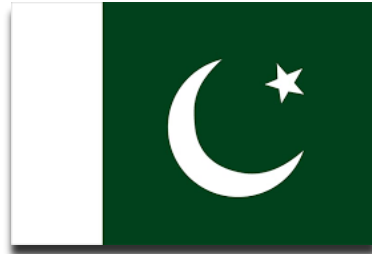


# Pakistan Affairs

By Malik Huzaifa Saleem  
Attorney at Law



## Lecture Handouts for CSS

### Module 2

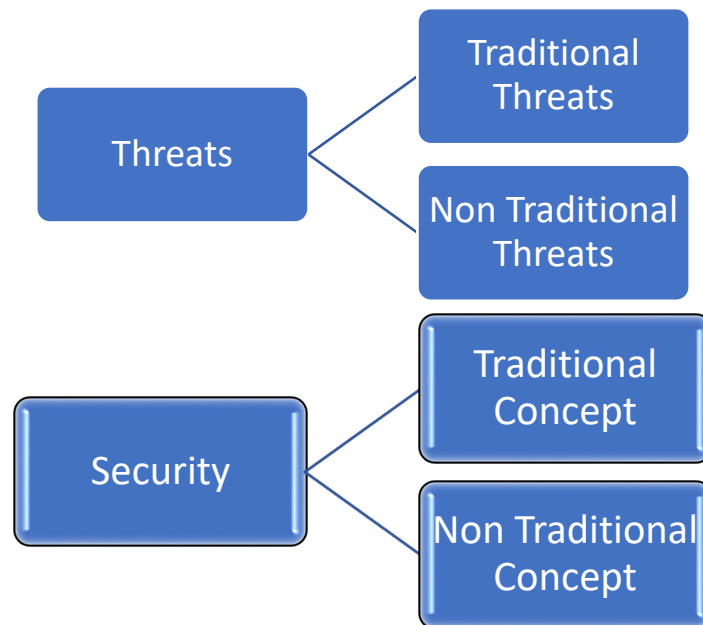
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## Changing Security Dynamics for Pakistan: Challenges to National Security of Pakistan

### What is National Security?

- Security means escape from a threat that is so significant as to pose an inimical danger to survival, well-being, interests, and dignity of a body.
- It is the minimal requirement to maintain the survival of state through the use of military might, power projection, diplomatic influence, political power, and economic might.
- Initially, military prowess lied at the center of security statecraft.
- In incumbent era national security encompasses broad range of strategies.



- The term also refers to the protection of a nation from attack or other danger by accumulating adequate armed forces and guarding state secrets.
- The traditional concept of national security revolved around geo politics and military strategy. However, the changing dynamics of threats have drastically changed this traditional concept of security.
- Presence of Threat, Fear of object's survival in near future.
- 9/11 incident, UNSCR passed, GWOT kickstarts.
- National Security means a circumstance that exists as a result of a military or defence advantage over any foreign nation or group of nations, or a friendly foreign relations position, or a defence position capable of successfully hindering hostile or destructive action.
- Strictly speaking, this refers to the ability of the armed forces to defend the sovereignty of the nation and the lives of its people.
- However, since the attacks of September 11, 2001, the mission of security institutions—using domestic as well as military instruments to defend the nation from

terrorist and other attacks either inside or outside the country—has come to be understood as an element of national defense.

### National Security's Scope

- National security focuses very keenly on following aspects of national wellness:
  - Economic Security
  - Military Security
  - Political Security
  - Environmental Security
  - Food Security
  - Cyber Security
  - Combatting Terrorism against State
  - Security of energy and national resources

### Security according to Barry Buzan & Arnold Wolfers

- “Security is taken to be about the **pursuit of freedom from threat** and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile.”  
~ Barry Buzan
- “National security objectively means the **absence of threats to acquired values** and subjectively, the **absence of fear that such values will be attacked.**”  
~ Arnold Wolfers

### Richard H. Ullman's views on Traditional Security:

- Richard H. Ullman asserted that considering national security merely in military terms is doubly misleading.
  - Firstly, it ignores the **threats emanating from non-military sources** which have potential to undermine stability of the state in the forthcoming years.
  - Secondly, it surmises that threats cropping up from state's outside sources are more perilous to its security than **hazards that emanate within it.**

### What are Non-Traditional Security Threats:

- **Mely Caballero-Anthony** has defined non-traditional security threats as those threats which fundamentally **emanate from non-military sources.**
- This list includes **climate change, cross-border environmental degradation, depletion of resources, food shortages, natural disasters, infectious diseases, irregular migration, drug trafficking, people smuggling,** and other categories of transnational crime posing challenges to the survival and well-being of humans as well as states.

