Performance of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS | MARCH 2012
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The Citizens Report on the Performance of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security covers the period of March 2011-March 2012. Prepared by PILDAT, the report closely examines the publicly-available data on the work of the Parliamentary Committee which was formed as a result of a joint Parliamentary resolution in November 2008.

This report has been prepared under the overall objective of strengthening Parliamentary oversight on defence and national security in Pakistan. This report is a continuation of the analysis prepared by PILDAT for the past 3 years titled Performance of the Parliamentary Committees of Defence and National Security: March 15, 2008 – March 15, 2011 (May 2011).

PILDAT is mindful of the fact that the democratic institutions like the Parliament and Parliamentary committees have not developed over the years due to repeated military interventions and long spells of autocratic or semi-autocratic regimes led by military.

This citizens review, therefore, is meant to assist the Parliament in its oversight functions. The objective of the report is not to offer a critique of the work of the committee but to analyse the performance in the backdrop of peculiar security needs of Pakistan and the role Parliament is playing in respect to defining and influencing policy and principles of national security.

Acknowledgments
This report has been prepared by PILDAT team including Mr. Khurram Malik, Projects Manager-PILDAT, and Ms. Aasiya Riaz, Joint Director-PILDAT, under the supervision of Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob, Executive Director-PILDAT.

Disclaimer
PILDAT and its team have made every effort to ensure the accuracy of the contents of this report and do not accept any omission or error as it is not deliberate.

Islamabad
March 2012
The Parliamentary Committee on National Security has held a total of 63 meetings during the period of November 2008 to March 2012 culminating in the presentation of the Committee's recommendations on revisiting Pakistan's Foreign Policy to a joint sitting of the Parliament on March 20, 2012.

The 16-point recommendations of the Committee, called “Guidelines for Revised Terms of Engagement with US/NATO/ISAF & general Foreign Policy” can be termed as a constructive and comprehensive framework for improvement of Pakistan's foreign policy. While the Parliament will begin its review and perhaps modify some of these before these are adopted, it is important to see how effectively these are implemented by the Government of Pakistan. The recommendations on developing good neighbourly relations reinforce the need to devote diplomatic energies to this.

Most recommendations by the Committee focus on restructuring Pak-US relations in line with the general public sentiments. The emphasis that relations should be based on written agreements and not verbal agreements that must be backed by the Parliamentary sanction in Pakistan is important. The message of the Committee that the US must review its footprints in Pakistan is outside the ambit of the Committee as it can offer recommendations only to the Government of Pakistan.

A number of recommendations by the Committee arrogate various rights to the Parliament such as use of Pakistani bases or airspace contingent on Parliamentary approval. It needs to be elaborated whether approval should be through a joint Parliamentary resolution. Only the elected executive can take decisions in cases involving emergency use which must be spelled out. The Committee also recommends that in addition to various Ministries, all proposed Agreements/MOUs relating to national security are to be circulated to the Parliamentary Committee on National Security to vet these. It must be pointed out that policies are framed and decisions are taken by the cabinet in a Parliamentary form of government and Parliament provides broad guidelines and exercises oversight of the implementation of these policies by the executive. Moreover, other committees, such as those dealing with foreign affairs and defence, must also be part of the ambit of seeking Parliamentary recommendations.

Although the guidelines cover the essence of the committee work, it is hoped that in due course the committee would submit a complete report to the House which records the terms of reference assigned to it, the number of meetings held and other details which are important for the record. The report submitted at the end of the deliberations on 18th Constitutional Amendment by the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms, again headed by Senator Raza Rabbani, had set a good standard of such reports.

On the road to strengthening Parliament's oversight on defence and national security, the very formation of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security (PCNS) in 2008 to conduct a “review of the national security strategy and revisit the methodology of combating terrorism in order to restore peace and stability through an independent foreign policy,” ¹ can be termed as a step forward. The Parliamentary Committee fares better when compared with the performance of the Senate and National Assembly's Committees on Defence.

