



# THE ROAD TO **NAYA PAKISTAN**

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بلے پہ نشان

PTI Manifesto 2018





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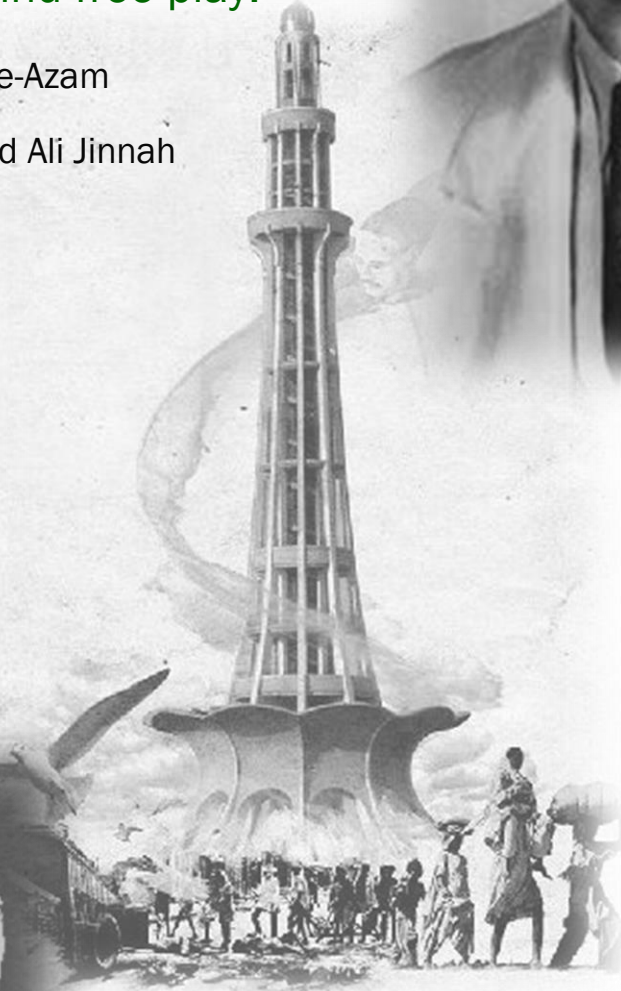
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“We should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play.”

Quaid-e-Azam

Muhammad Ali Jinnah



نہیں تیرا نشیمن قصر سلطانی کے گنبد پر

تو شاہین ہے بسیرا کر پہاڑوں کی چٹانوں میں

ڈاکٹر علامہ محمد اقبال

# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction



# PTI's Vision

The Movement for Justice/Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI), was envisaged as a Movement to fight for a just and equitable society based on the system that Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) laid down in the Medina Charter, which was the foundation of the model Islamic state, an egalitarian society based on the rule of law and economic justice – the first welfare state in the history of mankind. Unfortunately, as the Muslim philosopher Ibn-e-Khaldun predicted: when the Muslims' commitment to justice declined so did their civilisation.

It is these principles of justice and egalitarianism that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah envisaged for Pakistan and it is these principles which are the foundation of PTI. For PTI, it is not just “politics”: it is a commitment to building a welfare state where the rule of law, meritocracy and transparency are guaranteed to all citizens - where a social welfare safety net is provided to the marginalised and the elderly.

A just order is the foundation for creating a nation where equal opportunity exists for all citizens in all fields – from health to education to security of life and property. Justice ensures women, minorities, the poor, the differently-abled, the dispossessed and disadvantaged are not exploited by the powerful or discriminated against.

PTI is the Party of the ordinary Pakistani toiling hard to make a better future for himself/herself and his/her family. PTI stands committed to providing that future because it sees the people of Pakistan as the wealth of Pakistan. That is why PTI has always dedicated itself to the welfare of all the people of Pakistan without discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, origin, gender, or religion.

PTI stands for an effective government with merit and responsiveness as the guiding principles. PTI strongly believes that an ineffective state structure has generated a crisis of governance that has effectively marginalised everyone in the country except a small elite. Therefore, PTI will end this corrupt and decaying system to build anew on the foundations of Justice and Equity. The legacy of misrule and misery by a corrupt inept elite will be relegated to the dustbin of history.