### **Non-Military Ideas of National Security:**

- In the wake of total war, and at the dawn of the nuclear age, it was well understood that the days of defining national security solely in terms of armies fighting it out in set-piece battles were things of the past.
- Barry Buzan wrote a celebrated epitome on the concept of security: **New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century**.
- In **People, States and Fear**, Barry Buzan points out that the concept of security was “too narrowly founded”.
- Buzan enlisted 5 comprehensive facets for security:
  - Political
  - Military
  - Economic
  - Societal
  - Environmental

#### **A. Political security**

- It refers to protecting the sovereignty of the government and political system and the safety of society from unlawful internal threats and external threats or pressures.
- It involves both national security and law enforcement.

#### **B. Economic security**

- It involves not only protecting the capacity of the economy to provide for the people, but also the degree to which the government and the people are free to control their economic and financial decisions.
- It also entails the ability to protect a nation’s wealth and economic freedom from outside threats and coercion.

#### **C. Energy and natural resources security**

- Defined as the degree to which a nation or people have access to such energy resources as oil, gas, water, and minerals.
- More accurately it is free access determined by the market without interference from other nations or political or military entities for nonmarket, political purposes.

#### **D. Homeland security in United States**

- It is a set of domestic security functions that since 9/11 have been organized in a single agency, the Department of Homeland Security.
- It includes airport and port security, border security, transportation security, immigration enforcement, and other related matters.

### **E. Cyber Security**

- It refers to protection of the government's and the peoples' computer and data processing infrastructure and operating systems from harmful interference, whether from outside or inside the country.
- It thus involves not only national defence, but also law enforcement.

### **F. Human security**

- It refers to a concept largely developed at the United Nations after the end of the Cold War. It defines security broadly as encompassing peoples' safety from hunger, disease, and repression, including harmful disruptions of daily life.
- Over time, the concept has expanded to include economic security, environmental security, food security, health security, personal security, community security, political security, and the protection of women and minorities.
- It emerged from the seminal works of Mahboob Ul Haq in a UNDP report.

### **G. Environmental security**

- An idea with multiple meanings. One is the more traditional concept of responding to conflicts caused by environmental problems such as water shortages, energy disruptions, or severe climate changes; it is assumed that these problems are "transnational" and thus can cause conflict between nations. More recent concept is that the environment and the "climate" should be protected as ends in and of themselves.

### **Conceptualizing Human Security Paradigm**

- The **1994 Human Development Report (HDR)** loosely defined human security as freedom from fear and want.
- Human security can be explicitly defined as **protection from chronic threats such as disease, hunger and repression, and safety from hurtful and sudden disruptions in daily life.**
- Non-traditional security threats such as terrorism, environmental degradation including water scarcity, food insecurity, population explosion, and energy insecurity, etc. are the main challenges to human security and are the fundamental source of human insecurities.
- Human Development Index report Pakistan ranked **161** out of 192 countries in the 2021-2022 period.

### **Human Security – a concept beyond borders.**

- The four assumptions which characterize human security are given below:
  - Protection of fundamental freedom which constitutes the essence of life.

- Protection of people from pervasive and critical situations and threats.
- Use of processes that build on strengths and aspirations of people.
- Creating social, political, economic, environmental, cultural, and military systems that through integration provide humans with the building blocks for existence, livelihood, and dignity.

