

A STABLE PAKISTAN: PROPOSED MODEL OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Brigadier Muhammad Khurshid Khan

Abstract

In global politics, relevance and importance of a state depends upon its geo-strategic location, economic military strength and political and diplomatic influence in the world. There are external and internal dimensions to the national security. In Pakistani context, it has serious national security issues encompassing external and internal security threats. There is a consensus opinion that currently the national security challenges to Pakistan primarily comes from “within”. Pakistan is a country that has been gifted with tremendous resources, if utilized correctly can usher its national interests without being subjected to international pressure and coercion. But unfortunately, despite having tremendous potentials, Pakistan’s pillars of national power are too weak to protect its national aims and objectives. Resultantly, Pakistan has lost control over its decision making thus its economic policies have been taken over by money landing agencies including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). Its domestic and foreign policies need to go through a sea change. Externally, its policy must be independent based on mutual interests. Internally, the leadership has no option but to deliver to the poor masses by providing equal opportunities to all for prosperity and economic development. National security of Pakistan is also linked with population control, energy and water security and strategy to tackle with natural calamities. Good governance and long term sustainable external and internal policy is a key to take this country out of the current mess.

Preface

Security landscape is more complex and unpredictable due to interconnected set of challenges, dictated by strategic culture of the countries/regions. While the external

dimensions create security environments in and around a country, the internal stability primarily hinges upon the state's economic health. Among the international dimensions, dependency on foreign aid makes the country susceptible to foreign pressures and sanctions.¹

No nation in the world can prosper without a road map clearly defining as to what they are and what they want to be. The progressive nations that live in present and think and plan for the future have minimum security risks. Despite current crises Pakistan has tremendous potentials to play important role in the international comity. Given its location and capability to influence regional and extra regional stability, Paul Kennedy considers Pakistan as one of the world pivotal state.² Due to its importance, 21st Century "Great Game" revolves around this region with a focus on oil and gas however; the untold wealth is also buried in the triangle where the borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan meet with Iran's. Therefore, Pakistan's location offers opportunities as well as confronts with host of challenges.³

Externally, the strategic security environments around Pakistan are far from satisfactory. As a consequence of ongoing war on terrorism (WoT) in the region, its economy is sinking, forcing it to rely on the United States (US) and other money lending organizations for economic support. This dependency has resulted into complete loss of economic sovereignty and flexibility. Pakistan is in a geopolitical Catch-22 which is only partly of its own making. Some western observers opine that Pakistan is "at best a reluctant supporter of the US goals and at worst a potential long-term adversary. This is the kind of strategic relationship that the US and Pakistan currently enjoy."⁴

Politically, Pakistan is fortunate enough to have democracy back on track which guarantees political stability, social and economic development and national cohesion. But regrettably, undemocratic culture within the political parties and the culture of taking whimsical decision by the decision makers

without institutional inputs are likely to continue which are detrimental to Pakistan's long term security interests.

With respect to Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) and Balochistan, Pakistani nation is apprehensive as the security situation in both cases is uncertain and fragile. "A century of neglect" is how a participant described FATA's isolation and marginalization while speaking at three-day conference on "Advancing policy implementation in Fata" held at Wilton Park. Additionally, Pakistan is still unable to erect strong barriers against the ongoing trends of funding and fuelling of the sectarian war within country that started of sometime during late 1970s. Pakistan is paying very heavy price of its last 63 years of flawed domestic policies.⁵

Pakistan is vulnerable to a number of threats related to civil emergencies which warrants a proactive approach based on comprehensive planning and viable strategy. Its national security is also linked with energy and water security and in the absence of long term plans to have reservoirs of these elements, Pakistan's stagnant economy is likely to remain in logjam. Pakistan is already under intense pressure due to rapid increase in population/urbanization. Major General Sunil D. Tennakoon, a Sri Lankan officer, views that while large population is a key pre-requisite but not an absolute guarantee for national strength.⁶ Additionally, the climate change is a phenomenon which is potentially dangerous having serious implications for Pakistani population residing along the coast line.⁷

A careful study of contemporary Pakistan presents a bleak picture where insecurity prevails all around. The pillars of its national power potential are not sufficiently robust and compatible to protect and promote its core national interests and objectives. The analysts have been sounding alarms about Pakistan's overall economic, social and political health and the issue of radicalization, dividing the society along religious and ethnic lines.⁸

In this backdrop, this paper focuses on the dynamics of Pakistan's national security while concentrating on following

factors: First, defining national security, second, national interests, goal and objectives, third, efficacy of the pillars of national security potential visa-v-vis security challenges and finally proposed model of national policy of Pakistan. The opinion expressed in this paper is solely of the author's own and does not necessarily represent government or institutional stance.

Defining National Security

Every independent nation strives to protect its core values, aim at enabling people to lead their lives in free and secured environments according to their shared common belief and values by preserving their national identity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. From author's perspective, national security is an umbrella under which these core values are well protected and promoted through application of well thought out national security strategy.

