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NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY OF PAKISTAN

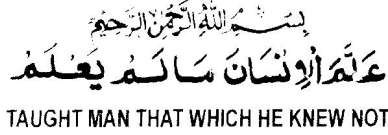
NATIONAL STRATEGY PAPER 2012-13



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NATIONAL SECURITY PAPER 2012/13
COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

Perspective

1. Global normative framework of national security is changing. One dimension of this change is the transforming concept of national security, embedded in an articulate interplay of all elements of national power. Therefore, the Comprehensive National Security Policy is ***'the nation's plan for using all its instruments and resources of power to protect and advance its national interests most effectively. The national security policy provides a unifying concept to a nation's foreign, economic, defence and all domestic policies to operate within one and the same framework'***.¹ It is in this context that the entire state apparatus needs to develop a wholesome understanding of this concept for a unified response.

2. The geo-political environment in and around Pakistan is complex and uncertain.² The threats are real, multi-

¹ David Jablonsky, "National Power," in *Guide to National Security and Strategy*, ed. J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr. (United States: U.S Army War College, 2004), 1, accessed on April 12, 2013, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/army-usawc/strategy2004/o8jablonsky.pdf>.

² Salman Rafi Sheikh, "Geo-Politics and Foreign Policy Application: The Case of US Policy towards IP Gas Pipeline," *Eurasia Review*, March 3, 2013, accessed on April 12, 2013, <http://www.eurasiareview.com/30032013-geo-politics-and-foreign-policy-application-the-case-of-us-policy-towards-ip-gas-pipeline-oped/>.

dimensional and our vulnerabilities have increased. There is no choice but to collectively respond to the challenges for the sake and interest of Pakistan. Therefore, the proposed national security policy envisages the following national aim:

‘Ensuring territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state of Pakistan; providing safety, security and equal opportunities to our people to achieve progress, prosperity and respect in the comity of nations, with the ultimate objective of well-being of the people of Pakistan’.³

Strategic Appraisal

3. **National Purpose.** To make Pakistan a democratic, prosperous, progressive and peaceful state, wherein fundamental rights of citizens are protected and fully observed, as enshrined in the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 aimed at well-being of the people.⁴

4. Vital Interests

- a. Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity of Pakistan including Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu & Kashmir.

³ Security Council Report was presented in 6900th meeting. *United Nations*, January 15, 2013, accessed on April 15, 2013, http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_pv_6900.pdf, 2.

⁴ Tahir Kamran, "Democracy and Governance in Pakistan," *South Asia Partnership-Pakistan*, July 2008, accessed on April 15, 2013, http://www.sappk.org/publications/eng_publications/Democracy_and_Governance.pdf, 88.

- b. Internal Stability and National Integration.
 - c. Socio-economic Progress.
 - d. Peaceful Resolution of Kashmir Dispute.
 - e. Maintaining Credible Minimum Deterrence.
5. **Most Important Interests**
- a. Enhanced Food, Energy and Water Security.
 - b. Strengthening the Democratic Institutions.
 - c. Education for All.
 - d. Stability in Afghanistan.
 - e. Good Governance.
 - f. Friendly Relations with Neighbours and International Community.
6. **Conclusions from the Environment**
- a. **Global**
 - (1) **World Order.** US will continue to dominate global scene in the foreseeable future. However, existing uni-polar world may gradually transit to ***multi-centres of power***, under the overarching umbrella of US, anchored in the trinity of global force presence, global force projection, and global intervention, enshrined in political processes and manoeuvres.⁵
 - (2) **Globalization.** Globalization is likely to continue, increasing the inter-dependencies and transforming the concept of sovereignty. The positive effects of

⁵ J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr. (ed.) *Guide to National Security and Strategy* (United States: U.S Army War College, 2004), 1.

globalization can only be capitalized by maintaining competitiveness.

- (3) **Asian Century.** The concept of 21st Century as 'Asian Century' is not pre-ordained, and remains subject to challenges of the complex world of today, where nations are vying for resources and internal stability and faced with the reality of simmering political, economic and social currents and inter-state competition.⁶
- (4) **Primacy of Economy.** States' international stature is increasingly re-defined by its economic prowess and viability in the international power calculus.
- (5) **Global Concerns.** The leading international players will continue to forge cooperation and alliances to collectively, but selectively, deal with global issues like transnational terrorism, nuclear proliferation, global warming and so on. World concerns have put Pakistan in the eye of the storm.
- (6) **Evolving Character of War.** The evolving character of war hinges on excessive use of cutting-edge technology, the activities of Violent Non State Actors (VNSAs) and the media. This has added new dimension to threats faced by developing countries.

⁶ "Asia's Future-Challenges and Opportunities," *European Institute for Asian Studies*, Event Report, January 31, 2013, accessed on April 18, 2013, http://www.eias.org/sites/default/files/Event_Report_Asias_Future_Challenges_and_Opportunities_31_January_2013.pdf.

(7) **Quest for Energy and Resources.** The need for affordable gas resources, the trends of oil market in the future as well as increasing financial interdependence would determine policy choices for socio-economic development of the countries and nations.

b. **Regional**

(1) **United States.** US presence in Afghanistan will keep US-Pakistan relations interdependent. US strategic alignment with India, stand-off with Iran and efforts for containment of China pose policy challenges to Pakistan. USA's '**respectable exit**' from Afghanistan is in her interest, and her '**responsible exit**' is in our interest.⁷

(2) **Afghanistan.** Reconciliation process in Afghanistan is likely to have some success, however, absence of the writ of Afghan government in areas bordering Pakistan will leave space for Non-State Actors to continue to destabilize FATA and Balochistan.

