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6th Youth Parliament Pakistan

A Report on National Policy for Internal Security

March 2015

PILdAT
Pakistan Institute of
Legislative Development
And Transparency

Secretariat Youth Parliament Pakistan



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PREFACE

After the successful completion of 5 terms since 2007, the 6th Youth Parliament Pakistan was launched in June 2014. The specific objectives of the Youth Parliament Pakistan (YPP) programme are to inculcate democratic culture and spirit of tolerance for others views among the youth; to expose them to the political and parliamentary processes; to facilitate youth to express their views on various national, international, regional and local issues thereby helping the government and society at large to better understand the concerns of the youth; to groom the leadership potential of the youth of Pakistan by exposing them to peaceful and democratic resolution of differences especially at a time when various parts of Pakistan are suffering from conflict and extremism. Finally this provides a forum to the youth of Pakistan to understand how the Parliament works as the supreme public representative institution in a democracy.

The YPP has its own 2-party system, Leader of the House and Opposition, as well as an augmented system of Parliamentary Committees with Committee Chairpersons, Vice Chairpersons and Secretaries.

The Youth Parliament Standing Committees of the 6th Youth Parliament Pakistan (2014), as a part of the learning process, have been tasked with conducting reviews of national policies through research based analysis and with developing cogent policy alternatives for the Parliament and the Government of Pakistan. The six Youth Parliament Standing Committees for the current term are:

- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on National Security
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Energy
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Law, Justice & Human Rights
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Education & Youth Affairs
- Youth Parliament Standing Committee on Finance, Economic Affairs & Planning

The Committees have gone through a process of intensive research, consultations with policy experts and internal review within Committees before putting together their proposals. The initial findings were shared with the Secretariat Youth Parliament Pakistan and the Steering Committee Youth Parliament Pakistan who gave their comments on these drafts. After incorporating these inputs, the reports are finalized by individual Committees and thereafter presented on the floor of the House for further recommendations and feedback from the entire strength of the YPP. Going through this rigour the participants not only experienced the process of drafting policy in a democratic fashion but also formulated useful recommendation in the form of this report,

The reports are compiled and finally published for the purpose of dissemination through media briefing and report launch event at the closure of third YPP Session of the 6th YPP term. More importantly all the reports will be presented by the Members of YPP to the corresponding Standing Committees of the National Assembly and Senate, in the effort to incorporate the voice of the youth in the national policy making process. The authors of the reports, the MYPs, are to take the lead in lobbying for the recommendations they have devised, to civil society, media and to a greater audience. The reports are also available online at www.youthparliament.pk.

The 6th Youth Parliament Pakistan (2014-2015) is supported by the Danish International Development Agency, Government of Denmark, as recognition of the importance of young people's development in democracy and democratic practices.

Disclaimer

The Secretariat of Youth Parliament Pakistan has provided unbiased feedback in a timely manner on the research reports and the scientific value of the work done by MYP's. The Secretariat has given guidance in ensuring the content is clear, concise, and relevant to the current pool of knowledge in regard to originality, and interest to the readers. The opinions, findings or recommendations expressed in this report belong to the authors and do not reflect the views of PILDAT or DANIDA.

Secretariat of the Youth Parliament Pakistan
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The members of this committee would like to cordially thank the input of certain people without which the formulation of this report would have been impossible. Firstly, we would like to thank **Air Marshal (Retd.) Masood Akhtar** for having so graciously given us his valuable time and sharing with us his tremendous knowledge pool regarding Pakistan's national narrative. We also like to thank **Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, President PILDAT** for his constant guidance and interest in the report. Lastly, we are grateful to the **Secretariat of the Youth Parliament Pakistan** for bearing with us the tedious process of the formulation of this report and correcting us when we went in the wrong directions.

Regards,
Youth Parliament Standing Committee on National Security

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This policy reports aims to highlight the shortcomings of the recently published National Internal Security Policy by the Interior Ministry and tries to present policy solutions to counter these shortcomings. It also tries to present a singular national ideology which would serve as a foundation for all future national security policies and strategies.