The Committee has discussed a variety of issues during November 2008 March 2012 including Pak-US relations, Memo Scandal, Anti-Terrorism legislation, Counter-Terrorism Authority and relations between Pakistan and India, etc. The Committee formally made its recommendations during this period on 4 issues:

1. Recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security
2. Recommendations on Indo-Pak Relations
3. Recommendations on London Conference on Afghanistan
4. Guidelines for Revised Terms of Engagement with US/NATO/ISAF & general Foreign Policy ²

Despite being charged with deliberating on the very issue, the Parliamentary Committee on National Security has not come up with a comprehensive National Security Policy.

¹ Joint Resolution of the Parliament, October 22, 2008
² Data received from the secretariat of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security
While the committee has deliberated, during the course of the year, on the draft Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Bill, 2010 and the draft Law on National Counter-Terrorism Authority, it is unclear what are the recommendations of the committee on these two crucial issues. Security agencies of Pakistan continue to point to lack of effective anti-terrorism laws as a hindrance in effectively containing the terrorist elements.

While it is recognized that there are committee meetings discussing national security which need to be held in camera but not all aspects of national security are a secret. It is recommended that the committee should review its policy of a blanket in-camera procedure of holding all deliberations. It is important that the committee maintains a liaison with the public at large to create the ownership of the people of the national security policies. Public hearings, inviting public comments and opening these hearings to the media and public will enhance the public trust in the parliamentary committee, the Parliament as an institution and in the state policies. This will also help create the crucial public buy-in needed on issues of Pakistan's national security concerns and foreign policy.

Looking ahead, it is important that the Parliamentary Committee engages in a periodic review and assessment of the Pakistan's foreign policy and its national security preferences. The review, which must be made public, should draw upon various recommendations of the Parliament and the committee over the years.
Introduction

In October 2008, an in-camera joint session of the Pakistan Parliament (Senate and the National Assembly) was convened to discuss security situation in the country and devise, by consensus, a comprehensive strategy to counter terrorism and extremism. The session concluding on October 22, 2008, adopted a joint resolution calling for, among other clauses, “an urgent review of the national security strategy and revisiting the methodology of combating terrorism in order to restore peace and stability through an independent foreign policy.” The resolution also called for constituting a “Special Committee of Parliament ... to periodically review, provide guidelines and monitor the implementation of the principles framed and roadmap given in this resolution.”

It is in this backdrop that a Parliamentary Committee on National Security was formed in November 2008. The Committee's terms of reference were “to periodically review, provide guidelines and monitor the implementation of the principles framed and roadmap given in the resolution.”

The National Security Committee has the power to “summon or invite any Minister, Official or any other person to carry out the purpose of the Resolution and seek Government record including classified record, information and assistance from any Government or Agency in that regard.”

It was also decided in the rules that all sittings of the Committee will be held in-camera and proceedings of the committee to be treated as confidential unless otherwise decided by the Committee. While the committee rules make it mandatory for the Committee to present ‘periodic’ recommendations to the Government, the committee did not set a specific period for presentation of these recommendations, whereas the rules make a time-frame of one month binding on the Government to apprise the committee of the actions taken on its recommendations.

The Committee has, however, been raising lack of implementation on its recommendations as a matter of concern.³

