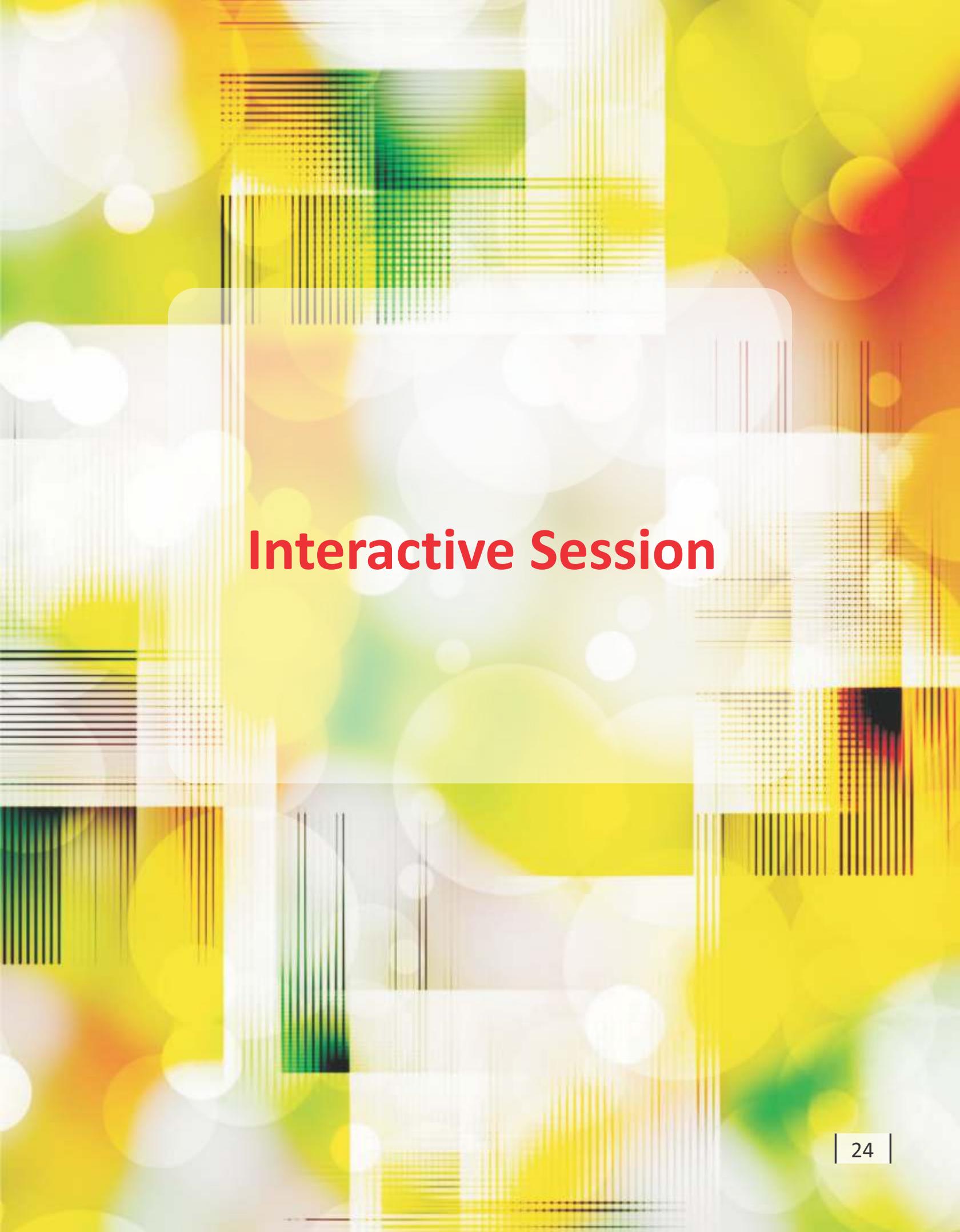
through taking the provincial stakeholder into confidence in all international agreements of the province and implementation of the promised constitutional steps in true letter and spirit, in the form of National Finance Commission (NFC), Aghaz e Haqooq e Balochistan Project (AHBP) and the Eighteenth Amendment should be ensured. In governance, improvement of the means of communication throughout the province, provision of basic facilities, capacity building of governance machinery by getting assistance from other provinces, introduction of land reforms and implementation of Mineral Policy 2013 should be ensured. A strategy should be made to deal with the sub-nationalist and play out the option of negotiated settlement. If it succeeds, it is a win-win situation but if it doesn't, the government and state have a high moral ground. In the operational domain, the provincial Law enforcement agencies should be made more effective to shoulder the responsibility of Law and Order.

