

NATIONAL SECURITY PARADIGM OF PAKISTAN - RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Pakistan, since its inception has been confronting multi-dimensional security challenges. Geo-strategic location of Pakistan, lack of resources, the weak economy, existence of multi-ethnic groups, sectarian divisions and negative fall-out of developments in Afghanistan have compounded our security matrix, apart from the traditional and non-traditional threat from India. The incidents of 9/11 added new a dimension to the range of challenges confronted by world and Pakistan by adding an unprecedented complexity to our internal security situation. Today, the ambit of Pakistan's national security challenges transcends beyond traditional and non-traditional threats and is seriously affecting human security aspects as well. This article unveils the national security paradigm of Pakistan by taking into account past and present situations and recommends comprehensive policy and strategic measures for ensuring the national security of Pakistan in the evolving strategic milieu.

Keywords: National Security, Human Security, National Security Management.

Introduction

At the time of independence, Pakistan inherited a host of national security challenges with weak a economy, lack of infrastructure, lack of formidable conventional defense capability against hostile hegemonic neighbour and unprecedented human security issues due to mass migrations and settlement of refugees. Pakistan has come a long way since 1947 and today it has a formidable defense, reasonably well developed infrastructure and status at regional and international levels. In this era of globalization and complex interdependence, Pakistan offers enormous opportunities to the regional countries to be linked into trade corridors for the mutual benefit of all the relevant countries. While on the internal front, Pakistan has successfully defeated the menace of terrorism and extremism unprecedentedly in the comity of nations, yet internal fault lines, the

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struggling economy, weak governance, dispensation of speedy justice, human security and overall national security management aspects are considered as major challenges warranting immediate attention. Paul Kennedy reflects Pakistan as one of the world's fundamental state by stating that;

"whose collapse would spell trans-boundary mayhem: While its steady economic progress and stability, on the other hand, would bolster its region's economic vitality and political soundness".¹

Recent democratic transition, realization at government level to view national security in a comprehensive context and efforts to formulate National Security Policy (NSP) have dawned new hope but a lot needs to be done to meet the challenges of the future in a comprehensive and coherent manner.

Analytical Debate on the Prevailing Environment

Global and Regional Environment

Before discussing the challenges of the prevailing environment, it would be prudent to scan through the global security paradigm and contextualize the national security of Pakistan within this paradigm.

- **Era of Globalization and Complex Interdependence:** Globalization marks a tremendous change in the concept of security owing to the interdependencies of states. Regardless of the status of power, states tend to shape up the environment, undertake coalitions or make alliances to operate against other countries or states. However, the new buzzwords like common development, shared destiny, shared future, win-win cooperation are gaining currency. The Realist paradigm though very much relevant and operative today, however, Liberalist voices are also making comparable effects.
- **War on Terrorism (WoT):** The coalition led by the US has remained busy in fighting the war against terrorism after the 9/11 episode giving a pretext to the US to complete its agenda of transformation in Afghanistan, Middle East and adjoining areas for ensuring its security, security of allies and above all the security of Israel. With a change of priorities in the list of US national interests, where terrorism has been downgraded in national security strategy of 2018, the war on terrorism has reached its culminating point. Theory of Just War and targeting of Muslims in strive to rid the world out of terrorism, the Muslims have been defamed and the legitimate struggle of people of Palestine and Kashmir has also been overshadowed and marginalized.