| Table 1: Membership of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Party           | No. Of Members  |
| PPPP            | 2               |
| 1. Senator Mian Raza Rabbani Sindh, PPPP |
| 2. Senator Babar Awan Punjab, PPPP |
| PPP (S)         | 1               |
| 3. Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao, MNA NA-8 Charsadda-II, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, PPPP |
| PML-N           | 2               |
| 4. Senator Ishaq Dar Punjab, PML-N |
| 5. Sardar Mehtab Ahmed Khan, MNA NA-17 Abbottabad-I, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, PML-N |
| PML             | 1               |
| 6. Senator Wassim Sajjad Punjab, PML |
| ANP             | 1               |
| 7. Asfandyar Wali Khan, MNA NA-7 Charsadda-I, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, ANP |
| MQM             | 1               |
| 8. Syed Haider Abbas Rizvi, MNA NA-253 Karachi-XV, Sindh, MQM |
| BNP(A)          | 1               |
| 9. Senator Mir Israr Ullah Zehri Baluchistan, BNP |
| JUI-F           | 1               |
| 10. Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman, MNA NA-26, Bannu, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, JUI-F |
| JIP             | 1               |
| 11. Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, JI |
| PKMAP           | 1               |
| 12. Senator Abdul Rahim Khan Mandokhel Baluchistan, PKMAP |
| JWP             | 1               |
| 13. Senator Shahid Hassan Bugti Baluchistan, JWP |
| Ind             | 1               |
| 14. Munir Khan Orakzai, MNA NA-38 Tribal Area-III, FATA |
| Total           | 14              |


Committee Membership

Senator Mian Raza Rabbani (Sindh, PPPP) serves as the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security. The party wise distribution of the committee is provided in Table 1.

Meetings of the Committees

The Parliamentary Committee on National Security has held 63 meetings from November 2008 to March 2012, an average 16 meetings per year.

When compared with other related committees such as the National Assembly Standing Committee on Defence and the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and National Security, this Committee fares far better in terms of number of meetings. The Senate Defence Committee held 34 meetings while the National Assembly Defence Committee held 36 meetings.

Table 2 provides a list of issues discussed by the Committee as well as those on which the Committee submitted its recommendations.

Table 2: Performance of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security: November 2008 – March 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Meetings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Issues Discussed</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>NATO air strike</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Memo Scandal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pak-US Relations</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Presentation on Jinnah Institute's Report</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Recommendations on legislations pertaining to National Security</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Discussion on Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Bill, 2010, introduced in the Senate of Pakistan &amp; pending before the Senate Standing Committee on Interior</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Discussion on the draft Law on National Counter-Terrorism Authority</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Discussion on prevailing situation in the Country</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Internally Displaced persons (IDPs)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Indo-Pak Dialogue</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Prevailing situation in relation to War on Terror</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Formulation of Recommendations in the light interaction with major stakeholders</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Reported US Pressure on Pakistan to go for Military Operation in North Waziristan</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Discussion on overall situation in the Country (without specially mentioning agenda)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Recommendations on Indo-Pak Relations</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Recommendations on London Conference on Afghanistan</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Guidelines for Revised Terms of Engagement with US/NATO/ISAF &amp; general Foreign Policy</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Meetings during 2011-2012

From March 2011 to March 2012, following meetings of the Committee were reported in the media.

April 19, 2011: Condemnation of Drone attacks
On April 19, 2011, the Parliamentary Committee on National Security condemned ongoing drone strikes and urged the Government to take all possible steps to curb these attacks. Senator Raza Rabbani told media after the in-camera meeting that officials from the Foreign Office presented details to the Committee about the Prime Minister's recent visit to Afghanistan. Rabbani noted that members of the committee were in a consensus that there could be no compromise on sovereignty of the country especially in light of a unanimous Parliament Resolution condemning drone attacks. The official change in line means that demarches are issued when an attack takes place, which was not the case before.  

April 29, 2011: Meeting on Foreign Policy
The Committee spent its time questioning State Minister for Foreign Affairs Hina Rabbani Khar on the country's foreign policy with respect to United States, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan. Khar briefed the committee that the Government wanted to expand ties with China, India, Iran and Afghanistan. Furthermore, she expressed a need for these alliances to break away from past structures that created regional tensions. It was reported that nine out of 17 members of the committee were in attendance.

July 19, 2011: Raymond Davis issue
The Committee on National Security directed the Foreign Office to make arrangements for a centralized mechanism to keep track of all outsiders visiting or working in Pakistan. This was a result of Raymond Davis controversy, in which the country's authorities were unable to determine whether the American citizen who shot two Pakistanis in Lahore had diplomatic immunity against trial in local courts.