Internal Security Situation in KPK / FATA with special reference to Operation Zarb-e-Azb



Lt Gen Khalid Rabbani, was of the view that as far as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is concerned, capacity building of Law Enforcement Agencies and other state institutions in FATA, revisiting FCR, political accountability, improvement of local economic conditions to shrink recruitment pool for terrorists, continuation of de-radicalization initiatives, improved relations with post-election Afghanistan, surveillance of possible recurrence of terrorism after the operations, development in FATA in the form of youth development, infrastructure development, education, health and some other economic initiatives like commercial, agriculture, banking, micro-credit schemes, House-Building Finance Corporations, Export Promotion Bureau, exploration of natural resources and building of a strong state narrative without being apologetic, are the much-needed actions. The trend towards handling both FATA and Balochistan by proxy or remote-control system, whereby the common local man remains outside the ambit of finding solutions, must be reversed, for which local bodies system may be introduced. The British-time nomenclature must be changed. As a first step, it can be turned into Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) and given into

provincial domain making the Chief Minister answerable to the people of that area. Thereafter, a new province may be created, open new shares in NFC and a new special package for FATA. In FATA and Balochistan, parallel to the parliamentary committee, there should be a peoples' committee in which a cross-section of society represented by students, lawyers, doctors and farmers, of both Baloch and pashtun origins, should be mandated to put out grass-root recommendations without involving interests of politicians, so that we can have people-driven and people-participated solutions. In Balochistan, complete restructuring of the governance system is warranted, going back to the A and B area category division as before. With regards to Pak-Afghan border, the Durand line is an International border, therefore, we should not be hesitant to write 'international' with Pak-Afghan border in documents and agreements with Afghanistan. Overall, in the absence of any mother document of National security policy, out of which an internal security policy should have emanated; we have jumped and skipped the difficult larger part and made the easier part of it. This policy should be approved, published and revisited every year.



Interactive Session

Interactive Session

During the discussion, it was observed that in Balochistan, most of the common land is traditionally controlled by the Sardar, so by merely changing the old system nothing will be achieved, taking example of FATA. The earlier decision to hand over the entire thirty districts of the province in police jurisdiction was an excellent idea bringing the police and judiciary under the same system so that the state was strengthened but that was undone. Now the FC are constrained to do the policing job, fill 95 percent of the void as levies cannot control it and simultaneously safeguard the borders too.

The kill and dump strategy started in the previous political government's rein, though of course with the security establishment's blessings, has been abandoned but a lot of irreparable damage has been caused. The Missing Persons case is a sensitive issue for which Pakistan's key organization is also getting the blame, with FIRs being registered against FC. The Government needs to clear the mist.

The house also discussed Pakistan's policy towards the Haqqani network; ongoing Zarb-e-Azb; foreign interferences; international corridor being formed and Gwadar being the economic corridor serving Chinese interests

too due to which foreign agencies make attempts to destabilize Balochistan; and the question of proliferation of small arms manufactured in certain countries making into the hands of terrorists and the ease of doing so.

After having removed the Pentagon of TTP permanently, there is a need to initiate discourse as well as an international effort to rebuild the destroyed infrastructure, houses and schools, and starting the gradual political process to bring the DPs back to the area. Once the army has taken the first step going into North Waziristan and clearing up the mess, the situation demands that FATA reforms' issue should be addressed at priority. Land reforms for ensuring more equitable distribution of wealth; starting Chamalong-style development model in FATA and Balochistan; immediate restoration of electricity, water supply schemes and basic health units; ending disconnect between the people in Islamabad and the people living in those areas and stoppage of export of sectarianism from Punjab are the required measures that need to be adopted. At the same time, Pakistan needs to sound its concerns about foreign interference at the highest forums and at UN level.

