

# PAKISTAN KEY POLICY IMPERATIVES

## AGENDA BEFORE THE NATION 2013 AND BEYOND

CONSTITUTION

GOVERNANCE

POLITICS

NATIONAL SECURITY

FOREIGN POLICY

KASHMIR

ECONOMY

ENERGY

EDUCATION

WOMEN



# **Pakistan – Key Policy Imperatives**

**Agenda before the Nation – 2013 and Beyond**

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**Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad**

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## Contents

Editors' Note	i
The Fundamentals – Constitutional, Political and Governance Issues <i>Khurshid Ahmad</i>	01
An Apt Handling of the National Security <i>Said Nazir Mohmand</i>	19
Ties beyond Borders – The Foreign Policy <i>Shamshad A. Khan</i>	31
Kashmir – Developing a National Narrative <i>Khalid Rahman and Awais bin Wasi</i>	39
Economy and Wellbeing <i>Fasih Uddin</i>	53
• Economy – Putting the House in Order	53
• Beyond Growth – A Paradigm for Wellbeing	63
Energy – 'Power' for the Nation <i>Mirza Hamid Hassan</i>	77
Educational Policy – Towards a Knowledge- Based Society <i>Anis Ahmad</i>	89
Women and Society – Towards an Inclusive Paradigm <i>Khalid Rahman and Nadeem Farhat Geelani</i>	101

## Editors' Note

The first half of 2013 – after completion of the PPP-led government's tenure and subsequent general elections on May 11 – has witnessed the first ever transition in Pakistan's history from one democratically elected government to another, and thus a reshaping of the political dispensation in the country at federal and provincial levels.

Many of the issues the country is confronted with have continued through the tenures of successive governments, and IPS has been giving its policy-oriented input from time to time. It, however, feels about time when a comprehensive academic discourse can be initiated as to what should be the course of action for the new leadership in particular, and the nation as a whole in general, on various major issues confronting the country – in the short, medium and long run – coming up with solid, viable policy proposals in this connection.

It is in this background that IPS initiated to publish brief but comprehensive articles on key national issues in its flagship journal, *Policy Perspectives*, presenting a set of priorities, actionable points and viable solutions for the new managers of the country in various fields. One episode of such papers was published in the journal's issue for January-June 2013 and another one is in line for the forthcoming issue, i.e., July-December 2013.

This volume brings to the readers all such contributions written by well known names in their respective fields, together. The contents of this volume, it is admitted, are not exhaustive and all encompassing, nonetheless. Therefore, IPS will also attempt to include pertinent issues such as health, science and technology, youth and minorities, along with other areas needing attention, in what would be, in future, the second phase of this endeavor.

The exercise that IPS has initiated is not confined to coming up with policy-suggestions like those contained in this volume. Going a step further, the Institute, in fact, is also planning to come up with draft proposed legislations for some of the issues in the coming months.

We pay profound regards to all the contributors for joining hands with the Institute in this effort aimed at setting the national priorities right for years ahead. Thanks are also due to IPS team particularly Naufil Shahrukh, Manager Outreach & Publications, for his valuable services rendered at various stages.

# The Fundamentals – Constitutional, Political and Governance Issues

*Khurshid Ahmad\**

A national agenda for the next five years, i.e., 2013 and beyond has to be formulated in the context of global, regional and domestic scenarios.

First and foremost is the global scenario. In the global scene, while the haunting shadows of 9/11 are very much lingering, the real issue is the need for an exit strategy. This is being recognized on all sides. Yet the way out is not clear. The costs of confusion and inaction are increasing, even multiplying. As of today, exit strategies, despite some serious efforts, are in limbo. And while this process has been unfolding, a new crisis in the form of a global financial crisis has cast its gloomy spell over the whole world.

The financial crisis began in September 2007 but the year 2008 was the worst. It was hoped that 2009 could be a year of recovery. But even in the beginning of 2013 recovery remains a distant hope. During these five years, the fallouts of financial crisis have spread to other sectors of economy. It has become a wide-ranging economic crisis.

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Another important aspect is that a crisis that emanated primarily in the private sector (banking, property and real estate) gradually affected other sectors having devastating consequences for production, trade, public debt, employment and budgetary deficits. State bailouts to save the system are beginning to change

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\* Prof. Khurshid Ahmad is Chairman, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad. The write-up is based on his in-depth interview by Irfan Shahzad and Nadeem Farhat Geelani.

the very role of government within the current capitalistic economic system. This process has snowballed into crisis at national economic levels. Several key economies remain under stress. Greece, Spain and Italy are faced with crisis at the national levels. Even other Western countries have not been totally immune to that. Germany has so far been able not only to safeguard itself but also helped others, yet there is an increasing unease. France is in a difficult position. Even in America, national debt has crossed the 16-trillion-dollar limit.

Now they are trying to seek a new ceiling. The two-pronged strategy of tax cuts and state intervention to promote economic recovery has not been successful at least so far. It is now being realized that the economic crisis has the capacity to turn into a civilizational crisis exposing the weaknesses relating to the moral, political, structural and institutional dimensions.

In this global context, the symptoms of a shift of global economic balance of power are also becoming visible. The role of Asia and Latin America is increasing. Even the developing countries, despite all the problems they face, are searching for new roles. They are beginning to be looked upon as a source of strength in future as against the view of their being a burden. China, Japan, Brazil, India and Turkey are being looked upon as relatively more important players in the future. That is one scenario.

The second scenario relates to the Arab Spring. From Pakistani point of view, two aspects are very important. One is that hegemonistic neo-colonial post-WWII arrangements that have so far been calling the shots in the region are crumbling. There is a universal urge for change. Secondly, this urge for change also reflects a new assertive mood of the people, the real stakeholders, who were marginalized in the past. They are reasserting themselves to play a more decisive role. An unintended by-product of these developments has a significant ideological dimension.

Whenever any genuine democratic process has unfolded in the Muslim World, it has also meant greater role of religion in general and Islam in particular. I recollect a very succinct observation by



two Western scholars, of course in different contexts and with different objectives. Wilfred Cantwell Smith says in two of his books, *Islam in Modern History* and *Pakistan as an Islamic State*, that whenever there would be democratization in Pakistan and other Muslim countries, Islamization would be a corollary of that. Kissinger has also, in one of his speeches in 1960s, expressed this idea in a manner clouded in apprehension. He was

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The most immediate challenge on the external front comes from the expected exit of the US and NATO forces from Afghanistan.

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concerned that democratization in the Arab World may lead to a new role of Islam in politics that could be a challenge to the West and its interests. With this worry at the back of his mind he suggested strategies for

balkanization of the Arab World and support for ethnic and sectarian identities and movements. In his view, such a strategy could also act as an insurance policy for the protection of Israel. Promotion of ethnic and sectarian movements amongst the Kurds, Arabs, Iranians and Turks was part of this strategy. The same game is being fostered in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Arab World today. This scenario is also to be kept in view when we are planning for a future agenda for our country.

### **Regional Scenario**

The third is the immediate regional scenario. Pakistan is at the receiving end of what is happening in Afghanistan. It has also been directly affected by America's role in Iraq, and its new alignment with India. China's current efforts to evolve a more assertive and multidimensional strategy has also its implications for Pak-China relations. While continuing its earlier development-specific efforts towards self-reliance, it is now making serious efforts to play a more active role in Asia and Africa, on its way to an emerging global power. The most immediate challenge we face comes from the expected exit of the US and NATO forces from Afghanistan. This is unavoidable, yet the way this is coming about is very lopsided. France has withdrawn abruptly. So did Italy. Spain had done that earlier. UK is on the verge of withdrawal. And America also has no other option. The post

American scenario in Afghanistan is going to have very important consequences for Pakistan. As also the Iran-Israel-America tension whose escalation would have very serious consequences for Pakistan and the Middle East. We cannot afford to ignore all these challenges.

## **Domestic Situation**

The fourth scenario relates to the domestic situation. Even if we do not go very far back, the last fourteen years are very important. These years can be grouped into two periods: (a) the Musharraf period 1999-2008 and (b) the Zardari-PPP period 2008-2013. The Musharraf period witnessed reversal of the democratic process, reestablishment of military rule, subordination of all constitutional organs to the will of the military ruler, promotion of an elitist

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The gruesome reality is that the five years (2008 to 2013) of supposedly democratic rule have been the years of disaster.

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capitalistic economy, weakening of the country's ideological identity and serious compromises on issues of independence and sovereignty of the state. The tragic events of 9/11 and abject surrender of Pakistani leadership to the US pressure changed the whole equation of Pak-US

relationship and resulted not only in seriously denting our national sovereignty and independence but also caused huge losses in life, property and economy. India-Pakistan relationships also took a new turn to the disadvantage of Pakistan. Core issues of Kashmir and the water disputes were sidelined. Out-of-the-box solutions became favorites yet turned out into fiascos. In short, Pakistan suffered in all respects, politics, economy, law and order, national cohesion, culture and ideology.

Elections of 2008 could have been a turning point. The PPP-led government initially bore a fresh promise but unfortunately that hope actually turned sore over the years. The gruesome reality is that the past five years (2008-2013) of supposedly democratic rule have been the years of disaster. Instead of change, they fell prey to "continuity" and the so-called reconciliation. It is not unfair to say that the post-2008 period, despite some apparent differences,

is essentially a continuation of the earlier era. Pervez Musharraf's major policies remained unchanged. Even where there have been some changes in appearances, little changed in the substance. America's interference and involvement in internal affairs and policies increased. What was being done by Musharraf was continued by the PPP government as if under compulsion. The political and military leadership did not show the courage, vision and capacity, to get Pakistan out of the US shadows and pursue new policies and strategies to protect and develop Pakistan as an independent state capable of defending and promoting its own interests and not playing just second fiddle to others.

The upshot and result of both these periods (1999 to 2008 and 2008 to 2013) goes to make up the nature and shape of the crisis that the nation is faced with today. What is the real nature and extent of the domestic crisis? In the following pages, an attempt is being made to highlight some of its major dimensions.

**Crisis of Legitimacy:** First and foremost, it may be labeled as a 'crisis of legitimacy'. For any country's good governance, legitimacy is a must. Musharraf lacked legitimacy. Then came the PPP regime, which, despite being an elected one, and despite the semblance of democracy and democratic institutions, also lacked moral and political legitimacy. There was a lack of trust between the people and the leadership, as also between different state institutions and other stakeholders. It was an arrangement of convenience, lacking unity of thought and commonality of vision and concerns. What was absent was the spirit and substance of co-participation, cooperation and co-sharing. Key institutions remained either at loggerheads with each other or in a state of uneasy coexistence. But the most important aspect of the past two government tenures is that the trust of the people on the government and most of its institutions got weakened, if not totally collapsed. Higher judiciary is perhaps the only exception. Media has played a relatively positive role but only in very limited areas. Army which has always enjoyed the trust of the people as defenders of national borders has become disputed because of its involvement in the war of terror and because of people's apprehensions about the role of the intelligence agencies in civil, political and regional affairs. This crisis of legitimacy

remains a matter of deep concern. It is only with the emergence of a political leadership enjoying people's complete trust that a fresh beginning can actually be anticipated.

**Crisis of Integrity:** The second dimension of the crisis can be described as a crisis of integrity. It is more than a natural corollary of the crisis of legitimacy. While integrity includes legitimacy, it is more than that. The situation is much more complex. Integrity is achieved on the basis of vision, character, trust and incorruptibility. The previous PPP-led political regime, a coalition running the show between early 2008 to early 2013, failed miserably to demonstrate integrity – moral, ideological and political. The War on Terror also seriously dented the integrity of the ruling classes. If a large number of people think that their

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Unless the newly elected leadership comes up with a new vision and a new strategy to serve Pakistan's interests, we may not be able to come out of this crisis.

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leadership is not making decisions on the basis of what constitutes Pakistan's national interest, that destroys integrity. The most painful aspect, in my view, is that even the army suffered in this respect.

There is a trust deficit between the army and the people. An alarming symptom of this was the official instruction issued to military personnel during the Musharraf regime not to travel in public transport in uniform. This was the lowest watermark. It may not be that bad today, but it remains low nonetheless. The role assigned to army *viz-a-viz* internal counterterrorism, in certain cases unavoidable and essential part of a strategy of deterrence, has its dark side. It is not suggested that terrorism is not a threat. It is a threat. Yet, it has to be tackled in a manner that is realistic and productive. This is possible only if we address the causes of the malaise and not merely its symptoms and expressions. There is no military solution, pure and simple, to an essentially political problem. The real solution has to be political; even though security forces have a role to play in areas they may be needed. That is what the Parliament had recommended in its three resolutions. It has suggested an independent foreign policy and political solution of the problem based on dialogue, development and deterrence.

Government failed to follow that path. The imposed strategy it has followed has failed even to contain terrorism, what to say of its elimination. Unfortunately this strategy has dented army's integrity *viz-a-viz* the people.

America has played a role in it by making the people feel that the army, like the political leadership, is also following the American roadmap. People feel absence of a truly Pakistani policy. This has a direct role in aggravating the crisis of integrity. In the light of the above analysis it would be appropriate to suggest that a way out cannot be found without a well thought out political decision. Unless the newly elected leadership comes up with a new vision and a new strategy to serve Pakistan's interests we may not be able to come out of this crisis. This new strategy should take on board all the stakeholders as partners.

The political scene, during the last five years, remained clouded but there were some positive developments that deserve to be acknowledged. The PPP government, despite all its failures and compromises, by and large, did not resort to naked political vendetta and victimization, as has been the case during military rules. Major constitutional institutions, even though they failed to fulfill the people's expectations, became at least operational, however, poor is their performance. At least three positive aspects can be noted. One, at the constitutional and legal level, major constitutional distortions which had destroyed the balance of power as envisioned in the original Constitution were removed and a new balance achieved through a national consensus. Not that all the problems were resolved, but a framework was agreed upon which can take care of issues at the federal level and can lead to improvement in relations between the federation and provinces. Unfortunately, the provincial-local relationship could not be addressed, properly. It remains as a major task for the new government as well. But at the other two levels, i.e., federation and provinces, some of the developments were notably positive, at least as far as the constitutional framework is concerned.

Similarly there was some improvement in the area of legislation through proper parliamentary process. Legislation by ordinances, although continued, but decreased.

Secondly, there have been some very positive developments as far as the higher judiciary is concerned. Of course this independence of the Judiciary was achieved through a heroic struggle of the people and the legal community. Initially, the post-2008 government showed great reluctance, even resistance, to restore independent judiciary. But, ultimately, the will of the people prevailed. While the independence of the Judiciary was achieved, tensions between the Executive and the Judiciary also escalated. A large number of Judiciary's decisions were not unimplemented. There were occasions when it seemed as if there was a tug of war between the Executive and the Judiciary. Judicial activism becomes necessary because of the failure of the Executive to deliver and operate within the framework of the Constitution and

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law. The Judiciary had to fulfill its normal responsibilities as also respond to people's grievances caused by government's failure to do its duty fairly and honestly. In such cases it had to resort to its constitutional role as the defender of human rights.

This has been due to an abnormal situation. It was only something exceptional. Judicial restraint must remain as important as judicial activism. A balance between the two is necessary.

In my view, the whole idea of fundamental rights and Supreme Court to be the guardian of fundamental rights was a very important contribution of the original 1973 constitution. Embedded in this constitutional provision is the view that if fundamental rights are violated as a result of a faulty executive action, then this being a violation of fundamental rights, it becomes the duty of the Supreme Court (and not any other court) to intervene. That is how a political issue becomes an issue of fundamental rights. And when it becomes an issue of fundamental rights, it comes under the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Frequent use of this right took place during the past five

years because the Executive had failed to deliver. Yet, while we recognize the positive contribution of judicial activism, the danger is that if it becomes a norm that would not be helpful towards promoting institutional balance and safeguarding structural equation as established in the constitution. That leads us to the core issue of good governance. Courts cannot play the role of the executive and its different organs. It can only act as a brake, a source of restraint, and guide, but not as a substitute.

The third positive development related to the freedom of media and its enhanced role both as a source of information and as a forum promoting debate that could influence policy-making in the country. It also has a role to play to promote greater accountability in the society and polity. Unfortunately, there have been a number of excesses in this area as well, particularly because of the role of certain lobbies, both domestic and international, and also because of covert influence of certain cultural groups, political mafias and power elites who have also used advertisements to achieve their vested interests. Despite these failures and weaknesses, free media is a source of strength and whatever has been achieved has been a positive development.

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**If a change for the better has to take place, both incompetence and corruption, would have to be addressed firmly.**

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**Crisis of Governance, Capability and Credibility:** The third challenge we face relates to a serious and all-pervading crisis of governance. It is a central issue. Along with the crisis of legitimacy and integrity, it is the crisis of governance that has to be the centerpiece for an Agenda for the nation in the years ahead.

Legitimacy and integrity are essential but not enough. Without good governance a country cannot make real progress. If the leadership and institutions lack the capacity to deliver governance would be at low ebb. And when lack of capacity is coupled with corruption, all is lost.

Our failure of governance can be traced to many factors: lack of legitimacy and credibility, failure on the count of rule of law, disregard of the principle of merit, absence of transparency, and wanton violation of standing operational procedures, abuse of

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An aggressive anti-corruption crusade can result in substantial reduction in corruption in the first phase and its ultimate eradication in due course of time. This should be one of the primary objectives in the national agenda.

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power and wealth-aggrandizement for personal ends. Some SoPs may also be flawed, but whatever is there has to be respected. And if the rules are openly and persistently violated, good governance can never follow. It is this rampant culture of incompetence and corruption that has driven governance to near collapse. This is so throughout the length and breadth of the country. If a

change for the better has to take place, both incompetence and corruption would have to be addressed firmly.

I put incompetence and corruption as twin disasters because, in my view, corruption is antithetical to capacity. It is also a gateway to the destruction of capacity and credibility. Corruption is not merely monetary embezzlement, which is only one gruesome form of it. Each and every form of misuse of power is corruption that destroys every fabric of the state and pollutes all those processes that produce capable leadership in a country. So the menace of corruption has to be fought at the foundational levels (legitimacy and integrity) and also at the operational levels (competence, capability, rule of law and respect for merit). An aggressive anti-corruption crusade can result in substantial reduction in corruption in the first phase and its ultimate eradication in due course of time. This should be one of the primary objectives in this national agenda.

There is one more aspect of the crisis which should be taken into view, i.e., the crisis of credibility. Credibility is primarily a moral phenomenon based on conformity between word and deed, policy and action, law and respect of law. It affects every activity in every sphere of governance.



## **Some other Critical Issues**

These in my view are the major challenges that we face as a nation. But it would be inappropriate to stop at that, because in my view three more issues are of critical importance.

**Erosion of Independence and Sovereignty:** First, as a result of all the above-mentioned predicaments, the country is confronted with aspects of an existential crisis: erosion of independence and sovereignty, loss of national honor and neglect of vital national interests. Our independence, our autonomy and our identity as a nation are at risk. In view of this we have to search for a new Security Paradigm in the proposed ‘Agenda for 2013 and Beyond’. That Security Paradigm must have independence, sovereignty of the country, national interest and national honor, as our key concerns, to be protected and promoted within the context of availability of resources. We must realize that whether we are strong or weak, whether we are small or large, there is a core set of national interests that has to be protected at all cost. Security is not merely a military phenomenon. It is multidimensional: having human, military, political, cultural and economic dimensions. As such protection of independence, sovereignty and national interest is an overriding concern and must be integral to our Security Paradigm.

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**Ideological, Moral and Cultural Identity:** The second key issue relates to our country’s ideological, moral and cultural identity. That too has been compromised, tarnished and marginalized. A people cannot be inspired and motivated to rise up and sacrifice everything only for petty political and economic concerns. They live and die only for higher ideals. So along with security and independence, the ideological, moral and national identity of the nation is a matter of vital concern. Hence, the cardinal importance of Islam as a source of our national identity.

Even a number of Western strategists are now recognizing that Islam is integral to a Muslim society. And if this aspect is ignored or allowed to be disfigured

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What is needed in the economy is a paradigm shift: an economic path that focuses on growth, human resource development, elimination of corruption, and effective mobilization of domestic resources and also those of the expatriates.