(3) **India.** Robust engagement with multiple power centres has accrued India strategic space, economic progress, and development of military capabilities. India is pursuing a cautious and calculated policy on

⁷ Amitai Etzioni, "No Responsible Exit from Afghanistan," *The National Interest*, November 4, 2011, accessed on April 18, 2013, <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/no-responsible-exit-afghanistan-6126>.

bilateral issues with Pakistan. At present, India is mainly interested in promoting trade ties. Since the traditional mindset persists on both sides, the space for normalization is further constrained due to absence of meaningful momentum on dispute resolution, providing a room to Non-State Actors and radicals in the two countries to take advantage of the situation from time to time.⁸

- (4) **China.** China, as a reliable partner, is an asset in our foreign policy. Averse to provoking any conflict, China remains sensitive about its perceived encirclement, as part of US policy of ‘**re-balancing**’ in Asia-Pacific. China’s economic engagement in Afghanistan post-2014 would have a stabilizing effect. China’s growing economic relations with the US and India warrant our understanding of international relations’ construct beyond emotions.
- (5) **Iran.** Our historical, cultural and social relations with Iran are a source of strength for both countries. However, conflict over Iranian nuclear issue and fallout of sectarian factor in the Gulf could have certain domestic repercussions. Maintaining

⁸ Dr. Noor ul Haq (ed.), "Pakistan-India Peace Process," *Institute of Policy Research Islamabad*, 2008-2009, accessed on April 18, 2013, <http://ipripak.org/factfiles/ff117.pdf>.

balance between international obligations and regional realities will characterize our relations.⁹

- (6) **Middle East.** Notwithstanding evolving situation in the Middle East, Pakistan's importance for the Muslim world and vice versa would remain intact.
- (7) **Central Asian Republics.** The vast energy resources of Central Asian Republics(CARs) are likely to generate competitive economic interests. The projected 'New Silk Route' vision offers opportunities and challenges. CARs look towards Pakistan with hope as well as apprehension.¹⁰
- (8) **Russia.** A re-asserting and re-assured Russia is having a fresh look at our region. Pakistan's diplomatic space has marginally expanded in this region in the recent years, which offers economic opportunities to be exploited.

c. **Internal**

- (1) **Economic Overview.** Pakistan's economy is fragile, with dependence on International Financial Institutions, but has the potential to turn around. Energy crisis, narrow tax base, huge subsidies, and sub-optimal fiscal management have served to

⁹ Karim Sadjadpour, "The Battle of Dubai," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 2011, accessed on April 19, 2013, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/dubai_iran.pdf.

¹⁰ Mustafa Aydin, "New Geopolitics of Central Asia and the Caucasus: Causes of Instability and Predicament," accessed on April 20, 2013, http://www.academia.edu/715903/New_Geopolitics_of_Central_Asia_and_the_Caucasus_Causes_of_Instability_and_Predicament.

aggravate our economic difficulties. Multiple security challenges have prevented Pakistan from yielding economic dividends that its strategic location offers.¹¹

(2) Security Situation

(a) **Terrorism.** Terrorists are defeated in Swat and contained in FATA, but they remain major threat to our country. Army, along with the assistance of Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs), has cleared most of the areas and is holding well. But 'Build and Transfer' stages are long awaited. Suspects await trial while the armed forces continue to be involved in Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) for last 11 years in the absence of any effective legislative and judicial reforms.¹² The nation is left to mourn. The police lack capacity. 'Whole of the Nation' approach is lacking. No ministerial structures exist to exclusively handle the menace of terrorism. Absence of counter narrative to terrorists' ideology is a complex domain.

¹¹ Imran Ali Khundi, "Fragile Economy remained tottering during last 5 years," *The Nation*, March 18, 2013, accessed on April 20, 2013, <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/national/18-Mar-2013/fragile-economy-remained-tottering-during-last-5-years>.

¹² Mike Koprowski, "Defeating The FATA Insurgency," *Yale Journal of International Affairs*, (Spring |Summer 2009): 66-86, accessed on April 20, 2013, <http://yalejournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/094206koprowski.pdf>.

Nexus between organized crime and terrorism has added to the volatile and intense effects on our national life.

- (b) **Extremism / Sectarianism.** Religious extremist tendencies, coupled with sectarian violence, cause social disharmony and unrest, and affect economic activities in the country, besides adding to our international image deficit. Effective Madrassa reforms are long awaited and constrained by capacity issues.¹³
- (c) **Balochistan.** Situation in Balochistan, with the latest sectarian and political turbulence, leading to imposition of Governor's Rule, highlights serious challenges. It further exacerbates due to involvement of hostile players, which entails security challenges for Pakistan. Situation is fluid and evolving; needing immediate response at political level.¹⁴
- (d) **Karachi.** The economic hub of our national life, Karachi, is badly affected by the toxic mix of organized crimes, militant wings of various

¹³ Syed Muhammad Ali, "Policy Brief: Another Approach to Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan," *Jinnah Institute*, Policy Brief, October 22, 2012, accessed on April 20, 2013, <http://www.jinnah-institute.org/images/madrassareform.pdf>.

¹⁴ "Governor's Rule to bring peace in Balochistan," *DAWN*, January 22, 2013. And also see Zahid Gishkori, "Violence is on the rise in Balochistan: Report," *Express Tribune*, January 2, 2013.

stakeholders, increased weaponization and religious militancy.

(e) **Non-State Actors.** Non-State Actors, with foreign linkages, are a common denominator in our security calculus.

(3) **Governance.** Governance has been an issue for long, impeding the nation from realizing its full potential. People also wish to see improvement at grass-roots level through local government and eradication of corruption, which saps our vitality from within. Lack of transparent and across the board accountability, regulatory mechanism and absence of rule of law impinge drastically on public well-being.¹⁵

(4) **Social Fabric.** The social fabric of our national life is constrained due to rising population, incoherent education system, ethnicity, radicalism, extremism and prevalence of exclusive and different individual and selective interpretations of Islam in the country.