PROGRAMME

Session – V

Internal Security Provincial Perspective II

Wednesday, September 24, 2014

Chair	Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed
1200-1230	Internal Security Challenges in Karachi Mr Tariq Khosa, Former IG Police
1230-1300	Internal Security Challenges in Gilgit Baltistan Mr. Muhammad Javed Bhatti, Inspector General Police Gilgit-Baltistan
1300-1345	Interactive session
1345-1400	Closing Remarks by Chair

Session - V

Internal Security Perspective – II

Security Challenges in Karachi

Mr Tariq Khosa was of the view that a nexus of TTP, LeJ and JeM; militant outfits of political parties in Karachi, sectarianism; militancy; financial flows to the extremist organizations through also kidnapping for ransom, bank robberies or drugs smuggling; socio-economic development; accurate assessment of the quantum of funds and other recourses required; Madressah Reforms; raising of stature of Mullah to that of policymaker during and after Gen Zia's regime for mere political expediency and subsequent use of madresshas as political instruments; transparent elections; good governance and the rehabilitation of DP's (Displaced People) of FATA are great challenges for Pakistan. There is a great chance the operations are likely to hit the snag since military solution to policing is still being resorted to, especially in areas like Karachi; and also without the Rule of Law approach, the command is changed in midstream of operations and the hierarchy succumbs to pressurizing by political governments of the provinces.

A very interesting concept of Citizen-police liaison is well-suited in the context of Karachi started by Mr. Fakhar-ud-din Ibrahim, till unfortunately, political manipulations were given in to. Nonetheless, it is still playing a useful role of a bridge between police and citizens, thereby, not only insulating the police from politics, but also enhancing their professionalism. Police is an esteemed institution but Police officers are not the policy makers and are merely the policy executers. Non-implementation of Police audit 2002 in Islamabad, Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Kashmir, and its subsequent stabbing through 146 major amendments in Sindh; Balochistan and KPK although it was drafted by the best officers, already shows the level of seriousness of the successive Governments in rooting out corruption from the police department.



In terms of media interaction, the police dept have had an unwritten understanding with the media to withhold information about hardened criminals and gangs for a few hours in the post-arrest period. Media is increasingly showing an understanding and support to our law enforcement agencies which is a very healthy sign.

In terms of national narrative, Pakistan is the 6th largest nation, 6th largest army of the world and 7th member of nuclear club with around two hundred million population. We are a medium-size strong power and not a failed state but we have to win the war within ourselves with strong will, determination, unity and resolve to survive. Therefore, let people of Pakistan write a script for a peaceful, progressive and prosperous nation.

Security Challenges in Gilgit Baltistan (GB)



Speaking on the occasion, Inspector General Police Gilgit-Baltistan Muhammad Javed Bhatti pointed at the similarities between situation in Karachi and Gilgit-Baltistan and proposed that the evolving situation in Karachi and the state of affairs in Gilgit-Baltistan after the spread of the extremist tanzems who have been extending their tentacles in the entire area and preaching particularly Salafi doctrines, must be analyzed.

As usual the country is going through a critical phase of its existence. The morale of the nation is low and for internal security, that needs to be raised and people brought into the fold so that they can come up and help the law enforcement agencies by speaking up. The petty criminals' parade shown on TV revealing their faces on media to cause them shame but not revealing the faces of hardened criminals and terrorists does not make sense. One needs to see if there is any need to de-politicize the government or there is need to have little more politics and democracy in various spheres and segments of the government. The government is only discussing sectarian violence, terrorist activities, political stability and economic recession but the real problem may lie in the political elite or the government departments and policies or the common people. For