Literally meaning, national security is a collective term for the defense and foreign relations and protection of the interests of a country. *The national security policy is a comprehensive concept which at the strategic level used interchangeably with national security strategy which enables the states to maintain their independent identity and integrity.* When modern social scientists talk of "national security" as a concept, they generally mean, the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats.⁹

The concept encompasses the element of political independence, territorial integrity and internal stability and national unity. Dr Shireen M. Mazari views that at minimal level, a state may include within its security parameters, territorial integrity, national sovereignty, and the absence of fear of threat to these values. Barry Buzan, a renowned scholar describes national security as the security of a whole socio-political entity all encompassing external threat, economic challenges and internal security.¹⁰

The approach to national security is clearly grounded in a set of core values. Strategic culture plays important role in defining and perceiving threats and suggesting security apparatus which varies from nation to nation and region to region. All states have core interests which generally revolve around security/prosperity but generally interchangeable, as one country might assign greater importance to one over other as explained by Irfan Hussain.¹¹

National security takes into account a wide range of factors that contributes towards stability or stimulates conflict. The national security policy is framed based on national purpose, aim and defined objectives. Besides many other factors, demographics, health; natural resources and environment; science and technology; the global economy; national and international governance; and future conflict are the drivers which impact in shaping the national security as described by John C. Gannon.¹² In Pakistani context, its domestic conflicts stemming from religious, ethnic, or political disputes are also the drivers which impact its national security calculus.

National security is usually defined as the ability of a state to protect its people from internal and external threats by applying all available national power potentials. In 21st century, the economic dimension takes precedence over all other factors. Due to the changing character of the security concept, the definition may also include other drivers, the way rival nations would compete with each other regardless of their location on the globe. According to another approach, national security is rephrased as “the ability of government to protect its people and national interests by using economic, military and political means build and supported by human capital equipped with most advanced knowledge in all statecraft”.¹³

Stephen E. Sachs views that since 1945, the threat perceptions have changed where the most significant threats to state security have been internal, rather than external, which may have profound consequences for the conduct of international relations. The new approach identifies a new

definition of national security which at times is given the name of "human security," which has been suggested to express the need of individuals for safety in other arenas of basic need-access to clean food and water, environmental and energy security, freedom from economic exploitation, protection from arbitrary violence by the police, gangs, or domestic partners, etc.¹⁴

The growing reach and sophistication of international terrorism poses a further threat of intra-state violence that can't easily be countered by traditional military organizations. This kind of threat can also be termed as irregular or "Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW)". Thomas Hobbes opines that none of the other goods in life could be achieved without security, so to him, security was an absolute value. Richard Ullman an eminent write views that defining national security purely in military terms is not correct which draws the attention away from the non-military threats that undermines the stability of many nations during the years ahead.¹⁵

Pakistan's Core Values/Interests

The contemporary strategic security environments within the country, in the region and around the globe, warrant that Pakistan may review its national security policy and make adjustments according to the dictates of the ground while protecting its core values and supreme national interests. Though, Pakistan is confronted with multidimensional challenges, but it can't compromise on its national purpose which is "A progressive and democratic Pakistan, based on principles of sovereignty and social justice as enunciated in Islam". Some of the important national interests and objectives to be protected by Pakistan internally and externally may include: One, sovereignty and territorial integrity including Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, second, nation unity/cohesion, three, elimination of extremism/radicalism and terrorism, fourth, socio-economic development through good governance, fifth, elimination of corruption and safety of strategic assets.

In addition, the other important objectives includes: One, peaceful resolution of Jammu and Kashmir issue, two, water, food, health and energy security, three, human resource development through technical and industrial development, fourth, promotion of regional and extra-regional relationships on the principle of “friendship with all, enmity with none”, with special emphasis to Muslim countries, fifth, development of natural and maritime resources, sixth, appropriate planning to address natural calamities including environmental protection, population planning, development of tourism and promotion of culture and sports.

A comprehensive national strategy should be the next step to ensure that the underlined objectives are achieved in medium to long term. Within the existing resources, the economic indicators do not do fully support that Pakistan will be able to attain its objectives in a given timeframe therefore; the managers/planners at various levels may prioritize the objectives and pay special attentions to the relevant areas first without compromising on Pakistan’s vital interests.

Efficacy of the Pillars of National Security vis-a-vis Security Challenges

National power potentials are indicative of national strength that helps in formulating policies and strategies to mitigate the domestic as well as foreign threats to its core values. These components are closely inter-linked and even if one of them is weak, national security as a whole will be correspondingly weakened.

Pakistan currently deals with host of challenges both external as well as internal. While it’s external challenges are real and visible but its internal threats are interchangeable and dynamic in nature. The pillars of Pakistan’s national security do possess potentials to mitigate both internal as well external challenges but currently their strength is incompatible vis a vis the threats. Some of the threats both ‘external’ and ‘domestic’ with possible role of Pakistan’s national power potentials to diminish their impact are explained in succeeding paragraphs.

Security Challenges: External Factors

Geo-strategic location provides great opportunities to Pakistan being the energy corridor located at the mouth of the oil rich Gulf region as well as a gateway to land lock Afghanistan and Central Asian States (CAS). Its over 1000 km coastline with mineral rich exclusive economic zone (EEZ), generally termed as “Fifth Province” of Pakistan. However, as occasionally said, one may change his friends but can’t neighbor. Unfortunately, hostile environments prevail all around Pakistan. India remains a primary threat to its solidarity and sovereignty.¹⁶

India’s upward defense budget indicates its intentions in changed regional security environments. Allocation of \$200 billion over the next two decades and its decision to acquire state of the art technology primarily Pakistan centric including anti ballistic missile system (ABM) will thus create a serious conventional imbalance in the region.¹⁷ It’s Cold Start strategy further adds on the security problems for Pakistan. Similarly, it is also bent upon acquiring huge naval capability to enhance its “strategic reach and out-of-area capabilities” to protect its interests against China. The lethal combination of India’s conventional military based on the concept of “Cold Start” strategy, duly supported by naval forces and reinforced by its second strike nuclear capability brings serious security challenges for Pakistan.¹⁸