Components of Human Security	Essentials of Respective Components	Threats Causing Insecurity
Economic Security	Assured basic income, employment, access to social safety net	Unemployment, poverty
Food Security	Physical, economic and social access to food supply, basic nutrition	Lack of access to sufficient and nutritious food supply, famine, hunger
Health Security	Access to basic health services, protection from unhealthy lifestyles and diseases	Lack of access to basic health services, diseases, malnutrition, unsafe food
Environmental Security	Protection against environmental degradation, safety of masses from environmental dangers caused by human or natural process	Environmental degradation (Pollution, natural disasters, depletion of resources such as water, oil, natural gas)
Personal Security	Protection of civil liberties and human rights, protection from physical violence of state as well as other entities	Physical violence, human rights violation

Community Security	Protection of community identity and ethnic groups, conservation of cultures and traditions, protection from harsh practices and discrimination against indigenous and ethnic groups	Ethnic violence, discrimination, harsh treatment, oppressive traditional practices
Political Security	Protection from political repression, mistreatment, torture and abduction, abolishment of systematic ill-treatment, political detention and imprisonment	Ill-treatment, political repression, systematic torture, human rights abuses

**Source:** Janusz Gierszewski, Personal Security within the Human Security.

### **Pakistan's Security Challenges**

1. Foreign and defence policies addressing external as well as internal threats to Pakistan's sovereignty and existence.

2. Economic and Financial Challenges.
3. Internal challenges to the writ and integrity of the state (insurgency, subversion, terrorism, militant extremism and sectarianism).
4. Food, energy and water security
5. Serious crime and Law and order challenges
6. Population explosion and youth bulge

### **Contours of Pakistan's National Security Issues:**

- The Indian Factor
- Sectarian Conflicts
- Terrorism
- Hybrid Warfare
- Economic Crisis
- Environmental Degradation and Climate Change
- Water Scarcity
- Food Insecurity
- Population Explosion
- Energy Crisis

### **The Indian Factor**

- India as a state presents a traditional threat — a state directly threatening the state through the use or threat of using military force.
- Prospects for a dialogue or even some talks to restart the dialogue are virtually dead.
- Our efforts to get India in the negotiation process have continuously failed.
- Neither our bilateral persuasion nor gentle influence of common Western friends has worked.
- Indians have become belligerent in posture, language and diplomatic actions. The Indians continue to violate the ceasefire agreement since past couple of years.
- The civilian as well as the security establishment of India has been consistently talking about 'limited war', 'teaching Pakistan a lesson' and that they have prepared to move forces to the border rapidly. It is nothing but warmongering.
- Pakistan has adequately prepared to defeat the Indian aggressive doctrine of 'Cold Start'.
- The Indian proxies pose essentially an internal threat, unconventional in the form of terrorism, militancy and insurgency. Enemies always exploit internal failings and vulnerabilities.
- Pakistan will have to address the Indian dimensions of our internal security as an urgent matter with full force of law, institutions and the state to get them out of the deadly

business. No state can expect to stay peaceful or stable with such elements at work to destabilize a country.

### **Sectarian Conflicts**

- Sectarian conflict has old historical roots but in the present form its resurgence and lethality is consequence and more appropriately extension of the sectarian divide in the Middle East and Iran-Saudi rivalry.
- Under the renewed consensus and energy behind the National Action Plan we see great progress made against the sectarian organizations and their leaders.
- For the first time we see a steely resolve in the security institutions to defeat them. There is much to be done from reforming school curriculum, and madrassa education to improving police capacity and intelligence to thwart the designs of the sectarian militants.

### **Terrorism**

- The roots of terrorism in Pakistan can be traced back to 1979 when Soviet Union had occupied Afghanistan. Terrorism in Pakistan originated after Pakistan supported the Afghan mujahideen during the Soviet–Afghan War, and the subsequent civil war that erupted in Afghanistan.
- Post 9/11 incident Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) was launched and Pakistan became the frontline state, with a primary role to provide logistical support and ensure supply's route safety through the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).
- Consequently, the security environment of Pakistan was affected the most in the entire world. The attacks of 9/11 and the resultant war on terror have aggravated traditional security parameters as well as non-traditional security concerns of Pakistan.
- Carrot and Stick Policy.
- Either you are with us, or with the terrorists. US President George Bush
- In November 2020, the Foreign Office of Pakistan made public a dossier allegedly containing 'irrefutable proofs' of the Indian sponsorship of terrorism in Pakistan.
- It contained proof of India's financial and material sponsorship of multiple terrorist organisations, including UN-designated terrorist organisations Jamaat-ul-Ahrar, Balochistan Liberation Army and Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan.
- Gen Pervaiz Musharraf recalls, in his memoir “In the Line of Fire”, being told by the Americans that “if we chose the terrorists, then we should be prepared to be bombed back to the stone age.”
- From becoming front line, preferred, non-NATO ally to DO MORE mantra.
- Tale of Anti Americanism.
- 2003 Iraq war and local sentiments.