example, the Karachi operation is doomed to failure because we have a corrupt provincial government in alliance with MQM. The boundary dispute between Gilgit-Baltistan and KPK, because of the Bhasha Dam must be settled in all earnest, to avoid a fight over border and land. By utilizing the coal reserves in Gilgit-Baltistan, Pakistan can be one of the top- five giants. There is a lot of talk about Chinese presence in GB, presence of Chinese military or the Chinese taking away the minerals from Balochistan to China. Pakistan has not made sufficient attempts to resolve such debates. At the same time, efforts should be made to resolve issues like animosity in GB towards some Punjabi and Pashtun civil officers appointed in GB, involvement of local people on this issue, policymaking for briefing the groups of Taliban who choose to surrender, establishment of an organization to monitor their activities being undertaken in the name of Tadrees and Tableegh, identification of problems in police as an institution, especially in terms of police training, rampant corruption, the difficulties of the police officers, issues in the police order, requirement for capacity building, hiring of technical hands and increasing capacity for intelligence gathering and efficient handling of this.

Interactive Session

Interactive Session



During the interactive session, the house agreed that the geo-political context is very important for understanding the internal security challenges to Pakistan, as we have been in the eye of the storm since 1979's "Afghan Jihad". We are facing different proxy wars today, there is the Pakistan-India Proxy War in the region especially focused on Afghanistan; an Iran-Saudi Proxy war which includes Pakistan, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Lebanon and Bahrain, to the extent that the fallout is being felt directly by Pakistan. The emerging new great game focusing on Balochistan, especially Gwadar; the containment of China and by an extension, Russia has worsened the scenario after 9/11 because there is linkage between Kabul and Kashmir issues. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in the Middle East and now al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) are another challenge.

Another extremely important context is the Political context whose key element is Civil-Military relations. In order to deal effectively in a

harmonious way with the civil-military relations, it is important that the issues are dealt with in an institutional and professional manner; and parliament should act as the bridge between civil and military. The nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan, Swat operation 2009, Salala incident, and now operation Zarb-e-Azb all owe their successes to the political support, extended by the Nation to them. The constant fear of an Army takeover on the government should end.

The way forward is to have a counterterrorism strategy with three main ingredients; Good coordination between Civil and military tiers, coordination between Federal and provincial governments; and coordination among different intelligence organizations. Since NACTA is still a still-born child, police should be brought in to play major role in counterterrorism. Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) should be the leading intelligence agency and the Intelligence Bureau (IB) along with four other intelligence branches should be placed purely under mandate of counterterrorism.

Army should be the option of the last resort and is for counterinsurgency. For counterterrorism, we need strong civilian grass-root institutions that can deliver.

It depends on the policy-makers and the government, if they can put in place people with positive approach in the field. Under the police law, there is a provision for a police complaint authority, comprising one member from Islamabad and one from each province which could be headed by a retired judge of the Supreme Court.

Secondly, talking about de-politicizing the police, there is a humble effort being made which must be acknowledged. Credit must be given to the KPK government for having given IG KPK full autonomy in the context of posting and transfers, in the context of autonomy in his decisions. If the IG is allowed to work then the chain of command will change slowly and gradually. Otherwise, ad-hocism mars even the new quick reaction force. The common element required is to strengthen the police institutionally and professionally because they are the best source of human intelligence and also in terms of ensuring law and order at the local level.

Ultimately, the basic issue, as has been pointed out time and again, is the absence of the political will in all issues. Pakistan needs reforms

in every sector. We have one million people in madressahs in Pakistan. The positive aspects of madressahs, besides free education, food and lodging, are that the exams in Madressahs are taken in time and results are announced in time, without delay. There has been never any strike in a Madressah in Pakistan. There is no cheating in Madressahs. Not all the Taliban and jihad commanders belong to Madressahs, in fact, most are not even graduates. There is a need for madressah reforms but we should also look at the positive side. In fact, the political leadership should make some conscious effort and investment in it. The public schools of government should be opened near madressahs, even if half Government-funded and half community-funded. A public school which provides education, messing, lodging and modern education, especially science, and mathematics for the poor man, should be opened near his doorstep. We have played havoc with our primary and secondary school system. Now it is time to start investing in public schooling. It should be realized that a Madressah is symbolic of a war between haves and have-nots. The people who go in madressahs are mostly against the elite and make up the angry anti-elite group. That is one reason why Pakistan has guided missiles but misguided youth___ a fact which should make it revisit its strategies.