(5) **Political Landscape.** The political landscape of Pakistan is marked by nascent democratic institutions and evolving democratic culture, reinforced by a dynamic civil society and more

¹⁵ Gowher Rizvi, "Reinventing Government: Putting Democracy and Social Justice Back into the Discourse", in *Public Administration and Democratic Governance: Governments Serving Citizens* (New York: United Nations, January 2007), 78-115.

involved citizenry. Despite efforts, occasional strains among various pillars of the State speak of fragile institutional framework.

(6) **Pakistan's Image.** Internal fault-lines and their indiscrete projections by some local media outfits, with vested interests of international media, are contributory factors to our image deficit.

(7) **National Security Mechanism.** Pakistan's National Security mechanism is not in sync with global trends, which put premium on an exclusive and institutional configuration enabling synchronized and objective input to the Chief Executive on Comprehensive National Security. Absence of such a mechanism in Pakistan inhibits a consistent and poised response, obviating the chances of integrating all elements of national power under one and the same framework.¹⁶

(8) **Climate Change.** Environmental degradation and climate change has confronted Pakistan with serious natural calamities in the recent past.

Challenges and Opportunities

7. **Prelude.** The appraisal of environment has set the context for identifying challenges, which are many, yet not taller than

¹⁶ "Pakistan Relations Beyond National Security Concerns," *Council for Foreign Relations*, Transcript of Talk between Hina Rabbani Khar, Madeleine K. Albright, September 21, 2012, accessed on April 24, 2013, <http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/pakistan-relations-beyond-national-security-concerns/p29106>.

Pakistan's collective national resolve. An effort has been made here to objectively analyze the existing intensity of challenges through an articulate interplay of international mega trends fused with domestic realities so as to carve out their cumulative impact and present threshold on the national security of Pakistan.

8. Mega Trends. In the national security calculus of Pakistan, first mega trend that assumes significance is:-

a. **Globalization.** Technology & information driven globalization presents both challenges and opportunities to Pakistan. While on one hand we can benefit from the phenomenon, should we embrace the change and improve our technological base as well as inter-operability frameworks with the international community; on the other hand, it poses challenges to our socio-cultural norms.¹⁷ Besides, other challenges include:-

(1) **Effects on Sovereignty.** One of its challenges has manifested itself in form of dilution of the Westphalian concept of sovereignty, making nation-states, including Pakistan, susceptible to foreign interference.

(2) **Effects on Security.** With regards to inter-dependence, inter-connectivity and effects of

¹⁷ Stephen Cheung, "Information Technology, Financial Flows and Globalization," accessed on April 24, 2013, <http://www.unescap.org/drrpad/panel/cheung/cheung.htm>.

regional fallout, Afghanistan assumes significance. In the context of US drawdown, the hazy scenario of post-2014 Afghanistan and its current instability as well as militancy, security calculus of Pakistan is directly affected. If responsible drawdown, as mentioned, is not ensured by the US and some balanced governance arrangements in Afghanistan are not sought, there is likelihood of another round of violence, having serious implications for Pakistan.¹⁸

- b. **Evolving Character of War.** The evolving character of war & conflict is being manifested through exploitation of internal fault lines, domestic instability, controlled chaos and uprisings.
- c. **Strategic Communication.** For aversion to proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, the world opinion in general remains unanimous on matters related to fissile material and nuclear non-proliferation, subjecting Pakistan to pressure and war of narratives. Pakistan being a victim of terrorism itself, despite huge sacrifices, continues to suffer from negative portrayals, such as “epicenter of terrorism” etc.¹⁹

¹⁸ Kenneth Katzman, "Afghanistan: Politics, Elections and Government Performance," *Congressional Research Service*, April 6, 2013, 22-56, accessed on April 25, 2013, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21922.pdf>.

¹⁹ "War on Terror: Pakistan reminds Americans of its sacrifices, with an ad," *Express Tribune*, September 12, 2011.

- d. **Possibility of War with India.** India's rising economic and military power with regional and global aspirations, presents multiple challenges. Near strategic parity, geo-economic compulsions and changed global environment mitigate the possibility of a war with India, however, it warrants all necessary safeguards and compatible military thought in the face of India's growing hard power.²⁰
- e. **Non-State Actors (NSAs).** Non-State Actors, with vested interests are sponsoring terrorists, militant organizations and sub-nationalists to hurt Pakistan's national interests, beside fuelling divisive ideological fissures. This trend, with involvement of India and other hostile players from across Afghanistan, intensifies our challenges, especially in Balochistan, FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
- f. **Cyber & Information Warfare.** Cyber & Information Warfare technologies and capabilities of our adversaries have exposed Pakistan's IT based critical infrastructure and sensitive installations to attacks. It has also assumed the role of a predominant tool for strategic communication against Pakistan.²¹

²⁰ S. Paul Kapur, "Indian and Pakistan's Nuclear unstable peace: Why Nuclear South Asia is not like Cold War Europe," *International Security* 30, no.2 (Fall 2005): 127-152.

²¹ "Cyber Warfare: An Analysis of the means and Motivations of Selected Nation States," *Institute for Security Technology Studies at Dartmouth College*, November 2004, accessed on April 25, 2013, <http://www.ists.dartmouth.edu/docs/execsum.pdf>, 4.

g. **Climate Change.** Effects of climate change and Pakistan's location on a geographic faultline make it vulnerable to natural disasters and calamities, posing serious economic and social challenges to the Government and the people of Pakistan.