- 2011 Salala attack and mistrust between allies.
- 16 Dec 2016 APS Attack killed 132 students and 9 staff members.
- Anatol Lieven in his book Pakistan a Hard Country writes that an “absolutely overwhelming majority” of Pakistanis including the ruling elite don’t believe that 9/11 was the brainchild of Osama Bin Laden.
- Lieven claims that Pakistan’s distrust of Washington is rooted in the minds of Pak Army’s leadership which believes that – from cold war to WOT – the United States has used Pakistan as means to pursue its own security interests.
- In 2008 suicide bombing attack on Marriot Islamabad, 800 kg explosive laden vehicle, killing 54 people including 15 foreigners. On 5 May 2010, the ATC hearing the case acquitted all four accused on the grounds of “**lack of admissible evidence**” in response to this in 2010 US State Dept. termed Pakistan’s Anti Terror Legal System as “**almost incapable of prosecuting suspected terrorists**”.
- According to Punjab’s Prosecutor General during 2014 ATCs heard 785 cases resulting in 196 convictions an acquittal rate of roughly 75%.
- Post 2001 Pakistan saw a wave of devastating terror attacks including suicide bombings in Mosques, Churches and Schools. Terror outfits also targeted security personnel and security infrastructure.
- DG ISPR Maj Gen Babar Iftikhar reported that Pakistan lost 83000 lives in last two decades in fight against terror. Moreover, 18000 terrorists were killed during the war. The total economic cost incurred upon Pakistan was approximately USD 126 billion according to ISPR.
- According to the reports of the United Nations, Pakistan has lost nearly USD 110 billion in the war on terror.
- According to a report by Brown University's Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, 23,372 Pakistani civilians were killed in War against terrorism between 2003 and 2009.
- Terrorism has rendered unsurmountable losses to the socio-political fabric of Pakistan.
- Strengthening Anti Terror laws, constitutional ammendment for military courts through Anti Terrorism Act Amendment 2015. ATA 1997 provided basic legal framework against terrorism which was ammended 17 times through parliamentary framework such as Investigation for Fair Trial Act 2013 and Protection of Pakistan Act 2014.
- Criminalising Hate Speech
- National Action Plan - a multifaceted resposnse to the curse of terrorism.
- Establishing QRFs, Anti Terrorist Force, Counter Terrorism Department, Specialised wing in FIA – CTW, Capacity building of FC, Rangers, and Police force.
- Pakistan has fenced nearly 94% of 2600 km Pak Afghan border.
- Installation of Cameras, scanners, biometric system, terminals and posts on the Western border.

- Almost 784 out of 1068 border forts have been built.
- Owing to the perpetual efforts local terror incidents have dropped by 55 percent.
- Operation Zarb-e-Azb was a turning point in Pakistan's war on terrorism. The operation was successful and Pakistan experienced sharp decline in terrorism since the launch of the operation.
- With the terrorists attacks continuing in late 2013 the political leadership in Pakistan initiated a military operation against terrorists named **Operation Zarb-e-Azb**; a joint military offensive against various militant groups, including the **Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)**, **Lashkar-e-Jhangvi**, **Jundallah**, **al-Qaeda**, **the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM)**, the **Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)** and the **Haqqani network**.
- According to **National Counter Terrorism Authority (Nacta)**, Pakistan experienced largest number of terrorist attack in 2010. Since 2014, terrorist attacks in Pakistan have significantly declined.
- Post Karachi operation security situation has substantially ameliorated with 98% decrease in targeted killings, and kidnappings in Pakistan's largest city. Karachi's ranking on World Crime index has improved from 6th in 2014 to 103 in 2021.

### **Operation Rad ul Fasad at a Glance**

- Launched in 2017
- More than 371000 IBOs conducted including 50 major operations.
- 72,227 lethal weapons including American and German smuggled weapons recovered.
- 5 million rounds of ammunition recovered.
- 1100 Al Qaeda terrorists killed or captured.
- 1237 Kinetic military operation.
- Border fencing ensured to stem militant infiltration and smuggling
- Terrorist support bases dismantled.
- Several laws enacted to curb TF through AMLFT regimes. FATF and Pakistan.
- 86% decline in terror attacks since 2013. (45% drop in 2021 as compared to 2020).
- 97% decrease in suicide bombing since 2009. (from 87 to 3).
- Security forces averted more than 68% terror threats in 2021.
- 48% fencing of Pak Iran border completed.
- IED blasts decreased by 42%.