No country can produce and implement a national internal security policy effectively until and unless it clearly defines certain national parameters which it wishes to protect and propagate. For there to be unity in national interests, there needs to be a united national narrative that Pakistan needs to have. Unfortunately, the national narrative of Pakistan has remained a cause of division among the population rather than a rallying call for unity and, more than that, it has failed to provide a solid foundation upon which a viable and effective national internal security policy can be drafted. Having lost more than thirty five thousand lives to the war on terrorism and with an ongoing operation in North Waziristan an effective national internal security policy is now more needed than ever before.

Our policy in the first time of history is defining the national interest which are as follows in summary:-

The National Internal Security Policy formulated by the National Security Council of Pakistan although does define Pakistan's strategic interests, it lacks in the subject in a number of ways. It also presents, in the opinion of the Youth Standing Committee on National Security, incomplete solutions to the following problems rightfully identified by the NSC;

1. Ineffective Police structure, training and accountability
2. Lack of coordination among intelligence agencies
3. Porous Afghan border
4. Lack of an effective media policy from an internal security perspective
5. Spread of sectarianism

The Youth Standing Committee on National Security firmly believes that the national narrative of Pakistan should comprise of the five fundamental principles contained within the constitution and propagated by the Founder of the Nation. These are as follows;

- Democracy
- Freedom
- Equality
- Tolerance
- Social justice

The policy proposed the solutions of the above mentioned problems in detail. The committee member met with Air Marshal R. Masood Akhtar and discussed elaborately the ingredients of the NISP and counter narrative of our National internal Policy. The task of proposed solutions of above mentioned problems was achieved by discussing National internal policy, some opinion of the defence analysts and research articles of the subject. We have also take insight from counter insurgency and national security policies of UK and USA.

Members of Youth Parliament Standing Committee on National Security



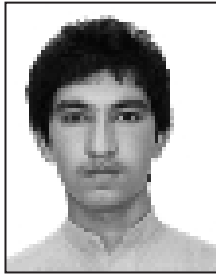
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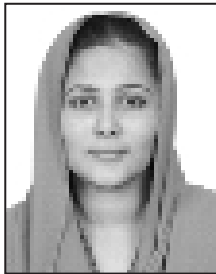
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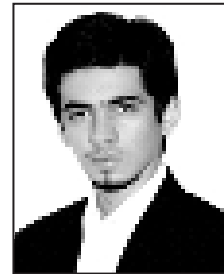
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Jahanzeb Baloch
Youth Minister for National Security
(YP05-BALUCHISTAN03)

Introduction (NISP)

Causes of internal insecurity

No country can produce and implement a national internal security policy effectively until and unless it clearly defines certain national parameters which it wishes to protect and propagate. For there to be unity in national interests, there needs to be a united national narrative that Pakistan needs to have. Unfortunately, the national narrative of Pakistan has remained a cause of division among the population rather than a rallying call for unity and, more than that, it has failed to provide a solid foundation upon which a viable and effective national internal security policy can be drafted. Having lost more than thirty five thousand lives to the war on terrorism and with an ongoing operation in North Waziristan an effective national internal security policy is now more needed than ever before.

Problems identified in the current National Internal Security Policy

The National Internal Security Policy formulated by the National Security Council of Pakistan although does define Pakistan's strategic interests, it lacks in the subject in a number of ways. It also presents, in the opinion of the Youth Standing Committee on National Security, incomplete solutions to the following problems rightfully identified by the NSC;

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- Democracy
- Freedom
- Equality
- Tolerance
- Social justice

We propose that the national interests of Pakistan which would consequently act as the foundations for the national internal security policy should be as follow;

- Defence and security
- Economic wellbeing
- Favorable regional and global order
- Promotion of our value system.

Unless these basic national interests and a singular national narrative that appeals to all section of the society are not adapted to the core, unity of direction and strategy of those institutions which are vital in ensuring internal security will never be achieved. Having laid down the foundations for the national internal security policy, we propose the following solutions for the aforementioned problems.

Coordination among intelligence agencies

There is imbalance between the Civilian and Military relationship while they are working under the same constitution, under the same motto and same goal of preserving the land from internal and external threats. The same situation of behavioral and status complexes are present in between the ranks of Military and Civilian Intelligence agencies that hampers the coordination and intelligence sharing.