9. **Domestic Trends.** Most of our domestic challenges have assumed present shape and intensity over many years, due to a host of reasons, and are not the result of recent past alone. The assertion is reinforced by the words of General (Retd) K.M. Arif, expressed in his book, '*Estranged Neighbours – 1947-2010*', **"Pakistan is a wounded nation, hurt by both friends and foes. Her national body is riddled with injuries of insult, neglect and arrogance inflicted by Dictators and Democrats; Judges and Generals, the Bureaucrats and Media – None of them are blame-free."**²²

10. Today, the domestic trends that pose serious challenges to our country include:-

a. **Economy.** Economic instability is shrinking our space to respond to majority of our challenges and issues. This is the most serious challenge that Pakistan is confronted with. Some of the main catalysts of fragile economy are:-

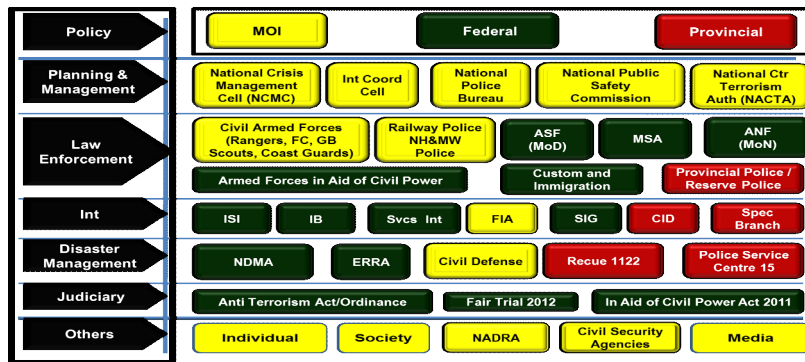
(1) Energy Crisis.

(2) Twin deficits of current account & budget.

²² Syed Javed Nazir, "Non-Fiction: General Knowledge," *DAWN*, September 19, 2010.

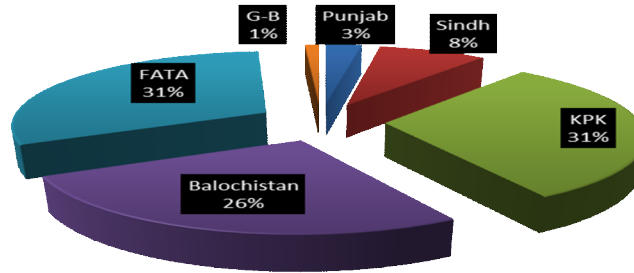
- (3) Sub-optimal performance of Public Sector Enterprises.
 - (4) Limited tax base.
 - (5) Declining investment (both domestic and foreign).
- b. **Internal Security Challenges.** Looking at the Internal Security apparatus, one finds that elaborate security structure, en-compassing all dimensions at Federal and Provincial levels already exists; (diagram given below), however, it demands better coordination, transparency and synergy.

Figure 1.



- (1) **Terrorism.** Terrorism poses a primary threat to the internal security of Pakistan. The fresh wave of terrorism speaks volumes of terrorists' relevance and designs to perpetrate high profile acts of terrorism. With its linkages to other settled parts of Pakistan, FATA remains the major source of terrorism, sabotage activities and suicide bombing as well as attacks on national leadership. Details of terrorist activities are given below.

Figure 2.



(2) **Extremism and Radicalization.** Extremism is the second-most daunting challenge for our society, which manifests itself in the form of intolerance, increased violence and radical tendencies, thereby, impinging on our internal security environment. Sensitivities to ideological linkages are exploited by the extremists and radicals and thus is generally reluctant to positively interfere. Unfortunately today, the nation has no counter narrative to the religious exploitation undertaken by the Violent Non-State Actors.²³

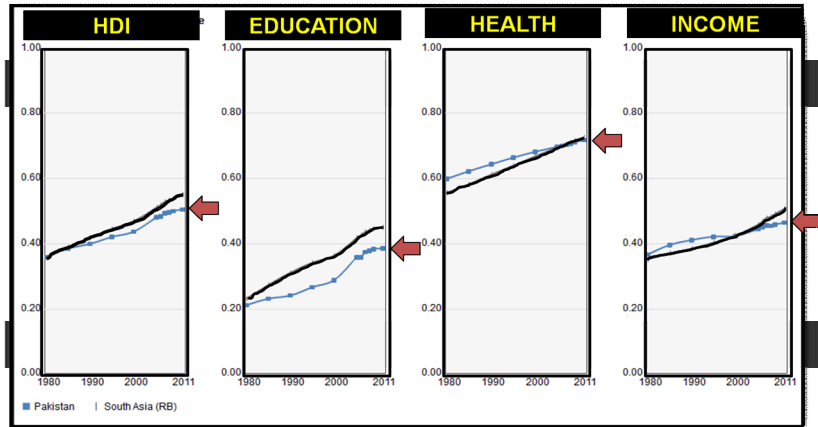
(3) **Balochistan Situation.** Situation in Balochistan is more than a mere law and order issue, with its linkages to a long history of social deprivation. This is further complicated by

²³ Umbreen Javaid, "Partnership in War on Terror and Mounting Militant Extremism in Pakistan," *South Asian Studies* 26, no.2 (July-December 2011): 227-239.

foreign involvement, radiating serious challenges to country's integrity.

- (4) **Organized Crime.** Politico – military expediencies resulting in myopic policies in the past, nurtured weapons & drug culture, further exacerbated by Afghan situation in 80s & 90s. The cumulative effects have ushered sponsored-militant wings and gang wars in big cities. Their criminal-hardiness and capability has enhanced to the extent that they can choke peace & economic activities in their areas of influence.
- (5) **Weaponization.** Weaponization, especially in big cities, coupled with unregulated licensing for prohibited bore weapons; have confronted our society and LEAs with serious challenges to internal security.
- (6) **Human Security Challenges.** Unfortunately, Pakistan is below regional standards in Human Development Index as opposed to 30 years back when it was on or above the regional standards (refer figure below).

Figure 3.