While on the western front, Pakistan’s relations with Afghanistan remained below the comfort zone on one or the other pretext. Regrettably, since late 1970s, Pakistan is in a state of war from “within” and along its Afghanistan border. There is no visible sign that the US would succeed, the security situation in Afghanistan is unpredictable and far from satisfactory, and so is the security environment in Pakistan and especially in Khyber Pakhtunkwah (KPK) and FATA.¹⁹ The security situation further gets blurred as the US national security strategy has already named Pakistan interchangeably with Afghanistan which refers to Pakistan as the “epicenter of

violent extremism”, despite extensive sacrifices in human and economic losses.²⁰

With regards to Iran, till late 1970s, both countries enjoyed good brotherly relations that went bottom low during 1990s when both sides remained engaged in Afghanistan through proxy war. Since then, the relations between them did not improve beyond certain level as Iran continues to consider Pakistan as the US ally. Terrorist acts by non state actors (NSAs) and terrorist organizations across Iran-Pakistan border and Pakistan’s occasional statements on Iranian nuclear program also contribute towards trust deficiency between the two countries. Iran’s inclination towards India is seen negatively in Pakistan.²¹

Pakistan’s national security is also linked with its over 1000 km coastline which provides both opportunities as well cause challenges. EEZ, the ‘Fifth Province’ of Pakistan is extremely rich in natural resources which are vulnerable to intervention. Pakistan's 90 percent trade and energy lifeline is seaborne which is expected to rise thus protection of coastline, territorial waters, EEZ, and Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOCs), is vital for its economic and maritime security.²²

The significance of Arabian Sea/Indian Ocean is growing tremendously. India’s futuristic vision indicates its hegemonic designs in Indian Ocean thus domination by one is detrimental to the security interest of others. Another significant challenge to Pakistan's maritime interests is its unsettled Sir Creek maritime boundary dispute (MBD) with India. Pakistan Navy (PN) along with Maritime Security Agency (MSA) and the Coast Guards’ limited capacity to protect its maritime interests would undermine the full utilization and control of the EEZ.²³

The next serious threat to Pakistan’s stability and security relates to irregular or 4GW. The threat is both external as well internal. While the terrorists/extremists being employed are primarily locals however, the expertise and logistic backup is external. The 4GW being conducted by the terrorists has already blurred the lines between soldiers and civilian and

between state and non-state. The 'ungoverned spaces' in mega cities, already over flooded with population, provide them sanctuaries. The satellite and reconnaissance sensors may find it difficult to separate "terrorists" from "ordinary citizens" among these teeming masses.²⁴

The next uncalled security concern relates to Pakistan's nuclear program which is very well protected through an institutionalized approach. The US Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Admiral Mike Mullen expressed his views and said, "These are the most important weapons in the Pakistani arsenal... they go to extraordinary efforts to protect and secure them. These are their crown jewels".²⁵ However, despite extensive safeguards in place, Pakistan's nuclear activities are still considered unsafe by the Western lobby. A former CIA analyst Bruce Riedel views that growing trends of extremism in Pakistan and to some extent political instability within the country are exerting mounting pressure on the Pakistani military's ability to secure its nuclear assets.²⁶

Nonetheless, the common masses of Pakistan have already made a perception that the CIA led intelligentsia if given an opportunity would not hesitate to coax a plan to launch an attack against any one of Pakistan's nuclear facilities so as to make a case. Mere firing of few shots by the terrorists at the outer ring of a nuclear facility or even of a dummy site will attract international media to put pressure on Pakistan. Scholarly world led by the US is playing negative role which is not in their interest too.

But it does not mean that there is no nuclear terrorism related threat to Pakistan. As the threat of global terrorism has grown so is the threat to Pakistan's nuclear program. Though, Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority takes due care of accounting and disposal of radioactive sources still, nuclear power plants and high activity radioactive sources, used commercially are vulnerability to nuclear terrorism. Like other countries, the possibility of disrupting/ or seizing a container of a high activity radioactive sources by the terrorists while in transport within Pakistan can't be ruled out.²⁷

Finally, foreign policy is another important factor that protects the national interests on exterior fronts and also play important role in promoting economy. Foreign policy can't work in vacuum as its success and failure is linked with the strength and weaknesses of other pillars of national power potential including leadership and public opinion. While efficient Foreign Office (FO) cadre does make a difference however, foreign policy can be effectively applied only from a position of strength.²⁸

Presently, Pakistan's foreign policy cadre is under tremendous pressure because of domestic as well as international developments related to conventional and nuclear terrorism. The impact of IMF and the WB is limiting Pakistan's foreign policy options. In addition, FO is also under immense pressures on the issue of proposed Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty and seems isolated in the Conference on Disarmament (CD). The FO has also failed to attract foreign investment due to unstable domestic security environments and also failed to acquire requisite funds from friends of Pakistan in the context of its leading role in WoT.

These are the security environments in and around the country in which Pakistan's armed forces alongside other law enforcing agencies (LEAs) have to operate and protect their national interests. In comparison with China and India, Pakistan maintains well organized small conventional force reinforced by nuclear capability that presents symbol of stability and unity. Its role in ongoing WoT alongside other agencies has been above the board.

Above notwithstanding, it is absolutely logical that there would be no war when two neighborly states have balanced military power. There would be no war when one of the two neighboring states is too weak to resist. However, the likely possibility of war does exist when two neighborly states though possess imbalance power structure but still sufficient enough to carry on independent and sovereign national status and policies.²⁹ In such environments, the stronger is likely to cause embarrassment for the weaker that may invite war in

which no one is likely to win, especially when both have nuclear weapons.