- **Energy Resources:** Today, world is greatly characterized by the struggle for control of energy resources. Eurasia, Middle East and Central Asian Republics (CARs) being the hub of energy resources remain to focus on competing for power centers of the world owing to their dependency on these regions. China's economic ingress in Africa also remains a matter of concern for the US and the West. In this backdrop, Pakistan under her geostrategic location remains at the fulcrum of major power's competition.
- **Geo-Economics:** Geo-economics is gaining precedence over geopolitics. Presence of two major economies of the world i.e. China and India; within the neighbourhood of Pakistan not only enhances the importance of the region but also offers enormous opportunities for Pakistan, if we manage a fine balance in our relationship with major powers.
- **Regional Balance of Power:** Evolving transformation in the Middle East and adjoining contiguous areas has manifested turf war between Saudi Arabia and Iran for regional dominance. While Pakistan has so far maintained a policy of engagement with both competing regional powers, however, pragmatic long-term policy of relevance with both countries will prove to be in Pakistan's strategic interests.
- **Afghanistan:** Currently, Afghanistan is repositioning to competing interests of the major powers with inconsistency of relations with Pakistan. Reconciliation is the key to outline the contours of peace and stability in Afghanistan. Situation in Afghanistan directly impinges upon the internal security of Pakistan. Peace and stability in Afghanistan is in the larger interests of Pakistan, therefore, fall out of instability in Afghanistan necessitates the development of broad-based relations and facilitation of ongoing intra-Afghan reconciliation process and Taliban rapprochement with the USA.
- **India:** Fragility of Pakistan-India relations continues, as evident from recent abrogation of Special Status of Kashmir by deleting the Article 370 and 35A from the Indian Constitution, LOC incidents and ongoing situation in IOK, where brutal incidents of human rights violations are occurring as normal phenomena. Indian Government's refusal to reciprocate all peace offers made by the present Pakistani Government is dimming the prospects of durable peace in South Asia. Any miscalculation on either side will have devastating consequences. President Trump's statements on Kashmir are welcome gestures but demand pro-active foreign policy measures in creating environments,

where India eventually agrees on de-escalation and creating an environment of lasting peace.

- **China:** China remains economic and trade centric while pursuing a “*Harmonious World View*” policy. Stability in Afghanistan, Iron Brother’s relations with Pakistan and common fight against terrorism figures out as important aspects in security calculus of China. CPEC promises huge benefits for China, Pakistan and the region. ‘US \$ 60 billion investment in mega projects in Pakistan has been graded as fate changer for Pakistan and game changer for the region.’² However, China’s economic engagement with India is boosting, which has now crossed US \$ 100 billion apart from enhanced engagement at diplomatic level.³ This scenario offers enormous opportunities to Pakistan in the resetting trajectory of her relations with India by using good offices of China.

Pakistan’s Internal Environment

Pakistan has come a long way since the start of the US led War on terrorism and rise of several violent non-state actors. With wholehearted nation’s support, security forces have defeated terrorism from all over the country and the few so called sleeper cells whether active or inactive are being targeted. The salient aspects of the domestic landscape of Pakistan are appended below:

- Rising civil society, energetic youth, and awareness among masses is a positive sign amidst deteriorating national cohesion.
- Ethnic fissures, sectarianism, and extremism are on the rise leading to cleavages amongst masses.
- Weak governance, mismanagement and misappropriations have led to weak economic growth and discontentment among the masses.
- Rising poverty, lack of education, health problems, lack of vocational training facilities and growth of unskilled population are potential burdens to the state’s resources.
- Unbridled and commercially motivated media while creating awareness among masses has been a source of despondency in society.
- Notwithstanding above, the positive trends discernible in society, if properly harnessed, could help turn around the situation and make the realization of Pakistan’s full potential a reality.
- For ease of assimilation, the internal security matrix of Pakistan has been elaborated in the ensuing table bearing nature of threat being

experienced in different regions depending on the type and motives of the actors.⁴

Actor	Region	Threat
TTP + Foreign players	FATA	Trans-nationalist
Tribals + Foreign players	Balochistan	Sub-nationalist
Polity + Clergy + Mafia	Karachi	Politico-economic
Madaris + Militants + Polity	Punjab + KPK	Politico-eco + sectarian
Locals	Gilgit-Baltistan	Sectarian
Feudals	Sindh	Politico-economic

The environmental scan has enabled us to quantify the challenges faced by the state of Pakistan, which will help in formulating a comprehensive National Security Policy.

