



# Brief Annual Review

2008

Center for Research and Security Studies  
60, Nazimuddin Road, F-6/1, Islamabad.

Tel: 009251 8314801-3

[www.crss.pk](http://www.crss.pk)

## **Mission Statement**

The *Center for Research and Security Studies* (CRSS) shall conduct research that is scientific, impartial and unbiased. CRSS shall always stand for democratic governance, *trias politica*, civil liberty and rule of law. The Center shall also act as an agent of change on environmental challenges that stare Pakistan in the face. We shall strive for a Pakistan where all citizens have an array of choices and opportunities. A Pakistan where all citizens are able to go as far as their talent can take them.

## Message from CRSS

The *Center for Research and Security Studies* (CRSS) is now a year old. To be certain, establishing a think-tank, enunciating its objectives, determining its direction, laying down formal plans, working out its sub-components and sticking to a roadmap were all very challenging but extremely rewarding.

Despite the teething problems that every organization goes through, CRSS, over the past year, managed to produce some 52 weekly chronicles (we call “pagers”) on issues of importance to Pakistan. In March, we held a national-level seminar commemorating World Day for Water in which we labored hard to evolve and present solutions as opposed to slogans. In April, we highlighted the issue of Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) through a detailed briefing to the press, coinciding with the World Intellectual Property Rights Day.

In 2008, CRSS produced a report titled “**Curriculum of Hate**,” a serious attempt to expose a National Curriculum bursting with indoctrination and a National Education Policy that does not teach but preach. “Curriculum of Hate” brought out how textbooks in Pakistan “incite hatred, bigotry and alienation.” “Curriculum of Hate” also revealed how Pakistani children were being “educated into ways of thinking that makes them susceptible to a violent and exclusionary worldview.”

In 2008, CRSS conducted a personal intercept survey in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in order to get an insight into the tribal society. The survey provided a good reflection of what residents of FATA think on issues such as Talibanization, Militancy and Education for Girls.

In June, 2008, CRSS also produced an 80-page report titled “**Militant Movements in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)**,” explaining the dynamics of the conflict there, with a background on forces that have put the entire border region on fire.

Imtiaz Gul, the chairman, represented CRSS at a conference in Stockholm, organized by the Swedish Defense Research Agency with a paper on “**Security Dynamics in Pak Afghan Border Areas**.”

In the last quarter, we decided to hold monthly “**Discussion Forums**” on the hot-topic of that particular month. By end-December, we had held three Discussion Forums including “Pak-China Relationship,” “IMF: Pain or Panacea” and “The Subcontinent: Peace in Peril.”

Looking into 2009, we are planning on implementing a two-phased restructuring.

- First, a refinement of issues that CRSS works on.
- Second, induction of “Associate Scholars” as area-specific experts associated with CRSS.

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Imtiaz Gul  
Chairman

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Dr. Farrukh Saleem  
Executive Director

## Executive Summary

Pakistan is at the crossroads of history and the world is watching. Within Pakistan, there are powerful forces—from extremism to democracy and on to dictatorship—that are battling to prove their supremacy. Pakistan is a country in crisis and Pakistan’s democracy is in need of all the help it can muster.

The Center for Research and Security Studies is Pakistan’s first think-tank of its kind. CRSS, founded by civil society activists committed to the cause of independent research and nonpartisan analysis, is battling to represent the cause of the people of Pakistan, their democratic rights along with their democratic responsibilities. CRSS analyzes, produces and disseminates ideas as well as facts to enable members of the civil society better understand the nation and state of Pakistan, the region and the issues that Pakistan is faced with.

We research Pakistan’s governance by focusing on Rule of Law, Government Effectiveness, Voice and Accountability, Control of Corruption, Political Stability and Lack of Violence. We study all the seven dimensions of security—economic, political, food, health, environmental, personal and community.