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peace within and peace with the rest of the world would remain elusive. This fact must be recognized that Islam is the basis of our identity, notwithstanding the narrative of the secular lobbies or vested interests. If this identity is ignored, camouflaged or compromised, the people and the rulers would never be on the same page. Consequently,

a country torn from within as a result of such a conflict would never achieve good governance.

**Economic Dimension:** The third is the economic dimension. The power of a nation, political as well as military, depends very much on its economic strength. It is of critical importance in respect of protection of independence and honor and promotion of national identity and well being. Security and economy go hand in hand. People's welfare is the source of a nation's real strength. During the last few years our economy has unfortunately gone down the drain. All major economic indicators are in the negative. Yet, if we have survived it is because of inherent resilience of the people. People's will and presence of a large informal sector have come out as the hidden source of strength of our economy. That is how we have survived despite grossly flawed government policies, acute energy shortages, and rampant corruption.

The way economy was handled during the tenure of the previous government, smacks of heights of incompetence and mismanagement. High rates of inflation, unemployment, and levels of poverty; constant erosion in the value of money, both domestically and in world markets; low levels of production; flight of capital; mounting debts; escalating levels of debt servicing; precarious state of reserves, — all have driven the economy towards brink of disaster. It is the inherent resilience of

the non-public sector that has enabled the country to survive. There is no doubt that people have suffered and every sector of economy has languished. It is only a certain elite that wallows in prosperity and affluence. The common people have suffered. It is a sad commentary on the performance of the government that public sector enterprises (PSE) have been a constant drain on the economy. Energy shortages were there before 2008, but it has been during the last five years that shortages have snowballed and disrupted the economy and worsened the living conditions of the people. The volume of domestic and international debt has increased from Rs. 6 trillion in 2008 to over Rs.13 trillion as of today. Capacity to repay debt has not been created. Debt servicing has become item number one in public expenditure. In 1970s and 1980s, defense expenditure was used to be the largest component of government spending. Now debt servicing is almost double the defense expenditure. It is eating away more than three times what is spent on development. The amount spent on the provision of social services is peanuts in comparison to it. So this is a very grave situation. This challenge can be met only if the country's leadership exhibits that it knows what is to be done; and has the capability and credibility to transform the economy. What is needed in the economy is a paradigm shift: an economic path that focuses on growth, human resource development, elimination of corruption, and effective mobilization of domestic resources and also those of the expatriates. This must be coupled with good governance and shift of focus towards self-reliance and people's welfare as centre-piece of all policies and programs. It is very difficult to turn the corner and come out of the present mess, without such a radical change.

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The 'War on Terror' has to be brought to an end in a manner that does not aggravate terrorism in the country and in the region. If there is no real peace in Afghanistan we cannot live in peace in Pakistan.

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**‘War on Terror’:** To me, the ‘War on Terror’ is not merely a question of security and foreign policy. It is also a question of economy, as also of trust between the people and the rulers. Protection of life, honor and property are *sine qua non* of civilized existence. If security is to be privatized, it is a vote of no confidence in the government and the agencies and institutions responsible for law and order in the country. The economic cost of the ‘War on Terror’ is horrendous. Poor people of Pakistan have financed this American war to the extent of over \$100

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billion. This represents only direct economic cost. Indirect costs are much higher. Deterioration of law and order is directly related to our involvement in the war on terror. The country is also suffering at the hands of terror mafias, criminal groups, sectarian outfits, secessionist forces. The foreign agencies are also engaged in overt and covert

activities. This is over and above another direct cost in the form of loss of life of over six thousand personnel of the armed and security forces, over forty thousand civilians, injuries to more than double those numbers and displacement of over three million people within the country. How to bring this war to an end is the most urgent issue. There cannot be only one way of dealing with all of the multifarious aspects of this challenge. There has to be a multidimensional strategy. The ‘War on Terror’ has to be brought to an end in a manner that does not aggravate terrorism in the country and in the region. It is also very important to ensure that the current ‘War on Terror’ is not replaced by another era of civil war in Afghanistan. If there is no real peace in Afghanistan we cannot live in peace in Pakistan.

**Relationship between Federation and Provinces:** Relationship between federation and provinces and between provinces and local governments is also an extremely important issue. Genuine decentralization without compromising the foundations of

federation is one of our existential needs. Serious work has to be done in this respect by developing a clear roadmap taking care of the genuine concerns of the federation as well as the provinces, particularly in Baluchistan, in a manner that all stakeholders participate in this effort and ultimately arrive at consensus.

Structural changes in the monetary and fiscal system which must accompany them are also required. We have a fiscal system which does not conform to principles of federalism. It is a kind of pseudo federalism. There is a structural problem, as almost all revenue collection is done by the Federal Government as is the case in a unitary state. But, expenditure processes are in a different mould. Those who manage expenditure are not responsible for taxation. This lies at the roots of a lot of fiscal irresponsibility. Unless taxes are also decentralized, principles of fiscal responsibility cannot be promoted at all levels. The financial structure has to be redesigned and restructured. The fact that federation collects and provinces spend is recipe for indiscipline. That is why the task of development of a proper and responsible federal system demands major changes in structures, policies and processes of governance, political and financial. The 18th Constitutional Amendment was a step in the right direction, but only a first step. Successive steps required have not been taken yet. That is why we are faced with structural as well as political issues in this respect.

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**Role of Private Sector:** Despite all the economic constraints, if we can set our priorities right and mobilize our real resource potential, particularly in the social sector and public sector development, we can inaugurate a new era of economic development and social welfare. Private enterprise should play a key role. It is borne out by history that whenever private sector was given proper opportunity it has played its role positively and constructively. But because of corruption, lack of good governance, real and contrived clash of interests, absence of clarity of vision, neglect of accountability, and failure of

regulatory mechanisms, private sector has not been able to make its full contribution. A balanced approach is needed: vibrant private sector, and responsible and supportive public sector.

The role of the state, particularly in the realm of infrastructure development, provision of social services and bringing the lower strata's of society into the mainstream of economy, is of critical importance. State's responsibility to ensure education and health for all and adequate infrastructure development at grassroots levels and financial structures that can provide lifeblood for all layers of economic activity such as agriculture, small and cottage industry, small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are very important.

Key targets must be set for macroeconomic stabilization, as well as the grassroots economic development ensuring social well-being for all members of the society and their active participation in the economic processes. This calls for a different economic model. Development of such a model should be our immediate objective. If we, as intellectuals, are able to identify our real national objective, expound that vision with clarity and spell out a roadmap to move in that direction we can help the future political leadership to lead the country out of this difficult situation.

As a nation, we have great potential. What is lacking is political will, clarity of vision, a well-thought-out roadmap, capable political leadership and vibrant state institutions to play their

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respective roles. The success of a leadership lies in making all stakeholders play their assigned roles in building the society. Let us clearly state the issues we face and spell into the strategies and policies needed to resolve them. We can play a constructive role by providing a roadmap to the new

leadership that has come up as a result of the 2013 elections to build Pakistan as a regional power in the next decade. It is time we made our contribution to enable the new leadership to squarely

face the challenges that comes from this fivefold crisis of legitimacy, integrity, governance, capability and credibility.

# An Apt Handling of the National Security

*Said Nazir Mohmand\**

Diplomacy is the first and outermost defensive line of a country. It furthers and preserves the national interests amongst the comity of nations and remains alert to any development with a focus on all threats in the making to the detriment of national interests. In today's global village the threats are multidimensional and the challenges are very many and complex. Safeguarding the national interest is a gigantic job and a bull work of policy parameters and strategic undertakings are required to be meshed together in the overall ambit of state craft. Though diplomacy is the art of impossible, the irony is that even the very possible have not been exploited to the good of this country. This art/craft either remains in slumber or gets compromised at the wish of a dictator or his strong arm, the security establishment. Our diplomatic manoeuvres are defensive or, at the most, reactive in nature. Moreover, the internal disharmony and institutional incapacity leads to a vacuum which is partly exploited by indigenous destabilizing agents and mainly capitalized by regional and international players. So one can conclude that the external threat is either given a free passage by ducking down or by meeting with a meek and mute response. It is also the internal turbulence which risks the foundation of a nation state. We had been the victim of both. The chronology of threats and response capacity and efficacy are tabulated as under.

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The present design of threats on the canvas of national security spectrum is complex, multi-faceted, omni-directional and difficult to face and neutralize.

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The 1948 Indo-Pak military confrontation on the State of Jammu and Kashmir was mainly left to the volunteers of FATA to liberate Kashmir. Had there been a collective response, the Indian-held Kashmir would have been part of Pakistan.

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The 1965 war fought with national resolve and cohesion was lost on the diplomatic table at Tashkent. It left us with misconception that the defence of East Pakistan lay in the defensive/offensive posturing of West Pakistan.

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organizations (SEATO) and the Central Asian Treaty Organization (CENTO) pacts were linked with a faulty concept that allying with a super power means security at best. We became a party to the Cold War and it resulted in safeguarding the interests of a stronger ally rather than that of our own national interests. The Kashmir dispute remained embroiled in the fallout effects of these pacts.

We misinterpreted the 1971 crisis to be controlled and subdued through the use of military instrument, negating the very fact that we had already lost on the diplomatic front. We miscalculated that the external threat in active support of insurgency in the then East Pakistan could be a win-win situation for us.

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The world at large and the Afghanistan-Pakistan region in particular owe their destabilization, militancy, and extreme tendencies, to the lopsided US policies.

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The war in Afghanistan against the Soviet occupation and resultant demise of the USSR provided unbridled authority to the only surviving superpower, USA. The world at large and the Afghanistan-Pakistan region in particular owe their destabilization and militancy, and extreme tendencies, to the imbalance and lopsided US policies.

The Kargil misadventure was not only a fiasco on the diplomatic front but an example of rudimentary military strategy with limited goals and obscurity to the massive response/retaliation capacity of India. We were not prepared for the worst case scenario. One could contribute it to the bravado mindset of a would-be-power-corrupted dictator having little respect for consultation and no experience in statecraft.

Diplomacy was reduced to a nonentity in the aftermath of 9/11 when the then dictator collapsed on a phone call and agreed to all

the seven diktats of the US, and volunteered to act as frontline ally in the 'War on Terror' that was limited to routing of the Taliban. The war was thought to be short and limited to Taliban routing, and the security of Pakistan was put at stake to prolong self-rule.

The Abbottabad episode, the raid on Salala, the unabated drone attacks and the strikes with impunity on our vital installations by the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), the target killing in Karachi and the violence in Balochistan were the existential threats we faced. These incidents have exposed many chinks in our armour and shredded our security parameters, leaving a question-mark on our sovereignty.

The intermittent military interventions in politics, bad governance, corruption, social injustices, internal disharmony and collapse of national institutions at the hands of incompetent political leadership are eating up the very vitals of this nation. The combined effects of all these faultlines in our system could reduce Pakistan in to a banana republic if not taken cognizance in the coming elections and addressed by the resultant political dispensation.

With the crises in and around, Pakistan has serious security concerns at home, regional and international levels. The internal dynamics of the mainland Pakistan could be summarized as:

- We had been the victim of the injustices done to us during the partition by the British Raj, which left us agitated and frustrated. We lost lots of our energies and resources in redefining and addressing our security parameters rather than institutions and nation building.
- The diplomatic, security and intelligence agencies of India and Pakistan never missed an opportunity to destabilize each other's country overtly or covertly. Both the countries are hostage to belligerency, bellicosity and trust deficit in one form or the other.
- As the war against Soviet Union in Afghanistan ended, and the USSR was sent packing only to disintegrate soon after, the victor (US) also vanished with little respect for the stability of the war ravaged country, Afghanistan and the frontline ally, Pakistan. The

war, though saving Pakistan from direct aggression of the USSR, created a number of problems for it with the implications being felt even now, rather intensifying in the recent years.

The Kargil episode attributed to the Kashmiri Mujahideen backfired at the diplomatic front and mismanaged at the strategic level thereby creating fissures in the civil-military relations. The security threat loomed large and the elected government was sent packing.

In the aftermath of 9/11, the series of U-turns on the longstanding and well-established policy parameters further widened the scope

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of our security concerns. The present state of flux is the manifestation of the war on terror. The fallouts are in the form of immense men and material losses, besides Pakistan being treated as the fall guy for allegedly being a part of the problem and the whipping boy for not ‘doing more’ and better. It has brought in the Rambo culture, drone attacks, sting operations and special missions with US boots having invisible footprints on the Pakistan soil.

The present design of threats on the canvas of national security spectrum is complex, multi faceted, omni-directional and difficult to face and neutralize. It is accentuated by a fluid security situation, sponsored and abetted by both internal and external factors and actors. It is a complex situation to be addressed and revisited in a wholesome manner with sincerity of purpose in a fear free environment. The way forward in minimizing and neutralizing the threats could be objectively addressed, provided we put into motion the succeeding broad policy parameters and strategic undertakings.

**Intra-State Organs Coordination:** Our diplomatic, security and intelligence organs should be in unison and geared up to be more proactive rather than reactive in nature to the threats. To do so, our diplomatic standing and exterior manoeuvres in the pursuit of

national interest and security should be conducted at the level, status and plinth of a nuclear-power state.

- We should make our relevance felt and extended through the development and demonstration of our strategic resolve as a force to reckon with and redfine our nuclear thresholds to save on the conventional front. It will provide nuclear umbrella to our vitals and core sensitivities and relieve us from the cost-prohibitive mobilization against any misadventure. This would flatten the theory of limited war.

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Empowering and mainstreaming the people of FATA, and solving the problems of the people of Balochistan and Karachi should occupy the central stage in the internal conflict resolution.

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- For Pakistan, the sub-conventional threat is a reality of present time. No state can afford a parallel system or a militant force as it gets divided and taken towards a civil war. This, however, does not mean that the conventional threat has receded. It will be an over statement to consider sub-conventional threat as existential. It is transient in nature and would pass by when its string-pullers abdicate mischief. The country is certainly pitched against a nebulous enemy; and alongside this, the conventional threat has also grown manifold.

- This spectrum of threats could only be defeated through collective national will and multidimensional efforts in which the armed forces have a critical role to play, in harmony with other instruments of the state. However, political leadership has to take the lead. Though tenor, contour and magnitude of internal threat has changed, no military can ever forget that easiest way for the external threat to succeed is to come riding on the shoulders of internal disorder.

- Pakistan military's ultimate objective is to remain fully prepared to engage and defeat the external enemy, should it embark on exploiting the internal disorder through direct intervention. All

militaries are trained to counter insurgencies and so is Pakistan's military.

- In the nuclear strategic domain, extended reach in delivery platforms and development/refinement of tactical unconventional warheads will add to our relevance at strategic level. The credible minimum deterrence nuclear strategy should be based on the triad of land-, air- and sea-based

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Institutions such as Defence Production Division should be geared up to adopt a three-pronged strategy to achieve maximum indigenization, upgradation and corporate management.

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delivery platforms to ensure second-strike capability and survivability. The first-use option and narrowed thresholds will enable us to reorganize our conventional deterrence structure. The reorientation of our British model triangular unit/formation structure into the US model rectangular outfit will accrue us cost benefits at

command level and offset the Indian offensive capability in time and space dimension.

- Though our armed forces and intelligence agencies have got hardened in the conduct of Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) during the last decade; but the non-state actors are also equipped with innovative techniques, target acquisition, communication/intelligence system, fighting skills and logistic/human resource chains. The casualties and losses suffered during this sub-conventional war are more than the casualties suffered during all the wars fought with India. The western-border activation coupled with brazen attacks on the very sensitive and well guarded installations have not only put us in the dilemma of the two front scenarios but also committed our security agencies on the reverse slope at the cost of relegating the priority of Eastern conventional front. It is indeed a Catch 22 situation with catastrophic consequences. There is a dire need to get out of this situation as early as possible by initiating a dialog process with the insurgents without preconditions and develop broad national consensus in routing out the menace of violence irrespective of any political, ethnic and religious reservation. Empowering and mainstreaming

the people of FATA, solving the problems of the people of Balochistan and Karachi shall occupy the central stage in the internal conflict resolution. Care must be taken to strike a fine balance in acquisition of weapon and equipment for conventional and non-conventional wars. It may become cost-prohibitive to equip the first-line forces with both the sinews, rather it will be prudent to develop alternative strategies.

- The Research and Development Wing and Defence Production Division should be geared up to adopt a three-pronged strategy to achieve maximum indigenization, upgradation to third generation technology and corporate management (civil-military collaboration) of the existing defence industrial infrastructure. Diversification of the foreign sources with transfer of technology, outsourcing the cost-prohibitive production/maintenance system to the local firms and standardization of weapon/equipment will not only enhance our logistic stamina but also broaden the defence oriented industrial infrastructure.

- Maximum restraint must be exercised in the use of military instrument. The military employment in aid of civil power should be for a limited period with surgical mission to soften the target enough till the threat gets subdued to a level to be handled by civil govt. It is possible once capacity building of the paramilitary forces is done to meet the internal threats effectively with the

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cooperation of all the intelligence agencies. Meanwhile, the mode of conventional battle deployment and operational conduct be changed into unconventional technique to reduce the collateral damages. Targeted operations against the hard core foreign sponsored elements shall remain part of the deterrence and firm resolve till the peace prevail in all its manifestations.

- De-escalation in the 'War on Terror' by facilitating the occupation forces a safe exit and earning goodwill of all parties

involved in the Afghan conflict be given priority. A graduated and calibrated response to the regional geo-strategic development in the pursuit of peace and stability shall provide us with a stable platform to project our relevance. It must be coupled with the unfolding of an exit strategy with defined time lines for troops deployed in FATA. While doing so, a well-thought-out dialogue and development strategy should be put into motion in order to win the hearts and minds of the people of FATA. There is urgent need for rehabilitation of all IDPs through a massive aid programme and provision of greater employment opportunities to the youth of FATA and Balochistan, both within the country and abroad. Credibility and visibility should be the hallmarks of this wholesome rehabilitation process.

- Drone attacks are a blatant and very visible manifestation of our lackey foreign policy and security incompetence in the context of national sovereignty. This violation of our sovereignty must be put on check through an aggressive diplomacy and if need be potent active counter measures be mobilized. The attacks are counterproductive and a stark reminder of Armitage’s tough-necked brawl, “back to the stone age”.

- Let the policy of mutual coexistence be followed at home and abroad. The policy of confrontation should be relegated and good

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neighbourly relations based on equality and dialog should be promoted. The policy of appeasement must be also shunned with firm resolve to remain independent and consistent while pursuing our national interests. Development and economic progress should

be kept in focus in the conduct of international relations and economic cooperation. A sound economic base is an important element of national power potentials.

- A soft and deliberate screening of all foreign NGOs, contractors and foreign-sponsored companies to reduce their ingress into our

security interests and social values should be carried out on emergency basis. Return of the Afghan refugees and illegal immigrants to their native countries must be ensured through a phased program in collaboration with UNHCR. Across-the-board deweaponization and cancellation of all the licenses of automatic weapons except pistol/revolvers, shot guns and sports guns should be done to reduce target killing, extortion and abduction for ransom.

- The woes and grievances of the small federating units be addressed by judicious distribution of resources and extension of maximum provincial autonomy. Re-carving the federating units to create additional viable units, including FATA, to be more efficiently and locally administered. Empowering the people of FATA during the transition road map will help in mainstreaming Fata.

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Let us be realistic and cognitive of the fact that there is a growing demand, getting mass on popularity graph to the creation of more provinces. Holding of a referendum on the question of creating more federating units is after all one of the constitutional option in a democratic dispensation.

- Policy focus on social justice, elimination of the VIP culture, discretionary powers and ostentatious living by the state functionaries with stringent measures to ensure austerity, merit, social justice and welfare must be the foremost priority of the newly elected political dispensation. The institutions of ombudsman, NAB, PAC and local Jirga system must be made more potent in addressing the grievances of common people.