PROGRAMME

Session VI

Wrap Up & Closing Session

Wednesday, September 24, 2014

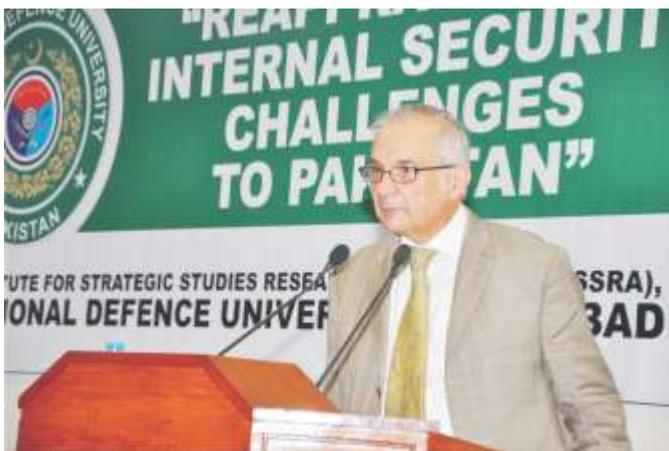
Chair	DG ISSRA
1500-1515	Wrap Up: External Environment & its Implications Amb Jehangir Qazi
1515-1530	Wrap Up: Reappraisal of Internal Security Situation Mr Tariq Khosa
1530-1545	Wrap Up: Provincial Security Challenges -I Lt Gen (R) Asif Yasin Malik
1545-1600	Wrap Up: Provincial Security Challenges -II Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed
	Concluding Remarks by DG ISSRA Maj Gen Noel I Khokhar, HI (M)
1600-1615	Closing Address by the Chief Guest
1615-1625	Vote of Thanks by President NDU
1625-1630	Group Photographs

Closing Session

Closing Session



The closing session was chaired by the Chief Guest for the occasion, Lt Gen (Retd) Abdul Qadir Baloch, Minister for States and Frontier Regions. In this session, all the Session Chairs shared the conclusions from their respective sessions with the audience.



The wrap-up for session II, titled as 'External Environment & its Implications' was presented by Amb (Retd) Ashraf Jehangir Qazi on behalf of DG ISSRA.



The wrap –up for Session - III, titled as 'Reappraisal of Internal Security Situation' was presented by Mr Tariq Khosa.

Closing Session



Lt Gen (R) Asif Yasin Malik then gave the wrap-up for Session IV, titled as 'Provincial Security Challenges-I'



The Wrap-up for Session - V, titled as 'Provincial Security Challenges-II' was presented by Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed.