Prevailing Problem among Co-ordination between Military and civil law enforcement agencies.

National Internal Security Policy (NISP) formulated by current Federal government to protect national interests of Pakistan by addressing critical security issues as well as concerns of the nation. NISP was drafted because there was a lack of coordination among the security and intelligence agencies. There are various reasons present behind lack of intelligence sharing between the military and civilian led agencies and institutions, one reasons is the same institutional supremacy of Military and lack of confidence of the civilian agencies. Some of the military personals are of the opinion that they are trained, the services they are giving sacrifices and more perfect and civilians are not well trained due to this reason and just due to their set of mind the state at large suffers

National Internal Security Environment

Internal security environment is dominated by non-traditional threats of extremism, sectarianism, terrorism and militancy. In present form, the internal security apparatus is inadequately equipped and enormously strained to tackle these threats. This elucidates the dire need for a comprehensive and inclusive response plan, as no single state agency is capable of dealing with such threats on its own.

Smooth implementation of the NISP will require education and effective communication and coordination capability between Provincial and

Federal Governments, the Armed Forces and intelligence agencies to counter terrorism for which no indigenous model exists. The NACTA would provide such a model and ensure coordination with the national internal security apparatus.

Article 245 which discusses the function of the Armed forces clearly describes that the armed forces shall defend Pakistan against external and internal threats of war.

Proposed Solutions

The civilian & military institutions should coordinate like one. They all are working for the Pakistan and for the National Interest of Pakistan and common purpose of Pakistan. They all are promoting National value not institutional values. They are accountable to the constitution, and common interest is the same —Prosper, Peaceful, Progressive Pakistan. Pakistani patriotism inspire all Pakistanis, regardless of any discrimination, to defend Pakistan against all challenges of its unity, solidarity, and integrity

Provincial Police, civilian agencies and their recruitment and training should be made by competent board like ISSB, through which a sense of merit, qualification, morality, ethics & competence should prevail within the ranks of Civil law enforcement agencies & institutions. They must develop a sense that they all are important entities of the state. If they are working together in a productive way so the state of Pakistan moves toward stable and secure. NACTA created under The National Counter terrorism Authority Act 2013 will provide a forum to share the intelligence information in between 33 law enforcement agencies and to make a policy to protect the state of Pakistan from external and internal threats. But now the NACTA is dysfunctional. They should adopt democratic culture for the better policies and action. Competent official from armed forces and civilian forces should be deputed in this department from the different Services of Pakistan.

In the law enforcement departments, expert legal counsels should be deployed and inducted, the officials should be trained on modern technologies through which they can collect all sort of evidence in a scientific way and the legal counsel should guide them in the matters from conducting raids to the collection and production of evidences.

Conclusion

Parochialism and regionalism must be replaced by National integration and cohesion. This is only possible through mutual understanding and co-operation,

tolerance and unity in diversity and a policy of mutual respect among masses. The sense of patriotism fortunately still lies in the root of our National Integration.

Problems of the Insecure Afghan Border

Pakistan-Afghanistan relations have never been at ease as both the countries have often pursued conflicting security policies. Pakistan has made efforts at national and regional levels to establish an independent and stable government in Afghanistan so as to improve its western border security—a wish that has hardly been materialized. The on-going war on terror, human trafficking, and narcotics smuggling have put considerable pressure on Pakistan and Afghanistan to secure their borders. Border conflicts have not only affected intergovernmental relations but also contributed to the economic, political, and social instability in the region.

Causes of this insecure Pak-Afghan border are linked here under

Non State actors and tribal engagement

Historically, this was an open border until USSR invasion of Afghanistan. Pashtun tribes living on both sides of the border had strong cultural and economic relations with each other and it was their responsibility to control border conflicts. However, Soviet Union's attack and the consequent Taliban creation necessitated government's action to take control of the border. Unfortunately, government's absence to regulate cross border movement created a vacuum for militants to infiltrate the border and subvert the tribal system in the region. Such a vacuum of non-governance continues till today and has made the situation even worse.

Regional Trust deficit

Regional trust deficit is one of the major sources of border insecurity. Considering the diverse nature of both the countries, a pure military solution to border insecurity is ineffective. To achieve internal stability, it is important for the two states to change domestic perceptions of their national interests. Both the countries will have to compromise to build bilateral trust through power sharing agreements.