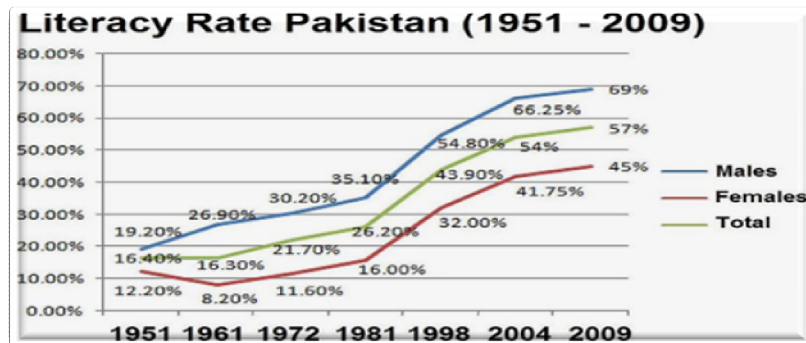
Although internationally accepted Human Security parameters entail seven main categories, in the context of this paper, few aspects are discussed below while other facets are being covered exclusively.

(7) **Poverty.** There are varying figures related to people living below poverty line. Government estimates are 33%, meaning thereby almost 60 million people are living under the poverty threshold. From national security perspective, poverty itself gives rise to various other social problems, including increase in overall crime rate.²⁴

²⁴ "The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World," *United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report 2013*, accessed on April 27, 2013, <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/corporate/HDR/2013GlobalHDR/English/HDR2013%20Report%20English.pdf>.

(8) **Literacy / Education System.** The government estimates put literacy rate in Pakistan at 58%. It is important to note that literacy standards in Pakistan are not in conformity with international standards, besides, uniformity in literacy rates across different areas of Pakistan has also not been achieved over the last six decades. Population living in rural parts of the country especially in far flung areas of FATA, Balochistan, KPK, Gilgit-Baltistan, Kashmir and southern Punjab are far behind their fellow citizens living in the urban areas. On ground, three parallel education streams are leading to varied human resource, besides, quality of instructions and syllabus leaves much to be desired.²⁵

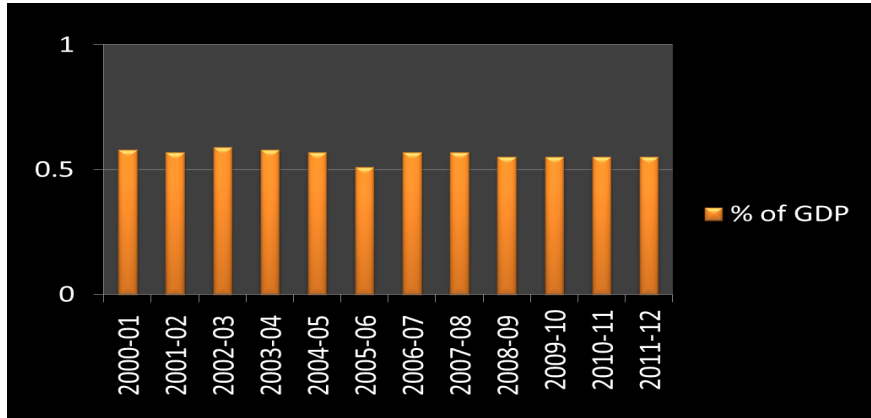
Figure 4.



²⁵ "Global Literacy Rate: Pakistan Ranks 113th among 120 nations," *Business Recorder*, October 24, 2012, accessed on April 26, 2013, <http://www.brecorder.com/top-news/1-front-top-news/87662-global-literacy-rate-pakistan-ranks-113th-among-120-nations-.html>.

(9) **Public Health.** Our national spending on health has remained below 1% of GDP¹. In spite of a good Health Policy crafted in Year-2009, better results could not be achieved due to implementation mechanism and lack of capacity at grassroots level.

Figure 5.



(10) **Population, HRD and Youth.** Pakistan is the sixth most populous country in the world², with projected population estimated to be over 250 million in Year-2030³, demanding continued efforts to balance demand versus supply. Today, Pakistan has a resource of some 90 millions youth, which needs to be harnessed and provided employment opportunities; otherwise, this demographic dividend could turn into a liability.²⁶

²⁶ *Pakistan Economic Survey, 2011-12* (Finance Division, Government of Pakistan, 2011), 152.

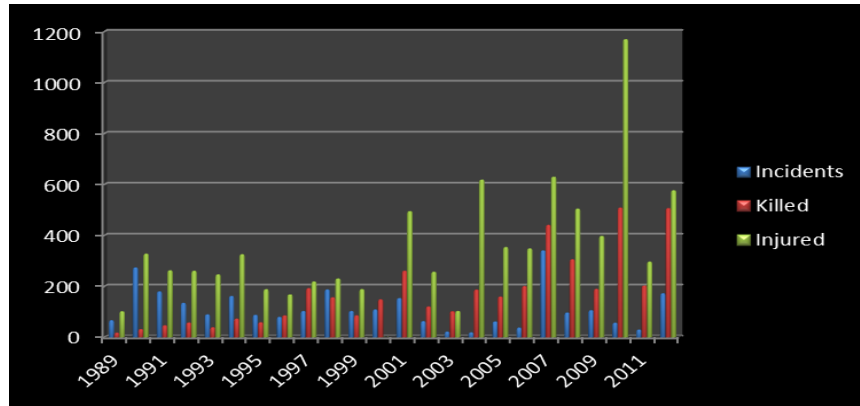
(11) **Gender Discrimination and Child Labour.** In a sub-inclusive culture and a male dominated society, some indicators of human deprivation in Pakistan have a woman's face. Approximately four and a half thousand cases of violence against women were reported in the media within the first six months of last year. Two-thirds of our women are illiterate, and they often become victims of discriminatory customs and traditions. Unfortunately, trend towards children is also not encouraging. As per Federal Bureau of Statistics, approximately four million children of our future generation are engaged in child labour.²⁷

c. **Socio-Political Challenges**

(1) **Sectarianism.** Sectarianism is a formidable internal challenge, polarizing the society and offering space to exploitative forces. Intensity of sectarian violence since 1989 is shown in the diagram below.

