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Pakistan's Internal Security Dynamics: Way Forward

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Abstract

Internal security is the source of strength of any country, which directly impacts on her foreign relations, economy, political stability, military strength, national morale and social values. On the contrary, a state that is internally vulnerable runs a high risk of disintegration, and history is replete with such states. Pakistan is presently passing through probably the worst time of her history. It is confronted with numerous internal and external challenges which are impacting on her national security spectrum. Every country needs a strong, viable and sustainable socio-economic variable for growth. Internal security requires harnessing and orchestrating all elements of national power to achieve the desired results and no single instrument can work, therefore political process backed up by effective force structures, supplemented by economic initiatives and cooperation of regional and international players operating in the area is the solution to current crisis. Based on the contemporary challenges that Pakistan is facing this article examines the dynamics of internal security and associated challenges impacting the national security of Pakistan. This study makes a point that it's not only the internal faultiness that puncture the systematic approach rather global and regional political environment causes perpetual instability. The research is deductive in nature and uses mixed method approach to provide remedial strategies.

Key words: internal security, external security, Pakistan, elements of national power, national security, good governance.

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Introduction

National Security, as it is understood, encompasses all elements of national power such as military, economic, political, diplomatic, cultural and informational which need to be deployed through a holistic government approach, to take up a multitude of multi-dimensional challenges faced by any nation (Berger, 2014). Globalization and the incident of 9-11 have overhauled the concept of national security at the international level. In case of Pakistan, the country has to steer through enormous internal and external security challenges. The complexities of the security situation dictate that Pakistan's national security strategy, formulated within the confines of the constitution of Pakistan must transcend a military-centric paradigm thus also incorporating vital elements like political stability, security including human security, progress and wellbeing of the people of Pakistan. This means that rebuilding the economy and ensuring our physical security are inherently inter-twined.

A whole of government approach would therefore be needed for modernizing our national resolve on the one hand while addressing the four E's- economy, energy, employment and education, on war footing, on the other hand. Mobilization and fair distribution of domestic resources, dealing with terrorism, extremism and sectarianism, safeguarding the interests of vulnerable groups such as minorities, women and children, de-weaponization, disbanding of militant wings of political and religious parties, handling the issues of governance, accountability corruption and chalking out human

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resource development programs would enable the country to convert its demographic transition into a useful opportunity. To conduct an in-depth strategic assessment of the current internal security dynamics in Pakistan, identifying nature of the competing ideologies and linkages of external influences is vital so as to establish state's policy options within the constitutional frame work.

In terms of internal security threats for Pakistan, the following table shows how the threat enablers in tandem with threat multipliers endanger the internal and external security of the country.

Figure-1: Threat Enablers in Tandem with Threat Multipliers

Threat / Threat Enablers	Threat Multipliers
Terrorism	Militancy / extremism / sectarianism
Tribalism / feudalism	Socio-economic disparities / instability
Militant wings of political parties	Weaponization / intolerance
Political expediency	Ethnic / linguistic / provincial divisions
Poor governance	Corruption / politicization of bureaucracy
Crimes / criminal mafia	Smuggling / human & drug trafficking
Incomplete national data base	Criminal mafia's (land / bhatta mafia etc.)
Foreign intrusion	Drone strikes / Afghan refugees / border / LOC skirmishes

Source: Researcher's own illustration

The geo-strategic location of Pakistan and the growing inter-play of the interests of USA and major powers in the region combined

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with a volatile neighborhood in the east and the west, have imposed heavy burden on Pakistan and its people. A table showing the respective national security strengths of the following nine countries carried out by the Foundation for National Security Research of India, although may not be accurate, gives a fair idea of significant aspects of National Security Index (NSI) (FNSR, 2012).

Figure-2: National Security Index (NSI)

Country	Defence capability	Economic Strength	Effective population	Technological capability	Energy security	NSI
USA	1	1	2	1	17	1
China	2	3	1	11	25	2
Japan	10	2	4	2	45	3
India	4	7	3	34	33	5
Canada	29	10	12	12	7	11
Australia	28	17	14	15	5	12
Iran	11	24	41	37	10	28
Pakistan	7	34	48	40	32	37
Egypt	9	30	46	41	21	41

Source: Foundation for National Security Research, India

Strategic Context

The strategic environment is complex and politically charged that has created instability with meager choices of opportunity for Pakistan. Pakistan's security dilemma is mostly dependent on external fractions that it had failed to fix in its favor. Regardless of exceptional contributions in the war against terrorism it had not received due

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respect and acknowledgement from the international community. The global environment is not dependent rather its Pakistan's internal security which became the client of international dysfunction. Below are mentioned few of the challenges which erupted out of global, regional, and domestic dynamics that clutched the international security landscape of Pakistan.