### **Hybrid Warfare – a Horrendous Threat**

- In his speech at the passing-out parade of Pakistan Military Academy, Kakul, Chief of Army staff General Qamar Javed Bajwa said:

- “Our enemies know that they can’t beat us fair and square and have thus subjected us to a cruel, evil and protracted hybrid war.”
- “Hybrid warfare is a military strategy that employs a blend of kinetic operations and subversive efforts to destabilize an adversary”.
- Post nuclearization of weapons, a major confrontation between NWS is rarely possible. Therefore, recent conflicts employ sub-conventional (guerrilla conflicts or irregular conflicts) or hybrid warfare.
- Objective of hybrid warfare is not to secure an adversary’s immediate defeat. It is actually to erode adversary’s morale, isolate it diplomatically, and ‘soften’ it up before a full-scale invasion.
- The objective is to deflect the enemy from pursuing unacceptable military or political objectives, disrupt its communications, command and control, important infrastructure, imposing economic pain to secure adherence to political demands, delegitimize an adversary’s government, compromising its leaders.
- Wars are no longer fought on conventional battlefields alone, but also asymmetrically over the digital world, cyberspace, social media etc.
- The strategic competitors are making best use of hybrid warfare tools in the exploitation of domestic faultlines like political, economic, societal to destabilize a country.
- Hybrid methods of warfare – such as **propaganda, deception, sabotage and other non-military tactics** – have long been used to destabilise adversaries. What is new about attacks seen in recent years is their speed, scale and intensity, facilitated by rapid technological change and global interconnectivity.

### **Hybrid Warfare – Tactics**

- Hybrid warfare is a blend of following tactics:
  - Conventional tactics
  - Non-conventional tactics
  - Kinetic and subversive efforts
  - Regular and irregular tactics
  - Information and cyber tactics

### **Hybrid Warfare**

- This domain of hybrid war has an exceptionally large canvas, for instance, economic warfare may include disruption in stock exchanges and creating volatility in the currency market, both aimed at purposely scaring investors away to weaken a state.
- According to **Colin S Gray**, since ‘the character of warfare in a period is shaped, even driven, much more by the political, social, and strategic contexts than it is by changes integral to military science,’ the perpetrators of hybrid war seek to alter the character of the target state for which they are willing to go to any length.

- Interestingly, the art of executing hybrid war is to evade international obligations and help perpetrators gainfully employ the intangible elements of warfare. The purpose remains to weaken the target state from within and make people feel insecure, uncertain, and lose confidence in the government and its institutions.

### **Hybrid Campaigns Against Pakistan**

- Overstated nuclear weapons concerns; Fallous nuclear security concerns.
- Coercive diplomacy to hold Pakistan's missile technology upgradation.
- Eroding legitimacy of Kashmiri freedom struggle through propaganda, accusations, false flag operations.
- Onus of American failure in Afghanistan was ascribed to Pakistan for providing safe heavens to Afghan Taliban.
- US-Indian conspiracy against CPEC and Pak China friendship. "Debt trap"; "American money will not be used to Pay Chinese loans".
- Pakistan Army and ISI a special focus of malicious propaganda.
- Iranian soil being used to target Pakistan by India.
- Accusation of Pathankot attack on Pakistan without any meaningful evidence.
- Exploiting the already grim situation in Pakistan and erstwhile FATA.

### **Fifth Generation Warfare**

- Fifth-generation warfare (5GW) is warfare that is conducted primarily through non-kinetic military action, such as social engineering, misinformation, cyberattacks, along with emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence and fully autonomous systems. Fifth generation warfare has been described by Daniel Abbot as a war of "information and perception".
- The term 'fifth-generation warfare' was first used in 2003 by **Robert Steele**.
- Terry Terriff argued that while fifth-generation warfare allows "super-empowered individuals" to make political statements through terrorism, they lack the political power to actually have their demands met.
- In addition to cyberattacks, 5<sup>th</sup> generation warfare (5GW) involves the spread of misinformation and propaganda with the help of internet, media platforms and artificial intelligence. "Data is the new oil" has become a common refrain as data is a valuable commodity for political gains and monetary benefits.
- It is due to the power that media offers, Jeff Bezos bought the Washington Post newspaper for \$ 250 million in 2013 and Elon Musk offered \$ 44 billion for buying Twitter.
- In the area of perception and opinion building, technology also plays a major role. During the U.S elections in 2016, far-right content was promoted and pushed through social media outlets for the support of Republicans. Andrew Bosworth, a Facebook

executive and a close friend of the firm's chief executive Mark Zuckerberg, claimed the company was responsible for Donald Trump's victory during U.S elections.