National Security Challenges

Pakistan confronts a complex security landscape and unprecedented challenges to its national security.⁵ These emanate from a diverse array of sources internal and external, overt and covert, direct and indirect, hard and soft, old and new, traditional and non-traditional⁶. Some of these challenges are the unintended consequence of Pakistan's past policies, while others have resulted from structural or trigger causes. This wide spectrum of challenges have been clustered through a matrix based on sectors of Comprehensive National Security.

- **Primary Referent Object – State or Individuals:** While identifying security challenges, two referents come to mind; state or an individual. While human is the primary object, most of the political scientists like Barry Buzan and Weaver conclude that state remains the primary referent to provide security which addresses human security challenges as well.
- **Sectors of Analytical Security Model:** To delineate the ambit of Comprehensive National Security framework, three analytical models enunciated by different political scientists were evaluated. These

include Barry Buzan's five sectors of National Security,⁷ Nils Andren Six Variables⁸ and Lenore G. Martin's five interacting variables.⁹

Analytical National Security Models

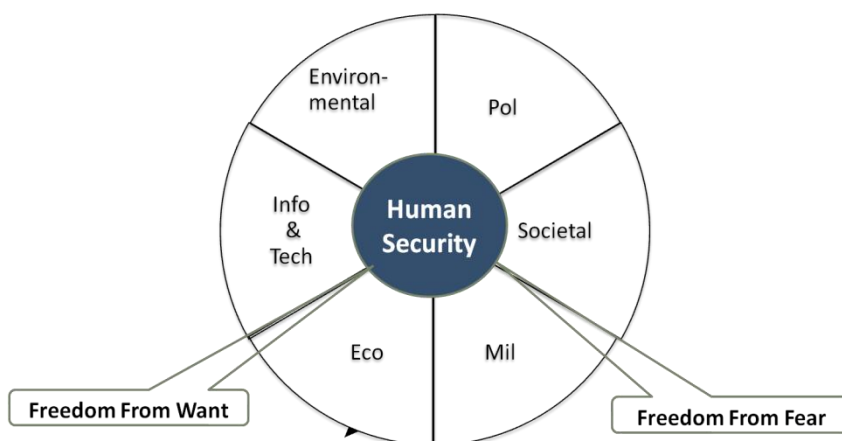
<u>Barry Buzan</u>	<u>Nils Andren</u>	<u>Lenore G Martin</u>
Military	Territorial	Political
Political	Economic	Ethnic & Religious
Economic	Cultural	Economic
Societal	Ecological	Natural Resources
Environmental	Socio-Political	Military
	Military & Diplomacy	

Sectors - National Security Framework of Pakistan

- Political
- Economic
- Military
- Societal
- Religious- has been dovetailed with societal sector
- Information and Technology
- Environmental

Place of Human Security

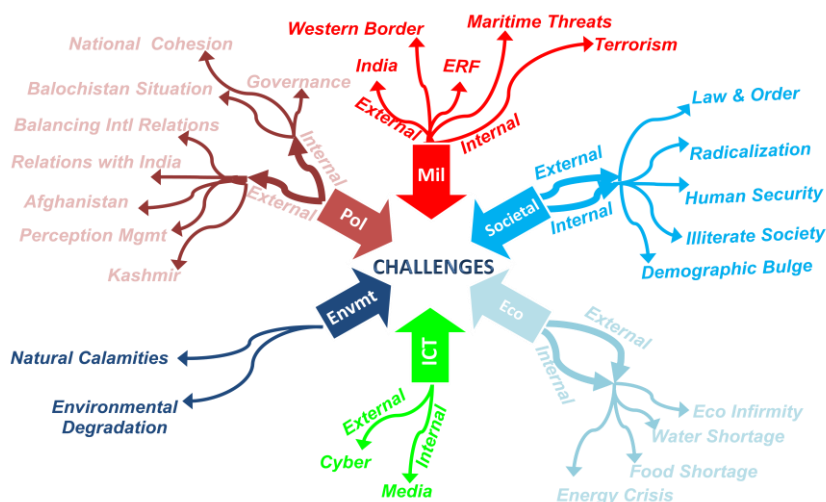
Human security both freedom from want and freedom from fear lies at the core of this model.¹⁰



Complexity of Security Challenges

- The sectors defined by all three of them are interlinked, well-knitted and overlapping and therefore exact boundaries cannot be drawn between these sectors.
- Instead of divulging into every aspect of state functioning, only those areas have been identified which affect the state of Pakistan the most.
- Analyses deliberate to identify causes as well as their manifestations.
- Clear demarcations between Internal and External Challenges cannot be made owing to their complicated linkages.