PTI also recognises the scourge of terrorism and its devastating effect on Pakistan and its citizens not only in terms of the massive loss of Pakistani lives but also in a once tolerant society becoming polarised into intolerance, fear and hate. PTI stands committed to restoring the spirit of tolerance and acceptance amongst all the citizens of Pakistan.

Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf has a mission to change the status quo destructive politics in Pakistan. It has never and will never seek compromises for the sake of power. Hence its

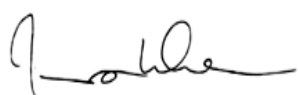
refusal to compromise on its principles and ideology of Justice and Change: A Naya Pakistan built on Iqbal's dream and Jinnah's vision – encapsulated in an Islamic Welfare State. A Pakistan where all are equal before the law and where all have equal access to health, education and opportunity in every field. A Naya Pakistan that will place the life and dignity of all its citizens above all else.

PTI's vision is a Naya Pakistan that is confident in itself and at peace with its neighbours on the basis of mutual reciprocity. A Pakistan that seeks friendly relations with all states on the basis of transparency, mutuality of interests and respect for sovereignty. A Naya Pakistan that will be premised on a strong strategic deterrence but will seek conflict resolution. A Naya Pakistan that will not fight others' wars or act as a surrogate for any power.

These guiding principles and commitments are reflected in the Manifesto that is being placed before the people of Pakistan. It is a commitment to ensure that every Pakistani feels empowered and has control over his/her own destiny. Power will devolve to the people so that they take control of their own lives within a just and equitable environment. Naya Pakistan is a message not only of hope but of a promise by PTI for the deprived, the dispossessed, the discriminated against, for all the people of Pakistan.

Unlike in 2013, today PTI speaks with a voice of confident experience as it has just ended its first term as a government – in the province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KP). PTI has learnt many lessons in the process of governing KP province where it unfolded its Naya Pakistan agenda. Despite forming a government for the first time, PTI was able to bring about meritocracy and reforms in the police system, the health and education systems and in the civil judicial system. PTI's police reforms in KP have depoliticised the police force by making recruitment purely on a professional and merit-based system. The positive impact of this revolutionary change in how a police force functions has resonated across the country as a model for other provinces to follow. Reforms in primary and secondary education have shown that public schools can attract students away from private schools. PTI's commitment to the environment was reflected in the internationally acclaimed Billion Tree Tsunami programme, which also financially empowered women as they took charge of the programme at the local level. PTI also delivered on its commitment to devolve decision-making and financial power to the village level through its Local Government law. PTI has also learnt from the pitfalls it confronted in governance in KP and today it stands strengthened by this experience bolstering its commitment to its core principles.

Today PTI stands poised to deliver on its commitments that it made when the Movement for Justice began in 1996, to the people of Pakistan.



**Imran Khan**  
Chairman  
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf





# KP 2013-2018

## ACHIEVEMENTS

### OUR LEGISLATIVE PERFORMANCE

#### 168 Laws have been enacted, including

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police Act, 2017

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Medical Teaching Institutions Reforms Act, 2015

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Right to Public Service Act, 2014

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Promotion, Protection and Enforcement of Human Rights Act, 2014

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Right to Information Act, 2013

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act, 2013

### EDUCATION

maintained at least  
**20%**  
budgetary spending on education throughout the term

**33** Billion in 2013  
To  
**55** Billion in 2017

OVER  
**57,000**  
QUALIFIED TEACHERS

were recruited on merit to alleviate teacher shortages

#### MISSING SCHOOL FACILITIES

**WE PROVIDED RS 24 BILLION**

FURNITURE FOR 14 MILLION STUDENTS	PLAYGROUNDS IN 8000 SCHOOLS	IT LABS IN 1170 SCHOOLS
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Missing facilities to public schools at a cost of

**Rs 24 Billion**

**NEARLY**

**1000**  
PUBLIC SCHOOLS WERE ESTABLISHED

**1300**  
PUBLIC SCHOOLS WERE UPGRADED

In less equitable areas, we established **1650 community-based schools** for girls, established a **1.7 billion rupee stipend** program for secondary school girls and established a female cadet college in Mardan