Global Political Environment

The global political environment has been volatile and remained mostly slave to United States choices that particularly in the aftermath of 9/11 had shaped the political environment conducive for war against terrorism. The elements submerged with globalization have fueled the pace of political instability that on the other hand terribly jeopardized Pakistan's ability to encounter with. As a whole Pakistan's internal security became hostile to US policies, the environment of counter terrorism, and factors of globalization. Details of which are subjectively explained below.

United States of America as global player: The US remains the sole super power although other major powers are also influencing international events. Pakistan-US relations are marred by distrust and have generally remained transactional. This strategic dysfunction has undermined the durability and maturity of bilateral relationship.

Over the period of time particularly in the aftermath of 9/11 incident, American concerns vis-à-vis Pakistan that shaped contemporary dysfunction between their relations include:

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- a) Washington's claim about presence of Haqqani network in North Waziristan
- b) public condemnation of drone strikes despite having tacit approval of Pakistani leadership
- c) rising anti-US public sentiment in Pakistan
- d) poor governance and law enforcement inadequacies
- e) United States also does not believe that India constitutes a threat to Pakistan

Contrary to United States one sided political bashing of Pakistan, Islamabad's concerns vis-à-vis Washington's include:

- a) US fails to fully appreciate the cost paid by Pakistan in blood and treasure in WOT,
- b) USA's growing strategic partnership with India at the expense of Pakistan,
- c) US facilitating India to play a major role in Afghanistan and the region,
- d) presence of un-notified CIA agents in Pakistan,
- e) continuation of drone strikes and resulting radicalization and militancy in the country,
- f) possibility of US attack on its nuclear capability,
- g) the negative fallout of a flawed US strategy in Afghanistan,
- h) Withdrawal of US / NATO troops from Afghanistan in 2014 without creating peace and satiability in Afghanistan.

The fact that the US is in constant contact with the Afghan Taliban including the Pashtun faction discussing issues like release of

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Afghan Taliban detained in the American jails, opening up of Taliban office in Qatar etc (Calamur, 2018). At the same time, Pakistan's overtures to reach out to the TTP for negotiating a peace deal that is durable and facilitates tranquility and stability in the country (Harrison, 2018) is being hindered by the US through the drone attacks. This dilemma needs to be sorted out for promoting stability in Afghanistan and peace in Pakistan.

Terrorism: ISIS, Al-Qaida and their affiliates at the international and regional level, domestic militant outfits in various countries and the presence of violent non-state actors who transcend boundaries are a great cause of concern at the global level. The incident of 9/11 has adversely impacted relations between the nations and religions. The international community disapproves of strong religious ideological identities and encourages adherence to moderate national policies. Our identity as a fort of Islam tends to clash with the global trends. Moreover, the post 9/11 global war on terror had tarnished the image of Pakistan. Regardless of taking multipronged steps that include political and legal the world at large has preferred to maintain anti-Pakistan narratives.

Globalization: The process of globalization has resulted in a more interconnected and interdependent world order. This has increased international trade on the basis of comparative advantages. Pakistan's international trade has remained vulnerable due to it's over dependence on exports to few countries and dominance of mostly basic and agricultural commodities having little value addition.

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Pakistan has not gained advantage from any regional trade regime because of hostile relations with India and the ongoing war against terror in Afghanistan.

Regional Political Environment:Regional political environment has shaped vulnerabilities of Pakistan due to its geo-strategic location that became battlefield for regional proxies meant to keep the faultiness alive for greater instability. Afghanistan, India, Iran, Saudi Arabia and above all competing interests of China and United States boiled the situation into hotchpotch of intelligence havoc. Below is given a brief outlook of regional political environment that has undermined Pakistan's ability to tackle its internal security challenges.

Geo-Strategic location: Pakistan's geo-strategic location offers a useful opportunity to become a trade and energy corridor connecting the oil / gas rich Central Asian and gulf countries with economic might's like China and India. We have not been able to utilize this advantage because of the deteriorating law and order situation in the country.