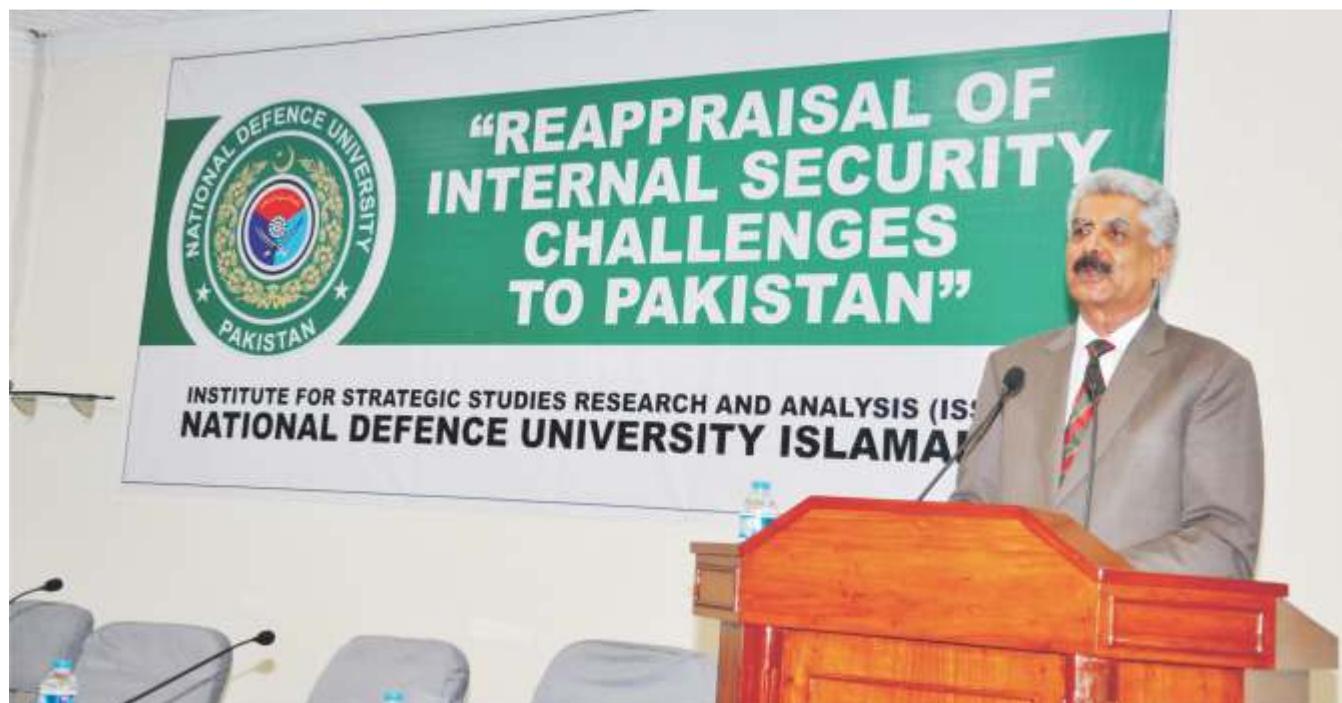
Concluding Remarks by DG ISSRA Maj Gen Noel I Khokhar, HI (M)



DG ISSRA shared his thoughts at the culmination of this seminar and expressed his profound gratitude to the participants and the Chief Guest for gracing the occasion.