#### ESTABLISHED

**47**  
COLLEGES

**36 WERE FOR WOMEN**

**10**  
UNIVERSITIES

**21 WERE FOR MEN**

PTI provided  
**10,000 STUDENTS**  
with home based access to digital libraries

## HEALTH

healthcare development budget increased by

**200%**

**9.9** Billion

To

**30.2** Billion

### WE RECRUITED

**OVER**

**5000** DOCTORS **650** SPECIALISTS **1600** PARAMEDICS **1600** LADY HEALTH WORKERS

### ADDED CAPACITY

**OVER**

**5000** BEDS TO HOSPITALS ACROSS DISTRICTS

**WORTH 13 BILLION** OF EQUIPMENT TO PRIMARY HEALTHCARE FACILITIES

PTI government provided over **1.5 MILLION** people with Sehat Insaf Cards to avail high quality medical services.

PTI established the first ever **Burn and Trauma Centre** of the province during its tenure

## LAW & ORDER AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Parliament passed a first-of-its-kind bill called the **Police Act**, under which, we took the bold, yet necessary measure of making the Police force autonomous from the civilian government, a move that has yet to be replicated across other provinces.

One of our landmark achievements with the support of the Peshawar High Court is the amendment in the **Code of Civil Procedure**.

PTI has also professionalized the police force:

**KP 2013-2018**  
**LAW AND ORDER**

- Transparent recruitment through a credible testing agency; institutionalised service delivery through complaint management system,
- Public information system and police assistance lines, establishment of specialized training schools for officers
- Alternate dispute resolution through councils are just some of the initiatives taken under the PTI government to make the Police a capable and independent institution, making it the most trusted institution in the province.

We have been the only province that has truly devolved and given powers at the village level by allocating

KP has observed **85% increase** in the revenue of municipal institutions.

**30%** of the Annual Development Programme funds for local government

## THE ENVIRONMENT, SPORTS AND YOUTH

The “Billion Tree Tsunami” achieved its restoration target through a combination of protected natural regeneration (**60 per cent**) and planned afforestation (**40 per cent**) in the province.

**500 million** was provided as initial capital to **300 entrepreneurs** to establish tourism-related business

KP promoted sports at the grassroots by developing

**55**

Tehsil level playgrounds

**20**

other sports facilities and complexes

we have held provincial games for the past **3 years** with a participation of over **7000 athletes**.

## SOCIAL WELFARE , SPECIAL CHILDREN & WOMEN PROTECTION

- **5** new institutions for rehabilitation of special children,
- upgraded **8** schools to facilitate more, and older children
- construction of **3** social welfare complexes

- established **7** welfare homes
- **4** Darul Aamaan
- **4** treatment and rehabilitation centers for drug addicts.

# CHAPTER TWO

## Transform Governance



## Bring accountability to the core of government

**We will ensure full autonomy for, and build the capacity of, the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) and other accountability institutions and pursue all major corruption scandals regardless of political affiliation.**

Previous national governments have intentionally stifled accountability institutions to create an environment in which corruption by the ruling elite is concealed rather than aggressively pursued.

In order to strengthen NAB, we will:

- Review the NAB Ordinance to strengthen its mandate, independence and the appointment process for the NAB Chairman.
- Support the NAB Chairman in conducting an organisational reform focused on “people, processes and systems”.
- Address legal lacunas in the accountability laws including reviewing “voluntary return” and “plea bargain” provisions.
- Support NAB to define & track Key Performance Indicators to boost performance e.g., transparency & corruption score, number of references, time to prosecution, spending vs. recovery ratio.

We will build a Special Task Force to launch a drive to recover looted national wealth parked in offshore tax havens by leveraging recent changes in Tax Information Agreements, Unexplained Wealth Orders and Illicit Assets Acts by foreign governments and International Organisations.

We will strengthen other accountability institutions including the Auditor General’s Office and FIA as well as parliamentary bodies especially the Public Accounts Committee.

## Empower people at the grassroots through local government

**We will transform Pakistan by devolving power and decision-making to the people through an empowered local government.**

Local development in villages and small towns in Pakistan is controlled by MPAs and MNAs, or by the bureaucracy, who do not want to cede authority and relevance.