### **Impact of 5th GW on Pakistan**

- The report "Indian Chronicles", published by the Brussels-based organisation EU DisinfoLab, which meticulously exposed a network of 500 fake media outlets that India had been using for 15 years to portray a negative image of Pakistan in the European Union and the United Nations should be eye-opening for the nation.
- Amidst all the political turmoil, hostile intelligence agencies are exploiting the situation by trying to turn the nation against its military.
- False news and propaganda against judiciary and police agencies has become a common issue.

### **Environmental Degradation and Climate Change**

- Environmental degradation has become a colossal threat to Pakistan. The quality of the environment is depleting due to various factors such as population growth, urbanization, and accelerated industrial growth causing land, water, and air pollution.
- The unsustainable pattern of natural resources' consumption and production methods is also an underlying cause of degradation of the environment. Air contamination due to industrial and vehicular emissions has caused Pakistan to be ranked as the world's second most polluted country with **PM2.5** reading of 74.3 microgram per cubic metre ( $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ ) exceeding the maximum criteria of 10 microgram per cubic metre.
- Quality of underground water and freshwater bodies are deteriorating rapidly due to sewage discharge into supplies of water system, and disposal of unsafe and untreated waste from industries posing serious health risks.
- Pakistan is the 8th most vulnerable state to climate change according to the 2021 Global Climate Risk Index.
- Pakistan witnessed 173 climate related events in last 19 years.
- Pakistan lost 0.52% of its GDP due to climate change.
- In Pakistan, the annual mean temperature has increased by 0.5°C in the last 50 years which is expected to rise by 3°C to 5°C by the end of the 21st century.
- The climate change concerns of Pakistan include likely repercussions of receding glaciers of the Himalayas on the Indus River system, rapid increase in variability of monsoons, reduction of hydropower during years of drought, hydrological reserves shrinkage, and extreme events such as droughts and floods. Besides this, climate change-induced ramifications entail severe water scarcity, food insecurity caused by decreasing livestock and agricultural production, loss of biodiversity, degradation of ecosystems, and shifting of some biomes towards the North.

## **Water Scarcity – Threat to Stable Pakistan**

- Water availability is not only necessary for direct human consumption but is also needed for the **socio-economic development** of any state, as it is a basic requirement to produce food, energy generation, and maintenance of ecosystems that essentially sustain human survival.
- Pakistan ranked **third** on the list of countries encountering acute water shortages as per a report of the International Monetary Fund.
- Another report by Pakistan Council of Research in Water Resources (PCRWR) has documented that there will be an absolute water scarcity in Pakistan by 2025.

## **Water Scarcity:**

- Currently, Pakistan's average water potential is 236 BCM (Billion Cubic Meter) while consumption is around 160 BCM.
- The exponential rise in population means that by 2025, projected water demand in Pakistan could be 337.9 BCM which implies that Pakistan will be facing a water shortage of nearly 102 BCM.
- The dramatic reduction of water availability in the country is also quite alarming, as it has decreased from 1500 cubic meters per annum to 1017 cubic meters per annum which could further become meagre.
- "Whooping Water Crisis: A National Security Challenge for Pakistan," by Tayyab Ali
- Lack of political will to overcome the crisis.
- Pakistan's irrigation system is also dilapidated and least efficient which consumes 93 % of total available water whereas loses up to 60% of irrigation water during transportation and application in fields.
- Security conflicts in the country will be triggered due to water scarcity as provinces and people will fight for this scarce natural resource. Balochistan and Sindh already accuse Punjab of appropriating the lion's share of water.
- The depletion of this social resource which is necessary for running households, agricultural and industrial practices will halt development and horrendously impact social life causing economic insecurity and health insecurity

## **Other security Threats**

- Food Insecurity
- Population Explosion
- Energy Crisis
- Economic Crisis