Challenges Matrix at a Glance



Political Aspects

- **Inter-Provincial Disharmony:** Lack of agreed and stable framework on water and resource distribution, share in NFC award, neglect and inability to handle mainstreaming issues in time and marginalization of segments of society especially in under-developed provinces have created sense of alienation and given rise to sub-nationalist elements supported by their foreign masters for taking arms and challenging the writ of state in Balochistan and KPK Provinces. It must be realized that strong federating units are the guarantor of strong Pakistan, therefore, all areas must develop proportionately.
- **Governance:** Weak governance and lack of ability to foresee and address commoner's problems are causing despondency among the

masses. Academically, governance contains elements like policy formulation, regulation and implementation and use of “public resources for public management”.¹¹

- **Corruption:** Corruption involves a level of state capture, which is rooted in weak capacity of state institutions along with a lack of control and accountability due to vested interests of the ruling elite. Different estimates show that daily corruption in Pakistan is more than 7 billion Rupees. Besides financial corruption, ethical and procedural corruption is equally damaging.
- **Perception Management:** Despite enormous sacrifices and losses in terms of men and material, with over 63000 deaths and an equal number injured and economic losses to the tune of over US \$ 120 billion, the international community still demands from Pakistan to do more. Despite unprecedented successes in rooting out menace of terrorism and bringing lasting stability in erstwhile FATA region, and overall contribution to global peace through United Nations peace missions, the negative perception about Pakistan is misplaced and prejudiced.
- **Situation in Erstwhile FATA and Balochistan:** Underdevelopment, foreign involvements and use of hard power in the past without tangible developmental agenda have kept parts of Balochistan and FATA in a perpetual state of destabilization and eroded the writ of the state. While enhanced developmental activities and mainstreaming is underway, yet the pace of implementation vis-à-vis the enormity of challenges need to be fast-tracked for speedy impact.
- **Resolution of Kashmir Issue:** Indian intransigence towards Kashmir resolution has resulted in three wars, however, the issue stands unresolved till to date. The recent abrogation of Article 370 and 35A in Indian occupied Kashmir by the Indian government and comprehensive response by Pakistan and the international community demands proactive all-encompassing policy towards its peaceful resolution of disputes.
- **Balanced Relations:** Pragmatic policy in balancing relations with major powers like USA, China Russia and other regional powers such as Saudi Arabia and Iran is the need of the hour. Pakistan must maintain constructive engagement and be relevant to all irrespective of regional and global environment.
- **Relation with India:** Mistrust, hatred & animosity coupled by Indian rising stature and global relevance is hardening Indian stance on

dispute resolution on Kashmir and other teething issues with Pakistan. The present Government's peace offers have not been reciprocated by India, instead Prime Minister Modi has adopted a ferocious policy of diplomatic isolation of Pakistan.

- **Relations with Afghanistan:** Peace & Stability in Afghanistan directly impacts Pakistan, but the complexity of situation enhances due to uncertainty, fragility, vested interests, internal fissures, Indian involvement and ongoing reconciliation process with some positive indicators. Therefore, successful completion of Afghan transition and improved bilateral relationship, contributing to regional stability while countering Indian designs shall be one of the biggest challenges.