We will devolve small infrastructure initiatives to village councils by transferring resources and decision-making power to the people of Pakistan by scaling out our successful KP model across Sindh, Punjab and Baluchistan.

Learning from our KP experience, we will further refine the LG structure, and introduce a city government model, where the directly elected Mayor will be responsible to deliver on all interrelated urban city matters.

## **Depoliticise and strengthen police**

**We will enforce depoliticisation of police by building upon KP's successful police reform model, which will be replicated nationally.**

Police in Pakistan is ill-equipped, poorly trained, deeply politicised, and chronically corrupt. Police reforms have been neglected by successive governments to continue using the force as a political tool.

To reform the police, we will:

- Replicate the KP Police Act of 2017 across other provinces and appoint professional Inspector Generals to lead the depoliticisation of police similar to KP.
- Professionalise police hiring and career management, ensuring no political influence on policing in all matters from hiring, posting, and transferring of personnel.
- Replicate KP's success in creating specialised training institutions. We will also invest in new policing systems and processes by tracking performance, equipping districts with modern surveillance /command and control centres.
- Make public outreach to police easier through new and enhanced policing apps, SMS systems, online FIRs and call centres.
- Establish Women police stations and desks at all levels to facilitate women empowerment.

We will scale up the existing KP model of Alternate Dispute Resolution (ADR) Councils at tehsil levels, by rolling out the KP DRC model nationally to allow conflict resolution for small crimes right down at the tehsil level and police station level.

## **Reform the criminal justice system and provide speedy access to justice**

**We will launch a judicial reforms programme that will provide speedy and quality justice for all citizens.**

Laws and procedures in Pakistan are weak, archaic, ineffective and have been amended in a piecemeal manner. Weak implementation of laws and procedures has led to delays in case resolutions. In addition, capacity constraints have resulted in a national caseload backlog of over 2 million cases.

We will work with the judiciary to champion a programme to rapidly dispense the backlog of existing cases, through providing necessary resources and tracking systems.

We will champion reforms in the Code of Civil Procedure in consultation with High Courts to ensure speedy justice, in line with KP reforms, to dispose all civil court cases within a timeframe of one year.

We will also propose amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code to reduce procedural delays. Additionally, we will also promote access to justice by amending outdated laws.

We will carry out an audit of existing federal and provincial women protection laws to identify gaps and undertake legal reforms as part of our commitment to women empowerment.

We will support reform initiatives to improve the operational performance of courts. This will include supporting courts to digitise case records, case management reforms, and the establishment of an institution to provide free legal aid to needy litigants as well as to vulnerable groups like women, juveniles and minorities.

We will reform our prison system by upgrading existing infrastructure and ensure human rights are not violated. Moreover, we will establish separate special juvenile detention centres and prisons for women.

We will modernise parole rules with necessary checks and balances so that jails can be transformed into reformatories entailing a duty of the state to rehabilitate prisoners housed in jails for more than a year.

## **Reform the Civil Service**

**We will transform the civil service into a merit based, depoliticised cadre of professionals.**

Civil service in Pakistan has seen 38 major reforms in the last 70 years. These reforms have not been able to depoliticise the service, or attracted bright young talent on merit, and technical expertise.

The implementation of civil service reforms is our priority and we will:

- Assign the right officer to the right job without any political consideration, tenure protection of officers, internal accountability, along with a performance audit and a review of the compensation package.
- Allow lateral entry into the service of competent professionals.
- Ensure compulsory retirement after 2 supersessions through a transparent mechanism.

## **Institutionalise E-Governance practices in public administration**

**We will transform public administration with E-Governance initiatives to facilitate citizens' access to justice, rights and other public services.**

Governance in Pakistan continues to rely almost entirely on obsolete record keeping practices that are not reliable, transparent and efficient to work with. There are multiple issues in the governance system of Pakistan: inefficient data collection systems, record keeping, intra-coordination between various departments, black economy, tax evasion, and bureaucratic hurdles in solving public issues in federal and provincial levels.

We will ensure full capitalisation of digital financial services to supplement digitisation of documentation.