According to committee chairman Senator Raza Rabbani a centralized mechanism would ensure a transparent system of protecting national interests in the confrontational atmosphere of foreign relations. The committee urged the Government to implement its recommendations regarding US-Pakistan relations after a unanimous resolution was adopted by a joint-sitting of Parliament on May 13, including eviction of US forces from Shamsi Airbase. The committee also asked the Interior Ministry to provide drafts of the Anti-Terrorism bill and National Counter Terrorism Authority bill for review.

July 30, 2011: Briefings by Defence and Interior Secretaries on National Security
The Parliamentary Committee on National Security summoned Interior Minister Senator Rehman Malik in regard to a statement he issued against Raiwind Tablighi Markaz, terming it as a center of militants. The Defense Secretary and Interior Secretary also briefed the committee about the state of national security in the country. The committee summoned the details of defense cooperation from the Defense ministry between the US and Pakistan after the onset of the war on terror. Furthermore, it discussed possible amendments to the Anti-Terrorism bill and establishment of an Anti-Terrorism authority.

August 19, 2011: Meeting on Afghanistan Situation
The Committee met to discuss the Afghanistan situation.

October 11, 2011: PCNS refused to attend briefing in GHQ
The Parliamentary Committee on National Security refused to attend a briefing on the security situation and US-Pakistan impasse at the General Headquarters alongside other Parliamentary Committees. This is in keeping with the public stance taken by Senator Rabbani that it is the security agencies that must brief the Parliament and its bodies in the Parliamentary premises and not at the security headquarters.

December 3, 2011: Committee endorsed DCC Decisions
The Parliamentary Committee on National Security endorsed the decision of the Defense Committee of the
Cabinet to abstain from the Bonn Conference, halt in NATO supplies and evacuation of Shamsi Airbase. The Prime Minister briefed the committee on NATO attacks on a Pakistani security post in Mohmand Agency, leading to the unanimous support of the joint DCC and federal cabinet decision to suspend movement of NATO supplies through Pakistan and boycott of the conference in Bonn. It was asserted that irrespective of political divisions, national interest and sovereignty must not be neglected.

December 9, 2011, Review of Pak-US relations
The Parliamentary Committee on National Security asked the Government to provide details of all written and verbal agreements to the United States and NATO since 2001 during the Musharraf era. The committee requested these agreements in order to finalize its recommendations on how to re-formulate US-Pakistan relations in the light of NATO attacks on the check-post in Mohmand Agency and the Memo issue. Chairman of the Committee, Senator Raza Rabbani while addressing the media, stated that the committee had decided to summon the Foreign Office and Defense Ministry officials to ascertain modalities of agreements and assurances given to the US and NATO.

December 21, 2011: Probe on Memo Issue
The Parliamentary Committee on National Security launched its probe into the memo controversy and recorded statements of Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir and Defense Secretary Lt. General (Retd.) Naem Khalid Lodhi. Members of the PML-N in the Parliamentary Committee wished to abstain from the memo proceeding, as their party was pursuing the case in the Supreme Court, but their request to stay away from the meeting was turned down by the committee members.

Senator Raza Rabbani told the media that the committee was investigating copies of correspondence between various actors, including the army chief, DG-ISI, former ambassador to US Husain Haqqani and Mansoor Ijaz in the Supreme Court over the issue. The affidavit submitted by former US national security advisor General James Jones to the Supreme Court was also under review.

December 24, 2011: Review of Pak-US Relations
The details of agreements between the United States and Pakistan since 2001 were provided to the Parliamentary Committee on National Security. There was a great deal of secrecy over the modalities of the nine agreements. Despite the insistence of the Parliamentary Committee that details of the agreements were not public information, media reports indicate that the first part allows US and NATO forces right to fly over Pakistani airspace, in order to carry out operations in Afghanistan and ‘bordering areas.’ Furthermore, the agreements delineate intelligence-sharing with US and NATO forces for conducting operations against Taliban and Al-Qaeda; territorial access such as for fuel supply, and, transit facilities to International Security Assistant Forces (ISAF). The agreements also add that fuel shipments to Taliban must be cut off to curb terrorist activity. An agreement also refers to the Coalition Support Fund, through which Pakistan would be funded and reimbursed for its role.