Till date, Pakistan has been fortunate enough that the nuclear factor did not allow the two countries to go beyond redlines. But since Pakistan would be unable to match India on conventional side therefore, the flexibility to protect its supreme national interests would be limited to maintaining 'credible minimum nuclear deterrence'. As the conventional gap grows the risk factor of the nuclear weapons' involvement in future wars between them would also increase. The ABM factor and assured second strike capability with India would further add on the risk of nuclear weapons being drawn in the conflict.

Additionally, due to prevailing security situation, the LEAs of Pakistan including its army are stretched from Khyber to Karachi. The hostile security environments along its eastern and western borders have put more stress on them. Due to economic stress, Pakistan remains dependent on foreign support even for day to day operations against WoT. A strong nexus between Taliban from both sides of Pak-Afg border and domestically organized terrorists groups duly sponsored by foreign hands would be a nightmare for Pakistan to tackle with. It may or may not be a 'long drawn war' for the US, but regrettably, it will be a 'long war' for Pakistan to clean up the mess after the US has withdrawn its forces from Afghanistan. Pakistan army does not possess the capability to fight on two fronts as its LEAs are under strength, ill equipped and ill trained to undertake their primary role of dealing with internal security alone.

Security Challenges: Internal Factors

Pakistan is a society in transition but still maintains a strict adherence to more traditional values. It is unfortunate that the period during late 1970s and 1980s marked the steady rise of religious and militant forces in Pakistan which was encouraged not only by the West but also by its friendly Muslim countries to serve the US interests. This era set the downward trends in cultural norms encouraging religious

indoctrination as a state policy, curbing all democratic norms and notions of freedom of thought.³⁰

The contributing factors towards Pakistan's internal instability are primarily 'Home Grown'.³¹ Alexander H. Rothman and Lawrence J Korb from the Centre for American Progress in their recent analysis point out that while relation between Pakistan and India are far from cordial, the most immediate threats to Pakistan's stability is 'domestic'.³²

On political and social sides, Pakistan has fairly developed political structure having a formal constitution which provides guidance and sets directions for all institutions. Although, political maturity will take some time, but it is very encouraging that democratic culture is likely to sustain pressure to discourage non-political forces to come in. Democratic culture would also help in furthering cultural cohesion. The national unity was amicably observed during the last year flood and earthquake of 2005 in which the people of Pakistan successfully overcome the crises while working as a team.

But political structure based on democratic norms is best served by educated masses which is lacking in Pakistan. Resultantly, non democratic culture within political parties and impact of feudal/elite on the political system cause serious weakness in democratic process. Regrettably, though less talked about but a hard reality is that frequent interference of the military in national politics has caused serious damage to its democratic institutions.

All these factors have led to polarization and consequent deterioration of state's institutions that allowed all kind of terrorism to flourish in Pakistani society. So called Jihadi organizations have developed connection with organized crime. The nexus between NSAs, terrorists, drugs and smuggling mafias and organized crime is another aspect of insecurities. In addition, due to inconsistent/ill conceived government policies, its society stands divided on ethnic, sectarian, linguistic and territorial lines thus threatening the solidarity of Pakistan.

As pointed out earlier, large population is one of the pillars of national security but the unmanageable and unskilled population in Pakistan has become a drain on its ailing economy. Besides, population concentration in Pakistan's mega cities is a grave threat to its national security. The poverty in these mega cities already exist which is subject to exploitation. The recent report by the World Food Program of the United Nations reinforces the argument. According to a survey, Karachi has already been declared among worst ten livable cities in the world.³³ From author's perspective, even the best intelligence network in the world would fail to effectively control and monitor these unmanageable cities like Karachi, Lahore and Faisalabad.

Pakistan's agrarian based economy is sufficiently robust to take care of its food demand which could be further increased as sufficient arable land is still available, provided water resources are well managed. The country possesses a hardworking work force, fairly well established industrial and communication infrastructure linked with two main ports which have the potentials to be linked with China and CAS. In addition, Pakistan has great potential to develop tourism as industry. The country is blessed with terrific economic resources provided these are well taped and the country is guided in right direction with sense of purpose.

Economic factor that has now assumed the most vital linkage to internal security and stability of Pakistan is unmoved. The bulk of the natural resources remain untapped/under-developed that impinges on Pakistan's economic development. Internationally, Pakistan industry is not competitive due to its poor quality and cost effectiveness. There have been unfavorable investment climate over the past two decades. Dr Sania Nistar views that to provide enabling environments for investment, three factors are important: social/legal security, law and order and policy consistency.³⁴ But unfortunately, none of them exists in Pakistan. Mass scale corruption, high inflation, and culture of subsidy; debt servicing and maintenance of large conventional military force are other contributing factors.

The government officials including the Prime Minister (PM) have occasionally indicated bleak picture of Pakistan's economy. Regrettably, national financial policies and institutes have been handed over to IMF and WB thus Pakistan lost its control over vital economic policies. For Pakistan, "pulling out of the IMF program is not an option", said a senior official.³⁵ Dr Farrukh says, "All the admirals, vice admirals, rear admirals,....put together are either unwilling or incapable of making midcourse corrections-no correction, more leaks. And, there are two things that sink ships: loose lips and leaks...just a little leak can eventually sink as great a ship as RMS Titanic".³⁶

Economic depression coupled with uncontrolled population generates a number of interconnected problems. The issues like social justice, poverty, unemployment, health and literacy which flow from economic strength are amongst the major destabilizing factors in Pakistan. We can't have a healthy nation without education and healthcare and both have been the most neglected sectors since the last three decades. The health services vis a vis population in Pakistan is pathetic due to less than 2 percent spending of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on this important sector. By shedding away the responsibility to respective provinces, it is highly unlikely that a positive change in health sector would come in foreseeable future.³⁷