We will establish a whistle-blowers programme, which will be facilitated through the use of a community call centre where a dedicated phone line will be available for citizens to report suspicious behaviour by individuals or entities.

We will complete electronic mapping of property, linking it to the owner's CNIC and thereby to his/her legal heirs.

We will further improve the Safe City Project to ensure solid enforcement of traffic laws and digitisation of traffic violation tickets.

We will adopt electronic paper and data archiving of all future legal cases and progressively create an image database for records of the past ten years.

We will digitise monitoring and evaluation of socio-economic indicators with performance management capability of district and village councils.

## **Facilitate delivery through legislative reform (Right to Information, Right to Services)**

**We will abolish the culture of secrecy and will ensure that all government actions, records and information are open to public scrutiny. PTI will support transparency and accountability in government as per standards practiced internationally.**



Despite constitutional provisions and the 2002 Freedom of Information Ordinance being in effect, access to information that needs to be made public is very difficult. This results in weak accountability and deepens the distrust between the citizen and the state.

We will allocate resources and build public sector capacities to effectively implement Right To Information (RTI) laws.

We will ensure the timely production of budget processes in line with international standards and ensure public access to key budget documents.

We will ensure that the executive budget proposal and the enacted budget with comprehensive data will be produced before citizens.

We will ensure that in-year and mid-year reports as well as audit reports are produced in a timely manner, and made available for public scrutiny.

We will create effective mechanisms to deal with citizen's complaints about lack of or limited access to information.

## **Reform government procurement**

**We will reform public processes such as procurement to generate more value for money and transparency.**

The existing national and provincial procurement rules lack transparency, technical expertise and public disclosure. These are the challenges with the public procurement framework in Pakistan.

In order to reform procurement, we will:

- Incentivise provinces to transition to E-procurement to generate more value for money through increased competition.
- Build capacity within public departments, law enforcement and accountability institutions to ensure compliance with procurement rules and procedures.
- Create a culture of transparency for public procurement by providing public disclosure and strengthening accountability mechanism.

## **Ensure freedom of the Press**

**We are committed to maintaining a vigorous free media, which will evolve its own rules to ensure responsible journalism both in the electronic and print media.**

We will ensure laws for timely implementation of Wage Board decisions and for ensuring that media houses pay journalists their salaries and bonuses on a regular and timely basis.

We will also ensure that media owners provide insurance, training and protective cover for their journalists working in conflict zones in particular and in the field in general.

PEMRA will be made autonomous so it does not become a political tool in the hands of any government to target the freedom of the electronic media.

Government advertisement will be rationalised and not be made a tool to harass or bribe the independent media.

PBC and PTV will be made autonomous with their own Board of Governors similar to the BBC model.

# CHAPTER THREE

## Strengthen the Federation



## Consolidate integration of FATA with KP

**We will ensure equal rights and respect for the residents of tribal areas by consolidating FATA's merger with KP and allocating special development funds for this purpose**

The people of the tribal areas have lagged behind in socioeconomic and human development due to the prolonged neglect by the state, which has resulted in developing a sense of deprivation and mistrust. Moreover, the tribal areas have experienced the worst violence since 9/11 in the form of drone attacks, military operations against terrorists, and suicide attacks by militants. This has resulted in the killing of thousands of civilians and law enforcement personnel, and loss to property worth billions of rupees.

Now that the law for integrating FATA with KP has been passed by the parliament, we will ensure that the integration takes place smoothly.

We will hold local body elections in 2018 to empower people right down to the village council level.

We will launch a Mega Development Plan by allocating 3% of federal divisible pool on annual basis by fully associating the people in formulation and execution of the plan.

We will ensure job creation in the tribal areas, especially with investments to harness natural resources of the region.

## Champion reconciliation in Balochistan

**We will empower the Balochistan government to launch and champion large-scale efforts for political reconciliation. In particular, we will ensure significant local participation and stake in development projects, especially in Gwadar.**

Balochistan as a province has largely been neglected. The population has not been part of major development projects and employment opportunities are scarce. This has resulted in poor socioeconomic and human development. Furthermore, Balochistan has the highest incidence of poverty when compared to other provinces.