Over the past 12 months, CRSS has produced 49 weekly reports, a detailed expose” on the “Curriculum of Hate,” a comprehensive account of “Militant Movements in FATA,” held two national-level seminars, two 5-star events one on Pakistan’s Water Management and Water Security and the other on Intellectual Property Rights in addition to organizing at least 3 roundtable discussion forums.

This was just a modest beginning.

Looking forward to 2009, CRSS shall be implementing a multi-phase restructuring. In Phase-I, CRSS will be embracing the World Bank Institute’s *Kaufmann-Kraay-Mastruzzi Worldwide Governance Indicators* (WGI) model. In Phase-II, we embrace the UNDP’s definition of security that captures all seven dimensions of security (economic, political, food, health, environmental, personal and community). In Phase-III, we shall identify leading lights, recognized experts and acknowledged professionals in each of the above specialties and invite them to become our affiliated “Associate Scholars.”

## Performance Brief

### 1. Pagers:

A pager, in the Center's lingo, is a weekly update that provides essential commentary, reporting and analysis on a particular issue that was hot during that particular week (many of our pagers were quoted and referred to by various publications both domestically and internationally).

CRSS produced 49 pagers during its first year of operation i.e. 2008.

### 2. Report on Curriculum Taught in Pakistani Public Schools:

*“Curriculum of Hate”* was an attempt to expose a National Curriculum bursting with indoctrination and a National Education Policy that does not teach but preach. This was surely not the first attempt of its kind. In 1986, the Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE) made a similar attempt—and failed. In 1994, Dr Rubina Saigol in her book “Locating the Self,” demonstrated how textbooks in Pakistan “incite hatred, bigotry and alienation.” In 2003, the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) brought out the “Subtle Subversion” revealing how Pakistani children have been “educated into ways of thinking that makes them susceptible to a violent and exclusionary worldview.”

As a matter of record, no exposé has so far had any impact on Pakistani decision makers. Our primary and secondary school curricula continue to sermonize messages of hate, prejudice, intolerance and that of bigotry. Our National Curriculum continues to breed extremism, cherish prejudice and bolster sectarianism.

### 3. FATA Survey:

CRSS conducted a non-scientific survey in order to collect quantitative information from residents of FATA. The survey was as close to a structured interview of individuals as was possible in conditions prevalent in FATA. The questions were standardized and as structured as were possible. The sample for the survey comprised 945 men, representing a cross-section of various age, income and other socio-economic backgrounds. The survey was based on an all-male, non-probability sampling and was conducted between 8 March 2008 and 15 May 2008 . It was a personal intercept survey where no financial or other non-monetary incentives were provided. The survey only covered those respondents who were available and willing.

This survey was widely quoted in the domestic and international media, including the New York Times.

#### **4. Coverage of the Mumbai Terrorism Incidents:**

The Center took a critical look at the tragic terror incidents in Mumbai on November 26, which brought the two nuclear states to the brink of war. The Center did not lose its way in all the noise emanating from the media of both countries and tried to analyze the situation as well as point out the flaws and the failures of the intelligence apparatus in both countries.

#### **5. A Study on “Border Security Dynamics” for Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI):**

The Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI) chose CRSS as its partner for a detailed study of the security situation in FATA and Militant Movements in the Pak- Afghan border areas. CRSS documented a comprehensive profile of militant movements along with their background and the regional security dynamics.

Mr. Imtiaz Gul, the chairman, was then invited to a conference in Stockholm to present a paper on “**Security Dynamics in Pak Afghan Border Areas.**” The Stockholm Conference was attended by representatives of internationally renowned think tanks, academics, diplomats and security analysts.

## Events & Reports

### 1. National Conference on Pakistan “s Water Management and Security:

CRSS” World Day for Water was Pakistan “s first of its kind national-level conference. Pakistan “s leading water experts—from the private as well as the public sector-- attended, made presentations and forwarded their expert advice. These experts included Syed Jamat Ali Shah, Pakistan’s Indus Water Treaty Commissioner, Sardar Atiq Ahmed Khan, the-then Prime Minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Sardar Tariq, former member of Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), Dr Tanvir Ahmed Khan, former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, and Dr. Zafar Altaf, the former Federal Secretary for Agriculture (a policy recommendation paper was also prepared and sent to the Government of Pakistan for necessary action).