Similarly, Pakistan's existing education system which continues to spend just only 1.5 percent of the GDP is yet another factor which is detrimental to its national security. The existing model of Pakistan's education system helps creating further classes in youth other than sectarian and ethnics division. The author fully endorses the views of Zirgham Afridi who says that the imported foreign syllabi by the private schools and blindly imparting it to the children of the privileged class will only be available as skilled labor to the developed countries.³⁸

The agriculture sector serves as spinal card for Pakistan's sustained economy and is vital to strengthening its food

security. The water scarcity has raised Pakistan's stakes very high. According to a study, Kalabagh, a technically sound and economically viable dam has been made hostage to the politics.³⁹ The tension is likely to grow with time as the water shortage is likely to persist and the situation may further worsen as India is likely to continue its water reservoirs construction work on disputed sites without caring for Pakistan's concerns.⁴⁰

The next serious threat comes from increasing trends of radicalization of the society. The widespread poverty, failed expectations and the prevalence of militant Islamic religious schools have contributed to growth of radicalization and extremism. Well laid out infrastructure of terrorist groups inside the country is pivotal in transforming radical tendencies into violence.⁴¹ Such violence gets encouragement when society keeps quiet and the state institutions do not react promptly. The coldblooded murder of two important personalities in recent past is indicative of state's failure to control extremism. Babur Sattar suggests that "without the state taking a firm position backed by action, citizens alone can't confront proliferation of violence in the name of religion".⁴²

Pakistan has managed to control terrorists' activities in FATA and elsewhere, but it is far from achieving the objective of eliminating the menace of terrorism from the society. It is a long drawn war that would require colossal resources and political will and national unity. Security situation in Balochistan is also a point of concern. Presently a stalemate persists but political settlement of the problem is not in sight. In the absence of nation cohesion, anti state elements are very active in encouraging and exploiting the communal /regional cards like Sindi, Balochi and Saraike etc thus the country no longer presents a homogeneous Pakistan.⁴³

As a sequel to the underlined factors, the national morale and character are fading away. The societal harmony is cracking due to ethnic and sectarian divide and religious intolerance. There are many societal ills being promoted

without any fear as the society behaves indifferently, mass scale corruption at all tiers is one such example. The displayed behavior of Pakistani nation is detrimental to its national character. The vacuum that has been created between the state and society is being fully exploited by NSAs and foreign elements.

Media is another important national security pillar that impacts across every aspect of life in Pakistan and across the globe. The electronic media is being used nationally and internationally as a tool to galvanize public opinion. In the presence of weak political and parliamentary institutions in Pakistan, the media power is even more pronounced that sets the public agenda which is relatively new factor shaping political discourse in the country. While Pakistani media has been instrumental in putting breaks against many of the regime's unlawful decisions, it has also occasionally caused harms to the national interests. Shafqat Mahmood, an eminent writer opines that media focus more on state and politics, and pays less attention on societal role that contribute massively towards community welfare. Unfortunately, a coordinated effort by the international media is being pursued on many fronts to spoil Pakistan's image abroad.⁴⁴

National security of Pakistan is also linked with energy and water security. The global demand for energy is likely to continue increasing, barring revolutionary developments in alternative energy, the competition for energy supplies will also increase. The rising risk of energy shortages will increase the potential for disputes and conflict.⁴⁵ The author like many other common Pakistani citizens does not foresee a major shift in government policies to address these two interlinked challenges. Dr Sania is of the view that shortage of water and energy in Pakistan is directly linked with mismanagement, bad governance, lack of policy consistency, lack of will and sincerity.⁴⁶

Additionally, Pakistan is not fully prepared to deal with civil emergencies. Despite establishment of a number of white elephants in the form of various organizations from center to

district levels, Pakistan clearly lacks strategy, credibility and infrastructure to deal with crises may it be natural disasters or civil unrest. The National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) formed in the aftermath of 2005 earthquake too lacks a pro-active approach and transparency, two of the most important elements required for disaster management.⁴⁷ There are no long-term, inclusive and coherent institutional arrangements to address disaster issues with a long-term vision. Disaster management, institutions operate in isolation and largely remain under-resourced and untrained. Unfortunately, even the NDMA remains hostage to political actors during crises.⁴⁸

Lastly, the climate change is potentially the greatest challenge to global stability and therefore, to Pakistan's national security. The impact of climate change is already being felt, in higher global temperatures and changed weather patterns. Rising temperatures together with extreme weather will increase pressures on water supplies. Climate change causes potential danger in foreseeable future to Pakistan's population along the coastal line and its Mega City Karachi unless sincere efforts are put in by the most advanced industrialized countries.⁴⁹

National Security Policy: Suggested Model

An in-depth study of Pakistan presents a bleak picture where insecurity prevails all around. The immediate threat to Pakistan's national security comes from "within". Pakistan can't afford to remain oblivious to emerging challenges linked to its depressing economy, intolerable society, cultural values, national character and morale, the factors affecting its national unity. Pakistan desperately needs a course correction and change of "strategic culture" by taking a holistic approach to safeguard its independence, sovereignty and integrity and protect peace and promote security.⁵⁰

Revival of institutional approach is a must to take Pakistan out of the current mess. The institutional process will enable the system to position the competent and sincere people at the right place for the collective prosperity of the

country. For an effective Defence Council (DC) and the Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC), the government should restructure them by providing secretariat and requisite staff with compactable standing. Alternately, the government may consider re-visiting the concept of National Security Council (NSC) which could be modified into a genuinely functional body which might become factor of stability as all stake holders would be on board.⁵¹