We will reach out to the Baloch leadership and the disgruntled Baloch groups, especially the youth by ensuring them political and economic empowerment.

We will develop and implement a plan to include the local population in CPEC and development of Gwadar.

## **Spearhead creation of a South Punjab province along administrative lines**

**We will develop a national consensus on the creation of a South Punjab province on administrative grounds with the objective to lift 35 million people out of poverty, as well as to create an administrative balance between Pakistan's federating units.**

**South Punjab has been neglected for decades, especially in the last 5 years since majority of the development funds were allocated to Central Punjab. As a region, South Punjab constitutes 32% of the population of Punjab province and is lagging behind rest of the Punjab on a number of human development indicators (HDIs). The incidence of poverty in D.G. Khan, Bahawalpur and Multan divisions serve as testament as poverty is highest in these divisions of Punjab.**

We are committed to creating South Punjab province on administrative basis that respects the wishes of both, the people of Punjab as well as each of the other federating units of Pakistan.

We will create political consensus by engaging political parties, people of Punjab province and the rest of Pakistan, including other stakeholders.

Upon reaching consensus, we will pass legislation from the provincial assembly, and then from the two houses of parliament in Islamabad to create the legal framework for the creation of South Punjab province.

We will launch an economic package for the new province to provide support in establishing the requisite infrastructure and institutions.

## **Transform Karachi**

**We will transform Karachi into a vibrant competitive megacity through large-scale reforms in governance and with the provision of public services such as housing, mass transit, water and sanitation. We want to make Karachi the urban jewel of Pakistan.**

Karachi is Pakistan's economic engine, but it has suffered from over two decades of consistent neglect and mismanagement. Population density is very high, with 20,000 people per square kilometre whereas infrastructure is weak. Karachi's transit systems are underdeveloped, with a competition of 45 citizens per bus seat, compared to 12 in Mumbai. Water is scarce, as only 55% of daily water needs are met due to the monopoly structure in place by a water mafia. Approximately half of Karachi's citizens have access to sanitation. The root cause of Karachi's poor state is its poor local governance systems, which is neither empowered nor resourceful enough to resolve these issues.

We will launch a new city governance model for Karachi that empowers local elected officials and a city government.

We will depoliticise Karachi's police service and implement a merit-based professional system to improve management.

We will continue to work on the national action plan and will begin crack-down on land & bhatta mafias in collaboration with the Sindh Rangers and civil/local government.

We will provide clean drinking to all Karachi residents and implement plan to solve Karachi water problems. In the process, we will crack down on the water mafia, illegal connections on public pipelines and champion the development of desalination plant.

We will aggressively improve waste management and resolve sanitation issues in Karachi through a component sharing model with public, private and community funding.

We will champion housing for the urban poor outside of Karachi with efficient commute infrastructure.

We will transform and massively enhance the capacity of Karachi's mass transit system by leveraging on public and private financing.

## **Political and socio-economic empowerment of Gilgit Baltistan**

**PTI recognises the commitment of the people of Gilgit Baltistan (GB) to Pakistan, which has been exemplary and is reflected in their sacrifices. We will ensure that the people of GB get their due political and economic rights.**

Gilgit Baltistan suffers from a myriad issues, ranging from lack of economic development, underrepresentation in CPEC and a centralised bureaucracy coupled with an already disempowered legislative assembly. These issues have suppressed GBs ability to capitalise on its potential and natural endowment.

We will empower people of GB by giving autonomy to the legislative assembly.

We will boost local economy with strategic investments in tourism, minerals and renewable energy.

We will provide GB with solid opportunities in CPEC and ensure local participation.

## **Initiate poverty alleviation drive across Pakistan's poorest districts**

**We will establish a special mechanism to supplement existing poverty alleviation efforts in the poorest districts across Sindh, Punjab, KP and Balochistan.**

Poverty is rampant in Pakistan with 29.5% of the population or close to 60 million people living below poverty line. There is a strong correlation between the incidence of high poverty and poor public delivery. Pakistan's Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.55 is currently the lowest in South Asia.

We will increase funding for the poorest districts through existing poverty alleviation programmes.