Afghanistan: Pakistan shares with Afghanistan a long porous border having religio-ethnic commonality. Unfortunately, bilateral relations between the two countries are hampered by deep mistrust. Pakistan's has high stakes in a stable and friendly Afghanistan on its western border to have: peaceful environment all over Pakistan especially in KPK and Baluchistan; reliable and alternate source of

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gas supply from Central Asia and to serve as trade and energy corridor in the region.

India: Pakistan and India have not been able to overcome their hostilities. The episodic relationship comes to a standstill in case of any terrorist act in India which is always conveniently dumped on Pakistan. The Composite Dialogue has become a hostage to India's switch-on, switch-off approach. The non-resolution of the core issue of Kashmir stares in the eyes of the so called world's biggest democracy. This state of affairs has impacted the growth of SAARC as an effective regional economic organization.

China: The present Chinese policy is edged on six principles including: peaceful co-existence, non-interference, non-aggression, equality, mutual benefit and harmony without uniformity. Experts believe that Chinese strides in economic arena, its growing military might, huge population and increasing international influence has enabled the country to attain a prominent global role. China is maintaining balance in South and Central Asia vis-à-vis American interests in the region. It is also maintaining friendly relations with all regional countries. Pakistan and China have a time tested and enduring partnership.

US-Iran: Since 1980, diplomatic relations between the US and Iran discontinued creating an environment of mistrust between the two countries. US concerns about Iran going nuclear is a major cause of friction. The adverse US Iran relations pose critical threat to the regional security and stability. The new Iranian leadership have

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shown leniency in nuclear negotiations which bodes well for the future of the region.

Iran-Saudi Arabia: A Sunni KSA has been skeptical about Shiite Iran's activities in the Persian Gulf region terming it as a means of gaining influence in the region and the Muslim world. The two countries also exert influence in Shia-Sunni sects in other countries including Pakistan. Pakistan has so far over looked the negative implications of funding by the two countries to radical Madrassas which are fueling hatred, militancy and sectarianism.

Domestic Political Environment

Competing Ideologies: Prevalence of competing ideologies in the country have led to a sharp rise in terrorism, sectarianism, ethnicity, linguistic problems, provincialism, exploitation of religious sentiments, intolerance and rise in socio-economic disparities causing instability in the country. These different ideologies have presented their narratives based on fundamental Islam, Pan-Islamism, imposition of Sharia laws in the country (where women are huddle inside the four walls of the house) and establishment of Islamic Courts. The concept of moderation, balance and universal tolerance has been forgotten thus spreading confusion and misunderstanding about Islam in a society where majority of the population is illiterate and derive the interpretation of their faith from the Imam Masjid or a school teacher both of whom possess no grasp on the subject. So, the existing confusion is multiplied by further confusion about what is

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right or wrong in the religious sense. The government needs to build up a counter narrative for all the above mentioned ills and target the mindset of general public. The stake holders in this narrative comprise the government, people, army, media, judiciary and religious parties all of whom must join hands for dispelling the misperceptions about Islam as being an extremist religion.

Terrorism: The prevailing manifestation of terrorism in the form of attacks on security installations and personnel, organized crime, target killings, ransom and extortion perpetrated by non-state actors, are biggest threat to the country's security. The TTP, various militant outfits/ violent non-state actors supported by external sponsors have threatened the security of the country.

Internal Security: The dynamics of internal security are complex and chained together in such a way that if one is fixed the other gets cushion and space to become bigger challenge. Pakistan with its meager resources is continuously fixing the challenges. The external global and regional factors already explained above clandestinely exploit the internal faultiness. This makes the vulnerabilities and incapacity of Pakistan quite a dangerous threat to national security institutions. With all these challenges below are mentioned some of the most important pinching variables of internal security that Pakistan has been encountering with.

✓ ***Situation in Fata:*** The so-called safe heavens of TTP had been successfully denied by the security forces in the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. The state institutions in FATA are almost

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dysfunctional. Though the militant and other non-state actors have been dismantled and their control in the tribal structure is zero but poorly coordinated administrative system followed by absence of promised development could embolden the anti-state sentiments. The weak governance system in FATA and large displacements especially from Bajaur Agency in the North and South Waziristan could cause unwanted security challenges. The limbo situation has undermined the prospects of economic development of the area.