- All signs, lingo, literature, sermons and demonstrations encroaching on the feelings and sentiments of other sects and ethnic entities be banned and removed from all places of public and private concern. Policy consensus should be achieved on the



ethnic, sectarian and religious bondage and harmony. Ultra liberals, religious and ethnic extremists should be treated at par as hate mongers. Enough is enough with class-based education. It is inculcating the feelings of apartheid education system among the younger generation. Merit is the first casualty of this system, and murder of the merit leads to frustration, disappointment and extremist tendencies.

- Adulteration in drugs, food items, extra judicial killings, forced labour and dacoity/robbery, hoarding, extortion, abduction for ransom and above all corruption must be equated with terrorism and tried in special speedy summary courts. Fair trial bill needs to be extended to these areas of national malice.

- A media policy should be evolved to reinforce confidence in national institutions, and a code of conduct implemented to respect the individual rights and remove the misperception regarding Islam and Pakistan. The policy should be, in essence,

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representative of all the peoples of the federation. Media may carry out a self-appraisal through a counsel of objective journalism to reduce confusion, and oft repeated triads of big mouths with little essence and value to general public. Patience and tolerance should be the central

theme to be practiced, demonstrated, preserved, valued and infused in all and sundry through a mass media campaign. Advertisements coupled with propaganda and party/personality projection contents at the cost of public money must be banned to reduce leverage on media manipulation. Foreign contents shall also be subjected to the PEMRA laws and regulations as in vogue for the domestic contents. Laws must be made to arrest the tendencies of maligning armed forces, judiciary, religion and ideological frontiers of the country. Ultra liberal projection and foreign cultural onslaught and obscenity should be closely monitored.

Political and electoral reforms are long overdue and framing them with potent implementation mechanism is a burning issue. The new political dispensation and its legislative body should evolve a transparent mechanism to put a firm check on turncoats, remnants and supporters of dictators. The number of ministers, advisors and state ministers should be reduced to 10% of the legislative body both at federal and provincial level. Development funds, permits, plots, waiver/write off loans and quota allotment to the legislative members are the main causes of corruption, political manipulation and mal-practices. Let legislation and passing of finance bills be their sole responsibility.

Ostentatious living, import of grand luxury items, beg-and-borrow activities and other extravaganzas should be discouraged to the hate level. Transparency and serving the vital national interest should be the rider clauses of our policy parameters. There should be a benchmark for foreign and domestic loans which can only be crossed during financial emergencies and with the approval of both the houses of parliament.

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The sick national mega projects/ organizations such as PIA, Pakistan Railway, WAPDA, SNGPL and Steel Mill must be rejuvenated through technical experts and kept out of the political influence. Turning around of these projects into profitable institutions shall improve the financial health of the country. Energy crisis is crippling our manufacturing, production, health, education and economic potential besides aggravating social sufferings. Energy and water management emergency be declared to ensure the cheap availability of these commodities to all sectors of consumption. The river water issue with India be put on fast track before it becomes the question of survival and military confrontation.

The list of national power potentials in the context of defence and security is long, but the above deliberated upon; deserve priority handling at the hands of future political dispensation. The internal security dynamics are grave, complex and intricately woven into an invisible web-net lurking for our sovereignty. The next couple of years will shape the future mosaic of the region and will bring wide ranging implications for Pakistan's security. Statecraft, diplomacy, domestic reforms and security parameters are to be revisited and reshaped to meet the challenges of the present and future and obviate the chances of collapse. The newly elected political dispensation be prepared to be in unison with all the state organs in facing the challenges, reconciliation and conflict resolution. The aspirations of Pakistani people, youth in particular, if not met may lead to dangerous consequences. The threats are looming large, and therefore there is a need to move carefully in the right direction; else the ship may face terrible times. Only an all-weather captain having a seasoned crew to his aid can steer the ship out of the troubled waters.

# Ties beyond Borders – The Foreign Policy

*Shamshad A. Khan\**

## The Quaid's Vision

The Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, had envisioned the newly independent Muslim state's foreign policy to be one of "peace with all, and enmity with none". In a message to the nation on August 15, 1948, he elaborated his foreign policy vision as follows:

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and good-will towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the policy of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed of the United Nations Charter."

The Quaid's foreign policy vision thus stipulated Pakistan's steadfast adherence to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, particularly the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's affairs, and peaceful settlement of bilateral disputes.

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Functionally, the Quaid also expected the nation's irrevocable commitment to the ideals of democracy, pluralism, market economy, social justice, communal harmony and egalitarian order.

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Based on these principles, the basic goals of Pakistan’s foreign policy can be summed up as “preservation of sovereign independence and territorial integrity, socio-economic development, maintenance of Islamic identity while progressing as a modern and forward-looking democratic nation pursuing in solidarity with the international community the cause of global peace and security and making Pakistan a strong factor of regional and global stability.”

## **Geopolitics**

For any country, it is important who its neighbors are, as their attitude, irrespective of their size or power, has a direct bearing on its personality and character, and on issues of its security, development and resource allocation. A glance at the map of our region will show that Pakistan lies at the confluence of some of the most important but volatile regions of the world.

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Geography places on Pakistan the onerous responsibility of consistent vigilance and careful conduct of its relations not only with its immediate neighbors but also with the rest of the world, particularly the major powers. Pakistan’s foreign policy thus has been determined primarily by its geo-political environment and concomitant compulsions of national security and territorial integrity.

Against this backdrop, Pakistan’s external relations since the very beginning of our independent statehood have been marked by four major constants:

- Our quest for security and survival as an independent state.
- The legacy of our troubled relationship with India which in fact constituted the centre-point of our foreign policy.

- Our excessive reliance on the West for our economic, political and military survival; and
- Our total solidarity with the Muslim world, and unflinching support to Muslim causes.

No wonder, Pakistan’s foreign policy has remained marked by a complex balancing process in the context of the turbulent history of the region in which it is located, its own geo-strategic importance, its security compulsions, and the gravity and vast array of its domestic problems. In the process, Pakistan has encountered unbroken series of challenges and experienced wars and territorial setbacks. It has lost half the country, and even today it continues to live in a hostile neighborhood.

Pakistan’s strategic location was pivotal to the global dynamics of the Cold War era. The policy of containment was enacted on our soil and we were a major player in dismantling what the free world once called the “evil empire” of the former Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the post-9/11 scenario has placed us in a very negative image as “the breeding ground” of “religious extremism, violence and militancy.”

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Pakistan needs a low-profile foreign policy formulated through institutional rather than personal approach with focus on country’s political, economic and strategic interests.

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The sum-total of our foreign policy today is our post-9/11 identity on the global radar screen as the “ground zero” of the war on terror. This negative perception complicates things for Pakistan both domestically and externally, and limits its policy options.

### **Domestic perspective**

Foreign policy of a country, and the way it is made and pursued, is inextricably linked to its domestic policies, governance issues and socio-economic and political situation. And, domestically, Pakistan’s post-independence political history has been replete with endemic crises and challenges that perhaps no other country in the world has experienced.

A country's standing in the comity of nations always corresponds directly to its political, social, economic and strategic strength. Unfortunately, decades of political instability resulting from protracted military rule, institutional paralysis, poor governance, socio-economic malaise, rampant crime and corruption, and general aversion to the rule of law have left us politically unstable, economically weak, socially fragmented and physically disintegrated.

Our domestic failures have not only seriously constricted our foreign policy options but also exacerbated Pakistan's external image and standing. Today, from being a major power in South Asia always equated with India, Pakistan is bracketed with Afghanistan in terms of its outlook, role, needs and problems. This is an unenviable distinction which circumscribes our role both within and beyond our region.

### **The Challenges**

For over sixty-five years now, we have followed a foreign policy that we thought was based on globally recognized principles of inter-state relations and which in our view responded realistically to the exceptional challenges of our times. But never did we realise that for a perilously located country, domestically as unstable and unpredictable as ours, there could be not many choices in terms of external relations.

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In recent years, grave crises and acute problems have proliferated in our volatile region in a manner that has not only made Pakistan the focus of world attention and anxiety but also forced it to make difficult choices in its perennial struggle for security and survival as an independent state. Our problems are further aggravated by the complex regional configuration with a growing Indo-US nexus, India's strategic ascendancy in the region and its unprecedented influence in Afghanistan with serious nuisance

potential against Pakistan's security interests and legitimate strategic stakes in the region.

Pakistan's biggest challenge now is to convert its pivotal location into an asset rather than a liability. We must restore our global image as a moderate, cooperative and responsible state, capable of living at peace with itself and with its neighbours. While there is no denying that many of our problems have their causes in designs of "others", no less responsible have been our own governance patterns. The perennial leadership miscarriages are also among the major causes of our governance failures.

Even some of our external difficulties are the extension of our governance failures. There is no foreign policy worth its name in the absence of good governance which in today's world is the real instrument of statecraft. No country has ever succeeded externally if it is weak and crippled domestically. Even a superpower, the former Soviet Union, could not survive as a superpower only because it was domestically weak in political and economic terms.

### **The Way Forward**

Our foremost priority is to fix the fundamentals of our governance. We need domestic consolidation, politically, economically and socially. Governance must be based on the rule of law, accountability and absolute justice on non-discriminatory basis. While preserving our Islamic identity in its real essence, we must extricate ourselves of the distortionist forces of extremism, obscurantism, intolerance, militancy and violence.

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**Special relationship of abiding friendship and cooperation with China, solidarity with the Muslim World and its causes, close cooperative links with Central Asian States, are imperatives.**

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Our peculiar socioeconomic and political culture, high rate of poverty and illiteracy, and inequality of wealth and power require fundamental changes in our political system and governance patterns. Temperamentally, we are a 'presidential' nation. It is time we abandoned the system that we have never been able to



practice and opted for an adult franchise-based ‘presidential system’ suitably designed for and tailored to Pakistan’s needs. Also needed is rationalization of our federal system in order to address the problems of provincial disharmony and regional disparities.

Reordering of national priorities is needed with greater focus on socio-economic wellbeing of the people through sustainable economic growth and poverty eradication as well as maximum allocation of resources to the social sector including health, education and basic infrastructures.

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Our foremost challenge at this critical juncture is not what we are required to do for others’ interests; it is what we ought to do to serve our own national interests.

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We must opt for self-reliance and national dignity. No begging. Loans are not capital; they are a liability. Foreign aid is never unconditional. Let us dispense with them focusing on optimum utilization of our own material wealth and human resources. We need to capitalise on our agricultural, economic, industrial and technological potential.

Simplicity and austerity should be the cardinal principles of our national life in all its spheres.

No more blind faith in the so-called “Friends of Pakistan.” Let’s be our own friends and seek homegrown solutions to our problems. Our leaders must give up the Marco Polo culture. No more foreign visits unless unavoidable in national interest. No more World Economic Forums, no more state-funded Umra junkets. Corruption must be rooted out from all segments of our society and at all levels of the government and its institutions.

The sanctity of Pakistan’s territorial integrity must be observed with no relaxation or exemption. From now onward, no piece of land in any part of the country should be gifted or leased for any purpose to foreign rulers, sheikhs, princes or states and their governments. No more ‘Shamsi Bases.’

Our foremost challenge at this critical juncture is not what we are required to do for others' interests; it is what we ought to do to serve our own national interests. We must not make any compromise on principles and national interests. We need to regain and preserve our sovereign independence and dignity. We need to restore our credibility and respect as an independent state in the comity of nations.

Pakistan needs to develop a well-thought-out road map regarding the following points:

- An independent foreign policy based on Quaid-i-Azam's vision: peace with all, enmity with none, and premised on universally established inter-state relations, and economic diplomacy, focused on protecting vital national and security interests, national honour and dignity.
- Steadfast adherence to the principles of the UN Charter, particularly the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-interference and peaceful settlement of disputes.
- Respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental values and freedoms as also enshrined in Pakistan's Constitution.
- Pakistan's geopolitical location should be a source of strength and stability in the region and a factor of peace and security in the world.
- Special relationship of abiding friendship and cooperation with China, solidarity with the Muslim world and its causes, close cooperative links with Central Asian States, multi-dimensional cooperative relationship with the U.S., Japan, Canada and EU countries on the basis of sovereign equality and mutuality of benefit, and the principle of friendship with all, enmity with none, as the main pillars of Pakistan's foreign policy.
- Promotion in the country of an environment of tolerance, understanding, responsibility and moderation, while curbing obscurantism and fundamentalism.
- Pakistan's territory not to be allowed to be used as a staging ground for terrorist activities in any other country.

There shall be zero tolerance for militancy under any name or on any pretext.

- Complete solidarity with international community in promoting policies that seek to address the underlying causes of extremism, intolerance, militancy and violence.
- Instead of the current ‘War on Terror’, a Global Peace Initiative should be launched under the UN auspices involving a comprehensive approach at global level aimed at addressing the underlying causes of this menace.
- Peaceful environment in South Asia and good neighborly relations with countries sharing borders with Pakistan, including India and Afghanistan.
- Principled position on the Kashmir issue seeking its final solution through peaceful means in conformity with the UN resolutions and legitimate aspirations of the people of Kashmir.
- Mutually beneficial economic cooperation both at bilateral and regional levels in South Asia and Central Asia within the frameworks of SAARC, ECO and SCO.
- A highly ‘responsible nuclear-weapon state’ posture based on ‘credible minimum deterrence’ with strict adherence to restraint and responsibility and compliance with non-proliferation goals on non-discriminatory criteria-based terms with other nuclear-weapon states.
- We need a low profile foreign policy formulated through institutional rather than personal approach with focus on country’s political, economic and strategic interests while following Hafiz Shirazi’s advice: “kindness to friends”, “courtesy to enemies” with equal faith in Allama Iqbal’s message of “self-respect, esteem and dignity.”

# Kashmir – Developing a National Narrative

*Khalid Rahman and Awais bin Wasi\**

## Introduction

Election manifestos mirror the vision of political leaderships, defining their mindset and well thought out plans for the future on important and sensitive issues of national significance.

This article is an effort to look into the present approach of Pakistani political parties reflected in their respective manifestos on Kashmir, and, in the backdrop of Kashmir, on overall relations with India, and to make some suggestions for the future.

The study has also attempted to analyze the past manifestos of those parties which have been a part of political process in Pakistan as it would help understand the ebb and flow of the party postures towards this important national issue.<sup>1</sup> However, before discussing the manifestos the study starts with a cursory overview of public opinion based on the recent opinion surveys in order to have an understanding of the overall environment in this regard.

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The recent surveys stand evidence that Kashmir has been considered as an extremely sensitive and one of the most important issues for the nation, by the people of Pakistan.

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<sup>1</sup> Muslim League (Nawaz), Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam struck alliances (such as PNA, and IJI) together and therefore did not come out with individual party manifestoes in the years 1977, 1988 and 1990. So was the case with Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam in 2002 owing to their membership of MMA. Hence they were not included in this survey. Since polls 1985 were non-party elections, no party had released any manifesto on that occasion.

**Public Opinion on Kashmir:** Since the time Pakistan came into being, Kashmir has remained the core issue, an unfinished part of the agenda of the partition of the subcontinent. From security point of view, too, it has been considered extremely sensitive and one of the most important issues for the nation; and to this day the people of Pakistan are in agreement on this point. A recent survey carried out by Gallup Pakistan stands evidence to this opinion.

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Generally uniform opinion reflected in public surveys is not only confined to the general public in Pakistan, this is also largely reflected in the manifestoes of the major political parties.

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In the Gallup poll carried out November 18-25, 2012, to the question “In your opinion, how important is the resolution of the Kashmir issue?” 66% respondents said they considered it “Very Important”, 25% considered it “Somewhat Important” while only 6% said they thought it

was “Not Important at All.”<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, to the query “Do you think in order to establish peace with India it is important to resolve the Kashmir dispute or can peace be established with India without its resolution?” 76% responded that “It is necessary to resolve the Kashmir dispute first in order to establish peace with India” and 21% said “Peace can be established between Pakistan and India even without the resolution of the Kashmir dispute”.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from Gallup Pakistan, in a recently conducted Washington-based PEW Research Centre survey, 68% Pakistani respondents have opined that the situation in Kashmir was a serious issue for Pakistan and 79% declared India to be the “biggest threat to their nation”.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Gallup Pakistan National Survey, [www.gallup.com](http://www.gallup.com), 18-25 Nov. 2012; as cited in press release on 11 Dec. 2012.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Pakistani Public Opinion Survey, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/27/chapter-4-national-conditions>.

While the role of various governments of Pakistan, in the post 9/11 scenario, *vis-à-vis* Kashmir issue may not be termed as representing Pakistan's principled position on Kashmir and reflecting public sentiments in this regard, the above-mentioned recent public surveys do indicate a kind of unified stance on Kashmir issue and its significance in Pakistan-India relations. A related but distinct aspect of this issue is: besides its importance in terms of human and politico-geographical context, it is a matter of the right of self-determination of a nation accepted by the United Nations and embodied in Article 1 of its Charter.

**Manifestoes of Political Parties and Kashmir:** The generally uniform approach reflected in the above public surveys is not only confined to the general public in Pakistan, this is also largely reflected in the manifestoes of the major political parties, including the regional and religious parties of the country.

Pakistan People's Party, for instance, says: "[We will] maintain full solidarity with the continued moral, political and diplomatic support of the Kashmiri People for realizing their legitimate aspirations."<sup>5</sup>

The party mentions regional stabilization as the cornerstone of its preferred policy but reiterates that it would not compromise on its stand on Kashmir dispute: "We will pursue the goal of stability and peace-building in the region as a specific policy priority without sacrificing our diplomatic and moral commitment to the people of Jammu & Kashmir."<sup>6</sup>

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Inclusion of the Kashmir issue in manifestos of all the major political parties in Pakistan is a manifestation of the fact that the parties do realize the significance of this issue in overall national agenda.

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Likewise, Pakistan Muslim League (N) has also expressed its determination in its election manifesto "to resolve the issue of

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<sup>5</sup> Pakistan Peoples Party Election Manifesto 2013, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Pakistan Peoples Party Election Manifesto 2013, p. 6.

Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the provisions of the relevant UN resolutions and the 1999 Lahore Accord and in consonance with the aspirations of the people of the territory for their inherent right of self-determination.”<sup>7</sup>

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) too, realizing the importance of resolving the Kashmir dispute, has included it among the four core national interests. The manifesto states that:

“Within the context of national interests at a minimum level Pakistan’s core national interests can be identified as:

- (a) Territorial integrity and sovereignty
- (b) National cohesion
- (c) Socioeconomic development
- (d) The resolution of Kashmir dispute”<sup>8</sup>

Pakistan Muslim League (Q), committing in its manifesto to put the Kashmir issue as a test case for the international community, assures Kashmiris of its diplomatic, political and moral support and expresses for a proactive engagement with India in order to help them acquire the right of self-determination. The actual words in the party manifesto are:

“While pursuing the peace process with India with vigor, since it is conducive to a stable South Asia, Pakistan should also pursue proactive engagement which enables the people of Jammu & Kashmir to realize their legitimate right to self determination in accordance with relevant UN resolutions.”<sup>9</sup>

Awami National Party (ANP) and Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) in their respective manifestos have also expressed their desire to resolve the Kashmir dispute. ANP holds that it is in favor of settling all the issues between India and Pakistan including Jammu and Kashmir through peaceful negotiations and open

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<sup>7</sup> Pakistan Muslim League (N) Election Manifesto 2013, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Election Manifesto 2013, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Manifesto 2013 Pakistan Muslim League [Q] 2013, p. 38.

dialogue.<sup>10</sup> MQM, in its manifesto, also expresses its desire to solve the Kashmir issue through meaningful dialogue in the following words

“MQM wants to solve the Kashmir issue through meaningful, sincere and honorable dialogue according to the wishes of the Kashmiri people.”<sup>11</sup>

Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Pakistan (F), while discussing matters of foreign policy, has stated liberation of Kashmir as a matter of prime and fundamental importance.<sup>12</sup>

Terming the issue of Kashmir as the cornerstone of party’s foreign policy, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, in its election manifesto, calls resolution of the dispute only through plebiscite in the light of UN resolutions and considers it their prime responsibility to extend full support to the people of Kashmir. The manifesto says:

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A number of confusions witnessed at the highest level on principled stance on Kashmir for the last few years may be attributed mainly to the apologetic approach, defensive posturing and weakening standpoint of the governments in power.