January 04, 2012: Finalization of draft Recommendations on Pak-US relations
The Committee finalized its draft recommendations for a new set of engagement with the United States and the future of NATO transit supplies. The Parliamentary Committee on National Security announced that the relations should be conditional on greater access to US and European markets, the transfer of civil nuclear technology and an agreement to assist Pakistan in overcoming its energy crisis. The media reported that the committee endorsed a complete halt in drone attacks and respect for national sovereignty. The draft recommendations also proposed a complete ban on NATO supplies through Pakistan.

January 10, 2012: Review of NATO supply and US relations
The Parliamentary Committee unanimously endorsed the cut in ground supply to US and NATO forces, while disapproving the use of Pakistani airspace without the consent of the Parliament. The members of National Security Committee were of the opinion that all overt and

covert agreements with the United States should be validated in Parliament.\(^{15}\)

**January 24, 2012: DG ISI submitted response**

DG-ISI Lt. General Shuja Pasha submitted his response which the Parliamentary Committee had demanded on December 21, 2011.

**February 10, 2012: Memo Probe**

Parliamentary Committee on National Security decided not to record Mansoor Ijaz’s statement outside of Parliament. Senator Rabbani noted that it was the tradition of the Parliament that committee meeting should be held within its premises.

**February 11, 2012: Senator Khurshid resigned from Committee membership**

Senator Khurshid Ahmed of Jama’at-e-Islami resigned his membership from the Parliamentary Committee on National Security in protest of the on-going confrontation between the United States and Pakistan. According to Senator Ahmed, Parliament was not willingly to implement the recommendations of the National Security Committee on drone strikes and NATO transit supplies.\(^{16}\)

15. Rabbani Committee want denial of air space to NATO, The News, January 10, 2012

Conclusion

Analysis of the committees dealing with defence and national security shows that the Parliamentary Committee on National Security is by far the most active committee.

Since its formulation in November 2008, the committee has touched upon some very important subjects relating to Pakistan's national security concerns and priorities. During the course of its work, some very important and strategic issues have also been delegated to the Committee for its investigation and review.

Analysing the committee's performance in 2011, PILDAT had demanded that “Parliamentary committees need to seek details the framework under which Pakistan is cooperating with the United States. Such a mechanism is needed to be placed before the Parliament so it can investigate the legal framework within which US security and intelligence personnel operate in Pakistan and how the domestic laws of Pakistan are applied toward them. If Pakistan has not entered into a formal status of forces agreement with the United States, the Parliament and its defence and national security committees need to demand comprehensive details of any written or otherwise agreement that applies on Pak-US relations and arrangements for security and intelligence cooperation. Both the military establishment and the foreign office keep referring to red lines that the US should not cross on cooperation on counter terrorism and the committees must demand details of all such cooperation that falls under green, amber or red lines.”

A year down the line, the most important recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee on National Security vis-à-vis relations with the US demand just that: No verbal Agreement regarding national security and ratification of existing agreements by the Parliament.

Despite being charged with deliberating on the very issue, the Parliamentary Committee on National Security has not come up with a comprehensive National Security Policy.

While the committee has deliberated, during the course of the year, on the draft Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Bill, 2010 and the draft Law on National Counter-Terrorism Authority, it is unclear what are the recommendations of the committee on these two crucial issues. Security agencies of Pakistan continue to point to lack of effective anti-terrorism laws as a hindrance in effectively containing the terrorist elements.