✓ ***Baluchistan:*** The separatist movement has been going on in Balochistan since 1947. So far, five major uprisings in Balochistan have taken place. The killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti initiated the present Baloch unrest. Settlers have been reported killed or kidnapped. The Baloch leaders blame the security agencies for missing persons, kidnappings and extra judicial killings. The insurgency is being supported by foreign elements including India, Afghanistan, USA, UAE etc. Capture of Commander Kalbushan Yedhev in the hands of Pakistan intelligence agency ISI is dire example of external intelligence agencies hostile activities to destabilize the country.

✓ ***Karachi:*** The conflict between the ethnic groups of Sindhis, Mohajirs and Pathans came to the lime light in 1970s. In 1980s, the ethnic politics took a nasty turn with the inundation of arms and drugs from Afghanistan into tribal areas finally ending up with the militant groups of Sindhis, Mohajirs and Pathans in Karachi. The city has become a violent place where agitational politics stops

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the wheel of economic activity. Thanks to Sindh Ranjers, the trend of strike in Karachi is over, when only a day long strike causes a loss of over Rs. 5 billion to the national economy.

✓ **Religious Extremism/Sectarianism/Provincialism:**

The population of Pakistan constitutes around 96.4% Muslims with distinction of 85-90% Sunni and 10-15% Shia. Around 3 % are non-Muslims including Hindus, Christians, Parsis and Ahmedis (CIA, 2018). The teachings of Jihad were fueled by the Islamic seminaries (Madrassas) during the time of late General Zia-ul-Haq and fully actualized during the Afghan Jihad. USA, KSA, Iran and some Muslim countries provided moral, material and financial support to these seminaries which produced radicalized young Pakistanis who believed in death and destruction in the name of Islam (Stern, 2000). Pakistan became a safe haven for fundamentalists and militants of different streaks, thus posing an existential threat to the country. Religious fanaticism, ethnic divide and provincialism (pitting one province against the other for political expediency) are adding fuel to the fire, hence weakening the national cohesion and integration. Tribalism and feudalism are still another reason of sectarianism and socio-economic disparities. Increased weaponization of the civilian population has further damaged the social fiber of the society.

✓ **Challenges faced by the security agencies:** Pakistan military is at the center-stage of national security and policy formulation. Agenda setters have used the Ossama Bin Laden (OBL) case, terrorist attack on General Headquarters (GHQ), PNS Mehran,

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Karachi Airport attack, APS attack and the NATO strike at Salala; to raise serious concerns in the past over national security policy and the capability of Pakistan's military. Furthermore, through controlled media campaigns Pakistan army has been allegedly maligned in the missing person's cases. This had adversely affected their public image. Even the former Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry had taken *suo-moto* action and ordered the security agencies to present a complete list of the missing persons from Balochistan and other parts of the country.

✓ **Food Security:** Poverty and population growth are inter linked and pose another threat to Pakistan's national security. Food security mean's that food is available at all times to all persons who should have means to access to it: that it is nutritionally adequate in terms of quantity, quality and that it is acceptable within the given culture. In Pakistan about 37.26% people are malnourished and Pakistan's National Food Security Policy of 2018 is committed to enhance sustainable production of food with growth rate of about 4% (Haq, 2018).

✓ **Water Security:** Water availability in Pakistan has gone down from about 2,000 cubic meters per capita in 1998 to 1017 cubic meters per capita, today (Hussain, 2018). The recent study of the IMF has ranked Pakistan the 3rd amongst nations facing water shortage (IMF, 2018). Pakistan is expected to become a water scarce country by 2035 (Haider, 2018). It has the capacity to retain only 30 days of water supply (Ebrahim, 2018).

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✓ **Energy Security:** Pakistan relies 65% on oil (mostly imported) and gas for power generation (Government of Pakistan, 2018). Its coal consumption is only 2.27% (Government of Pakistan, 2018). Pakistan has oil and gas reserves, hydro power potential and coal reserves of 185 billion tons including 175 billion tons at Thar Coal field (NEPRA, 2004). The circular debt against different power companies has been accumulating due to poor energy policies (Times of Islamabad, 2018).

✓ **Economic Security:** Pakistan is suffering due to its weak economic handling and decline in the strength of its key institutions. The internal and external economic shocks, structural macro-economic problems, natural calamities, law and order situation, capital flight and large fiscal deficits have caused rising inflation, limited growth and a decrease in employment generation. The present government is facing financial and out of nowhere trying to rescue the fledgling economy (Aamer, 2018).