Pakistan-India relation is another dimension that needs to be considered when one talks of regional trade deficits since the historical Pakistan -India confrontation had direct implications on Afghanistan.

Geographical difficulties

Pak-Afghan border is 2430 kilometers long that runs along the southern and eastern edges of Afghanistan. The border passes through varying terrain with sandy deserts in the south and rugged mountains in the east. Moreover, a huge number of Afghan provinces

adjacent to the border like Badakhshan, Nurestan, Konar, Nangarhar, Paktiya, Khost, Paktika etc. make it even harder to police properly. Though border has two main crossings i.e. Torkham, between Peshawar and Jalalabad, and Spinboldak between Kandahar and Quetta³. Nevertheless, people have mastered the art of border crossing at numerous other points without being detected. Such geographical and physical hardships have made it difficult for the Army and Intelligence agencies to control movement across border.

U.S. and NATO Involvement

Cold War has unambiguously damaged Pakistan and Afghanistan. United States stood victorious in its war against Soviet Union. After the Soviet Union's disintegration and 9/11 event, United

States waged a war on Afghanistan to curb Al Qaeda's activities. Being a U.S. ally, Pakistan had to provide full military support to the U.S. in the form of safe routes to Afghanistan. Provision of such safe routes led to loose border regulations in this whole era, exacerbated border conflicts, and became serious threats to internal national security of Pakistan.

Solutions

In order to improve cross border security and curb terrorism in the region, government of Pakistan should take the following measures:

- Pakistan should increase the number of troops and checkpoints to regulate cross border movement.
- Intelligence agency ISI should share information with its counterparts in Afghanistan, India, United States, and China to keep an eye on militant groups.
- Pakistan should sign terrorism pacts with countries like Uzbekistan, Middle Eastern States, and India.
- Border police force should be properly trained, streamlined, and equipped with modern technology.
- United States, NATO, and Pakistan should initiate joint military ventures, share intelligence and war strategies to curb terrorism.

Sectarian Violence

Prevailing problems

The phenomenon of sectarianism and the resulting sectarian violence is one of the major challenges that this country faces today. Further complexity comes into the picture when the actors involved are from different lingual and ethnic backgrounds. The issue has a long history, strong grounding in the social, political and ethnic setups, and most importantly, is deeply rooted in the theological narrative, which make this mindset almost invincible and curbing this issue becomes highly challenging in short run. Therefore, this policy aims towards eradicating, rather minimizing sectarian violence in short run, and ensuring the cleansing of the narrative in which it is grounded, in long run. These objectives will be achieved by the introduction of a national (Anti Sectarian Violence) narrative, regulating and monitoring religious seminaries and Madrassas, depriving the sectarian militant organizations of the backing and support of political actors, and devising a comprehensive criminal justice mechanism to deal with the perpetrators.

Policy solutions

- A National (Anti Sectarian Violence) Narrative to be introduced to oppose and combat the currently existing narrative which provides a substantive base for the growing sectarian violence. The proposed alternative narrative should be based on the Objective Resolution which endorses tolerance for all others, Muslims or non Muslims. It should be based on the notion of mutual coexistence depicted in the last sermon of the Holy Prophet, Jinnah's 11th August's historical speech, and Iqbal's Allahabad Address. There is a dire need to give narrative to this nation, countering the brainwashing done in the previous three decades, to ensure them that Shiites and Sunni Muslims can live in a peaceful coexistence, without any threat of wiping the other off the face of this earth. This narrative needs to be promoted by the support of the established religious clergymen including religious and spiritual scholars. Further, the promotion and promulgation of this narrative needs to be done using media in a manner no different than that adopted against terrorism.
- Evidence suggests that Madrassas and religious seminaries have had a key role in the inculcation of this narrative in the masses, particularly in the youth of this country. However, to save resources, and to prevent the from those institutions which do not indulge in such promotion, the identification of culprits among the bigger pools is a must, and this objective will be achieved by scrutinizing the

working, agendas and the curriculum of these schools, where only those will be registered who are declared clear.