Pakistan's security policy should commensurate with its power potentials based on well articulated national priorities. Its security strategy should be sufficiently robust so that when it is forced to engage, it should be able to prevent conflict and counter potential regional aggressors as necessary. To achieve the underlined objectives, Pakistan should continue to maintain existing level of conventional forces with combination of "credible minimum nuclear deterrence". However, in the long term, it should take additional security measures including development of second strike capability to counter India's massive conventional buildup to ensure that nuclear threshold does not get disturb.⁵²

With regards to Pakistan's foreign policy, it should be based on mutual co-existence on the principle of "friendship with all enmity with none". On nuclear side, Pakistan should continue to support nondiscriminatory international nonproliferation efforts. However, while Pakistan does not have to match India's nuclear weapon by nuclear weapon, even so, to maintain strategic stability in these changing and adverse ground realities, it will need to continue its modest fissile material production in the foreseeable future and oppose the initiation of negotiations on the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty, unless international community is willing to give assured guarantee to protect its supreme national interests. Pakistan can't afford to sign nuclear nonproliferation treaty in its current form unless Pakistan is taken on board as a nuclear weapons possessor state. And finally, Pakistan may not oppose entry into force of the comprehensive test ban treaty when other stakeholders have ratified it.⁵³

In order to have an adequately analyzed implementable long term foreign policy, an input from various public institutions and private independent think tanks is important. The tendency of putting all eggs in one basket must be avoided by having equitable relations with all regional and extra regional countries on the basis of mutual gains. However, it's economic and security stability is linked with regional approach involving emerging economic players while taking due cognizance of global factors. While resolution of Afghanistan issue is extremely important for stability of this region nonetheless, Pakistan's cordial relations with India are vital for long term peace and prosperity of South Asia. Resolution of all outstanding disputes through constructive dialogue can steer this region towards economic prosperity and peaceful coexistence.

As discussed earlier, FO has an important role in economic development of Pakistan. While bringing in foreign investment is one area, exploring markets for Pakistani goods in Europe and the US is another factor that would help in balancing the trade. Dr Akmal Hussan proposes that if Pakistan is to focus on fighting the extremists within, who pose the principal national security threat, we need to defuse tensions with India if only to avoid a two-front military dilemma.⁵⁴ In author's candid view, Pakistan may consider large scale trade with India for mutual benefit without compromising on its principle stand on core issues.

As highlighted earlier, Pakistan's geographic location offers immense economic opportunities. Availability of peaceful security environments along its eastern and western borders is paramount to accrue the benefit of economic opportunities. The FO should explore the possibility of getting full membership of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the two forums which are the upcoming hub of economic activities. In addition, Pakistan should also persuade all members of SAARC to make this forum a mutually beneficial organization.

Pakistan had have enjoyed fairly good relations with all Muslim countries in the past with some up and down. Pakistan should continue to improve its relations with all of them without being biased with anyone. Pakistan can't afford to have cold relations with Iran being the next door brotherly country. It should continue to monitor the changes being pursued by the people in Middle East and prepare its responses accordingly. In addition, Pakistan can still play an important role in removing mistrust between the Muslim states by energizing the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), an important forum to unite the Muslim Ummah. However, Pakistan must clearly ask its friendly countries to stop interfering in its internal affairs and stop direct funding to various factions in Pakistan.

With regards to the US, "there is a lot in our past to be grateful to America", said Bokhari, but it paid very heavy price. The US being the strongest military and economic power would continue to assert its influence globally and it can't be kept away from the regional affairs especially due to ongoing WoT. Nonetheless, Pakistan must seriously think and evolve an independent national security strategy and regain its lost political and economic space without that its sovereignty is at stake. There are still many areas in which both Pakistan and the US can continue to cooperate without compromising on their respective national policies.⁵⁵

Lastly, the FO needs to raise the vice at every forum including the UNGA for the cost that Pakistan is paying while fighting WoT as a frontline state to protect wider interest of the international community. International community must be made to realize that Pakistani nation has already suffered on many accounts including the financial losses of over \$40 billion therefore; they must come forward and support Pakistan economically in concrete terms so that the "causes of the causes" are addressed in non military way to bring permanent peace regionally/globally.⁵⁶

Pakistan's economic and social progression is linked with democratic system therefore; the national stakes are very high

in maintaining this system. Therefore, it is democracy that must reform itself to stand up to foreign pressure in the 21st century "Great Game."⁵⁷ If the democracy is to prosper and get mature, integrity of both person and purpose is fundamental to being able to rally and galvanize people. As a first step, the leadership of all political parties must bring the culture of democracy within their parties so that the legitimacy of their being leaders is not questioned, their displayed behavior will strengthen the democratic culture.

As explained earlier, a nation that lives in present and think into future does not fail. Humans have never been perfect and even in the future, there will be mistakes. So, it is time to be honest with Pakistan which is in the middle of crises. An assessment is needed about the future course, otherwise, the situation will continue to get difficult, mistakes will keep on frustrating the country and one day, the country will run out of options. Pakistan's leadership should therefore, sit together to develop a cohesive and pragmatic plan to stop the country's slide toward anarchy.⁵⁸

On economic side, unless financial discipline is injected at every tier, no one can rescue Pakistan from bankruptcy. Pakistan can ill afford to provide subsidies and would also require reviewing its policy of providing free electricity to PEPCO and WAPDA. Dr Lodhi suggests that without structural reforms on the revenue and expenditure side, the economic slide can't be halted. Pakistan should not simply be to qualify for another IMF installment; more borrowing will also start depleting foreign exchange reserves, put pressure on the exchange rate and erode confidence in the country's currency. The possible remedy is to have domestic resource mobilization and specific tax measures, but people will only accept additional taxation if credible steps are taken upfront to reduce nonessential expenditure, impose official austerity, and stop tax leakages through corruption and also avoid the lofty promises which frustrate the nation.⁵⁹ However, there is no alternative to self sufficiency; there is no dearth of resources in Pakistan, what Pakistan need is to toiler theses resources in right direction.