²⁷ Ibid.

Figure 6.



(2) **Political Culture.** The country is well on its way to democratic values despite hiccups of the past. However, comparatively slow evolution of political culture and institutions have quite often converted decision- making process into expediency.

(3) **Governance.** Inadequacies at the basic tier of local government, coupled with capacity limitations and corruption⁴, are all serious challenges for delivering desired quality of governance.

(4) **Lack of Justice.** The rule of law remains anathema to Pakistani culture. Over 1.6 million cases are pending in courts of various levels in Pakistan. A parallel system of traditional justice⁵ and delays in existing dispensation, results in denying justice to common people.

d. **International Relations.** One of our major challenges in the international relations today is to project Pakistan as a responsible and peaceful state in the face of inherent fault lines and nefarious designs of information and cyber operators.²⁸ Some important challenges are:-

- (1) Public sentiment over drone strikes – giving exploitative space to violent non-state actors besides, violation of territorial sovereignty.
- (2) Fallouts of Afghan war – exacerbating internal stability issues.
- (3) Pakistan in the context of proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction while maintaining credible minimum deterrence.
- (4) Tendency on the part of some in the international community to equate freedom movements with terrorism vis-à-vis peaceful resolution of Kashmir dispute.²⁹

11. **Opportunities.** Pakistan's challenges are multi-faceted and multi-dimensional, however, all is not bad. Numerous opportunities that show us 'the light at the end of the tunnel' are:-

- a. **Demography and Cultural Strength.** Despite huge sufferings in the forms of natural disasters and

²⁸ "Guiding Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, accessed on April 27, 2013, <http://www.mofa.gov.pk/content.php?pageID=Foreign%20Policy>.

²⁹ Ibid.

terrorism, etc, Pakistani nation has always shown a marked resilience. Hardworking and enterprising population comprising multitudes of youths and an evolving civil society, envisage huge prospects for our future. Strong family bonds and cultural aspects of hospitality, etc, are force multipliers. Fortunately, overseas Pakistanis, due to their remittances, have been a great source of strength for their cumulative contributions to Pakistan's economy and image building.³⁰

- b. **Geography.** Geo-strategic location of Pakistan provides a huge opportunity for our economy in the form of trade & energy corridors for the region. Pakistan has a large untapped pool of natural resources, waiting to be fully explored. The diverse & versatile terrain as well as weather, have prospects for promoting tourism, besides expanding the agricultural base. Our tremendous maritime potential, from international shipping to Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), can accrue huge strategic dividends.³¹
- c. **Democratic Dispensation.** Democracy continues to grow with a broad-based consensus in the nation and institutions to further strengthen democratic norms

³⁰ Ali Mohammad, "Pakistan: A Superpower by 2020," *Pakistan Times*, May 19, 2013.

³¹ Saman Zahra, "Geo Strategic Importance of Pakistan," *Studymode.com*, accessed on April 30, 2013, <http://www.studymode.com/essays/Geo-Strategic-Importance-Of-Pakistan-1096473.html>.

and values. The spirit of reconciliation and dialogue, with relentless and persistent support from Armed Forces, resulting in resolution of contentious issues at the national level is highly praiseworthy. Judiciary's role is receiving a wide spread acceptance in the society. Despite occasional sensationalism by some parts of media outfits, the freedom of media has caused greater awareness among the masses and also attracted international attention.³²

- d. **Economy.** With requisite institutions and physical infrastructure already available, a population of over 180 million people provides a huge market for consumer products that can attract foreign investments. Large informal economy and prospects in tax-base expansion provide avenues for revenue generation. Successes of public sector organizations such as NADRA, and our rising telecommunication sector, which is competing globally, give hope to the new generation what all can be achieved despite prevailing challenges. Resilient entrepreneurs, significant potential in mining sector, unutilized industrial capacity in Small & Medium Enterprises (SMEs) as well as Large Scale Manufacturing, present huge opportunities, yet to be fully realized.

³² Myra MacDonald, "Pakistan's Growing Democracy," *Reuters*, August 14, 2011, accessed on April 30, 2013, <http://blogs.reuters.com/pakistan/2011/08/14/pakistans-growing-democracy/>.

Additionally, dairy & livestock present options to diversify our exports.

- e. **Nuclear Capability and Military.** Established nuclear capability of our great nation provides security as well as leverage to build and maintain diplomatic relations. Our unmatched contributions to Peace-Keeping Operations of United Nations remain a source of good international image and pride for the nation.
- f. **Diplomacy.** On diplomatic front, Pakistan remains relevant to the major powers in achieving shared objectives. Pakistan has the potential to be a bridge for regional cooperation and integration as well.³³

Policy Recommendations

12. While addressing the nation on 24th October 1947, the father of the nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said, **‘My message to you all is of hope, courage and confidence. Let us mobilize all our resources in a systematic and organized way and tackle the grave issues that confront us with grim determination and discipline worthy of a great nation’.**³⁴

13. Pakistan has a great potential to shape up as a prosperous state, provided the nation collectively organizes its efforts to

³³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Guiding Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy."

³⁴ Khurshid Ahmed Khan Yusafi (ed.), *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam, 1946-1948* (New York, University of Michigan, 1996), 2630.

put the house in order. Aspirations of the people of Pakistan are very clear. They want:-

- a. An economically stable Pakistan, which is secure from terrorism and extremism, where rule of law prevails and social justice is available across the board.
- b. A self-respecting and dignified Pakistan, which has more friends and no enemies.
- c. A Pakistan, which has correct political priorities, equal health and education opportunities for all, and where hope overpowers despondency.