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“Kashmir cause will form the cornerstone of our foreign policy. We pay rich tributes to the freedom movement in Kashmir going on for the last seven decades. It is our firm faith that the sacrifices made for the Kashmir cause will not go waste. We believe that the only solution to the Kashmir problem lies in plebiscite in the light of the UN resolutions. To achieve the goals, we consider it our duty to extend our full political, moral and diplomatic support to the oppressed Muslims of Kashmir.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Manifesto 2013 Awami National Party, p. 24.

<sup>11</sup>MQM Manifesto 2013, p. 94.

<sup>12</sup> Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Pakistan (F) Manifesto, 2013, p. 56.

<sup>13</sup>Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan Manifesto (2013), p. 16.



The inclusion of Kashmir issue in the manifestos of all major political parties in Pakistan is a clear manifestation of the fact that the parties do realize the significance of this issue in overall national agenda. This, indeed, may be termed as a positive sign and quite satisfying. However, political leadership does not seem to be on the same page as far as the modus operandi of the resolution of the issue is concerned. Particularly when analyzed in the context of Pakistan's position that has been historically stated at all international forums which emphasizes plebiscite according to UN resolutions.

Before deciphering the differences in the strategy reflected in the manifestos under study, it seems important to reaffirm here Pakistan's principled position on Kashmir which is based on following four points.

1. The relevant UN resolutions, particularly those adopted on April 21, 1948 and January 5, 1949 provide a real, just, durable and honorable basis for the resolution of the dispute.
2. The right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people implies that this dispute is resolved according to their free will and aspirations.
3. Pakistan will continue its unabated support to the Kashmiris at moral, political and diplomatic levels, and keep raising voice against the Indian oppression in the Occupied Kashmir at the international forums to stop human rights abuses in the state.
4. In the context of developing bilateral relations with India, the Kashmir dispute will remain a core issue.

Keeping this principled position in view, a number of confusions have been witnessed at the highest level on Kashmir stance for the last few years; this may be attributed mainly to the apologetic approach, defensive posturing and weakening standpoint of the governments in power. This is also reflected in some election manifestoes. For instance:

In the PPP manifesto, there is no mention of the relevant UN resolutions which provide the actual basis for Pakistan's

standpoint on Kashmir dispute. It is true that this manifesto promises Pakistan's continued assurance and support to the Kashmiris yet in the same breath it resolves that no single agenda will be allowed to become a snag in smooth sailing of India-Pakistan relations. In this regard, Indo-China détente has been pointed out as an example that the relations between the two countries can be promoted while freezing the issue of Kashmir.<sup>14</sup>

In 2013, Pakistan Peoples Party has included Azad Kashmir in its manifesto which is principally a welcome development, however, its reference is made along with the mainstreaming of FATA which indicates that the party also desires to give AJK the provincial status as it envisions for FATA that “[it] is to be mainstreamed as a provincial entity” (p. 56). To mainstream FATA as a provincial entity is the demand of the people of the region but the case of AJK is quite different as well sensitive in the context of Kashmir issue.

It is very important to give equal political, social and economic rights to the people of Kashmir, but AJK has a peculiar status under the UN resolutions. Giving AJK the status of a province

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<sup>14</sup> It would be interesting to note here that the shift regarding the strategy to resolve Kashmir dispute reflected in the current manifesto of the party is not traced in the earlier manifestos of the party. For instance, in 1970, the party manifesto said: “Towards India, a policy of confrontation will be maintained until the question of Kashmir, Farakka, Beruberi, and other pending matters are settled.” Similarly, the 1977 manifesto states: “the issue of the liberation of Jammu and Kashmir from alien subjugation was given priority and was the subject of one of the Foundation Documents of the Party.” It further says that “party makes a solemn pledge that it will continue to extend all moral and material support to the struggle of the people of the Indian-occupied Areas of the State to achieve their liberation.” In 1990, it maintained that “all possible help shall be given to the valiant Kashmiri freedom fighters in their struggle for self determination” and in the manifesto of 1993, besides extending moral, diplomatic and political support, the party says “It is calumny to accuse the Kashmiri freedom fighters of terrorism, [t]he violence in Kashmir, as in Bosnia, originates from the denial to the Kashmiri people of their legitimate rights and of the use of the most brutal repression against them by security forces. We call upon India to desist from a policy that is doomed to fail and can only increase bitterness and hatred in Kashmir and in the subcontinent as a whole.”

may render the UN resolutions on Kashmir irrelevant and weaken Pakistan's principled position on this issue. Besides adding confusion on Pakistan's stance, this may cause to dilute the relevance of the issue on international forums.

Similarly PML (N), in its manifesto, expresses solidarity with the Kashmiri people and supports their struggle for freedom, yet it mentions resolving Kashmir dispute according to the Lahore Accord. This brings to the fore an option which lacks a national consensus.<sup>15</sup>

Like PPP, PML (N) too has expressed intent to giving Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan the status equivalent to all four provinces of Pakistan. As pointed out earlier, giving equal political, social and economic rights to the people of Kashmir does not necessitate change in Azad Kashmir's present constitutional status. In fact, if there is genuine political will, this can be done by balancing the uneven relations between Azad Kashmir government and the Kashmir Council.

With reference to Pakistan-India relations, the Kashmir dispute does not appear to be given core importance in PML (N) manifesto, supporting the idea that the relations between the two countries could be normalized and mutual trade and economic relations restored without first resolving the Kashmir issue. For instance, it appears from the manifesto that rather than stressing a genuinely peaceful and sustainable solution by resolving the basic dispute, the party's greater concern is to meet Indian's energy needs by providing her access to the Central Asian Republics (CAR) and Arabian Sea. This is evident from the text of the manifesto:

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<sup>15</sup> If one studies the manifesto of the same party released for the general elections 1997, it turns out that the stance on Kashmir as well as its diction is more forceful as compared to the current manifesto. Cf: "Pakistan Muslim League considers it a sacred duty to support the right of self determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir under United Nations Resolutions. In order to maintain good neighborly relations with India, Pakistan Muslim League believes in peaceful resolution of conflicting issues with India. However, in this connection, it will never compromise on the right of self determinations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan's historical commitment to this cause." (Pakistan Muslim League Manifesto [N]1997, p. 35)

“Pakistan is located at an important junction of South Asia, West Asia, and Central Asia. The country could be a bridge between energy rich Central Asia and Iran on one side and energy deficit countries like China and India on the other. Pakistan’s coastal belt facilitates access to the warm waters and oil-rich Gulf, as well as international oil supply lines passing through the Strait of Hormuz. Pakistan can also develop a flourishing transit economy because it provides the shortest land routes from Western China to the Arabian Sea, through the Gwadar Port, while linking India with Afghanistan and CAR and providing land route from Iran to India and access to the Central Asian Republics to the Arabian Sea and India for oil/gas pipelines.”<sup>16</sup>

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) does signify the significance of Kashmir issue in the overall national agenda by including it in its four most important national preferences but there is no mention of resolving the dispute according to the UN resolutions on Kashmir. If one studies the 2002 party manifesto, it would be clear that the party’s stand was much more forceful at that time; although there is no mention of the UN resolutions in this manifesto too, yet it discusses Kashmir as the jugular vein of Pakistan and regards it an unfinished agenda of the partition; it expresses its commitment for pushing an aggressive diplomatic campaign leading to help Kashmiris getting their right of self determination.

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**Kashmir is too important  
to be put under the  
heading of “Ensuring  
Pakistan’s Water  
Security.”**

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In the current manifesto of PTI, there is no mention of Kashmir dispute being a core issue between Pakistan and India, yet under the heading “Ensuring Pakistan’s Water Security”, PTI declares that it wanted to resolve Indo-Pakistan water issues according to Indus Basin Treaty and in the light of international practices.

In the manifesto of MQM, the UN resolutions on Kashmir have found no mention while it expresses the desire to resolve Kashmir

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<sup>16</sup> Pakistan Muslim League (N) Manifesto 2013, pp.92-93

dispute according to the will and aspirations of the Kashmiri people.<sup>17</sup> ANP wants to find a solution to the dispute, along with other issues, through bilateral talks, without referring to the UN resolutions or right of self determination in the manifesto.

Similarly, JUI says that along with other important matters of foreign policy it would also give prime and fundamental importance to the liberation

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The unanimously passed National Assembly Resolution on the hanging of Afzal Guru provides a strong basis to evolve and advance single national narrative.

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of Kashmir in its manifesto; however, there is no mention of UN resolutions in it. The manifesto also states that safety and security to life, honor, property and

economic security of Indian Muslims will be a preferred point in Pakistan's foreign policy<sup>18</sup>, and yet it does not point out its policy framework with regard to relations with India and its vision to resolve the bilateral disputes.

**National Narrative and the Way Forward:** With this background, and in the present Pakistan scenario, when a new political leadership has just taken up the reins of power, the focus should have been on two important aspects simultaneously:

On the one side, there is a need to solidify and strengthen the existing consensus both at the political parties and popular levels on the vital importance and significance of Kashmir issue and on the need to resolve it. And on the other, the need is to evolve and advance a single national narrative on the approach and modus operandi to resolve this issue, casting off the clouds of

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<sup>17</sup>However, in its manifesto released in 1998, "MQM gives full support to the right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir and wishes the Kashmir issue to be resolved in accordance with the UN Resolutions and according to the will of the people of Kashmir. MQM condemns the human rights violations in Kashmir and is of the opinion that Pakistan must use her influence at every level to obtain peaceful settlement of this Issue." (<http://www.mqm.org/manifesto/manifesto-contents-1998.htm>)

<sup>18</sup>Manifesto [2013] Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Pakistan (F), p. 56.

confusions and lack of consensus as far as the strategy is concerned. The unanimously passed National Assembly Resolution on the martyrdom of Afzal Guru on March 14, 2013 may provide a strong basis in this respect:

“This House expresses serious concern over Indian atrocities inflicted on the people in Kashmir, particularly after the execution of Afzal Guru. Condemning the state brutalities in Kashmir, the house stresses upon India that the body of Afzal Guru be handed over to his family members and it also calls upon India to stop bloodshed in Kashmir, withdraw its forces from the urban areas, repeal black laws, lift the curfew as well as media blackout, release Kashmiri leaders as well as thousands of other Kashmiri detainees, do not prevent people from exercising their religious obligations, stop locking up mosques, and allow the international human rights organizations to visit Occupied Kashmir.

“The House reaffirms that the people of Jammu and Kashmir are struggling peacefully for their fundamental right to self determination and their struggle is in line with the international laws, UN Charter and resolutions of the United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the resolution of Non Aligned Movement (NAM). Pakistan fully supports their legitimate struggle and assure them that they are not alone in this struggle, rather the entire Pakistani nation stands with them and it would continue with its unabated diplomatic, political and moral support at all levels.

“The House makes it clear that the Kashmir is a dispute under the UN resolutions whose settlement is pending and it is not an internal affair of India.

“The House appeals to the international community that rather being a silent spectator they should compel India to stop atrocities of Kashmiri people and take practical steps to implement UN Security Council Resolutions.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Translated from the original Urdu text of the resolution available at: [http://www.na.gov.pk/en/resolution\\_detail.php?id=92](http://www.na.gov.pk/en/resolution_detail.php?id=92)

No doubt the above mentioned unanimous resolution of the parliament may serve as a foundation document to formulate and advance national strategy on the resolution of Kashmir issue.

Besides mentioning the significance of this issue both at the popular and political landscape of the country it seems pertinent to state here that despite facing as many difficulties as one can imagine the people of Jammu & Kashmir have not only kept the freedom movement alive but transferred it to their next generation as is evident from the recent consecutive mass uprising particularly since 2008. The role of youth in this uprising figured prominently that has not only been admitted by the international media<sup>20</sup> but has resulted in favorable voices from inside India too.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Simon Tisdall, a noted analyst of international affairs, citing American journalist Barbara Crossette, observes: “‘The violence’ is a reminder that many Kashmiris still do not consider themselves part of India and profess that they never will,” she said. ‘India maintains a force of several hundred thousand troops and paramilitaries in Kashmir, turning the summer capital, Srinagar, into an armed camp frequently under curfew and always under the gun. The media is labouring under severe restrictions. Torture and human rights violations have been well documented.’ Comparisons with Israel’s treatment of Palestinians were not inappropriate.” (‘India’s blinkered policy’, *The Guardian*, August 11, 2010).

<sup>21</sup>These voices among others include the noted Indian writer Arundhati Roy who expressed her support for Kashmiri right to self-determination and condemned Indian atrocities and human rights abuses in the state. In an article titled ‘Azadi’ published in *The Outlook* on September 1, 2008 she concludes: “India needs azadi from Kashmir just as much—if not more—than Kashmir needs *azadi* from India.” On November 12, 2011 in a panel discussion on Kashmir in New York she says that “I think the people of Kashmir have the right to self-determination, they have the right to choose who they want to be and how they want to be” and remarks further that “I want to say unambiguously that I do not think any country that calls itself a democracy has the right to force people to remain in it in a militaristic way, the way that India is doing.” Likewise, prominent Indian journalist Swaminathan S. Anklesaria Aiyar in his article titled ‘Independence Day for Kashmir’ appeared in *The Times of India* on August 17, 2008, observes “I was once hopeful of Kashmir’s integration, but after six decades of effort, Kashmiri alienation looks greater than ever. India seeks to integrate with Kashmir, not rule it colonially. Yet, the parallels between British rule in India and Indian rule in Kashmir have become too close for my comfort.” Other Indian writers and human rights activists such as Gautam Navalakha and Vir Sanghvi have

What is needed the most at this juncture of the national history is preparing a consensus national agenda on Kashmir, rising above all the political and other differences, safeguarding the fundamental human rights of the people of Kashmir based on all the relevant UN resolutions and universal principles of justice and fairplay. In order to evolve and advance such a consensus there is a need to have working synchronization among all the concerned national institutions which include defense institutions, ministries of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Water and Power. Such synchronization and synergy among the concerned institutions will help in bringing up a single, mutually agreed and integrated approach instead of emerging a narrative of confusion.

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To evolve and advance a consensus on Kashmir, there is a need to have working synchronization among all the concerned national institutions.

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While acknowledging the sacrifices of the Kashmiri people, it is important to observe here that the people of Pakistan demonstrating their political consciousness and commitment to the Kashmir cause have contributed tremendously to keep the issue alive at the popular and political landscape of the country. This unflinching commitment demonstrated by the people of Pakistan did provide a support to the Kashmiri people. What is needed further is to proceed forward in a consistent, responsible and conscientious manner with the better sense of responsibility and the greater understanding of the challenges of the time.

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also penned article in support of Kashmiris and against the presence of Indian military in the territory.



# Economy and Wellbeing

*Fasih Uddin\**

## Introduction

Economic issues are among the forefront tasks that the newly elected government has to address urgently. This paper contains two sections. The first section discusses the issues in the backdrop of current situation and the party manifestos (in particular of PML [N]) highlighting the need to developing a framework with short, medium and long term dimensions. The purpose is to generate dialogue and debate that may facilitate the new government in devising sound economic policies. The second one outlines a framework stressing upon a shift in paradigm from growth to wellbeing.

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## Economy – Putting the House in Order\*

### Current Situation

The economy is in a difficult state presently. The low economic growth averaging 3% of the past five years is not likely to show visible improvement in the current year (2012-13). Inflation, which peaked in 2009 (21%) is estimated around 10%. The fiscal deficit will remain at a high level of 7.5% and current account deficit about 2% of GDP. Despite persistent rise in workers'

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\* This publication was finalized before the announcement of federal budget for fiscal year 2013-14. While budgetary measures and announcements may or may not address the issues raised in here, the thrust of its approach is not limited to one budgetary exercise and holds relevance for the years ahead as well.

remittances, the official foreign exchange reserves fell from the peak of \$14.8 billion in July 2011 to \$6.7 billion in April 2013, raising serious payment problems. The total public debt continues rising, surpassing Rs.15 trillion (68% of GDP). Gross fixed investment declined to 10% and domestic savings to less than 9% of GDP. Similarly, the tax-GDP ratio came down to less than 10%. Unemployment (in particular of youth) is high (over 6%) and the level of poverty is rising.

The energy crisis deepened, presenting a paradoxical situation.

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Economic issues  
confronting the  
country should occupy  
a prominent place in  
strategies of the newly  
elected government.

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While generating capacity is reported at around 20000 MW, tariff rates are adjusted upwards at regular intervals and government is heavily subsidizing the sector, actual generation remains far below demand, resulting in nationwide long hours of loadshedding. The circular debt is mounting despite injection of government money. The issues of line losses, energy theft and outstanding bills continue unabated.

The working of the public sector enterprises (i.e., Railways, PIA, Steel Mills, WAPDA, gas companies, etc.) deteriorated, resulting in poor service, heavy losses and burden on the government budget. The quality and availability of social services (health, education, sanitation and water supply, etc.) gone down. The adverse impact of these economic difficulties on the life of the common man is compounded by law and order situation, mismanagement, corruption and terrorism.

### **Political Parties' Economic Agenda**

As one could expect, economic issues occupied a prominent place in the political parties' election manifestos for 2013. The manifestos speak about reviving the economy, accelerating economic growth, raising investment, efficient utilization of existing productive capacity, controlling inflation, reducing fiscal and current account deficits, reforming the tax system and civil service, containing current expenditure, reducing dependence on

external resources, reforming public sector enterprises, and encouraging and facilitating private sector. They contain suggestions for future policies relating to agriculture, industry, mining, trade, communications, health, education and other sectors. Development of human resource and physical infrastructure is also highlighted. They also speak about creating job opportunities, poverty alleviation and special programs for targeted groups. Commitments are also made on taking effective measures to resolve the energy crisis in the next two to three years. The issues relating to responsive governance, accountability, eradication of corruption and rule of law are also dealt with. Some parties have suggested specific macroeconomic targets for the five-year tenure ending in 2018 also. The issue now is to what extent the parties getting government in the center and provinces, the Pakistan Muslim League (N) in particular, translate their promises into strategies.

The PML (N), that has emerged as the majority party and has formed the new government, assigns top priority to revival of the economy. Its election manifesto outlines policies and macroeconomic targets for the next five years. It proposes to attain comprehensive and sustained economic growth by utilizing human and physical resources and technology; formulating sound macroeconomic policies; supporting rule of law and democracy; and eliminating of corruption, misuse of authority, tax evasion and inessential expenditure. It suggests targets for key macroeconomic indicators for the year 2018, namely:

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PML (N) manifesto provides broad elements for medium-term framework of economic policies and measures. A lot of work, however, remains for building a consistent, comprehensive and integrated plan of action.

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	<b>2012</b>	<b>2018</b>
GDP Growth	3%	6%
Investment (% of GDP)	10	20
Inflation Inflation	10	8
Fiscal Deficit (%of GDP)	7.5	4
Tax GDP Ratio (%)	10	15

The thrust of policies has to be on deregulation and simplification of rules and procedures; facilitation and building of trust and confidence of foreign and domestic investors; facilitating and

The first major challenge for the new government will be how fast it is able to replenish the reserves to a comfortable level, say around \$10-12 billion.

encouraging national savings; strengthening regulatory institutions; and tax and financial reforms. The public sector development program, along with public-private partnership, is to be used for building physical and social infrastructure (energy, dams, mineral development, motorways, urban development, low cost housing, health, education and training). The public sector enterprises are to be restructured, professionally managed and privatized, where feasible. The manifesto also contains proposals for solving the energy crisis and aiming at regular availability of energy at affordable prices. It also proposes creating three million job opportunities and poverty alleviation fund.

The manifesto also speaks about the long term objective of turning Pakistan into one of the leading economies of Asia through persistent economic policies. For this purpose it suggests building consensus on a National Economic Agenda 2025.