Closing Address

Lt Gen (R) Abdul Qadir Baloch, Chief Guest

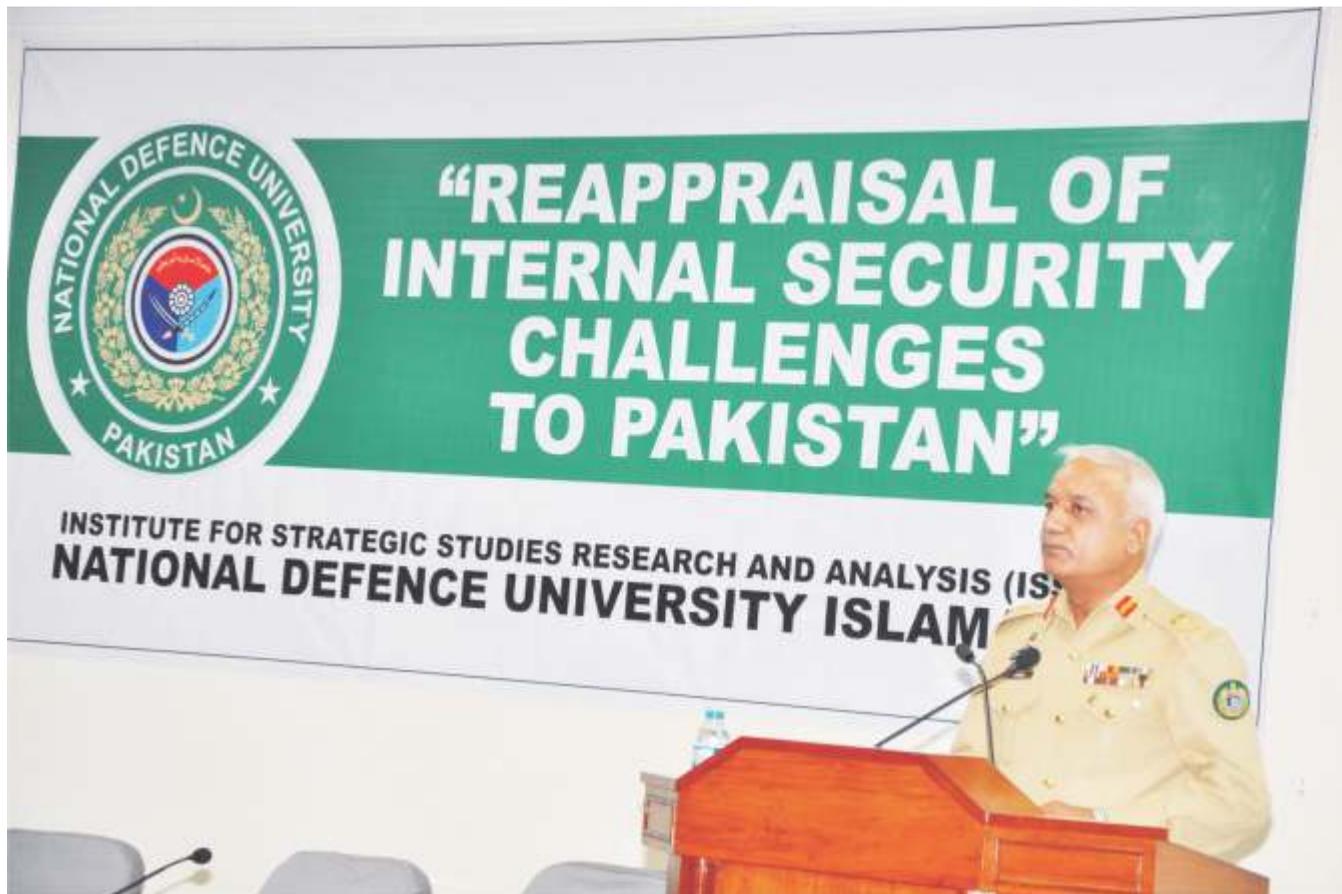


On this occasion, the Chief Guest described the serious problems emanating from the internal security situation in Pakistan. In the case of FATA and Baluchistan from 1947 to date, the common man and experienced hands from the area who had previously dealt with the situation successfully were mostly not consulted during the policy formulation and then implementation stage. The future of Baluchistan was, not decided by its people but by people in the federal capital. Manipulated elections, followed by representatives selected from Islamabad instead of being elected in a democratic way, participation of such selected people in decision-making while keeping the genuine representatives out of the process and absence of local government resulted in ensuing problems in the country. Presence of such loopholes provides space for foreign interference in our internal situation at different levels that increases the divide between the ruler and the ruled which then becomes an obstacle for socio-economic development. Therefore there is a need to

adopt an inclusive approach and welcome sub-national leaders from Balochistan who are living in exile in foreign countries and to take them into confidence, enabling them to take decisions for their motherland.

On the other hand, attempts to alienate the military from government should be stopped immediately. Army is part of the government and an instrument of federal government for ensuring security. The different suggestions proffered during the presentations are viable and need to be optimized and to start with, we need to reform and improve the intelligence agencies and the void amongst intelligence agencies should be overcome to ensure concerted and well-coordinated efforts. Conversely, clash of interests between the political, civil and military stakeholders hinder effective implementation of some of the good policies already in place. Therefore, there is now an urgent need to reverse such trends and work in harmony for the betterment of the people of Pakistan.

**Vote of Thanks,
President NDU, Lt Gen Javed Iqbal, HI(M)**



President NDU praised the thought-provoking and stimulating deliberations carried out during the Two Days exercise, especially with a clinical and constructive approach. The deliberations had proven that a lot of good work is already being done at the government level and also pin-pointed at the dimensions where further focusing is required. He was hopeful that this effort will help in further improving the National Internal Security Policy. Pakistan is facing complex security challenges and therefore, a comprehensive multi-faceted approach has become a necessity- an objective which became the driving force for arranging this

seminar. It needs no further emphasis to say that socio economic development and prosperity of our country will only be possible if we are able to stabilize the internal security of Pakistan. The recommendations made in this seminar will provide a strategic guideline and help in outlining a mechanism to build capacity of national institutions and law enforcement agencies for maintaining law and order. The president thanked the Chief Guest, distinguished guests, speakers and participants for their keen participation in the deliberations; and DG ISSRA and his team for conducting this in-time academic discussion on a topic of vital national importance.