14. The challenges are grave, environment is hostile and expectations of the people are high. In the current situation of weak economy and multi-faceted, multi-level and multi-dimensional threats, national response also needs to correspond to the gravity of situation at all levels, making apt use of all Elements of National Power. No matter what comes, there is 'light at the end of the tunnel', but to make that light see the day, the nation must galvanize all resources at its disposal. Reference timelines are: for short-term-up to two years, for mid-term between three and five years, and for long-term- ten years and beyond. It is in this context that some policy recommendations are being proffered for the purpose of further strengthening our democratic institutions.

- a. **Enhancing Economic Security.** Economic security policy should revolve around principles of ***Revival, Self-reliance and Sustainability*** to achieve the

ultimate aim of well-being of the people of Pakistan.

The policy guidelines are:

- (1) Improved reliability, efficiency and management of energy and power supply, completion of IP Gas Pipeline project and new coal-fired thermal plants should be strategic priorities for Pakistan.
 - (2) Gain economic dividends from our geo-strategic location in order to become the trade corridor between CARs and the world. Experts should work out a complete model immediately before losing this opportunity to someone else.
 - (3) Privatize selected sick public sector enterprises.
 - (4) Initiate institutional reforms to broaden the revenue base.
 - (5) Offer Incentives for private investment in natural resource exploration.
 - (6) Improve the investment and business climate to attract Foreign Direct Investment.
 - (7) Build medium to large scale water reservoirs.
 - (8) **End State.** Energy shortages are addressed through better management, energy imports and energy mix in short to mid-term with the target of 6-7% growth rate in the mid-term.
- b. **Maximizing Security.** Internal Security is governed by the principles of ***consensus, dialogue and reconciliation augmented with deterrence, synergy of state apparatus and zero tolerance***

to terrorism and militancy.³⁵ Recommended guidelines are:

- (1) Enact laws to facilitate prosecution and witness protection.
- (2) Take measures for de-politicization of Police.
- (3) Orchestrate 'Whole of the Nation' approach to tackle internal threats by pursuing 3D Policy (Dialogue, Development, Deterrence). Re-establish writ of the government all over the country.
- (4) Address alienation of marginalized communities through dialogue, political emancipation and targeted socio-economic reforms.
- (5) Institutionalize incremental, incentive based de-weaponization campaign.
- (6) Terrorism, organized crimes and politically sponsored militant wings are grave threats and should be treated with zero tolerance.
- (7) Establish an additional powerful federal framework with seamless fusion and linkages at provincial level to synchronize, coordinate and direct the efforts of Intelligence and Law Enforcement Agencies against nexus of terrorism and organized crime.
- (8) Develop political consensus on available choices for FATA, de-induct military after building the capacity of civil armed forces.

³⁵ See "The Law of Armed Conflict: Internal Security Operations-Part B," *International Committee of the Red Cross*, June 2002.

- (9) Ensure border management mechanisms with neighbours.
- (10) **End State.** Contain terrorism through comprehensive legislation and effective implementation of laws in short-term, paving way for phased disengagement of Army from Internal Security in short to mid-term. Ensure stability in troubled areas and complete handover to civil authorities in mid to long term.
- c. **Optimizing Defence.** Central theme of Defence Policy should revolve around, ***‘Defend territorial integrity of Pakistan, including Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, deter war through credible minimum deterrence, strive for peace and stability in the region’***.³⁶ The guidelines are:
- (1) Deter war by synergetic application of all elements of national power.
 - (2) Maintain potent defence system, duly supported by credible minimum nuclear deterrence for synergetic response, should war be imposed.
 - (3) Eliminate India’s temptations for aggression, by interfacing nuclear and conventional capabilities, leaving no space for war.

³⁶ "Promise Policy Performance: Two Years of People's Government 2008-2010," *Ministry of Information and Broadcasting*, Government of Pakistan, accessed on April 30, 2013, <http://www.infopak.gov.pk/promisepolicyperformance.pdf>.

- (4) Develop and enhance capacity of armed forces to combat (sub conventional and asymmetric) threats to internal security.
 - (5) Develop capability and infrastructure to guard against cyber threats and information warfare to ensure security of critical systems and sensitive installations.
 - (6) Maintain collaborative mechanism to mitigate sea-based threats to global, regional and national security.
 - (7) Affect institutional mechanism with friendly countries to enhance capacity of indigenous defence industry for self-sustenance as well as selective exports.
 - (8) **End State.** Develop capacity to respond to internal as well external kinetic and non-kinetic aggression in mid to long-term, through phased and prioritized programmes.
- d. **National Security Body on Matters of Comprehensive Security.** In order to *provide institutional and synchronized input to the Chief Executive and further strengthen his institution*, an apex body alongwith a Secretariat is recommended, keeping it in line with the need of the time and international trends. Such synchronized and high quality consultancy body will *enable well poised, articulated responses and consistent*

decision-making.³⁷ In this regard the National Security Body may:

- (1) Act as the nucleus institution to deal with all matters of national security.
- (2) It may also be the focal point for formulation of Comprehensive National Security Policy.
- (3) **End State.** A formal coordinating and advisory security mechanism may be instituted in short-term to look after all issues of national security. This apex body can be named with national consensus.

e. **Human Security.** In the context of human security, the policies should be people centric on the principles of **dignity, care, well-being of people and development.**

- (1) **Education.** Although Education & Public Health are provincial subjects, yet Federal oversight and setting of benchmarks need to be done at central level. For education, which could be a game changer in the long run, the focus should be on:-
 - (a) Education for all, by declaring emergency for education.
 - (b) Gradual increase in budget allocation, targeting up to 4% of GDP within next 5 years.

³⁷ Irfan Ghuari and Muhammad Bilal, "Body Formed to evolve national security policy," *Daily Times*, October 22, 2008.