## **The Task Ahead**

The manifesto of PML (N) provides broad elements on which a medium-term framework of economic policies and measures can be constructed. A lot of work, however, remains for building a consistent, comprehensive and integrated medium term phased plan of action. It would be ideal if this task is accomplished along with the budget before the next fiscal year. As time available is short (about four weeks), this seems difficult. In this situation the government has two choices. It can take the easy route of owning the caretaker government's preparatory work on budget and economic plan and policies with cosmetic changes made in light of the party's manifesto. Alternatively, it may take the issues upfront, picking up critical elements and present an outline of medium term plan and policies.

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The possible options include expatriate Pakistanis, residents' financial holdings abroad, friendly countries, global capital market and IMF and other international financial institutions.

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Though challenging the second alternative is more desirable. This action plan should also address other factors (e.g., load shedding, inflation, unemployment, corruption, law and order and terrorism) that motivated the people to support the party. Proposals for the next year's budget and economic plan should reflect the long-term policies and of the government.

Notwithstanding the need for a comprehensive and integrated medium term framework, there are some critical issues which need immediate attention. These are discussed below.

**Building Foreign Exchange Reserves:** The level of foreign exchange reserves is a sensitive indicator of the internal resilience and external strength of an economy. Pakistan's official reserves dipped to a precariously low level of \$6.7 billion in April 2013 from an all time high of \$14.8 billion in July 2011; the reserves may deplete further by end June as some heavy amounts are due for payment to the IMF and other creditors. As this will have

serious consequences, the first major challenge for the new government will be how fast it is able to replenish the reserves to a comfortable level, say around \$10-12 billion. The possible options include expatriate Pakistanis, residents' financial holdings abroad, friendly countries, global capital market and IMF and other international financial institutions. The first three options have been explored in the past without much success<sup>1</sup>. The global financial market is in turmoil, and the credit rating does not make Pakistan an attractive proposition. Though all options should be

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An area of serious concern is the high rate of inflation averaging 14% per annum during last five years (2008-2012). This has serious economic and social consequences.

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explored, the last option seems more feasibly provided Pakistan agrees to the IMF conditions (including 'prior actions'). An agreement with IMF will ensure quick disbursement of over \$5 billion, supplemented by additional resources from the World Bank and Asian

Development Bank. The agreement may envisage a medium-term program of stabilization and growth with specific commitments on reduction of fiscal deficit through revenue expanding measures (including modified GST, strengthening income tax, withdrawing tax exemptions and institutional tax reforms), reducing subsidies and inessential expenditure while protecting most vulnerable; prudent monetary policy to contain inflation; resolution of energy crisis; and rehabilitation and privatization of public sector enterprises<sup>2</sup>. The Caretaker Finance Adviser held initial discussions with IMF team in Washington, D.C. in mid-April, 2013.

The manifesto and IMF measures cover almost same areas. However, there would be difference in depth, sequencing and timing of the measures. These differences can be ironed out through intensive consultations and negotiations conducted in an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding. The IMF

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<sup>1</sup>National Debt Retirement Scheme by the Nawaz Shareef government in early 90s and the 'Friends of Pakistan' Initiative by PPP government in 2008.

<sup>2</sup>Public Information Notice No.12/135 dated November 2013, IMF.

arrangement should also be conceived within a long term comprehensive framework of socioeconomic development to be formulated by the government. The IMF arrangement should also be considered as a temporary measure aimed at ensuring greater self reliance over time.

**Resolving Energy Crisis:** Another area needing urgent attention is the energy crisis. The various elements of the malaise are well known: power generation falling far short of production capacity and demand; circular debt (receivables of power entities far exceeding their payables – Rs.382 billion in July 2012 as against Rs.275 billion a year ago); persistent heavy load shedding; high tariff

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The IMF arrangement should also be considered as a temporary measure aimed at ensuring greater self reliance over time.

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despite heavy government subsidy to the sector (one trillion rupees in four years – 2009-2011); low recoveries (even from government departments); line losses and theft; and mismanagement and corruption. Efforts made so far have failed miserably. A comprehensive action plan with immediate and long term measures has to be put in place and executed effectively.

**Reducing Fiscal Deficit and Expanding Revenues:** The third priority area is fiscal discipline. The fiscal deficit has to be brought down from over 7.5% to less than 5% of GDP in the next year's budget by substantial expansion in revenues and containment of current expenditure. The tax-GDP ratio has declined to less than 10% of GDP and the PML (N) manifesto proposes to raise it to 15% of GDP in five years, i.e., about 1% of GDP each year. It may be proposed to generate about Rs.260 billion additional tax revenues along with substantial austerity measures. This would require revenue and expenditure reforms, broadening the tax base, reducing subsidies and inessential expenditure, while protecting the poor and vulnerable groups of people. It may be mentioned that the Fiscal Responsibility and Debt Limitation Act 2005 requires the government to present to the Parliament specific targets for fiscal deficit and public debt for the next 3-4 years.

**Containing Inflation:** An area of serious concern is the high rate of inflation averaging 14% per annum during last five years (2008-2012). This has serious economic and social consequences. A major challenge before the government will be to take effective monetary and other measures to bring the rate of inflation to more reasonable limit (say around 5-6%). The PML (N) manifesto proposes a target of 8% by 2018 which, considering the heavy burden of cumulative inflation of earlier years is on the high side.

**Accelerating Growth and Investment:** In the past five years the economy grew at a slow pace of about three percent per annum; and this slow growth also contributed to other serious socioeconomic problems – unemployment, poverty, social unrest, deteriorating civic services, crime, lawlessness and terrorism. An

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A desirable and feasible target would be to take the growth rate into two digit (over 10%) and raising total investment to 25% of GDP (most of it to be contributed by domestic savings) in 2018.

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important task before the new government is to take short and medium term steps to ensure high, sustainable and inclusive growth. In the short term the focus should be on effective and efficient use of existing productive capacity by ensuring availability of critical

inputs (energy, credit, raw materials, water, transport, access to market, etc.), removing barriers to trade and industry and creating conducive environment for private initiative.

The growth target of 6% in 2018 suggested in PML (N) manifesto is on the low side and also inconsistent with its declared objective of making Pakistan one of the leading economies of Asia. A desirable and feasible target would be to take the growth rate into two digit (over 10%) and raising total investment to 25% of GDP (most of it to be contributed by domestic savings) in 2018 (experience of emerging economies, like China and India, supports this proposition).

**Revamping Social Development:** Measures should also be taken to ensure that the growth is sustainable and inclusive, providing



opportunity to all citizens to participate and benefit from it. It should also cover improvement in social services (human development, education, health, sanitation, water supply and environment). It is desirable to raise the level of government expenditure on education and health from 1.8% and 0.5% of GNP in 2011 to 4% and 2% of GNP in 2018 respectively. The expenditure should mainly be incurred on elementary education and basic health in pursuance of specific targets (physical facilities, enrolment, quality of service, infant mortality, maternal health, etc.)

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The scope of the National Economic Agenda 2025 should be extended to all aspects of human life, material, moral and spiritual.

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In addition, the poverty reduction and employment generation programs should be strengthened and made more effective and transparent focusing on marginalized groups and regions. A coordinated approach involving federal and provincial governments, civil society and private sector may be pursued.

**National Economic Agenda 2025:** A desirable initiative of the PML (N) manifesto is building consensus on the National Economic Agenda 2025. It may be mentioned that the economy, though important, covers only one aspect of human welfare. To be more meaningful, the scope of the Agenda should be extended to all aspects of human life, material, moral and spiritual. The objective should be the maximization of human wellbeing in all these dimensions.

A ‘**Welfare Development Paradigm**’\* is outlined below. This may be considered as a basis for further work:

Based on Pakistan’s genesis (Islamic character and aspirations and expectations of the people as visualized by the founding fathers), the following consensus Vision Statement can be formulated:

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\* Section II of this paper discusses the subject in greater detail.

“Developing an Islamic, just, equitable, progressive and prosperous nation.”

The vision has five inter-related dimensions: (i) economic; (ii) social; (iii) governance; (iv) strategic; and (v) moral and ethical. Qualitatively and quantitatively measurable goals and targets within a reasonable timeframe of 10-15 years may be set. These five elements should be seen as an ‘integrating whole’, each interacting with the other in a mutually supportive manner.

Human beings are commanded by the Creator to enjoin right and forbid wrong. This ethical command pervades all human activity and should be considered as *Centrum* to the other four elements. Its foundation is laid in the rule of law, justice and fairplay, rights and obligations, confidence and trust, patience and tolerance, reward and punishment, human respect and dignity, and compassion and empathy.

Whichever way one looks at it, the ethical aspect seems to prevail;

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The growth target of 6% in 2018 is on the low side, inconsistent with its declared objective of making Pakistan one of the leading economies of Asia.

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the *Centrum* promoting mutually reinforcing relationship in other elements. It provides the principles and rules of the game for others. Governance and strategy should set legal, institutional and operational framework for development.

Based on the *Centrum* of ethics and the pillars of governance and strategy, the edifice of economic and social development and wellbeing and welfare of the people should be raised. The economic, political and social conduct of the people and authority should be based on the values set by the *Centrum* and facilitated and promoted by appropriate policies, strategy, laws, rules and institutions.”<sup>3</sup> Part two outlines a detailed framework in this regard.

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<sup>3</sup> For detailed discussion please refer to “Pakistan’s Economic Journey – Need for a New Paradigm”, by Fasih Uddin and Akram Swati, published by Institute of Policy Studies (2008).

## **Conclusion**

Pakistan's economy is poised for a structural change. While some issues warrant immediate action, it is necessary that the new government urgently starts work on a comprehensive, integrated and consistent medium term framework of socio-economic development. This should be supplemented by measures in other non-economic spheres (governance, security, law and order, corruption, malpractices, terrorism, etc.) which will reinforce the development efforts. This should be accompanied or followed by

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It is necessary that the new government urgently starts work on a comprehensive, integrated and consistent medium term framework of socio-economic development.

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a roadmap with priorities, benchmarks, signposts, and mechanisms for review, modification and evaluation. The whole exercise should be conceived in a comprehensive and inter-related context and in short (one year), medium (5 years) and long (10-15 years) timeframe. Simultaneous work should also be initiated on fostering consensus on a broad based National Welfare Agenda 2025.

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## **II**

### **Beyond Growth – A Paradigm for Wellbeing**

Development is normally viewed as a process of economic growth – the pace at which a nation expands the output of goods and services. It is considered as a game of creation and distribution of wealth. Historical and empirical evidence shows that, though economic growth is important, it is not 'the-be-all and end-all' of development; it has other inter-related dimensions also. Development signifies human wellbeing and therefore it should pervade all aspects of human life. Attempts have been made since seventies to bring other areas, like social and environmental issues, under the 'development umbrella'. Specific human

development targets have been set and indices to measure and compare them across nations also devised.

Pakistan's development planning is also based on this approach; focusing on economic growth with people's welfare depicted as a fallout effect. The whole edifice is built on economic factors,

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Historical and empirical evidences demonstrate that though economic growth is important, ignoring other aspects of human life could lead to devastating social and political implications.

neglecting a host of other equally important ones. The result is disillusion and disappointment. This paper attempts to broaden the scope of 'development' by bringing under its 'umbrella' the key elements of human life.

It takes into account the current situation and genesis of Pakistan, and outlines a 'wellbeing paradigm' by bringing in the critical dimensions of life within its fold.

### **Overview — Development Paradigm**

In the post-War II era development was focused on economic growth. The national plans, as well as external assistance, were geared to raising domestic output. This approach was based on the premise that growth in national output will eventually trickle down and lead to economic and social wellbeing of all citizens. Even education, training and health programs were seen primarily as inputs to boost economic output. Historical and empirical evidences, however, demonstrate that, though economic growth is important, ignoring other aspects of human life could lead to devastating social and political implications; negating the very purpose of economic development. Experiences of many countries, including Pakistan, show that economic growth tends to enlarge the rich-poor gap; the gains and opportunities being usurped by the elite. Over-emphasis to economic progress at the cost of other important aspects of life (social, political, security,

freedom, justice, fairplay, etc.) has led to social and political unrest.<sup>4</sup>

The seventies and later decades saw a gradual change. Education, health, social safety nets, environment and poverty reduction were added to the priority areas in the national development plans. The donor agencies revamped their strategies. The emphasis of UN, World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank (ADB) and others shifted to poverty alleviation, social development and environment. The 'Washington Consensus' among International Financial Institutions (IFIs) was revised in 1990 to bring poverty alleviation, health and education in priority areas of assistance<sup>5</sup>. The IMF Extended Fund Facility was renamed as 'Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility' (PRGF) in 1999. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) launched the Human Development Report along with the Human Development Index (HDI) under the initiative of late Mahboobul Haq in 1990. The UN adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in 1995 setting targets for eight areas (poverty, universal primary education, gender equality, child mortality, mother health, HIV/AIDS, environment sustainability and global preparedness) for 2015. Attempts have also been made to measure and compare human welfare across nations. In addition to HDI (which is based on life expectancy, primary education and income), other indices have been constructed to measure socio-economic wellbeing and quality of life. For instance, the Quality of Life Index (QLI) quantifies a nation's affordability for its average citizen and includes six areas

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The purview of 'development' is being expanded not only to socioeconomic aspects but to other areas of human concern as well.

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<sup>4</sup>Examples:

- 'Decade of Development 1958-68' celebrated by the Ayub regime ended with nationwide turmoil and takeover by the army chief General Yahya Khan.
- The 'White Revolution' of the Shah of Iran ended in Islamic evolution of Imam Khomeini.

<sup>5</sup>Among the main elements of consensus include 'reordering public expenditure in favour of social sectors like education and health'.

(with weights), i.e., health (20%), education (20%), wealth (20%), democracy (15%), peace (15%) and environment (10%)<sup>6</sup>.

Thus the purview of ‘development’ is being expanded not only to socioeconomic aspects but to other areas of human concern as well.

## Pakistan’s Experience

Pakistan has achieved reasonable economic growth of over 5% per annum, along with manifold expansion in the infrastructure and other facilities in the past six decades, yet the progress is not

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Life is an integrated whole and unless all aspects – economic, social, cultural, political, emotional and ethical – are taken into account, progress and development will remain distorted and imbalanced.

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considered impressive (by some not even satisfactory). Three factors count in this behalf: (a) being born as an ideological state, the socio-economic aspirations of the people are pitched high; efforts and performance could not match these expectations; (b) its performance is usually

compared against rapidly progressing economies (such as Korea, Malaysia, China, Singapore) and this comparison reinforces the impression that Pakistan has not done well; and (c) the gains of progress are not shared equitably and widely, some fundamental socioeconomic and political issues remain unattended and prosperity is confined to elites while the rest of the populace remains deprived and even disillusioned.

The country is beset with serious problems today in all dimensions – economic, social, infrastructure and basic services, justice, law and order, security, governance and others. Many reasons have been advanced for this state of affairs; most of them

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<sup>6</sup>The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) has also devised the QLI with nine elements: material wellbeing, health, political stability, family life, community life, climate and geography, security, political freedom and gender equality.

are partial and only focusing on a few elements while ignoring a host of others. They tend to be apologetic and defensive, devoid of proactive thinking. They often look to issues in isolation and seek remedy in one or two measures. Such approaches are flawed. Life is an integrated whole and unless all aspects (i.e., economic, social, cultural, political, emotional and ethical) are taken into account, progress and development will remain distorted and imbalanced. In the past, the development strategies were structured around medium-term plans focusing on economic growth with social dimension added subsequently. The limitations of this approach are obvious; the emphasis is on economic growth whereas peoples' welfare is depicted as a fallout effect. The whole edifice is built on economic factors and host of equally important noneconomic factors are neglected. Governance, justice, law and order and similar other aspects are no less significant for development. Thus there is an urgent need to broaden the scope and bring all aspects of human life under the 'development umbrella'. It is also essential to keep the objectives of creation of Pakistan in view while formulating the new paradigm.

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The aim should be the realization of the *vision* of developing an Islamic, just, equitable, enlightened, progressive and prosperous nation.

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### **From Growth to Wellbeing Paradigm**

Pakistan is based on an ideology; and an ideology often carries a specific *vision*, i.e., foresight for a better future and a persistent movement towards the *vision*. Pakistan's development vision should be founded on its genesis (Islam) and the thinking of the father of the nation as reflected in various statements. The focus of development in Islam is on human being, the advancement of man and his physical, economic, social and cultural environment. The concept is comprehensive in character and includes material, moral and spiritual aspects. The objective is the optimization of human wellbeing in all these dimensions as they are inseparable. The aim is not merely welfare in this world but also in life hereafter. According to the contemporary concept, it is the

physical environment — natural and institutional — that provides the real area for development activities. Islam insists that the area of operation relates to human beings, within *and* without.<sup>7</sup>

The development perception of the father of the nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as enunciated in his various statements, covers the following: Islamic social justice, wellbeing of masses and poor, justice, fair play, equity, law and order (protection to life, property and religious beliefs), equal opportunities, rights, privileges and obligations for all citizens; unity, faith and discipline; eradication of corruption and nepotism; democracy, human rights and gender equality; moral building, scientific and technical education; and progressive and industrialized state. Synthesizing these pieces together one can construct a broad consensus vision statement as under:

### **‘Developing an Islamic, Just, Equitable, Progressive and Prosperous Nation’**

This vision contains five inter-related dimensions; (i) economic, (ii) social, (iii) governance, (iv) strategic, and (v) moral and ethical. Each dimension can be transformed into measurable time-bound (say 2014-2025) goals and targets. This timeframe is indicative as improvement is a continuous process. The five elements should be seen as an integrated whole, each inter-acting with the other in a mutually supportive manner. The aim should be the realization of the *vision* of developing an Islamic, just, equitable, enlightened, progressive and prosperous nation. This proactive interaction can be illustrated as under.

‘Man is commanded to enjoin *right* and forbid *wrong*. This ethical command pervades all human activity and should be considered as the *Centrum* of the other four elements, namely economic, social, governance and strategy. Its foundations are laid in the rule of law, justice and fair play, rights and obligations, confidence and trust, tolerance and patience, reward and punishment, and human respect and dignity. Whichever way

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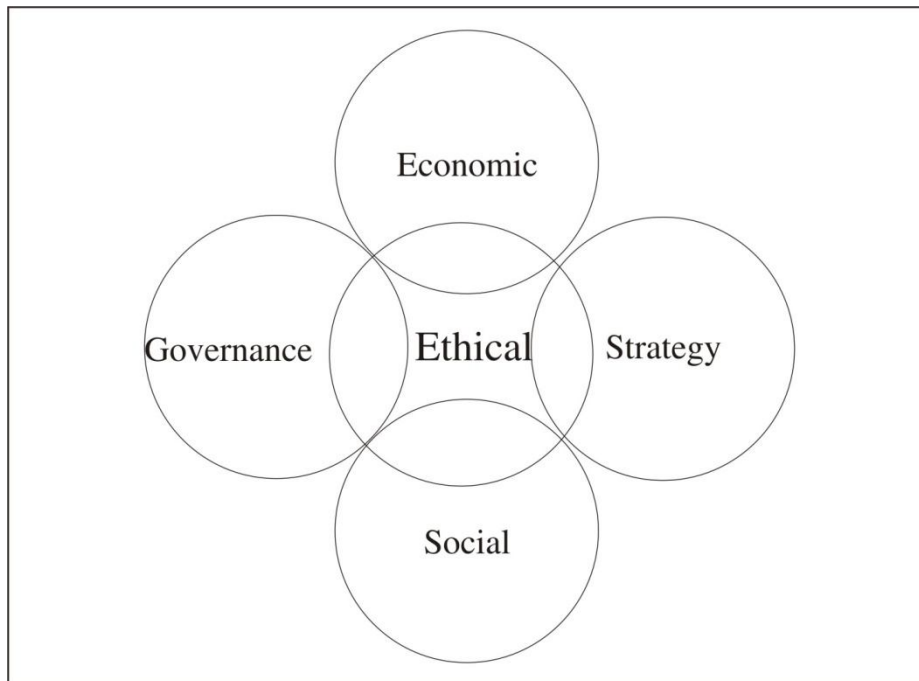
<sup>7</sup>Ahmad, Khurshid, ‘Islam and the Challenge of Economic Development’, *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*, Edited by John J. Donohue and John L. Esposito, Oxford University Press, 2006.



one looks at it, the ethical and spiritual aspect seems to pervade all actions; the *Centrum* promoting mutually reinforcing relationship in other elements. It provides the principles and rules of the game for others’.