- In Madrassas, where indoctrination prevails, the goal of promoting intra faith hatred is achieved by a) through the sermons given by the scholars at these Madrassas; b) through the literature that is often included provided supplementary to the curriculum. Therefore, alongside, the objective to clear all possible Sectarian think tanks in Madrassas and religious seminaries, the curriculum of these religious schools to be revised, clearing it from all such literature which may lead to militancy in intra faith interactions. Similarly, a monitoring mechanism to be devised on district level to ensure that none of these institutions deviate from the mandate provided to them upon registration.
- Certain sectarian violent groups like Lashkar E Jhangvi and Sipah E Sahaba etc have been used by the political actors for their own ulterior motives with furtive intentions. As a consequence, to reciprocate, these organizations have been given impunity to move freely and carry out their activities. To combat and perish this spreading evil, the political actors should be restrained and refrained from using both, the ideologies and military powers of these organizations, so that these organizations do not end up getting the backing of political parties and personnel.
- And most importantly, the implementation of a comprehensive criminal justice system especially designed to control, contain and eradicate sectarian violence should be one of the major goals of this policy. Such a mechanism would not only bring the culprits to justice, thus helping extinguish the ignited sparks in the target community, but the mere existence of an efficient system will act as a deterrent as well.

Media Management

Article 4 of the 1973 Constitution recognizes the right of every citizen and of every other person for the time being within the Country to be protected and treated in accordance with the law. Article 4(2) disallows any action detrimental to the life, liberty, body, reputation, or property of any person to be taken except in accordance with the law.

The constitution identifies the right to privacy of a person and the inviolability of dignity of every person in Pakistan to be a fundamental right, thus guaranteeing the privacy of home [Article 14 (1) Inviolability of dignity of man]: The dignity of man, subject to law, the privacy of home, shall be inviolable."

Problems

These days media has become a fourth organ of the state, following judiciary, legislature, and the Executive, and if the media is not responsible it is impossible to deal with most of the ongoing issues because people sitting here and abroad only see what the media shows them and have no idea about the current scenario of any matter.

Excessive and adverse media reporting may make a fair trial impossible and thus lead the court to stay proceedings where a witness at trial had retracted his evidence subsequent to the jury returning its verdict and had later informed journalists that the evidence he had given was false.

Solution

There should be proper media laws governing media, privacy, privacy and right to life and freedom of expression:

- A test of reasonable journalism to be developed by the court, to determine a balance between public interest and freedom of expression.
- Courts should decide each and every case on its own merits, looking and scrutinizing the facts carefully.
- Peoples right to privacy shall be protected, no media person to be allowed to barge into homes or cars or personal space of anyone to without prior permission.
- Media should be free and fair but should not infringe the right of liberty and reputation of anyone.
- No bias and malice should be attributable to media on basis of their act of journalism.
- Media should be neutral, and should have the authority to give opinions but not misstatement of facts.
- Each and every institution of Pakistan can be discussed on media but refraining from defamatory statements and staying within the limits of reasonable journalism.
- Reasonable journalism:
 - Statement should be in interest of the masses
 - Something of public importance
 - It should not be a defamatory statement
 - Should not violate the right to privacy, life or liberty or dignity and sovereignty of any institution.

Police Reforms

Command, Training, Accountability; why focus on police reforms

Pakistan and the problem of terrorism

- Police primarily untrained to handle terrorist

activities. Most of the training focuses on countering criminal incidents.

- Central command of the police has historically shifted from the federal to the provinces and among ministers as well. Lack of central commands means ineffective execution of orders.
- Lack of accountability within the system primarily due to an inefficient HR control system leads to constables and officers indulging in acts which leaves the public no choice but to distrust the Police Service. This eventually leads to poor coordination and ineffective implementation of orders.
- Successful counter terrorism operations by police after its reformation in Malaya and Cyprus. Studies which regard the police as the drive of counter terrorism strategies and consider them the central part of the solution.
- Even if in Pakistan the Army clears the terrorist held areas, Police is needed to maintain the law and order established by the army otherwise, severe backlash.
- Current ineffective police force is suffering heavy losses at the hands of the terrorists. 400 policemen every year on average