- (c) Introduce uniform education system and quality education, while focusing on teachers training and balanced futuristic curriculum.
- (d) Focus on vocational training and skill development.
- (e) Literacy rate may be increased upto 70% by 2017.

(2) Youth Potential and HRD

- (a) The youth should be declared as precious national resource, with a view to carrying out value addition through proactive Human Resource Development.
- (b) Special skill based programmes be instituted to afford better opportunities for women in rural areas.

(3) Public Health:-

- (a) Raise health budget allocations to 2% of GDP initially.
- (b) Integration of national public safety net with public health initiatives, for provisioning of essential package of service delivery to the poor people may be ensured.
- (c) Encourage public-private collaboration to address mal-nourishment of children, especially in rural areas.

- (4) **Poverty Reduction.** Broaden the base of existing social safety nets, micro-financing and creating more job opportunities.
- (5) **Gender Discrimination and Child Labour.** Adopt measures to prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against women and children through strict implementation of, and further improvement of legislation.
- (6) **End State.** The end state is to improve Human Security through additional allocation of funds, legislation, containment of terrorism & crimes, gender equality and inclusive culture in the country.

f. **Socio-Political Consolidation**

- (1) **Governance.** Merit and rule of law, coupled with revitalized and depoliticized bureaucracy and police, institutional and all inclusive decision making processes should characterize the governance.
- (2) **Dispensation of Justice.** Strict implementation of rule of law, primacy of civil liberties, judicial reforms and enhancing capacity of lower judiciary are the hallmarks for improving the dispensation of justice. Justice must be brought to the doors of the people to ensure their well-being.
- (3) **Controlling Corruption.** Develop an anti-corruption culture through financial discipline,

independent and strict accountability and incentive based framework for eradicating the menace.

(4) **Improving National Cohesion.** Political discourse, reconciliation and dialogue, consensus on national issues among all stakeholders, avoidance of use of force and transparency may be ensured to improve national cohesion.

(5) **Political Parties.** Political parties should promote democratic culture within the parties by strengthening the political institutions. Besides, political leadership may focus on legislations and not minor municipal functions.

(6) **End State.** The end state is to improve socio-political conditions through grass-roots governance, reforms, transparency, and accountability at all levels, reconciliation and national cohesion in short to mid-term.

g. **Information and Cyber Domain.** Endeavour to create and develop capacity to respond to full spectrum of cyber and information warfare through ***orchestration, restructuring and synergizing existing structures.*** To deal with the non-traditional threats, both in Cyber and Information domains, a

Cyber & Information Authority, with its interface with relevant ministries may be considered.³⁸

- h. **Foreign Relations.** With regard to foreign relations, our denominators may have centrality of ***economic development, allaying international concerns on weapons of mass destruction & terrorism, projecting Pakistan as a responsible state and obviating direct military threats while promoting national interests.*** To do this, our diplomatic prowess may revolve around the principles of ***reciprocity, non-interference, non-confrontation and productive engagement.***³⁹

- (1) **India.** Continuation of productive engagement with India, aimed at transiting from adversarial to non-adversarial and economically cooperative relationship is recommended. India has to be gradually convinced through our diplomatic efforts that there is no space for war. For this to happen, efforts should continue to resolve the disputes and build confidence and stakes for peace and stability. Policy should be “If we cannot be friends, we should not be enemies either.”

³⁸ Institute for Security Technology Studies at Dartmouth College, "Cyber Warfare: An Analysis of the means and Motivations of Selected Nation States," 4.

³⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Guiding Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy."

- (2) **Afghanistan.** Continue to facilitate broad-based Afghan-owned, led and all inclusive peace process, irrespective of demographic disparities. The recommended policy is “Independent and sovereign neighbourly relations with Afghanistan.”
- (3) **China.** Enhance strategic partnership with China.
- (4) **US.** Responsible and mutually beneficial relationship with the United States, based on trust and mutual respect.

Conclusion

15. Today, Pakistan stands at a historical juncture, where a democratically elected government is about to complete its tenure. This is the path that the nation has chosen for itself and it will determine its future direction and destination. However, the destination is far away and the path beset with serious challenges. Correct priorities to address the immediate problems can trigger the process of reform and recovery. Economic revival coupled with insulating Pakistan from internal security threats hold the key. Resolving energy crisis for economic uplift and simultaneous/ parallel initiatives of requisite legislation to improve internal security is considered absolutely essential.

16. Pakistan should **SEEK**; **S**ecurity, **E**conomy, **E**nergy and **K**nowledge. This NSP proposes to re-orientate collective national energies to:

- a. Achieve progress, prosperity and equal opportunities for all citizens of Pakistan irrespective of caste, creed, ethnicity, sect or religion.
 - b. Create hope in our populace to look for a brighter future.
 - c. Fulfill the dream of our founding father and future generations.
 - d. Pursue our values, revitalize the social contract between people and the state - The Constitution.
 - e. Create balance of power in government institutions.
 - f. Legislate and capacitate to sharpen the teeth of our LEA's.
 - g. Eradicate extremism and weaponization from our society.
 - h. Deny safe havens to terrorists on our soil.
 - i. Improve perceptions of outside world about us.
 - j. Have friends and no enemies.
 - k. Make Pakistan an enviable state to visit, do business and live in happily.
17. All citizens wish to collectively realize the **PAKISTANI DREAM**. The present position notwithstanding, nature has endowed Pakistan with such tremendous potential and resilience that all obstacles, no matter how daunting and insurmountable they may appear, cannot match the national will and determination. Pakistan, with the resolve of its representative leadership, correct national priorities and resilience of 180 million people can be a beacon of hope for all.

The time has come to recover the lost ground, create and grasp the opportunities, galvanize the nation, take tough decisions and convert the silver-linings into acts of deliverance.

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