The threats and drivers related to terrorism are increasingly trans-national, and domestic both. The most effective way to tackle all the security threats involves early engagement and the most effective way to reduce the long-term threat from terrorism is to tackle the causes of violent extremism in non military way. Greater the threat, the greater is the risk of inaction therefore; Pakistan's strategy must gear up to cater for preemptive actions against the threat before it becomes too grave to be tackled later while avoiding collateral damage. The strategy should be able to work on alternative options when needed. Without conceiving Plan B and C as alternative options, Plan A must not be put in action. Pakistan has succeeded in stabilizing the state in terrorism hit regions like Swat and South Waziristan, but its Plan C is still not fully in place thus the risk of these regions sliding back to square one is still there. Presence of the terrorists in Pakistan's mega cities and FATA notwithstanding, large concentration of such groups in southern Punjab is a reality and a point of concern which must be addressed sooner than later.

Non-military approach is more important to address the menace of terrorism on permanent basis. The core causes are well registered and the list is too heavy to be tackled with in short term. But the author fully agrees with a Pakistani scholar who views that "We can't reasonably expect that problems that took decades to build up be resolved in a matter of weeks, months, or even years. But the work must begin and be sustained now. It's time to start digging our way out of the cave".⁶⁰

The radicalization of society is a very serious threat to Pakistan's stability and image abroad. The author is of the view that the state has to take lead and encourage the society to come forward and help the government. Restoration of Judiciary through public pressure is one example that can be replicated to eliminate radicalization trends from the society. Ms Sherry Rehman, a former Federal Minister suggests that "state must be the driver in countering radicalization, extremism and terrorism through improving miss-governance and promoting quality public education system".⁶¹

With regards to the menace of corruption, the key is focus attention on building institutions and systems including accountability mechanism that limit opportunities of collusion graft, and arbitrage in first place. Furthermore one of the effective anti-corruption strategies has to do with building safeguards against a state capture and the legacy of patronage; this can be attempted by upholding in governance so that systematic manipulation by vested interest groups can be circumvented. The country's anti-corruption strategy unveiled during 2002 that has gone into hibernation must be implemented in letter and spirit.⁶²

Without taking full account of the health and education sectors, a healthy and visionary nation can't be produced which is an important part of human development. It is suffice to highlight that if Pakistan wish to give right direction to its nation, it will have to revive its education policy. Discrimination in education will serve as catalyst to promote hatred and intolerance in the society. In addition to Madaris, Pakistan's public school sector deserves much more attention than it currently enjoys. Nonetheless, without substantial increase in the budget for these two sectors, namely education and health, one may not expect a drastic positive change in these important pillars of the national security.

To meet the 21st century security challenges, investing in academia including science, technology, engineering etc is paramount; one may take a lead from the national security strategy document released by the US government recently. A new body, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) that was formed during 2002 with a task to overhaul higher education in the country must be revived and requisite funding must be made available to encourage the younger generation to enter into PhDs program in various fields.⁶³

With regards to the issue of unmanageable population and its concentration in mega, there is no readymade recipe however, for a deliberate medium to long term planning, following may be considered: Alpha, create incentives for the population to stay away from mega cities by providing them

equitable facilities like education, health and employment opportunities within their own localities. Bravo, a road map for new small towns/cities away from mega cities, encompassing all amenities needed for development and prosperity of the people. Charlie, while the proposed towns/cities would take time, the existing small cities should be upgraded to ensure that they take care of population demand which would reduce the mounting pressure on mega cities considerably.

With regards to energy security, it is a jihad to be launched to make every consumer and sector realize that there can be no national security if there is no energy security. Extreme caution in management, improvement in governing system and policy consistency with sincerity is a key to address the ongoing problems of energy security. While domestic consumers may be persuaded to scarpify to promote and support industrial sector which has ultimate bearing on them, the concerned departments must address the issue of line losses and energy theft. Though, the author is fully conscious of the right of population residing in rural areas nonetheless, since the energy shortage is a serious problem therefore, at the political/decision making level, the leadership should avoid making fake promises to provide energy beyond certain limits of the cities till the time the situation is improved by adopting all possible medium to long term measures. Similarly, the domestic consumers can also contribute towards national cause by applying austerity measures while using standardized and efficient home appliances.⁶⁴

On similar lines, there is a need for optimum utilization of available water by creating reservoirs and maximizing cheap hydro-electric generation to support economic and agriculture growth. Austerity measures are also required to be ensured with regards to water usage. The author without getting prejudice may also suggest that while we should continue to make fresh and maintain existing public parks to provide healthy environments to general masses however, we may have to do away with creation of new and maintenance of existing golf grounds spread over kilometers, consuming a

enormous quantity of water that may be made available to the most needy people. Massive awareness campaign to conserve energy/water using all means is a must to achieve the desired results.