Military Aspects

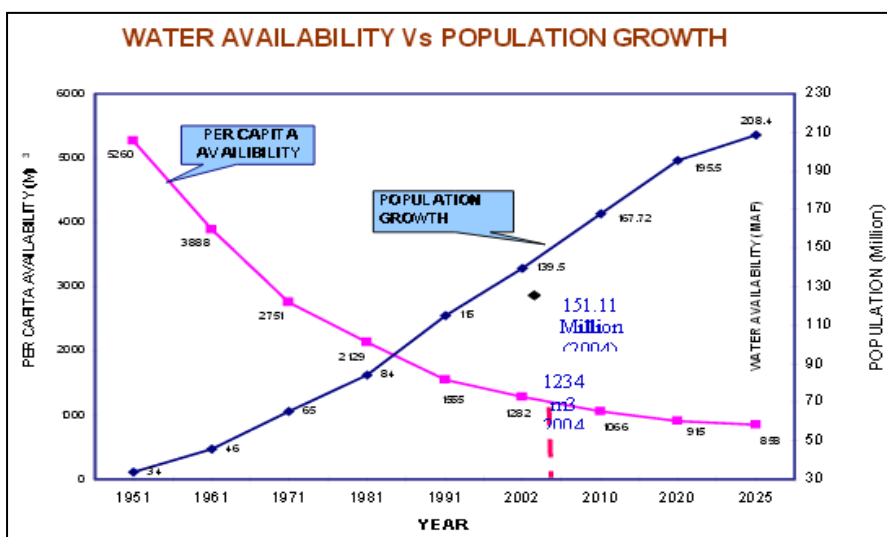
- **Countering Threat from India:** Growing conventional asymmetry, power differential, and Pakistan specific doctrines as against Pakistan's eroding economic capacity to meet defense requirements continue to pose a challenge. Indian involvement in Balochistan and former FATA through indirect means by promoting sub-nationalism and proxy war to cause internal fissures and destabilization.
- **Eradication of Terrorism:** Terrorism in Pakistan takes various forms such as criminal, ethnic, religious extremism and sectarian. This is aided by porous Afghan border, inconclusive war in Afghanistan, and contributing societal factors like poverty, lack of education, unemployment, and Madrassah culture etc. Despite unprecedented successes in eradicating the menace of terrorism, developmental aspects need fast track implementation.
- **Maritime Security:** Pakistan lies in the proximity to Strait of Hormuz and Gulf of Oman and houses a rich EEZ infested with huge potential. Moreover, the growing importance of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) in the global power politics and presence of stronger Indian maritime forces in the neighbourhood are a matter of concern.

Economic Aspects

- **Struggling Economy:** Pakistan's declining GDP growth of 3.3% during the fiscal year 2018/19, reduction in FDI and increase in trade deficit speak the economic frailties of Pakistan. Reduced fiscal space, shrinking economic capacity and poor economic policies coupled with mismanagement and corruption result in declining socioeconomic

conditions like poverty, unemployment, high cost of living, etc. thus leading to general discontentment, frustration and sense of deprivation.

- **Water Security:** Former WAPDA chairman stated that Pakistan is fast moving towards water-scarce country and “by 2025 situation will deteriorate further”.¹² Water storage, regulation, and consumption practices have put Pakistan under huge stress, and this is assuming to be an alarming national security challenge of the future if not handled well in time and in an appropriate manner.



- **Food Security:** The lack of water management and regulation mechanism, the unprecedented impact of climate change in the shape of drought and excessive rains are causing strain on capacity to grow, distribute and preserve adequate food despite agro-based economy. Pakistan is listed among 36 countries facing food shortage.

Societal Aspects

- **Human Security:** The persistent stagnant economy coupled with a growing population, lack of compatible health and education facilities are increasing poverty, illiteracy and social insecurity. The ongoing scenario presents a complex human security picture that is eroding the fabrics of society.
- **Population Growth:** Existing population of over 200 million with a growth rate of over 2.1% warrants a consistent economic growth rate of at least to be absorbed and integrated into the society, which seems an uphill task. The demographic bulge if not translated into a secure,

educated and skilled society will create serious challenges for the state in years to come.

Information and Technology Aspects

The challenges in information domain emerge from insidious and negative use of all means of information, including media ranging from cultural co-option to perception management of masses and spreading of despondency in society.