✓ **Environmental Security:** Pakistan is prone to environmental disasters, such as earthquake, floods, droughts and human induced disasters such as fire, health epidemics, industrial accidents etc. Furthermore, challenges of the climate change have almost taken the future of Pakistan that critically impacts on livelihood of its agriculture and civic life (Dawn, 2018).

✓ **Governance Issues:** Serious issues of governance including political turmoil, corruption, lack of transparency and accountability stand-off between various organs of the state,

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politicization of bureaucracy resulting in maladministration, favoritism, nepotism and cronyism have replaced eligibility and merit. All this has undermined public's faith in the future of the state, thus creating public unrest and damaging Pakistan's image.

✓ ***Refugee's problem:*** Pakistan has hosted 3.5 million Afghan refugees for the last four decades. Around 1.3 million are still residing in Pakistan (UNHCR, 2018). These refugees are a threat to our national security and the society as many of them have obtained Pakistan identity cards and move around freely inside the country. They have also made huge investments in the transport sector, informal economy and bilateral trade including barter trade. They are also a source of drug and gun running in the country.

Way Forward

There can be no concept of sovereignty without a self reliant economy, a capable army, established key institutions, political stability and good governance. A holistic government approach for improving the internal security of the country would comprise a multi-pronged strategy, the main components of which are presented below:

Economic Strategy

Economic dependence compromises the right of sovereign autonomy of a nation. Pakistan needs to focus on three strategic economic areas for improving the economic indicators including

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macro-economic stability, human resource development and capacity building and optimizing economic opportunities. To attain the economic objectives, the following significant elements would be needed :

- i. Resource Mobilization: Broaden the tax net; improve collection; minimize exemptions and evasions
- ii. Pool in resources for improvement of the four E's—economy, energy, education and employment generation
- iii. Tight monetary and fiscal policy to control inflation and avoid stagflation
- iv. Reduce foreign account deficit: Investment plans for overseas Pakistanis, exports, FDI
- v. Double the social sector outlays in the next three years
- vi. Impart high valued skills and technical knowhow specially the ones in demand overseas
- vii. Empowering women through income generation programs and emphasizing girl education
- viii. Utilization of idle production capacity in industries: cement, steel and fertilizer
- ix. Develop smaller urban centers / new administrative units as engines of growth and development

Energy Strategy

Energy security is the back bone of economic security. Thus availability of sufficient energy resources is a pre-requisite for economic development. The energy strategy will therefore imply:

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optimizing existing capacities: improving energy mix, reducing oil dependency: exploring and exploiting indigenous resources. The following actions would be needed for materializing the above strategy:

- i. Reforming public sector utilities
- ii. Rationalizing tariffs
- iii. Improving energy mix
- iv. Converting the existing power plants to coal
- v. Incentivizing the private sector to harness energy resources
- vi. Exploring and developing indigenous coal, hydal, wind, solar and bio-mass

Governance Strategy

All fool proof plans can go wrong when the governance is poor and fraught with procedural hurdles, corruption, lack of accountability etc. A good governance strategy should strengthen support for the state: reduce wastage of resources and elevate public and investor's confidence. This would require following actions to be taken:

- i. Devolution of authority, increasing the pool of stakeholders by inclusion of all segments of society
- ii. Implementing reforms for public sector enterprises (PIA, steel mills, railways, government schools), stopping fiscal bleeding

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iii. Implementing recommendations of National Commission for Government Reforms for lean, clean, motivated and merit oriented bureaucracy

iv. Reducing trust deficit between government and the people by implementing and monitoring the laws for transparency, accountability, corruption etc.

v. Institutionalizing the public private partnership and other modes of private sector involvement and effective dispute resolution mechanisms

Internal Security Strategy

The most vulnerable picket of national security are the threats, threat enablers and multipliers in the form of terrorism, extremism, sectarianism, provincialism and radicalization of society. A comprehensive strategy for internal security would include: establishing the writ of the state, upholding rule of law, ensuring peace and stability and creating cohesion and harmony. The implementation plan for the above strategy would comprise:

i. Creating national and political consensus on our internal security threat perceptions and vital national interests: the patronage of extremist / criminal / militant elements by political and religious parties and the security elements has to be dispensed with immediate basis.

ii. The Defense Committee of Cabinet (DCC) re-constituted on August 22, 2013 as Cabinet Committee on National Security (CCNS) was tasked to formulate a national security policy