‘The two sides of governance and strategy should set out legal, institutional and operational framework for development. Based on the *Centrum* of ethics and the broad framework provided by the pillars of governance and strategy, the edifice of economic and social development and the well being and welfare of the people should be raised. The economic, political and social conduct of the people and authority should be based on the values set in the *Centrum* and facilitated and promoted by appropriate policies, strategies, laws, rules and institutions.’

The inter-relationship between the five elements is illustrated in the following diagram:



The operational plan containing objectives/targets and mechanism/instruments for the realization of the *vision* in respect of its five elements is outlined as follows:

## **1. Economic**

### **Objectives/Targets:**

One of the main objectives is to develop a progressive and prosperous nation. This objective could be realized by ensuring sustained, inclusive and broadbased economic growth, along with reduction in socioeconomic disparity and unemployment and food security for all citizens. Specific targets for 2025 may include:

- A sustained, broad-based high economic (7-8%) and per capita income (5-6%) growth
- Reduction in income disparity (by raising the share of 20% Low Income Group in national income from 7% to 15%),
- Reduction in unemployment rate (from 8% to less than 5%),
- Bringing down the rate of inflation to less than 5%, and
- Ensuring access to essential food items for all citizens.

### **Mechanism/Instrument:**

Adoption of policies and measures to:

- Mobilizing savings, raising investment (25-30 of GDP), and promoting exports
- Education and training and induction of technology and managerial skills
- Building efficient physical and social infrastructure
- Growth and employment oriented economic policies with emphasis on private sector initiative, productivity, quality and improvement in storage and distribution system

## **2. Social**

### **Objectives/Targets:**

- Non-discriminatory access to quality social services for all citizens, and
- Equality of opportunity
- Human development (access to education, health, sanitation, etc., facilities for all),

- Universal elementary education,
- Social safety net for targeted groups (widows, orphans, old, sick and handicapped)
- Egalitarian society
- Clean environment

**Mechanism/Instruments:**

- Building quality social infrastructure in public sector in complement with private sector accessible to all citizens
- Fiscal and other measure to reduce income and wealth disparity,
- Special public sector programs and institutions for special groups, in coordination with private philanthropic efforts
- Environment protection policies

**3. Governance**

**Objectives/Targets:**

- Rule of law, justice and fairplay,
- Protection to life, property and religious beliefs,
- Equal rights, privileges and obligations,
- Independence of judiciary, and
- Freedom of expression

**Mechanism/Instruments:**

- Judicial reforms aimed at prompt and inexpensive justice (strengthening and improving legal system, reduction of pending cases in courts, etc.)
- Elimination of corruption, victimization and administrative and political interferences (efficient and responsive police and public dealing departments).
- Strengthening democratic and representative institutions at all levels (representative and participatory governance)

**4. Setting up systems of monitoring, accountability and continuous improvement in all public offices (elimination of corruption, promotion of accountability, transparency and efficiency in public offices)**

**Objectives/Targets:**

- Political stability
- Sustained development
- Self reliance
- Regional cooperation
- Global equity
- Plurality of cultural and socioeconomic system

**Mechanism/Instruments:**

- Fair and free elections and establishing multi-tier democratic institutions
- Execution of integrated plans and policies
- Implementation of self reliant policies (including policies to promote ideology, defence and food security) and programs
- Strengthening close economic relations with neighbours and regional grouping, including ECO, OIC and SAARC
- Active participation in WTO and other international organisations to promote rule-based international economic and trading system
- Promoting ethnic and cultural understanding and harmony through dialogue, education and propagation

**5. Ethical**

**Objectives/Targets:**

- Enjoin right and forbid wrong
- God-fearing, honest, law abiding and tolerant society
- Human rights and gender equality

**Mechanism/Instruments**

- Promotion of Islamic ideology and teachings (in particular tolerance, moral and social behavior)
- Emphasis on character building, honesty, tolerance and fairplay in education and training institutions
- Use of print and electronic media to promote religious values, respect for law, and other personal and civil

- responsibilities
- Establish systems of reward and punishment at all levels
- Inculcating positive and constructive thinking

The paradigm matrix is set out in appendix.

## **Conclusion**

The development strategy needs reorientation from growth centric to human wellbeing; from material gains to improvement of life in all dimensions. It should address such issues as wide spread disillusion and discontentment among the people, drift from the ideological base of Pakistan, heavy external dependence, erosion in ethical and human values, institutional decay and so forth. The proposed paradigm is intended to initiate dialogue and discussions and to build consensus on a long term strategy for national wellbeing. A multisector and integrated approach with ethics at the centre, influencing and guiding other elements, (namely economic, social, governance and strategy) is more appropriate than the current growth oriented and sector-specific policies and plans. A desirable initiative included in the PML (N) manifesto is building consensus on the National Economic Agenda 2025. This agenda may be expanded and turned into an agenda for wellbeing in line with the above proposed wellbeing paradigm. Serious efforts should be made to build national consensus and transforming it into a roadmap and a time-phased action plan. The nation should be motivated by all means to contribute in realization of set goals and targets. The task though difficult, is worth the effort.

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The development strategy needs reorientation from growth centric to human wellbeing; from material gains to improvement of life in all dimensions.

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## Paradigm Matrix

Vision/Goals	Objectives/ Targets	Mechanism/Instruments
<b>1. Economic</b> Progressive and prosperous nation	A broadbased high economic (7-8%) and per capita income (5-6%) growth. Reduction in income disparity (20% low income share from 7% to 15%) Reduction in unemployment rate (8-5%). Food security for all.	Mobilize savings, raising investment (25-30 of GDP), promotion of exports. Education and training and induction of technology and managerial skills. Building efficient physical and social infrastructure. Growth and employment oriented economic policies with emphasis on private sector initiative, productivity and quality. Improvement in storage and distribution system.
<b>2. Social</b> Non-discriminatory access to quality social services for all citizens Equality of opportunity	Human development (access to education, health, sanitation, etc. facilities for all), Universal elementary education, Social safety net for targeted groups (widows, orphans, old, sick and handicapped) egalitarian society Clean environment	Building quality social infrastructure in public sector in complement with private sector accessible to all citizens. Fiscal and other measure to reduce income and wealth disparity. Special public sector programs and institutions for special groups, in coordination with private philanthropic efforts. Environment protection policies
<b>3. Governance</b> Rule of law, justice and fairplay, Protection to life, property and religious beliefs, Equal rights, privileges and obligations, Independence of judiciary, and Freedom of expression	Prompt and inexpensive justice (strengthening and improving legal system, reduction of pending cases in courts, etc.) Efficient and responsive police and public dealing departments. Representative and participatory governance Elimination of corruption, promotion of accountability,	Judicial reforms aimed at prompt and inexpensive justice. Elimination of corruption, victimization and administrative and political interferences. Strengthening democratic and representative institutions at all levels Setting up systems of monitoring, accountability and continuous improvement in all public offices.

	transparency and efficiency in public offices	
<p><b>4. Ethical</b>                      Enjoin rights and forbid wrong                      God-fearing, honest, law abiding and tolerant society                      Human rights and gender equality</p>	<p>Promotion of Islamic ideology and teachings (in particular tolerance, moral and social behaviour)                      Reward for good and punishment for wrong                      Inculcating positive and constructive thinking</p>	<p>Emphasis on character building, honesty, tolerance and fairplay in education and training institutions. Use of print and electronic media to promote religious values, respect for law, and other personal and civil responsibilities.                      Establish systems of reward and punishment at all levels.</p>
<p><b>5. Strategic</b>                      Political stability                      Sustained development                      Self reliance                      Regional cooperation                      Global equity                      Plurality of cultural and socioeconomic system</p>	<p>Strengthening democratic institutions                      Integrated policies and plans                      Policies to promote ideology, defence and food security                      Close economic relations with neighbours                      Rule-based international economic and trading system                      Ethnic and cultural understanding and harmony</p>	<p>Fair and free elections and establishing multi-tier democratic institutions.                      Execution of integrated plans and policies.                      Implementation of self reliant policies and programs.                      Strengthening ECO, OIC and SAARC                      Active participation in WTO and other international organizations.                      Dialogue, education, propagation.</p>

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# Energy – ‘Power’ for the Nation

*Mirza Hamid Hassan\**

Access to reliable, affordable and uninterrupted electric power and other forms of energy is the key to economic growth and welfare of any society. Studies by International Energy Agency and other international organizations have shown strong correlations between access to energy, particularly electricity, and sustained economic growth, human welfare, governance and security, underscoring the need for ensuring energy security for developed as well developing economies and their citizens.

Pakistan is currently facing severe energy shortage, both of electric power and natural gas. The shortage of natural gas has been caused by depleting reserves and rapidly increasing demand. Ironically, the electricity shortage has not been caused by a lack of generation capacity which at the moment exceeds the peak demand by about 5000 MW. The power companies are unable to utilize their existing generation capacity due to a number of problems most of which have been caused by poor management and a lack of good governance.

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Excessively high power prices have also driven electricity out of reach of a large number of people and made it unsustainable for industrial consumers, resulting in closure or relocation of many industrial units. Frequent and sustained outages are also causing disruption in economic activity as well as daily lives of people. Thus electric power supply suffers from the multiple problems of availability, affordability and reliability. It would be pertinent to

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have a brief overview of Pakistan’s energy scenario before we discuss the causes of our current problems and suggest possible ways out of this situation.

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As the proportion of thermal power gradually increased, the cost of electricity kept on increasing.

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### **Pakistan’s Energy Scenario**

During 2011-2012, Pakistan’s total energy availability was 66.015 million tons of oil equivalent (mtoe), of which 45.251 mtoe (i.e., 68.54%) was indigenous production while 20.764 mtoe (31.46%) was imported. The domestic energy sources comprised natural gas, hydel power, about one-third of our crude oil supply, and small quantities of coal and nuclear energy. Imported energy mainly comprised petroleum and petroleum products. The share of various energy sources in energy supply was as follows:

Natural gas	49.5%
Oil	30.8%
Hydel energy	12.5%
Coal	6.5%
Nuclear energy, LPG, imported electricity	0.7%

After accounting for 21,717 mtoe used in transformation, such as oil or gas to electricity, and 3,963 mtoe consumed in non-energy uses, the net consumption of energy is 38,842 mtoe. This consumption comprised oil 29.0%, gas 43.2%, electricity 16.0%, coal 10.0% and nuclear energy and LPG 0.7 %.

Pakistan’s per capita energy consumption<sup>1</sup> in terms of kilogram of oil equivalent (kgoe) in 2010 as compared to some other selected countries was as follows: Pakistan: 510, India: 510, China: 2150, Malaysia: 2,420, USA: 7,885.

The major causes for low energy consumption in Pakistan are lower industrialization level, high prices of energy, lower availability and lower affordability. Let us now have a look into each of the energy sectors in some detail.

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<sup>1</sup> Source: International Energy Information Agency (IEIA).

## A. POWER SECTOR

- Installed power generation capacity as in 2011-12: 22797 MW
- Average dependable capacity in summer: 15,000 MW
- Average dependable capacity in winter: 12,000 MW
- Actual generation as on June 14, 2012: 10,658 MW
- Average shortfall fluctuation: 3500 to 5000 MW

The issues faced by Pakistan's power sector culminating in the current power crisis can be divided into four broad categories:

- A. Policy Issues
- B. Governance and management issues
- C. Efficiency issues
- D. Cost issues

Issues in each of the first three categories ultimately have an impact on cost and availability of electricity. The issues are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs:

### **Policy Issues**

**Integrated Energy Policy:** A well-deliberated, clearly articulated and sustainable policy based on least-cost options is the foremost requirement for the development of any sector. No attempt was ever made to formulate a comprehensive and integrated energy policy for the country. The energy sector has long suffered with fragmented and ad-hoc policies and decisions. Important issues such as the close linkage between various forms of energy, the affordability and sustainability of energy supplies, the linkage between choice of technologies and resultant cost of energy, etc. never received the attention of our policy makers and planners.

**Inadequate Institutional Arrangement:** The absence of a single energy institution and lack of coordination and synergy between various institutions dealing with different subsectors of energy is an important issue that was never addressed. This situation adversely impacted on both policy and implementation. Since various forms of energy are either convertible into the other or substitutable by the other, which affects both cost and availability to the user/consumer, there should be an arrangement for dealing

with energy at policy level either by an integrated single agency or by a common top level coordination body.

**Hydel vs. Thermal Power:** Until 1970s Pakistan's electric energy mix comprised 70% hydel and 30% thermal, along with a small fraction of nuclear power. Hydel power provides the cheapest source of energy. Pakistan has been endowed with more than 45000 MW of potential hydropower resources by nature, which should have been exploited by us to provide affordable energy to our people. However hydropower projects are more capital intensive and take a longer period to build. Partly due to a lack of provincial consensus on building large dams and partly due to financial constraints, Pakistan gradually started shifting to constructing thermal power plants. Donor financing was also easier to get for thermal projects. However, this policy shift raised the cost of power supply and exposed the power sector to vagaries of ever increasing international oil prices. Today, Pakistan produces 67% of electricity from thermal sources, 30% from hydel and 3% from nuclear.

**Choice of Fuel for Power Generation:** In case of thermal power, choice of fuel and technology has a large impact on the cost of power generation – diesel power being the most expensive, followed by furnace oil; and coal being the cheapest. Pakistan was producing its thermal power mainly from furnace oil. Thus as the proportion of thermal power gradually increased the cost of electricity kept on increasing. As large reserves of natural gas became available and dual fuel technology also came in vogue, we decided to shift from oil to natural gas for a large part of power generation. However, this conversion was carried out without a proper assessment of the gas reserves and determining the extent of its availability for power generation. As domestic and industrial demand for gas increased and the gas reserves depleted with time we are back to a situation where most of our thermal power plants have to revert to oil based power generation, pushing up the cost of generation.

**Introduction of Independent Power Producers (IPPs):** Resort to privately owned independent power producers (IPPs) in the mid 1990s was another policy decision that had a considerable impact

on the price of electricity in the country. The power supplied by IPPs was very expensive not only because they were all oil-based but, more importantly, because the agreements signed with them were not negotiated prudently, allowing them very high tariff. The same mistake was repeated while signing agreements for rental power in recent years.

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**Resort to Independent Power Producers (IIPs) in the mid 1990s was one of the policy decisions that had a considerable impact on the price of electricity.**

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### **Governance and Management Issues**

In Pakistan, like most other developing countries, supply of electricity is considered to be one of the basic public services. Therefore it is managed by public sector utilities. In such a situation quality of governance has a direct bearing on the access, reliability and pricing of power.

Poor management, coupled with corruption and other factors related to governance has, in many developing countries put electric power beyond the reach of low income groups due to excessive cost.

Lack of good governance reduces the availability and increases the cost of power supply through the following factors influencing the power sector directly or indirectly:

**Power Theft:** Inability of the power utilities to prevent theft of electricity is a major source of excessively high power losses which are unaccountable and unsustainable. The ultimate sufferer is either the consumer or, in case the government makes up the loss by subsidy, the taxpayer.

**Default in Revenue Recovery:** Power companies are often unable to recover their revenues in full both from consumers in the public as well as private sectors. Large consumers in the public sector such as municipalities, water and sewerage boards, railways and government offices default on payment to power

companies. There is also a lack of support from government in revenue recovery from public sector organizations.

**Weak Regulation:** NEPRA, the regulatory body for power sector, does not enjoy requisite independence from the executive authorities. Tariff determined by NEPRA often remained unimplemented by the government, resulting in a mismatch between cost and revenues of power utilities.

### **Efficiency Issues**

#### **Inadequate Maintenance and Repair of power plants:**

Inadequate maintenance and repair of the public sector power generation plants, either due to financial constraint or sheer neglect, has either drastically reduced the operating efficiency of the plants thereby increasing cost of generation to unsustainable levels or made them unserviceable. Many of the plants are

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The government has injected over Rs.1.2 trillion in the power sector in the shape of subsidies in the last four years but the situation has gone from bad to worse.

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therefore not operating.

#### **Old and Rickety Transmission and Distribution Systems:**

Lack of proper maintenance or replacement of old transmission lines and grid stations causes excessive line losses which in turn result in cost increase for power utilities and the consumer. It also provides an avenue for hiding electricity theft.

### **Cost Issues**

**Choice of Fuel:** Greater reliance on thermal power, use of expensive furnace oil as fuel, non-availability of natural gas, poor governance and management resulting in large scale power theft and non-recovery of revenues, expensive power from IPPs and low efficiency of public sector power plants have all contributed to making the price of electricity unaffordable for domestic users and unsustainable for industrial users.

**Circular Debt:** The excessively high cost of electricity has created a vicious circle in which payment default by consumers compels the power utilities to default on payment to power generators, which in turn has resulted in a chain of defaulters giving rise to a grave problem termed as circular debt. According to some estimates, Rs.30.5 billion are added to the circular debt in the power sector every month, which has pushed total circular debt to over Rs.300 billion. The government has injected over Rs.1.2 trillion in the power sector in the shape of subsidies in the last four years but the situation has gone from bad to worse.

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The problem has assumed such proportions that there is no quick fix available to resolve it fully in a short time. It would require short term, medium term and long term measures.

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## **OIL AND GAS SECTOR**

### **Oil**

Pakistan's supply of crude oil for the fiscal year 2010-11 was 75.3 million barrels, equal to 10.1 million TOE, out of which 68.1% was imported and 31.9% was locally extracted. Pakistan spent about US\$10 billion, i.e., about 24% of its total import bill on the import of petroleum crude and petroleum products. Oil caters for about 32% of our energy needs one-fourth of which is utilized by power sector. Transport and industry are the two other large users of oil. Import of oil is a huge burden on our economy and foreign currency reserves due to highly volatile and ever increasing prices in the international market. Despite very liberal incentives given by the government in the past as well as in the recent Petroleum Exploration and Development Policy we have not been able to attract many foreign investors for oil and gas exploration.

### **Gas**

Natural gas is a precious natural resource bestowed by nature upon us. It meets more than 47% of our energy requirements. Its price was kept much lower as compared to oil, for which it

substitutes as a fuel, on account of it being an indigenous resource. However, increasing demand of gas for domestic use due to rising population and expanding coverage, large scale switch over from oil to gas by power sector and industry for reasons of cost control, and indiscriminate promotion of use of compressed natural gas (CNG) for the transport sector on the grounds of environmental protection and for providing relief to public suffering from rising prices of petrol and diesel has put a huge burden on the limited gas reserves causing their rapid depletion. New gas fields have not been developed and brought into production. Consequently the country is undergoing massive cuts in gas supply to industry, power sector and the CNG stations. Domestic users are also suffering from low pressure and frequent outages of gas.

## **Coal**

Coal has traditionally been the most widely used source of energy in the world followed by oil and gas which are cleaner and more convenient fuels. However, the last two are much more expensive fuels compared to coal which is by far the cheapest, barring hydel and renewable energy. Technological development has also helped make coal a cleaner fuel and it is still being widely used in the world for power generation and other purposes. China, USA and India, respectively, produce 63%, 57% and 47% of their electricity from coal. Australia and Germany also use coal to produce substantial amounts of electricity. Pakistan has not paid much attention to coal development as a fuel for industry and power sector although we have estimated reserves of 187 billion tons which are second largest in the world. Our mining practices are primitive and technological advances have not been utilized by us to tap this cheap source of energy.

## **The Way Forward**

The current energy crisis is a serious challenge which would require very serious and sustained effort on the part of the Government to save the economy and provide relief to the suffering population. The problem has assumed such huge proportions that there is no quick-fix solution available to resolve



it fully in a short time. It would require short-term, medium-term and long-term measures as well as some hard policy decisions. These are briefly discussed below:

### Short Term Measures

**Resolving the Problem of Circular Debt:** The circular debt is by far the most serious problem needing to be addressed on priority. If not resolved quickly and permanently it would not only continue to bleed the power sector but would also destroy many other energy organisations in the chain-most notably Pakistan State Oil (PSO) and other oil refineries.