Environmental Aspects

Pollution causes environmental degradation which is further aided by deforestation of meagre forested areas. In the recent past, the frequency of natural calamities has also increased considerably resulting in huge loss to the human life and property while causing devastation to the economy of country thus adding strain to the meagre resources. The calamities have the potential to hit the very basic structure and demographic fibre of the society thus leading to unrest and security issues.

National Security Mechanism in Pakistan

The strategic scan of prevailing and projected environment and national security challenges being faced by the state, it will be appropriate to highlight some of the structural transformations in terms of national security management in Pakistan handle overall national security challenges in a befitting manner and capitalize on the opportunities offered by a globalized world.¹³

- **National Security Council (NSC) in Pakistan:** The NSC or a similar highest decision-making body has existed in various forms as an arrangement whereby civil and military hierarchy share the responsibility of institutionalized decision-making on matters of national security. However, this body did not contribute to decision making on national security issues as it was supposed.¹⁴
- **Defence Committee of Cabinet (DCC):** The DCC as a permanent body to debate national security issues and implement comprehensive policy has been the only forum to occasionally deliberate on event-triggered approach. Despite numerous attacks on defence installations and on innocent civilians, DCC could not develop and approve a National Security Strategy.¹⁵
- **Coordination Committee for National Security and Defence (CCNSD):** CCNSD was created for the specific task of formulating and

overseeing the implementation of national security policy but has not contributed significantly so far.¹⁶

Analytical Debate on National Security Management in Pakistan

Structural Issues

- **Decision Making at Highest level:** Historically, the decision-making in Pakistan on matters of security and foreign policy has been managed through a combination of informal arrangements and institutional frameworks.¹⁷ There is a slow but subtle increase in the role of the civilian government and the Parliament in these matters. Such arrangements have been major sources of friction affecting civil-military relations. Policy organization shuffled between NSC, DCC, and CCNSD, the prime purpose of this highest decision making body is yet to be realized due to its redundancy in meeting frequently as well as the practice of decision making beyond its domains. Consequently, decision making is reactive, instead of proactive.
- **Limited Scope of National Security Policy:** Pakistan's national security has been handled erstwhile, as a current and dynamic strategy with inputs and recommendations of relevant stakeholders. The scope of national security was seen in its narrower form of national defense, internal security and foreign relations, while economy served the purpose of sustaining the state in governance and national security infrastructure in its limited context. In line with the current trends of national security, other dynamics like human security, energy, and food security, water security etc. are being considered for strategizing in national security paradigm. However, lack of institutional mechanism and less urgency in promulgating NSP of Pakistan is resulting in reactive policies.

Policy Issues

In the absence of overarching policy documents, which should be guiding the state institutions, the well-coordinated subordinate policies in sync with NSP, the response is generally crisis management on occurrence. There is great realization among all stakeholders for comprehensive NSP guiding subordinate policies, yet its actualization is far from sight.

Economic and Human Security

Under-developed population, as well as human sufferings in the wake of natural calamities as a potential threat, under weak economic profile, pose present and futuristic challenges to human security in Pakistan. In view of present dangers of terrorism and limitations imposed by weak economy, the current policy lays perfunctory attention to the very dynamic challenges to human security. Resultantly, food crisis, energy shortfalls, health issues, calamities, disaster management and growing unskilled population appear as flashpoints. The continuous decline in GDP growth rate is a worrisome development that must be addressed at priority as strong economy is ultimate guarantor of national security.

Political Stability

For the development of any country, consistency of policies is an important success ladder. Unfortunately, in last three political governments, the tug of war between government and opposition remained a continuous struggle, which kept all stakeholders distracted from their core functions. While people's power is ultimate guarantor of national security and development of Pakistan, therefore, people's wishes must be respected. Enduring political stability is ultimate guarantor of National security, therefore, all state institutions must render wholehearted support for lasting stability in the country.