### 2. Advocacy & Public Information Events:

- a) April 2008: Press Briefing on Copyrights and Piracy Issues.
- b) October 2008: Pak-China Relations.
- c) November 2008: IMF Package: Pain or Panacea (for Pakistan )
- d) December 2008: The Sub-continent: Peace in Peril

### 3. Report on Population Growth in Pakistan as a National Security Issue:

Pakistan’s largest English-language daily, *The News*, quoted this report in its editorial. Many other interested in this subject referred to our report that took a different look on the rapid growth of population and its effects on Pakistan. Government officials also requested the Center for the report and it was also cited as a “third party review” during an official meeting.

## Partnerships

### **1. HBS for Water Management and Security Seminar:**

Heinrich Böll Stiftung provided necessary financial assistance to hold the National Conference on Pakistan “s Water Security and Management. HBS also sponsored the two visits of the Centers Chairman to the Federal Republic of Germany for interactions with academics, think tanks, journalists and the media.

### **2. Government of AJK:**

The Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir provided technical assistance for CRSS’ Water Security and Management Conference.

### **3. FOI – The Swedish Defense Research Agency:**

FOI, the Swedish Defense Research Agency, one of Europe’s leading research institutes, commissioned CRSS to undertake a comprehensive study on “Militant Movements in FATA.”

### **4. Pakistan Bar Council for International Jurists Conference:**

The Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan (SCBA) commissioned CRSS as its international secretariat to hold an International Jurists Conference in Islamabad. Marriot Hotel bombing of September 20<sup>th</sup> caused SCBA to cancel the event but the CRSS-SCBA bond remains intact.

## CRSS Quoted Around

All websites last accessed on January 31, 2009.

1. Islamist Militancy in the Pakistan-Afghanistan Border Region and U.S. Policy, (US) Congressional Research Services, [www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34763.pdf](http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34763.pdf)
2. Thousands Fill Streets for Protest in Pakistan , New York Times, [www.nytimes.com/2008/06/14/world/asia/14pstan.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/14/world/asia/14pstan.html)
3. Where America fears to tread, *Guardian*, [www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/dec/07/pakistan-usforeignpolicy](http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/dec/07/pakistan-usforeignpolicy)
4. Other international media, including German.
5. Roundtable on Indo-Pak tension: Experts want conflict resolution thru dialogue, not war, Daily Times, [http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2009%5C01%5C01%5Cstory\\_1-1-2009\\_pg11\\_9](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2009%5C01%5C01%5Cstory_1-1-2009_pg11_9)
6. President Obama's Policy Options in FATA, Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, [http://www.ispu.org/files/PDFs/fata\\_report.pdf](http://www.ispu.org/files/PDFs/fata_report.pdf)
7. Pakistan's Economic Recovery: A Key Test for Democracy, Eurasianet Commentary, <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/business/articles/eav121008.shtml>
8. Insurgent attacks on NATO trucks highlight US military crisis in Afghanistan , World Socialist Website, <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2008/dec2008/afgh-d09.shtml>
9. Overcoming Mistrust is the Key to Afghan-Pakistani Partnership, Atlantic Community TV, [http://www.atlantic-community.tv/index/Open\\_Think\\_Tank\\_Article/Overcoming\\_Mistrust\\_is\\_the\\_Key\\_to\\_Afghan-Pakistani\\_Partnership](http://www.atlantic-community.tv/index/Open_Think_Tank_Article/Overcoming_Mistrust_is_the_Key_to_Afghan-Pakistani_Partnership)
10. Finding the driver's seat in Pakistan "s tribal areas, Ashley Bommer, [http://www.dailystar.com.lb/article.asp?edition\\_id=10&categ\\_id=5&article\\_id=98217](http://www.dailystar.com.lb/article.asp?edition_id=10&categ_id=5&article_id=98217)
11. Empathy, Grief in Pakistan at Mumbai Mayhem, AntiWar.com, [www.antiwar.com/ips/sarwar.php?articleid=13834](http://www.antiwar.com/ips/sarwar.php?articleid=13834)
12. Asia Times Online, [www.atimes.com/atimes/South\\_Asia/JL25Df01.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/JL25Df01.html)
13. A Chill Ushers in New Diplomatic Order in Pakistan , International Herald Tribune, [www.iht.com/articles/2008/03/28/asia/28pstan.php](http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/03/28/asia/28pstan.php)
14. US gets a bitter taste of new, democratic Pak, Reddiff.com, [www.reddiff.com/news/2008/mar/28pakpoll.htm](http://www.reddiff.com/news/2008/mar/28pakpoll.htm)
15. [www.taz.de/1/politik/asien/artikel/1/pakistans-taliban-machen-sich-unbeliebt/](http://www.taz.de/1/politik/asien/artikel/1/pakistans-taliban-machen-sich-unbeliebt/)
16. [www.welt.de/politik/article2425052/Pakistan-geraet-zunehmend-ins-Visier-der-USA.html](http://www.welt.de/politik/article2425052/Pakistan-geraet-zunehmend-ins-Visier-der-USA.html)