At the individual level, the proposed steps seem insignificant but their accumulated impact at the national level would be huge provided, we undertake this exercise sincerely. A top-down transparent approach at all tiers will make the difference. Nonetheless, the proposed steps are interim measures to take out the nation from the ongoing crises, the real key of the issues lies in long term sustainable investment in these two important sectors without which the economy, the strong pillar of the national security is bound to ditch thus taking other along. Therefore, the leadership has no other option but to keep water issue paramount over political issues. Unless Pakistan create reservoirs on the rivers on which it enjoys full right and some storage capacity downstream Kabul River, it would be difficult for it to make a strong case against India and may be subsequently against Afghanistan if it decides to make use of Kabul River at later stage.

With regards to the future of FATA, the encouraging news is that only 7.9 per cent people wants things to remain as they are, according to an opinion poll carried out last year by the Community Appraisal and Motivation Program (CAMP), it means people are for change and now it depends on Pakistani leadership as how sincere they are to bring that change according to the wishes of the people. We have already wasted one century for which the nation is paying very heavy price. While the process might take some time but the first step may be initiated now by undertaking an in-house debate so as to create environments needed for the proposed change. Meanwhile, security and development needed to be tackled simultaneously through an integrated policy approach so that the two were mutually reinforcing.⁶⁵

Similarly, steps taken in recent past in Balochistan including employment opportunities are encouraging that will

help creating a more cohesive nation.⁶⁶ *Nonetheless, anti state elements and NSAs irrespective of their background and location must be dealt with iron hands and no group should be allowed to make Pakistan hostage to their petty demands. Pakistan's intelligence network needs to stay a step ahead of conspirators to protect Pakistan's security interest. Presences of Raymond Davis and dozens of other CIA agents with valid visas in Pakistan with drastic intents have already raised serious questions about the abilities and commitment of those involved in the relevant matters. National interests are supreme and should always remain supreme at all cost without any compromise.*

The growing economic dependence on sea and benefits of EEZ requires construction of a whole new set of modern infrastructure of ports, harbors, shipbuilding, and ship breaking. Scientific exploration of the EEZ and continental shelf is also very important for economic development of Pakistan. Cooperation with other states is also necessary to avail the true benefits of the high seas. In order to fully protect the investors both inland and outside the country, Pakistan's existing security mechanism needs to be enhanced. For better coordinated results, Pakistan Coast Guard may be integrated in MSA. Resolution of the MBD with India is desirable for lasting peace and economic benefits.

While the natural calamities of high intensity can't be managed efficiently even if Pakistan has an elaborate infrastructure in place however, NDMA should remain conscious of the potential challenges. To manage the available resources efficiently and to avoid duplication of effort in terms of disaster preparedness, its emergency responses must be coordinated with other forces working in private sector including the NGOs.

National Disaster Management Commission's (NDMC), representatives at various tiers should respond proactively to disaster risks. Government's commitment to allocate requisite financial resources must be honored. It must also be noted that armed forces might not be available in all possibilities due

to other national exigencies therefore, establishment of a disaster management system with stronger infrastructure is extremely crucial for the country.

Last but not the least is the media which also require major overhauling. Shafqat Mahmood expects that the media has to do a lot to restore Pakistan's global image which is at the lowest ebb. He suggests that while the bad should not be hidden, there is a need to balance it with true stories of courage, fortitude and caring. In author's candid view, Pakistani media must learn from others' to reach that level when it should be able to draw redlines between constructive criticisms while still protecting national interest at all cost. With regards to the code of ethics for media, the author agrees with Babar Ayaz who suggests that the Press Council of Pakistan should be made operational.⁶⁷ The author sincerely proposes that media must come forward to play its role in harmonizing Pakistani society which is at the verge of collapse. Positive and immediate steps are needed now; the late response even if it is well thought out will not yield the results.

Conclusion

Pakistan's security challenges are multidimensional with diverse internal and external dynamics for which Pakistan must have cohesive grand strategy. The country has been trying ad-hoc and containment measures in one form or the other for its entire history. Consequent to its past national policies, it lost one half of the country; the hostile forces are still around looking for similar opportunities to complete their unfinished agenda therefore, it can't afford to lower its guards. Pakistan must have the ability within the executive branch an institutionalized decision making process to formulate a coherent and integrated manner, the mid and long term strategy necessary to defend and further its vital national interests domestically and externally.

Pakistan's domestic and foreign policies need to go through a sea change. Isolated and whimsical decisions to safeguard national interest like the ones it saw in the past are

a recipe for failure in future. Pakistan's leadership must be mindful that they are in 2^{1st} century which is the century of new opportunities provided they have will and vision to exploit them. Fortunately, thanks to communication technology, Pakistan's leadership's appetite for loot and plunder that has yet not satiated can't be sustained anymore, so they have only two options: serve the nation honorably or 'exit' honorably before it is too late and let the sincere and well read people to come forward and take seat to steer this country out of the current crises which possesses all symptoms of a failed state.

Pakistan should be able to think forward and look beyond the present security challenges to consider what might threaten it in future. The national security policy once evolved must be followed by well thought out national security strategy that should explicitly call for tackling the root causes of instability and conflict especially in domestic context. However, Pakistan should be mindful that any policy selected will not entirely be under its control due to global influence, and the selected option will also have to be acceptable to all other actors and cater for all other factors. In addition, it will have to be sufficiently flexible to adjust to modifications resulting from the factors and actors that Pakistan can't control.⁶⁸

Author

Muhammad Khurshid Khan is a serving Brigadier in Pakistan Army. He is a Fellow from Stimson Center Washington D.C. and a student of M.Phil Program in Strategic & Nuclear Studies, National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad. The officer has five years experience of serving Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs (ACDA) Directorate, Strategic Plans Division (SPD) of Pakistan as Deputy Director and later as Director Additional. Currently, the officer is serving in Institute of Strategic Studies Research and Analysis (ISSRA), NDU, Islamabad.

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