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that become the guiding framework for its subsidiary policies such as defense, foreign, internal security and other policies affecting national security (Dawn, 2013). The first National Internal Security Policy (NISP) was formulated for four years starting 2014-18 (NACTA, 2014). On May 31, 2018 the then PMLN government unveiled the 2018-23 NISP (Niaz, 2018), which has to function well and timely that has unfortunately not been observed so far.

iii. Neutralizing the militants by mainstreaming and incentivizing appropriately, isolating and striking extremists and hardened criminals

iv. Reforming criminal justice system, gathering intelligence and sharing of conviction information with all provinces

v. Curbing the criminal social practices targeted against women like Karokari, Vani, physical abuse and torture including acid throwing and burning alive

vi. Tightening the release of prisoners by courts, at various levels, in the larger public interest, for mitigating terrorism and extremism in the country

vii. Initiating dialogue to understand the intra-provincial grievances

viii. All inclusive policies of decision making and resource allocation

ix. Providing safety and security to minorities and other vulnerable ethnic groups, women and children

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x. Choking the funding for politics of conflict : Track and block funding sources for urban, rural and tribal extremists and radical Madrassas

xi. Encouraging reconciliation process and spreading it over to every nook and corner of the country, implementing strict de-weaponisation campaign and disbanding of the militant groups of all political / religious parties

xii. Tightening the immigration and border controls to avoid infiltration

xiii. Digitization of crime data by National Counter Terrorism Authority (NCTA) with the help of NADRA

xiv. Growth and development for all: Development of Reconstruction Opportunity Zones all over the country and continuity of the Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package without political backlashes

Military Strategy

The military is the strongest when it comes to enjoy goodwill and respect of the nation it serves. Military capability and potential lies at the heart of the national security strategy. Pakistan's military strength lies in its nuclear capability that provides leverage for development of other elements of national power and security including modernization of the military itself. Till the time Pakistan is embroiled in the internal and external threats of imminent nature, the number, the budgetary support and modernization of our military cannot be put at stake. A modern military strategy therefore be based

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upon upgrading military's image and respect; modernizing the three armed forces and maintaining second strike capability, bringing transparency and accountability to the extent possible of military funding in war and peace time actions.

The action plan needed for the purpose would be as follows:

i. After the objective of internal peace and border security is achieved we may consider to gradually reduce the level of our defense forces to attain a minimum effective defense capability supported by nuclear deterrence

ii. This would however be consequent upon improvement of relations with Afghanistan, India, resolution of the Kashmir dispute and water issues

External Strategy

On the external front, we need to develop a pragmatic approach. The vague notions of leadership of Ummah, imposition of fundamentalist ideology which can be anything but Islamic, maintaining of alleged safe heavens and training camps for the terrorists and extremists from all over the world should be best avoided. This would enhance goodwill and respect for us at the international level. The external strategy would be adopted by the foreign office and the intelligence agencies and would be based on a realistic world view. The following actions would be required for the purpose:

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- i. Re-visit the ambition of Ummah leadership and pan-Islamism
- ii. Expand pool of partner nations
- iii. Resolve non-core issues with neighbours
- iv. Work in tandem with the Afghan government and other stakeholders for a stable Afghanistan
- v. Develop and open trade corridor
- vi. Maximize economic and trade benefits through regional organizations like EU, ASEAN, SAARC, ECO and SCO
- vii. Optimal utilization of benefits offered under the new GSP Plus Package already approved by the European Union and enforced since January 1, 2014
- viii. Purse an aggressive economic diplomacy to increase foreign trade, explore new markets in Africa and Latin America and reduce the balance of trade imperfections

Conclusion

The security of Pakistan is a prime responsibility of the state—civil and military segments- and the society as a whole. The internal security crisis of Pakistan warrants strong external security which would not manifest itself unless the internal front is secured. The country would therefore be best served if the nation is brought out of the mode of denial by way of diagnosis of the problems that have long persisted and badly dented the social fiber and economic stability. Necessary remedial measures must be availed by using all instruments

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of state craft for ensuring internal stability and supporting external maneuvers through collaboration with partner nations and international financial institutions. This would require a linear thinking and formulation of a Grand National Narrative to underscore the significance of the slogan, “Everything Comes after Pakistan”. Hence “Be Pakistani and Think Pakistani”. The international community at large still views Pakistan as part of the problem in Afghanistan rather than part of the solution and a cause of instability in the region. It is therefore high time that we send the message across the world that Pakistan is a responsible, progressive and enlightened state by way of choice and not by compulsion.

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