17. Worries In Pakistan That Taliban Imposing “Parallel” Government, Radio Free Europe, [http://www.rferl.org/Content/Worries\\_In\\_Pakistan\\_That\\_Taliban\\_Imposing\\_Parallel\\_Government/1367060.html](http://www.rferl.org/Content/Worries_In_Pakistan_That_Taliban_Imposing_Parallel_Government/1367060.html)
18. The mass circulation daily The News editorialized one of CRSS Pagers on “Population Time Bomb.” Another article in the Sunday Magazine – The News on Sunday – also picked up vital information from the CRSS pager on the same issue.
19. Both Chairman Imtiaz Gul and Executive Director Dr. Farrukh Saleem appeared on various private and national TV channels including Geo, AAJ, ARY, PTV, DAWN as CRSS scholars/analysts.
20. Mr. Gul also appeared on CNN and over a dozen times on Al-Jazeera (English and Arabic) as CRSS analyst.
21. On most TV programs both Gul and Dr. Saleem consciously focused on fundamental issues of governance and human security.

## 2009 – Year in Sight

During 2009, we plan a multi-phased restructuring. First, a refinement of issues that CRSS works on. Second, induction of “Associate Scholars” as area-specific experts associated with CRSS, who will strengthen our human resource pool and augment our research and analysis capabilities.

### Refinement of Issues:

#### 1. Governance:

We plan to embrace the World Bank Institute’s *Kaufmann-Kraay-Mastruzzi Worldwide Governance Indicators* (WGI) and undertake research on Pakistan “s governance by focusing on six (6) key dimensions of governance. They are:

- a) Voice & Accountability;
- b) Political Stability and Lack of Violence;
- c) Government Effectiveness;
- d) Regulatory Quality;
- e) Rule of Law; and
- f) Control of Corruption

#### 2. Security:

We plan to embrace the UNDP’s definition of security and undertake research on Pakistan “s security by focusing on seven (7) key dimensions of security. They are:

- a) Economic Security;
- b) Political Security;
- c) Food Security;
- d) Health Security;
- e) Environmental Security;
- f) Personal Security; and
- g) Community Security;

At CRSS, we shall remain committed to our original Mission Statement and continue to conduct scientific, impartial and unbiased research in areas outlined in **Refinement of Issues**. We shall always stand for democratic governance, *trias politica*, civil liberty and rule of law. We shall

continue to strive for a Pakistan where all citizens have an array of choices for education and health care; a Pakistan where every citizen has the opportunity to go as far as his or her talent can take him or her.