One possible solution that comes to the mind is to create a Circular Debt Retirement Fund under a specially created organisation. The Fund may be financed by a consortium of banks and financial institutions under sovereign guarantee of the government. The Debt Retirement Organization (DRO) should take over the entire debt of the DISCOs and pay off their creditors out of the fund. From then on the DISCOs should either be allowed to recover from the consumers full cost of supply plus an additional amount to pay to DRO each month so as to retire the whole debt within six months, which would be a hard political decision for the government. Or, alternatively, the government should pay the difference between the cost and revenue to the DISCOs by way of subsidy which would depend on fiscal space available to the government. The government will have to make special effort to create such a fiscal space.

**Prompt Implementation of Tariffs Determined by NEPRA:**

The initial cause for creation of circular debt was government’s decision not to pass on the cost increases based on fuel price increases to the consumers by not implementing NEPRA’s tariff determinations fully and promptly, thus creating a gap between the DISCOs’ cost and revenues. Consequently a stage came when the DISCOs were unable to sustain the losses and

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DISCOs should adopt both administrative and technical measures on priority to prevent large scale electricity theft.

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defaulted on their payments to power suppliers. It must be ensured for future that the DISCOs recover their full cost of supply either from the consumer or through government subsidy.

**Ensuring Recovery of Revenues from Public Sector:** The Ministry of Finance should ensure provision of adequate budget to the federal government organizations to pay their electricity bills on time. In case of default they should make a deduction at source and pass it on to the DISCOs. Similarly deductions should be made from grants to other defaulting federal entities and provincial governments.

**Checking Electricity Theft:** The DISCOs should adopt both administrative and technical measures on priority to prevent large scale electricity theft by domestic as well as industrial consumers. The government should assist the DISCOs in this task by ensuring quick and heavy punishment to those caught stealing power.

**Power Conservation and Demand Management:** Steps should be taken to educate the public in power conservation by launching media campaigns against electricity wastage and for promoting the use of energy-saver lamps and other energy-efficient gadgets. Demand should also be managed by introducing time-of-the-day (ToD) tariffs to motivate people to defer non-essential and heavy energy uses to periods of lean demand having a lower tariff.

## **Medium and Long Term Measures**

**Development of an Integrated and Comprehensive Energy policy:** Early steps should be taken to formulate an integrated and comprehensive energy policy covering all aspects of exploration/procurement, development and management in all forms and from all sources.

**Single Energy Institution:** Preference should be given to the formation of a single Ministry of Energy. If such a ministry cannot be formed then a high powered coordinating body should be formed.

**Efficiency Improvement:** Funds should be arranged on priority by the government for power generation companies (GENCOs) in

the public sector to repair and refurbish their old plants to bring them back into service and improve their efficiency to make them viable.

**Promoting Alternate Energy:** Vigorous and effective measures should be taken for promoting the use of wind and solar energy at the household level and in off-grid remote areas. This would require development and manufacture of cheap solar panels and wind turbines domestically and providing incentives to those wishing to use alternate energy.

**Correcting the Energy-Mix Imbalance:** A well-planned policy shift should be made to correct the energy mix by shifting our focus from oil-based thermal power to hydel power. Serious efforts should also be made for early development and utilization of the huge Thar coal deposits for power generation. Greater efforts should also be made for exploration and development of new gas reserves in the country, which should be dedicated to power generation. The proposed gas pipeline from Iran to Pakistan should be accelerated.

**Improving Governance:** It is imperative to improve governance in order to formulate power policies based on merit rather than vested interests, check power theft, ensure full revenue recovery, check corruption and reduce overstaffing.

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Funds should be arranged on priority by the government for power generation companies (GENCOs) in the public sector to repair and refurbish their old plants.

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# Educational Policy – Towards a Knowledge-Based Society

*Anis Ahmad\**

Education is more than learning of skills, techniques and methods. It should lead to production and dissemination of knowledge, resulting in human capital formation and a holistic social development and change. It influences economic development and policies of a country with impact on global economic trends. Development of appropriate human resource becomes instrumental in meeting global challenges, delivery of goods and services.

Education helps in creation of a sound mind in a sound body. It dispels ignorance and lets truth (*haqq*) prevail over untruth (*batil*). It creates peace (*salam*) and harmony (*'adl, qist*) between the individual, the society, the cosmos and the Creator of humanity. In brief, education cultivates norms and values, and translates the value system and the worldview of a people into manners, attitude and ethical behavior.

The purpose of education policy, in general, is to introduce and develop a culture of learning, to promote talent and skills, to help learn strategic and critical thinking and to build national character. Keeping in view its limitations, uniqueness, and natural differences among the human beings, education offers equal opportunity for self-improvement and development of people in an egalitarian, ethical and moral milieu.

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In the case of Pakistan, past educational policies failed to build a cohesive community and national character.

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## A Knowledge-Based Society

The Qur'an visualizes a knowledge-based society. Therefore it classifies human beings as those who know and those who do not want to know. Those who try to improve their conduct, behavior, economy, civility and culture on the basis of *ilm* (knowledge), *fikr* (thought), *tafhim* (understanding), *dhikr* (knowledge), *tafaqquh* (deep understanding) and *tadabbur* (pondering) become the leaders of change. Those who resist living a meaningful, purposeful, and knowledge-based life are categorized by the Islamic sources as adamant rejecters (*kafirun*) not prepared to see and comprehend even what is obvious and evident. As stated in the Qur'an, "...they have hearts with which they fail to understand, and they have eyes with which they fail to see, they

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have ears with which they fail to hear; they are like cattle – indeed, even more astray. Such are utterly heedless”.<sup>1</sup> Islam's insistence on culture of knowledge (*ma'rifah*), learning (*'ilm*) and wisdom (*hikmah*) was a remarkable departure from traditional religious approach of dogmatism, limiting of knowledge to a class of the elite or the priests, common in pre-

Islamic religious traditions. It is so unfortunate that today most of the Muslim countries lag behind in education and scientific development.

### Scope

The need to develop a new comprehensive education policy – that is representative of Pakistan ideology and reflective of the challenges that we face today – cannot be more emphasized. Election manifestos of most of the political parties in 2008 had assigned priority to education, but the track record of the political parties in power during the past five years shows post-budget cuts

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<sup>1</sup> *Al-A'raf* 7:179

in education and gross mismanagement of what meager amount was allocated election manifestos for the recent general elections too were not different but it may be hoped that future performance would exhibit some improved features.

The fact of the matter is that a knowledge-based society, which subscribes to global ethical and moral values alone, can help in reduction and alleviation of poverty, ill health and low standards of living.

A clear distinction, however, should be kept in mind between “knowledge economy” and knowledge-based society. Knowledge economy essentially originates in a capitalist economic paradigm in which universities respond to industrial needs of a technology regime. If the industry needs five thousand chemical engineers to meet economic goals, the universities are expected to cater to this need. The success of educational policy in knowledge economics has a correlation with production of skilled technician and experts.

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A clear distinction should be kept in mind between “knowledge economy” and knowledge-based society.

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A knowledge-based society, on the contrary, focuses on total development of man; taking care of his social, economic, cultural as well as spiritual needs. Universities and educational institutions, in a knowledge-based society, produce visionary leaders, top economists, and political leaders with commitment to their social and global responsibilities.

In case of Pakistan, our national education policy should inculcate universal Islamic values which are not specific to Muslims; they are relevant to all human beings. These values provide basis for a humanistic socio-political order where economic activity and scientific research and development is founded on ethical norms. Islamic ethical values, by their very nature, are universal and not specific to any space, time, people, gender or race. These values, such as honesty (*ikhlas*), truth (*haqq*), fairness and equity (*‘adl*), steadfastness (*sabr*), industry (*sa‘i*), excellence (*itqan*), provide

foundations for a responsible society and non-exploitative economic and political system.

A national education policy alone, integrated with ethical and moral values, can revolutionize the society and create a sense of social responsibility and solidarity in the people.

Excellence in science and technology is a prerequisite for economic development. Nevertheless, pure economic development does not help in creating a socially responsible society. It is only through moral and ethical consciousness that science and technology can become life friendly. Integration of ethical and moral values in social sciences and applied sciences is a serious challenge. It requires an ongoing dialogue between experts in physical, natural sciences and moral thinkers.

Education policy, besides focusing on technological advancement,

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A national educational policy alone, integrated with ethical and moral values, can revolutionize the society and create a sense of social responsibility and solidarity among the people.	should also provide for quality assurance (QA) of academic programs. Necessary tools for measurement of educational targets and quality of education shall have to be developed. It should
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encourage research culture in educational institutions and create environment of intellectual freedom.

Before we talk about the agenda for the future and features of a new education policy, let us have a look on the earlier national education policies:

In 1947, the first educational conference was held. It recommended incorporation of Islamic tradition and modern science and technology in the policy. The Commission on National Education in 1959 tried to define educational philosophy and identified preservation of ideals which led to the creation of Pakistan, inculcating moral and spiritual values of Islam and nationhood as the national objectives, besides meeting individual and collective needs, to make people productive and to develop

skills needed for leadership role in a progressive and democratic society. The report asked for translating national unity and religious values into deeds and recognized Islamic injunctions as recipe for ‘real unity’.

The education policy of 1972-80 too highlighted the preservation and inculcation of Islamic values as an instrument of national unity and progress. It also focused on decentralization of educational administration with policy regulation to be done by the center.

The National Education Policy 1979 included fostering a deep and abiding loyalty to Islam and Pakistan in the hearts and minds of the people, projecting concept of the Muslim Ummah, strengthening ideological foundations of the country, and building the capabilities of the people to effectively manage social, natural and productive forces among its objectives.

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A carefully prepared national education policy can help in removing hate and misgivings between the people.

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The National Educational Policy 1992 maintained nearly the same objectives. The national education policy of 1998-2010 practically summarizes the earlier objectives with more clarity. It began with emphasis on purpose and objective of the Pakistan Movement and emphasis on universal primary education. It called for making the Qur’anic principles and Islamic practices as an integral part of curricula to enable the nation “enter the next millennium with courage, confidence, wisdom and tolerance”. This brief overview of national policies shows several common aspects. The most obvious is the role of Islamic values as a major unifying force among the people. It needs to be in line with the ideals of the nation, objectives of the country and interests of the Ummah. However, it has to be realistic and viable. It must reflect three basic points, namely, Islamic ideology, Pakistan’s sovereignty, security, unity and solidarity of the country. It should also be fully reflective of the common culture and values on which our society, community and country is founded.



Sectarianism, religious hatred and violence constitute one major national challenge. Use of force by the State is no solution to the problem. A carefully prepared national education policy can help in removing hate and misgivings between the people. It appears that there are two major reasons for the existing gap of

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The national education policy should also address the issues of character building and personal development of the students and professional training of the teachers.

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communication and misperception among the following of various *masalik*. The first and foremost is the lack of first-hand information about different schools of thought. The second one is the lack of knowledge of The Qur'an and the Prophet's *sunnah*.

National electronic and print media could have played a vital role in mending the differences.

This gap, mistrust and misperception can be removed with a very simple and pragmatic strategy. Social cohesiveness and national solidarity can be easily achieved if it is made mandatory to teach the entire Qur'an with nationally agreed Urdu translation by Mawlana Fateh Mohammad Jalandhari from grade 5 to grade 12 in all public and private schools. Similarly, the abridged version of Bukhari (*tajrid al-Bukhari*) or *Sahih* of Muslim should be used for learning one *hadith* every day in all the classes. This will inculcate in them the feelings of love, peace and brotherly behavior, which is the major concern of The Qur'an and the Prophet's *Sunnah*. The Qur'an calls the Prophet "a blessing for the mankind". It is only when we internalize his conduct as our role model we can overcome sectarian hate and conflict.

The national education policy should also address the issues of character building and personal development of the students and professional training of the teachers in public and private sectors as well as in *dini madaris*. Teacher's role and mindset is the most crucial factor in building character and personality of students. Heavy investment in teachers' personal development and their ideological orientation is the key to success of educational policy. Unity, peace and harmony can easily be achieved if ethical

teachings of The Qur'an and the *Sunnah* are integrated in curriculum and in teaching methodology. Better qualified and ideologically committed teachers are the real motivators for a systematic societal change.

### Essential Features of National Education Policy

- a. **Basic Working Draft:** The education policy of 1998-2010 and earlier educational policies should become the basic working draft for the new policy formulation.

Education can play a pivotal role in national integration and marginalization of provincialism, sectarianism and culture of violence. Due to this central role of education, it was placed in our constitution in concurrent list. With the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment, the situation has changed and now it has become a provincial subject. For each province, the national coordination strategy needs to be adopted for a consistency of vision and objectives and standardization of the contents as well as for managing human and financial resources for this gigantic task. The new national education policy must address this vital issue.

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Heavy investment in teachers' personal development and their ideological orientation is the key to success of educational policy.

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- b. **Need for Harmonization:** The Council of Common Interests (CCI), which has the representation of all four provinces and the Center, has the mandate to formulate and regulate policies in relation to matters enlisted in Part II of the Federal Legislative List. Since it is important to ensure national identity and solidarity amongst all the members of Pakistani nation, the education policy should be made a part of the second part of the Federal Legislative List. Even if a constitutional amendment is not made to this effect, the current mandate can also be used through a National Education Commission with representation of all provinces. Education may thus remain a provincial subject but there

should be effective coordination and harmonization at the federal level in the best interests of national solidarity and quality of education. The National Education Commission

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Education may now remain a provincial subject but there should be effective coordination and harmonization at the federal level in the best interests of national solidarity and quality of education.

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may be tasked with proposing national education policy within a specific time frame. It should determine national education vision, direction, national needs, priorities and create mechanism for common benchmarks, quality and standard of education. The

Commission should include senior educationists of the country. The proposed national education policy should be placed before the parliament.

- c. **Consensus Based Curriculum:** The education policy should be passed as an ‘Education Act’ and a consensus targeted between all political parties in the parliament. This will bring consistency for the next few years at least.
- d. **Uniform National Curriculum:** A uniform national curriculum based on global ethical values and moral teachings should be introduced in both public and private sectors. The sociocultural divide caused by the variance between the public sector educational institutions and the private sector A- and O-levels system must be removed.
- e. **Four Basic Features:** The education policy should reflect four basic feature of our constitution. A lack and neglect of these features has led us to sectarianism, extremism and violation of human rights of our people. These are: (1) Supremacy of Islam; (2) Parliamentary democracy; (3) Federal character; and (4) Realization of an Islamic welfare state.
- f. **Tri-Language Strategy:** We need to strengthen our national unity through use of our national language as medium of

institution. Needless to say China, Korea, Japan and Russia, despite a large number of ethnic and linguistic communities, use only one national language in their schools, colleges and university. This helped them in their scientific and technological development. Urdu should be introduced at all levels as medium of instruction. Importance and significance of mother tongue too cannot be denied. Formulation of basic concepts takes place in mother tongue and children learn more quickly and easily in a language they are already familiar with. Language spoken at home reinforces the learning. Using mother tongue for early years of education should be given serious consideration.

More languages having essential commercial or market value should be offered as optional. These may include functional Arabic, English, Chinese and French. This initiative shall open markets for our skilled as well as less skilled workers in the developed and fast developing countries.

- g. **Investing in Education:** Several developing nations have invested heavily in education to become leaders in economy in their region. Malaysia, Singapore and Qatar are the examples of making education a national priority.

In our case, a minimum of 4% of GDP should be allocated within the next five years and no cuts should be allowed on education. The resources needed for education may be linked either to an existing tax where collection should go straight to an Education Fund from which it is distributed among the provinces or the allocation for education be made a distinct category in the NFC Award.

- h. **Interfaith Harmony:** It is important to learn about basic religious and cultural norms of members of a pluralistic society. Our education goals and targets should also address inter-faith harmony. It will be appropriate to have the study of world religions and cultures from grade five to bachelor degree for all students, Muslims as well as non-Muslims, as an integral part of curriculum particularly focusing on ethics in

practice in personal, social, economic, political and legal matters in major world religions.

- i. **Inculcating Pride in Islamic Heritage:** Education should ensure that the society is not infected by tendencies of sectarianism provincialism, linguistic nationalism or separatist tendencies. It should inculcate national ideals given by the Quaid-i-Azam, i.e., Faith, Unity and Discipline. It should lead to a consensus on national objectives and pride in our Islamic, cultural, intellectual, social, scientific and legal traditions. One major cause of our lack of development is loss of confidence and pride in our Islamic heritage.
- j. **Teachers’ Training:** The national policy should give due importance to continuing education and training of teachers. This will require a national network of institutions in the public sector with most modern educational aids and heavy content of national ideology. Professionally qualified teachers with full commitment to Pakistan ideology can help in improving our standard of education and national integration.
- k. **Quality Assurance in Madrassah Systems:** The national policy should also look into our Madrassah system and develop mechanism for ensuring quality in standards of education, teachers’ qualification and library resources. It may also facilitate exchange of information among the recognized Wafaqs and Tanzims of Madaris in order to let them review and update their syllabus without any outside interference.

Institutions which maintain excellence in their quality of teaching, library resources, living facilities, class room environment, sports facilities etc. may be given national awards in order to encourage them in building harmony between different sects through educational exchange programs.

While public and private sector institutions should have a heavy content of ethical and moral teachings, *dini madaris* be encouraged to include courses in social and applied sciences.

1. **Humanities as Part of Courses in Applied Sciences:** Our natural and physical sciences education does not have a component of humanities. For this reason we produce technicians and specialists who are not fully aware of the ideology and philosophy of the country nor have proper knowledge of human psychology, social environment and ecology. Syllabi of applied sciences should include basic knowledge of social sciences and humanities. Programs, specifically in social sciences, should include basic knowledge of physics, biology and mathematics.
- m. **Culture of Research and Innovation:** Economic development and technological advancement is directly linked with research and development in science and technology. Our colleges and universities have to play a key role on this count. The national education policy should encourage and recognize research and innovation. Special awards may be created to encourage culture of research and innovations in our students, teachers at undergraduate as well as postgraduate levels.
- n. **Uniform Examination System:** In order to improve quality of education a uniform standard of examination shall have to be introduced. This will require restructuring of present examination boards. Only national examination centers be allowed to conduct examinations.
- o. **Harmonizing Existing Education Systems:** The national education policy may lead to gradual interface of three parallel systems that exist today in the country. The public sector education, O- and A-levels education and the *dini madaris* system without influencing their structure should fully reflect and re-enforce Islamic ideology, Islamic social, political and economic institutions. They should not lead in three different directions. In fact bridges should be built between the three systems so that students from one stream could go to the other at definite entry points. This will lead to greater harmony between the present systems which are producing three different types of personalities.

- p. **National Curriculum:** It is the primary responsibility of the federation to ensure projection of national ideology in curriculum design, in text book's writing and in teaching methodologies. The future national curriculum should therefore be developed at federal level with full participation of the provinces. We must ensure that national identity and national ideology is fully reflected in national curriculum.
- q. **Task Force on Education:** The recommendations of the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) have to be sought in formulating national education policy. CII is a constitutional body and its advice should be sought in vital national issues.
- r. **Developing Consensus:** A task force of vice chancellors in consultation with the Higher Education Commission (HEC) should be created to develop a consensus on national higher education policy goals and priorities. A public debate at national level involving think tanks should take place before formulating a national education policy.

# Women and Society – Towards an Inclusive Paradigm\*

*Khalid Rahman and Nadeem Farhat Geelani\**

In contemporary history, women empowerment has been a major concern in the movements for rights of the marginalized. Despite the progression from feudalism to capitalist economy, the feudal mindset in Europe and elsewhere — proud of its power, authority, ownership and monopoly with a psyche to look down upon the marginalized — has survived throughout the centuries. In the European culture and civilization, the unwritten law and social custom has been predominantly male chauvinistic. Economic dependency of women remained a norm in not only Europe but in most of the societies influenced by feudal mindset.