Internal Security

While Pakistan's Armed Forces with the support of Pakistani nation and all state institutions have successfully defeated the menace of terrorism and have restored the writ of the government, yet few sleeper cells are finding rare opportunities of exploitation and targeting innocent people. A comprehensive mechanism like National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) should be made a permanent feature for a comprehensive response. Removing inter-provincial disharmony, equitable share of all federating units in finance, water, jobs and development are some of the measures for alleviating marginalized feelings among the provinces. Decentralization of administrative powers down to the lowest governance level will make everyone stake-holder in the governance, which will eventually strengthen the federation.

External Security

The conventional defense of Pakistan is undoubtedly robust and formidable with strong conventional forces backed up by strategic capability. However, other elements of external security like foreign policy and interstate relations have to be rearticulated to remain relevant and proactive in dealing with the developments in

our neighbourhood like Middle East, Afghanistan and Kashmir. While overarching constituents of our foreign policy should follow Quaid's vision of peace without, therefore, appropriate foreign policy option should be exercised for handling evolving situations in our region and resultant challenges.

Proposed Way Forward for National Security Management in Pakistan

There is a great debate and realization in Pakistan to formulate National Security policy beyond the realm of military security alone. Through a multidimensional approach, aspects of social, political, diplomatic and economic should be integrated into national security planning¹⁸. In this backdrop, some policy recommendations are suggested in ensuing paragraphs.

- **National Security Management Structure:** The different formats discussed in previous parts of this paper have been tried and implemented, yet a cohesive policy formulation remains a distant possibility. The universally practiced format of the National Security Council (NSC) or secretariat (NSS) and National Security Advisor (NSA) is the best structure available to comprehensively prepare, update and revise national security policy. The secretariat should preferably have a wider representation of both civil and military components to include concerned ministries in the form of co-opting membership in the Planning Committee, representation from all provinces and security establishments will facilitate decision making and implementation mechanisms. This secretariat should formally interact with relevant standing committees of the parliament as well.
- **Comprehensive Approach to National Security:** Over years, Pakistan has adopted "hard" path to national security¹⁹, focusing on military force alone. While the soft path takes an expansive and arguably more sustainable view of national security, it had been a difficult choice for Pakistan due to multiple reasons. Consequently, the correct prioritization of allocation of resources could never be made. On the other hand, Pakistan is confronted with myriad of problems, which is a complex blend of mismanagement of economy and policies. While Pakistan's defense needs require re-assessment and management of available resources deserves more focus. In the absence of any alternate plan, better Governance, prudent economic policies, correct prioritization and proactive diplomacy is the need of hour. The national security policy should not only focus on counter-terrorism policy,

rather it should address all facets of national security. Initial thrust may be directed to counter-terrorism as a priority issue, yet other aspects of political, economic, human and energy security should remain high on the agenda.

- **Guidelines to Subordinate Policies:** A cohesive national security policy should outline clear, tangible and achievable guidelines to subordinate policies like foreign, internal, economic, military, media, etc. The respective ministries should then formulate their respective policies and strategies for making Pakistan a stable, prosperous and developed nation in coming 5-10 years. The environments of internal and external peace have to be created for eventual economic development backed up by political stability, diplomatic relevance, and pragmatic policies.

Conclusion

Today Pakistan is facing serious challenges both on internal and external fronts. The extremely sensitive and volatile regional environment demands that we objectively refine our strategic response and national policies besides an enhanced relationship with world powers to maintain peace in the region, so that the resultant stable environment becomes a catalyst for ushering an era of stability and prosperity for the people of Pakistan. The national security policy should take into account the military security aspects, without relegating other dimensions like political, societal and economy, etc. in the formulation of a comprehensive national security paradigm. There is great realization today for NSP and this is the right time to recommence the stalled process of instituting the national security management system and formulation of national security policy for a comprehensive response to all types of challenges we face today. On an optimistic note, we are a resilient and dynamic nation and we have demonstrated to face and defeat challenges in totality. Therefore, NSP and its suitably agreed structure should never be a problem as it is in our best national interest.

NOTES

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