Case Studies

- Drawing examples from the Internal Security Act 2007 of Thailand and the establishment of the Internal Security Operation Command iv
- Act was introduced in a period of volatile security situation on the region. Similar acts were drafted in Sri Lanka and Turkey during volatile situations

Following reforms are suggested:

One thing must be remembered. The planning and implementation of police reforms requires Pakistan army's cooperation however, what must be ensured is that the role of the army does not exceed one clearly defined in the constitution. This is a cooperation, not a hand over of power. (This must be ensured in order to strengthen the democratic forces in the country)

Command

Operational Command to be made effective in Pakistan

1. Alteration in Police central, provincial and regional command
2. Prime minister of Pakistan to act as the ISOC-Commander
3. Highest grade Police Officer chosen by the consent of the Prime Minister and the Chief of Army Staff to act as the ISOC-Vice Commander (Operational powers to lie here) Under him, fall the IGs of all four provinces

4. Provincial Security Operational Command (PSOC) command to lie with a PSOC Command Committee which would have two Brigadiers, and an IG in it and the command to lie with the IG who will be directly accountable to the ISOC-Vice Commander
5. Regional Security Operational Command (RSOC) to lie exclusively with the senior most Police official in the region.
(In this document, a Province is defined as one of the four administrative provinces of Pakistan and other administrative areas such as the GB, FATA and AJK, A region is defined as a division within that province)

Training

The ultimate aim is the training of all police officials according to international standards

1. Constable training: Pakistan Army to be made responsible for training of the Police Trainers
2. JCOs and Junior officers who are responsible of training the constables to be trained along international counter crime and counter insurgency lines by the Pakistan Army
3. This training will then be given by the trained trainers to the newly inducted and existing police constables
4. Federal government to ensure the construction of new training camps and the upgrading of existing ones, ensuring and sanitary and other vital needs of the trainees are adequately met.
5. Foreign training of officials and police trainers to be ensured either via foreign training courses or inviting foreign teams to come train the trainers.
6. Junior Officers Training: Federal government to either construct a new Police Academy on the lines of PMA or upgrade the existing police academy in Islamabad
7. Serving army officers to be given the charge of training new and existing police officials regarding leadership and tactics particularly on counterinsurgency.
8. ISOC-Vice Commander to be the Chancellor of the Academy and a grade 21 Army officer to be the commandant
9. Syllabus in the academy to include leadership skills, ethics and professionalism, training and tactics etc as per the syllabus of the PMA with modification to ensure that Police functions are given the primary significance.

Accountability

External Complaint Agency (ECA) to be establish along the lines of those in USA, UK and Australia (and

the proposed one in India)

1. ECA to work independent of the ISOC or any political agency
2. ECA to have centers called External Complaint Centers in all districts of Pakistan
3. All complaints to lodged against police misconduct and aggression to be directly filed by the ECA in the respective high courts or if the grievance is that of a national level, in the supreme court of Pakistan.

Post Implementation Checks:

The biggest issue with government institutions in Pakistan is that once reforms are implemented, however good, post implementation analysis of those reforms is ignored leading to the decline in the intended efficiency and effectiveness of those reforms. An annual post-implementation reform process in the Pakistan Police should ideally have the following phases:

1. Result analysis – Update on the results obtained (quantitative data)
2. Risk analysis – Update on risks
3. Financial Update – Update on the budget allocated to these reforms
4. Update on next year's plan and budget
5. Administrative update – issues regarding administration
6. Issues for continued dialogue – between different stakeholders involved in the reforms including politicians, the army etc

Conclusion

This NISP Policy reflects our national interests, propose solutions of problems and also counter the threats to our national security. Coordination between the agencies, Af-Pak border infiltration, Sectarian violence, media war and police structure and its reforms are the core issues of the internal security policy which are being tackled by proposing their solutions. Non state actors getting their amid support from Sectarianism and porous border which is a threat against which Pakistan army is fighting for eliminating terrorism and extremism. Whereas, media propaganda is also core issue in war against terrorism on which this policy proposes regulation of media on independent bodies. After the elimination of terrorist civilian government have to engage the masses and law and order situation should be controlled by the police that should be trained as proposed by this policy. This Policy also defines the national interests which are narrative of our NISP and these proposed solutions will be safeguard of our National security.

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