This report is unable to comment on any recommendations that the Committee has not made public. While it is recognized that there are committee meetings discussing national security which need to be held in camera but not all aspects of national security are a secret. It is recommended that the committee should review its policy of a blanket in-camera procedure of holding all deliberations. Security and public order are for the people and have to be defined both legally and administratively by the public representatives. It is important that the committee also maintains a liaison with the public at large to create the ownership of the people of the national security policies. Public hearings, inviting public comments and opening these hearings to the media and public will enhance the public trust in the parliamentary committee, the parliament as an institution and in the state policies. This will also help create the crucial public buy-in needed on issues of Pakistan's national security concerns and foreign policy.

Looking ahead, it is important that the Parliamentary Committee engages in a periodic review and assessment of the Pakistan's foreign policy and its national security preferences. The review, which must be made public, should draw upon various recommendations of the Parliament and the committee over the years.

GUIDELINES FOR REVISED TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT WITH USA/NATO/ISAF AND GENERAL FOREIGN POLICY
Submitted by Parliamentary Committee on National Security to a Joint Session of Parliament on March 20, 2012

1. Pakistan's sovereignty shall not be compromised. The gap between assertion and facts on the ground needs to be qualitatively bridged through effective steps. The relationship with USA should be based on mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each other.

2. The Government needs to ensure that the principles of an independent foreign policy must be grounded in strict adherence to the Principles of Policy as stated in Article 40 of the Constitution of Pakistan, the UN Charter and observance of international law. The US must review its footprints in Pakistan. This means (i) the cessation of drone attacks inside the territorial borders of Pakistan, (ii) No hot pursuit or boots on Pakistani territory and (iii) the activity of foreign private security contractors must be transparent and subject to Pakistani law. It needs to be realized that drone attacks are counter productive, cause loss of valuable lives and property, radicalize the local population, create support for terrorists and fuel anti American sentiments.

3. Pakistan's nuclear program and assets including its safety and security cannot be compromised. The US-Indo civil nuclear agreement has significantly altered the strategic balance in the region therefore Pakistan should seek from the US and others a similar treatment/facility. The strategic position of Pakistan vis-à-vis India on the subject of FMCT must not be compromised and this principle be kept in view in negotiations on this matter.

4. Pakistan reaffirms its commitment to the elimination of terrorism and combating extremism in pursuance of its national interest.

5. The condemnable and unprovoked NATO/ISAF attack resulting in the martyrdom (shahadat) of 24 Pakistani soldiers, represents a breach of international law and constitutes a blatant violation of Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Government of Pakistan should seek an unconditional apology from the US for the unprovoked incident dated 25th-26th November, 2011, in Mohmand Agency in addition the following measures be taken;
   i) Those held responsible for the Mohmand Agency attack should be brought to justice.
   ii) Pakistan should be given assurances that such attacks or any other acts impinging on Pakistan's sovereignty, will not recur and that NATO/ISAF/US will take effective measures to avoid any such violations.
   iii) Any use of Pakistani bases or airspace by foreign forces would require Parliamentary approval.
   iv) Ministry of Defence/PAF and ISAF/US/NATO should draft new flying rules for areas contiguous to the border.

6. Any consideration regarding the reopening of NATO/ISAF/US supply routes must be contingent upon a thorough revision of the terms and conditions of the arrangement, including regulation and control of movement of goods and personnel which shall be subject to strict monitoring within Pakistan, on entry, transit and exit points.
   (a) No verbal Agreement regarding national security shall be entered into by the Government, its Ministries, Divisions, Departments, attached Departments, Autonomous Bodies or other Organizations with any foreign Government or Authority. If any such Agreement exists it should be reduced to writing immediately, failing which it shall cease to have effect within three months of the approval of these recommendations.
   (b) Pakistan's territory has been used by US/NATO/ISAF for logistic purposes. In this context, the following recommendations are made;
      ii) Acquisition and Crossservicing Agreement (US-PK-01) between the Department of Defence of the United States of America and the Ministry of Defence of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, dated 9th February, 2002, lapses in February, 2012. This Agreement and any implementing Agreements thereunder may only be renewed if required on new terms and conditions that should include respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan and ensures the national interests:

Provided in case of renegotiation of the said Agreement/MOU it should, inter alia, provide a clause on immediate suspension of transit facility through the territory of Pakistan if US/NATO/ISAF Forces violate in any manner the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan.
7. No overt or covert operations inside Pakistan shall be tolerated.
8. That for negotiating or re-negotiating Agreements/MOU’s pertaining to or dealing with matters of national security, the following procedure shall be adopted:
   i) All Agreements/MOU’s, including military cooperation and logistics, will be circulated to the Foreign Ministry and all concerned Ministries, attached or affiliated Organizations and Departments for their views;
   ii) All Agreements/MOU’s will be vetted by the Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs;
   iii) All Agreements/MOU’s will be circulated to the Parliamentary Committee on National Security. The Committee shall vet and make recommendations in consultation with the stakeholders and forward the same to the Federal Cabinet for approval under the Rules of Business of the Federal Government;
   iv) The Minister concerned will make a policy statement on the Agreements/MOU’s in both Houses of Parliament.

9. There should be prior permission and transparency on the number and presence of foreign intelligence operatives in Pakistan.
10. Fifty percent of US/ISAF/NATO containers may be handled through Pakistan Railways.
11. Taxes and other charges must be levied on all goods imported in or transiting through Pakistan, for use of infrastructure and to compensate for its deterioration. Such charges shall be inter alia used mainly to maintain and support infrastructure of KarachiTorkham and KarachiChaman roads.
12. The international community should recognize Pakistan's colossal human and economic losses and continued suffering due to the war on terror. In the minimum, greater market access of Pakistan's exports to the US, NATO countries and global markets should be actively pursued.
13. In the battle for the hearts and minds an inclusive process based on primacy of dialogue and reconciliation should be adopted. Such process must respect local customs, traditions, values and religious beliefs.
   (a) There is no military solution to the Afghan conflict and efforts must be undertaken to promote a genuine national reconciliation in an Afghan-led and Afghan-owned process.
   (b) To strengthen security along the PakistanAfghanistan border, including the cross border flow of criminal elements, narcotics and weapons, the feasibility of additional measures including electronic surveillance may be evaluated and the process of local joint Jirgas should be encouraged according to local customs and traditions.

14. That Pakistani territory shall not be used for any kind of attacks on other countries and all foreign fighters, if found, shall be expelled from our soil. Likewise, Pakistan does not expect the soil of other countries to be used against it.
15. A new fast track process of billings and payments/reimbursements with regard to CSF and other leviable charges should be adopted.
16. The Government needs to review the present focus of foreign policy keeping in view the aspirations of the people of Pakistan. It needs to establish a balance by emphasizing links with our traditional allies and building new relationships for diversifying the sources of economic, military and political support. In this regard it may take the following amongst other steps:
   i) Pakistan's foreign policy must continue to focus on creating a peaceful environment in the region to pursue the goals of economic development and social progress;
   ii) the dialogue process with India should be continued in a purposeful and result-oriented manner on the basis of mutual respect and mutual interest, including efforts for the solution of the Jammu & Kashmir dispute in accordance with the UN Resolution;
   iii) special attention must continue to be paid to developing close cooperative relations with neighbours;
   iv) the strategic partnership with China must be deepened in all its dimensions;
   v) relationship with the Russian Federation should be further strengthened;
   vi) Pakistan's support for the promotion of peace and stability in Afghanistan remains the cornerstone of its foreign policy;
   vii) Pakistan's special relationship with the Islamic world should be reinforced;
   viii) Pakistan's full membership of SCO should be actively pursued;
   ix) Pakistan's bilateral relationships in the region and its institutional partnership with ASEAN must be upgraded and strengthened; and
   x) Pakistan should actively pursue the gas pipeline project with Iran.