Twentieth century subcontinent, owing to the legacy of British colonial period, was no different in this respect. The British encouraged feudalism by gifting huge estates to those who served their interests and conferred knighthood in recognition of their services to the British rule. This was blended with pre-Islamic tribal culture that played dominant role in shaping the lives of the people in areas like Baluchistan and current Northern Pakistan. The same role was played by the *biradari* and *wadera* systems in Punjab and Sindh. Centuries old interaction with caste-based Hindu majority was another reason of deprivation of sections of society of their rights, including women.

In 1860s, a large number of laws were introduced in the subcontinent by the British. Western jurisprudence and law draw legitimacy and origin from social customs, practices and traditions or *more majorum* and it is considered logical, rather inevitable, to amend, reformulate and reconstruct the law with the change in

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\* This write-up has been derived from the foreword (by Dr. Anis Ahmad) and the concluding chapter (by the authors) of a recent IPS Study on the subject. The study has made a detailed analysis of legislation regarding women and family in the federal parliament during 2008 to 2013 and is in the final stages of publication.

\* Khalid Rahman is Director General and Nadeem Farhat Geelani is Research Coordinator at the Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad.



society. But, contrary to the tradition of honoring the life patterns and approaches of the subjects, the laws introduced in Indian subcontinent were generally adaptation of the British laws. More unfortunately, with the creation of Pakistan, in most cases only titles of these laws were modified with mention of Pakistan as prefix or suffix in the title; their subject matter remained the same and even later introduced cosmetic changes could not bring substantial improvements in public policy.

Pakistan came into existence purely on the basis of Islam as faith and culture of Muslims. It was expected that conventional view of “religion” shall be replaced with the actual spirit of Islam as a code of life through education, legislation, media policy and sociocultural revolution of the s. But, unfortunately, the vision of Iqbal and Jinnah<sup>1</sup> could not find way in the minds of the rulers who took over from the Quaid after his death in 1948, hardly one year after the country was born.

### **Paradigm Shift - Not Realized**

Given the pathetic conditions of life for women in the social and legal history of the East and the West, the current discourse on rights of women does make sense. However, it has to be realized that the features of the struggle for rights in Pakistani society have to be substantially different from

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<sup>1</sup>Among the numerous statements of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, explaining the vision of Pakistan, are: “All social regeneration and political freedom must finally depend on something that has a deeper meaning in life. And that, if you allow me to say so, is Islam and Islamic spirit”; and “The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is, by grace of God, and established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was a means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find freeplay”. See Ahmad, Rizwan, *Sayings of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Karachi: Quaid-Foundation and Pakistan Movement Centre, 1993.

those in the West or any other society. Any change or modification here has to be in line with Divine law (*shari'ah*). Islam offers an altogether different paradigm and a new vision of life and is actually a liberating force determined to reconstruct society on the foundation of social justice (*'adl*). It is not a matter of verbal confession of faith; it rather brings a total transformation in society, economy, state and law. In a society where birth of a female child was considered a bad omen for the whole family and female babies were buried alive, Islam had declared, in loud and clear terms, that men and women enjoyed similar rights against each other.<sup>2</sup> The Qur'an takes a qualitative approach and recognizing the role of man as head of the family, it asserts that there is inherent equality in rights amongst men and women. No discrimination is allowed in terms of rights in economic, social, political and legal realms. It is only in terms of obligations and responsibility that each gender has been given a specific role with pragmatic and fair approach.

Islam had recognized women's right to vote for the election of the *khalifah* in the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> Believing women are allowed to participate in trade, agriculture or other economic activity, though not necessarily shoulder to shoulder with men, and yet as active citizens. They have the right to own, invest, save, establish charities and endowments and use their wealth and earnings the way they like. Yet, it is very clear that the primary domain for women is the home where they have to invest the best of their abilities for strengthening the society and building strong future for the nation and humanity.

For building Pakistani society on the basis of the vision of its founding father, the first mandatory step is to realize the distinction of Pakistani society, the foremost of which is its ideology and Muslim identity. In other words every policy meant

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<sup>2</sup>“Women have the same rights against their men as men have against them; but men have a degree above them. Allah is All-Powerful, All-Wise”. (Al-Qur'an 2:228)

<sup>3</sup>The election commission appointed by the second *khalifa*, 'Umar, had visited houses in Madina to seek opinion of the women on the suitability of Hazrat Ali or Hazrat Uthman as their next *khalifa*.

for Muslims must bear in mind the couplet of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal:

اپنی ملامت پر قیاس اقوام مغرب سے نہ کر  
خاص ہے ترکیب میں قوم رسول ہاشمی<sup>4</sup>

There is no denying that lessons should be learnt from the experiences of other cultures and civilizations but the pick and choose has to be vigilant, cautious and rational. Any policy or law regulating the lives of the people and the amendments and modifications introduced to it can only be effective if the subjects of this policy or law are ready to respect it. To make an initiative

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In the context of Pakistan, it is advisable to formulate a social policy instead of a gender policy based upon the constitutional principles enumerated in the Articles 34 and 35.

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effective, social realities have to be addressed. It is also a fact that contemporary literature on feminism and movement for empowerment of women indicate that despite its claims of gender equality and legal protections, women in the West have

failed in achieving dignity and honor despite the fact that the philosophy underlying this movement was born and bred there. Farzana Bari, a respectable academican known for her interest in gender issues provides much food for thought in this respect in a recent article. She acknowledges that “The feminist movement in the west has lost its momentum and many women in the developing world seem to live under the illusion that they have fought and won the battle against patriarchy. This is clearly contrary to the reality that a western women faces in her daily life.”<sup>5</sup>

As has been indicated above, ‘*adl*’ is the basic characteristic of Islamic way of life. The word ‘*adl*’ has been defined to mean

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<sup>4</sup> “Judge not your nation on the criteria of Western nations - Special in composition is the Hashemite Prophet’s nation”, from “*Call of the Marching Bell*” English translation of *Bāng-e-Dara* by Muhammad Iqbal by Dr. M. A. K. Khalil, published by Iqbal Academy Lahore, 1996.

<sup>5</sup> Farzana Bari, “Are men and women really equal in the West?”, *The Express Tribune*, Islamabad, March 19, 2013, p.7

“putting a thing at its proper place”. Thus Islam aims at establishing a society where every member of society occupies the position and status where his or her abilities and capabilities are best utilized. In a Muslim society, women and men are not opposite sides in a tug of war, which are competing each other for rights; they, instead, complement each other in building peaceful, harmonious and progressive society. Thus, in the context of Pakistan, it is advisable to formulate a ‘social policy’ instead of a ‘gender policy’. This social policy should be based upon the constitutional principles enumerated in the Articles 34<sup>6</sup> and 35,<sup>7</sup> by virtue of which the State should not only ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life but should also protect marriage, the family, the mother and the child. It should also incorporate Article 25,<sup>8</sup> which guarantees equality of all citizens before law and entitlement to equal protection of law without any discrimination on the basis of gender but at the same time encourages special provisions for the protection of women and children. In such a policy, however, the merit and balance should not be sacrificed. It has been noticed that in effort of proposing steps for the rights of women, such privileges are suggested that, if adhered to, would definitely entail a new kind of gender bias that would be as dangerous for society as the bias against women. Those framing the policies, laws, plans and strategies should thus remain mindful of the responsibility they have been endowed with, and must not entertain any ideas which are imbalanced and unjust.

All the members of society, and most particularly the leadership, must realize and remain mindful of the fact that family institution is the real source of strength in a society. The “protection of marriage, the family, the mother and the child” is among the

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<sup>6</sup>Article 34: Full participation of women in national life: Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

<sup>7</sup>Article 35: Protection of family, etc: The State shall protect the marriage, the family, the mother and the child.

<sup>8</sup>Article 25: Equality of citizens: (1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law. (2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex. (3) Nothing in the Article shall prevent the State from making any special provisions for the protection of women and children.

Principles of policy, to act upon and in accordance to which is responsibility of each organ and authority of the State and of each person performing functions on behalf of an organ or authority of the State. This principle should reflect in the national policies and legislation. A recent (March 8, 2013) consensus resolution of the National Assembly has, in the same spirit, asked for ensuring the rightful place for women in all spheres of life with an aim to strengthen family institution, empower communities and building nation.

### **Desired Strategy**

There are many important issues that need attention of the people at the helm of affairs. Legislation and supportive actions under comprehensive and well-knit policies at national and provincial levels can bring immediate relief to women and strengthen family

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The policy and initiatives should not be reactive only; they have to be proactive and the members of the parliament and provincial assemblies are expected to take initiative in identifying problems, finding solutions and putting them into operation.

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structure. Perhaps the most significant among them is provision of better health facilities in all rural and urban areas with special focus on preventing infant and maternal mortality, pregnancy-related problems and early detection and prevention measures for fatal diseases. Needless to say that health of women cannot improve unless food security and hygienic conditions for

everyone are improved. Education for women, like any other person, may be counted as the second most important requirement after good health. This does not merely mean improved literacy rate, it should also mean provision of a knowledge that makes them better suited for the life ahead. Certain professions and jobs that allow respectable earning need to be identified and developed in a way to offer better opportunities for women who have to or want to work. According to the constitutional principle (Article

37e),<sup>9</sup> women and children should not be engaged in vocations unsuited to their age and gender. Work environment and conditions have to be made secure and women should be provided with necessary maternity benefits. Family laws scattered in over two dozen legislations need to be consolidated and made comprehensively codified.

To put it simply, the policy and initiatives should not be reactive only; they have to be proactive and the members of the parliament and provincial assemblies are expected to take initiative in identifying problems, finding solutions and putting them into operation. A culture of honoring the desires and opinion of the people has to be developed. A true democratic set up has to have the freedom of information. Every person, and more particularly women, should know the protection available to them in law, the avenues towards realization of these rights as well as plans and laws being formulated to regulate their lives.

The sacrosanctity of the marriage contract and the rights and responsibilities arising out of it need to be propagated and emphasized through all available channels. As expression of realizing the significance of family institution, all efforts should be made to resolve social issues through mechanisms available within the society. The Arbitration Council, as provided in the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961, is a good model for settling family feuds; it is not only closer Qur'anic model<sup>10</sup> but is also in accordance with the social structure of Pakistani society.

Current approach of giving enhanced representation to women in social, economic and political realms, in our view, will not mitigate the problems of women. It needs to be underscored that an important aspect which is often missing from quantitative

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<sup>9</sup>Article 37(e). [The State shall] make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work, ensuring that children and women are not employed in vocations unsuited to their age and sex, and for maternity benefits for women in employment.

<sup>10</sup>“If you fear a breach between them (spouses), appoint one arbiter from the people of the man and one from the people of the woman. If they wish to have a settlement then God will reconcile them, for God is all-knowing and cognizant.” The Qur'an 4:35

researches on empowerment of women is the impact of public visibility and industrial participation on family life of women. The feminist movement in the West has underestimated and undermined the importance of role of women in family. The post-industrial revolution capitalist mind considers female workforce in factories and offices in terms of less costly labor, while her

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There are number of problems, particularly relating to women that emanate from factors requiring comprehensive reforms rather than mere legislation.

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family life, even if successful, is presented as economically unproductive. Later, when women in the West started struggling and arguing for their rights, they too encountered the same mindset and demanded equal wages instead of asking for the role they best

suited in, i.e., nurturing the family. Family in Islam is not a commercial unit; it is more than a place where food, residence and human interaction is provided without commercialization of benefits. Family is the basic unit of civilization and culture. It is through family that basic human values are transferred to coming generations. If family gets marginalized, civilizational process faces serious decline.

The slogan of equal political representation of woman in parliament and public sector jobs is based *prima facie* on the assumption that in a male-dominated parliament and public sector institutions, rights of woman cannot be realized and thus protected. In fact it is the question of values of a society and not of the proportion of representation. Rights cannot be guaranteed in a society where justice (*'adl*) does not dictate the actions of its members. Objectively speaking, this basic assumption that only proportionate representation of women in decision making institutions and public jobs would guarantee their rights is flawed. Would that mean that if in a society, women occupy more seats than men in the parliament (as in Rwanda),<sup>11</sup> such parliament shall not safeguard rights of men and shall always legislate

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<sup>11</sup>Women constitute 56.3% of the lower house of Rwanda and 38.5% of the upper house of the parliament. Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, situation as of April 1, 2013) <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> (June 6, 2013)

against their interests. Should minorities, whether male, female or religious groups, always remain marginalized and oppressed in a democratic system based on a numerical majority?

### **Striving for International Pluralism**

While a paradigm shift is necessary, it is also a fact that all government initiatives and policies have to be formulated with international treaties, conventions and obligations of the country in mind which, in the current setting of international law, is based upon and is reflective of a particular paradigm of life based on the ‘survival of the fittest’ notion, which is contained, exhibited and proactively promoted by economically and militarily dominant West.<sup>12</sup> But, at the same time, it is also a fact that every society is different from others in its ideology, objectives and approach. Thus, in principle, international treaties, conventions and declarations should incorporate and reflect the approaches of all the different cultures and civilizations. They should address, or at least leave room for, indigenous interpretation for all nations — particularly in the context of social construct, family structure and gender perspectives. Since the Muslim societies carry a different paradigm as compared to the Western societies, there are occasions when these societies find it hard to relate the treaty provisions or articles of a convention to their faith or native culture;<sup>13</sup> the result comes out in form of the violation of either these treaties, or of norms of the society.

A better course of action for the world is to exhibit plurality and respect for all civilizations and cultures constituting the international conventions and treaties. Pakistan has signed many

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<sup>12</sup>See for example Yasuaki, Onuma, *Towards Intercivilizational Approach to Human Rights*, Asian Yearbook of International Law (1998), vol. 7. p. 103; and Chaudhry, Muhammad Sharif, *Human Rights in Islam*, Lahore: All Pakistan Islamic Educational Congress, 1993.

<sup>13</sup>For example, the countries which had recorded reservations of the Convention on Eliminating all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) included a number of Muslim majority countries including Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Libya, Malaysia, Maldives, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates and Yemen. Most of these countries had specifically cited Islamic *shari'ah* as the basis of their reservations.



international treaties, conventions and other initiatives with certain reservations<sup>14</sup> and has voiced its concerns over some others<sup>15</sup> in realization of the gap between the vision it carries and the one that is upheld by that treaty or convention. However, instead of subscribing to the *status quo* and going along the things, even with reservations, Pakistan should take a lead in creating a pluralistic international society. As a first step, it should remain vigilant and active at international forums where a new treaty, convention, or protocol is being formulated or an interpretation is being discussed, and should stress its point of view on table in order to broaden the horizons, and to accommodate the Islamic and other thoughts in them. In this exercise, it should also take along other states, organizations, lobbies, groups and scholars throughout the world. Such a move will, sooner or later, bring a healthy change, not only at global level but at domestic level as well. People of all nations will find convergence point in international instruments and will follow them while upholding and strengthening their own civilizations and cultures.

### **Integrating Voices**

Another significant dimension of contemporary policy-making that needs to be mentioned is the role of civil society organizations which has gradually increased during recent years. Many of such organizations are also concentrating on opinion-building, lobbying and policy-shaping in their respective areas of concern. In principle, such lobbying and advocacy campaigns are forms of public participation in the legislation. In all such cases, however, policy makers need to equip themselves with proper understanding of issues, and the ability to analyze them in indigenous context. Unless they are deeply rooted among general public, and have a constant and effective connection with common citizens of the country, they are likely to fall to the

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<sup>14</sup>Like the Fourth Geneva Convention, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

<sup>15</sup>Like UNGA resolution of December 2007, calling for a moratorium on the use of capital punishment.

campaign of any pressure group, which simply implies that they are not only going to ignore the real problems of Pakistani society but will add to them as well.

### **Attending to Pre-Requisites**

It needs to be reiterated that the most important step towards guaranteeing the rights of all the sections of society is greater awareness, sensitization, education and counseling. Unless the members of society feel an urge from within, no set of laws can convince or even force them to respect the rights of others in true sense. The public

representatives and political leaders have a major role to play in this respect; not merely through legislation and administrative action, but also by setting personal examples before the people. Once the rulers start honoring law, justice

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It is also hoped that legislators in the newly elected national and provincial assemblies will prove themselves more concerned, informed and vigilant in addressing the issues, problems, and difficulties in the society.

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and rights of others, these norms will spread to the society, as a whole. If change has to be brought in the approaches, behaviors and mindset of the people, then law may not always be the first tool for the job. Law will do the service only when certain level of acceptance for it has already been achieved in the society. Attitudes, mindset and behavior patterns of people have to be transformed through an educational strategy and by building faith on a rational basis. Only then a law would be able to find its followers amongst the people.

There are numerous problems, particularly relating to women, that emanate from factors requiring comprehensive reforms rather than mere legislation. Feudalism, for example, in the strict sense of the word, may have withered away from many areas, but it has created a mindset that prevails and reflects in the behaviors, rhetoric, and lifestyles, even in areas where it has apparently lost its existence. One fundamental characteristic of this mindset is the usurpation of authority, status and wealth; the lust for which

denies and violates the rights of anyone who is weak and helpless, quite obviously including women. Appropriating the rights of women; denying their share in inheritance; marrying them off against their will; using them to settle disputes and liabilities in the name of honor, family tradition, custom or even religion are among the traits and manifestations of the feudal mindset. Unfortunately neither the realization of this core issue nor a political will to eradicate it has yet been noticed at public or government levels. Apart from the penal measures, all efforts should be made to establish a just system — particularly ensuring that education and employment opportunities are made equally available to inhabitants of all areas of the country and all sections of society, so that the people could be empowered to rid themselves of the clutches of feudalism and the society moves away from the feudalistic culture.

A crosscutting feature of all the problems is the poor governance. Codified laws are important for certainty, predictability and consistency, but legislation is not what brings the change; it is the *will* that does. It is extremely important to focus on the role of police, judiciary, and other public functionaries to build a responsible nation abiding by the rights of others.

### **Looking Forward**

Through 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment Act 2010, most subjects including many areas in criminal law, civil and criminal procedure, marriage and divorce, and social welfare have devolved upon provinces. It is hoped that the provincial assemblies will be able to legislate upon the problems faced by women within their own specific conditions and will set up more effective mechanisms. It is also hoped that legislators in the newly elected National and Provincial Assemblies will prove themselves more concerned, informed and vigilant in addressing the issues, problems, and difficulties in the society, and would restore the honor and respect of women which they deserve through the strengthened family institution and the ethical and moral characteristics. However, legislation for the capital territory is still to be made in the Parliament even on the subjects which now fall under provincial jurisdiction. Hence, The Parliament should

essentially take lead in all such issues so that it may set an example to be followed by the provinces, regarding legislation in certain areas. Along with reviewing structural flaws in our system of safeguarding and guaranteeing rights, due attention has to be given to reasons behind the existing approaches, priorities, mindset and behaviors in the society and then to addressing them through pragmatic initiatives within indigenous social and cultural framework.

## **Pakistan: Key Policy Imperatives**

The first half of 2013 – after completion of the PPP-led government's tenure and subsequent general elections on May 11 – has witnessed the first ever transition in Pakistan's history from one democratically elected government to another and thus a reshaping of the political dispensation in the country, at federal and provincial levels. Many of the issues the country is confronted with have continued through the tenures of successive governments, and IPS has been giving its policy-oriented input from time to time. It, however, feels about time when a comprehensive academic discourse can be initiated as to what should be the course of action for the new leadership in particular and the nation as a whole in general, on various major issues confronting the country – in the short, medium and long run – coming up with solid, viable policy proposals in this connection.

This volume presents brief and comprehensive articles – by well known names in their respective fields – on some key national issues providing a set of priorities, actionable points and viable solutions for the new managers of the country in various fields.

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**Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad** is an independent think tank dedicated to promoting policy-oriented research on critical issues. Pakistan Affairs, International Relations and Faith and Society are some of the major research areas at IPS. During past 34 years of its existence, IPS has been addressing national and international issues, offering its floor to scholars, policy analysts, intelligentsia and general public as well, and disseminating the findings in different forms. IPS has produced over 250 publications, organized hundreds of seminars and produced more than 1500 reports and policy briefs.

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