We will launch a special drive in the poorest districts to improve access to sanitation and clean drinking water.

We will provide Sehat Insaf cards and augment the existing BISP programme in these districts.

## **Ensure constitutional rights for minorities**

**PTI will protect the civil, social and religious rights of minorities; their places of worship, property and institutions as laid down in the Constitution.**

Minorities in Pakistan have consistently been denied their constitutional rights in contradiction to the objective of Quaid-e-Azam's vision. The result of prevalent and unaccounted for discrimination against minorities (from all walks of life) has led to violence and their poor socioeconomic and human development.

We will enact structural reform to establish a legally empowered, well resourced and independent National Commission on Minorities, followed by provincial Commissions/Departments.

We will ensure equal access to justice and protection from discrimination in matters of law and order to minorities.

We will act against hate speech and violence towards minorities under the National Action Plan.

We will ensure that the minority quota in all government departments shall be implemented in letter and spirit.

We will organise inter-faith dialogue, especially among young people to promote tolerance and harmony.

## Promote gender parity

**We will effectively implement initiatives to increase women's access to education, healthcare, economic opportunity and legal protection.**

Pakistan ranks second to worst globally in gender parity by World Economic Forum. This stems from disproportionately poorer access to education, low labour force participation, high maternal mortality rate and prevalence of violence against women.

We will prioritise establishment and upgradation of girls' schools and provide stipends to girls and women for continuing their education.

We will establish a large scale national Maternal Health Programme to provide assisted births along with family health and planning information to women.

We will provide economic opportunity to women by:

- Strengthening the legal framework to protect women's inheritance rights to land and property
- Increasing state-provided micro-finance available to women
- Establishing residential and caretaking facilities for working women in urban settings

We will reform the justice system to:

- Increase representation of female police officers at police stations for reporting and investigation of complaints/FIRs for gender based crimes
- Improve investigative and prosecutorial process for gender based violence
- Establish gender-based violence courts to provide additional protection and speedy resolution to women victims
- Improve investigative and forensic procedures for sexual offence cases.

We will increase resources and capacity of "Dar-ul-Aman" and protective services for women.

We will increase female participation in public sector by establishing significant quotas for women in local government and boards of public bodies.

We will empower women politically by launching a women voter registration drive across Pakistan to ensure the opportunity for women to exercise their right to vote and increase women's participation in elections.



## Ensure a greater stake for Overseas Pakistanis

**PTI values the patriotic spirit of overseas Pakistanis and will ensure access to citizen rights and an improved set of infrastructure and services offered by Pakistani embassies.**

Overseas Pakistanis are one of our biggest asset, who have consistently been denied access to their citizens' rights and to the opportunity to contribute to Pakistan's economy due to inefficient and incomplete processes along with poor quality infrastructure and services by previous governments.

We will ensure voting rights for overseas Pakistanis.

We will champion development of financial instruments to create attractive investment opportunities for Overseas Pakistanis.

We will strengthen Pakistani embassies to provide emergency relief and other support to citizens facing hardship in case of any tragedy.

We will ensure Overseas Pakistanis are treated with dignity and respect at all entry points into the country.

We will create a virtual investment desk in key embassies which will serve as the conduit for opportunities with local business councils, chambers of commerce and key government institutions.

We will ensure that like other citizens of Pakistan, overseas Pakistanis have security of titling.

We will provide consular and legal services to all Pakistanis jailed abroad. We make best efforts to bring prisoners like Dr. Afia Siddiqui and others back to Pakistan.

# CHAPTER FOUR

Inclusive

Economic Growth



## Reform FBR

**PTI will reform FBR and increase the tax net through a robust tax policy, efficient tax administration structure and effective enforcement mechanism.**

Pakistan's current Tax to GDP ratio is significantly less than the ratio required to sustain our growing fiscal expenditure and to pay-off the massive national debt accumulated over the last decade. Further to which, our tax policies have consistently been suboptimal and as a result have led to:

- Decrease in the tax net
- Disproportionately higher share of indirect taxes (60%) in tax revenue, which adds to income inequality
- High average tax rate of 31% for businesses and corporations

As part of FBR reform, we will:

- Increase FBRs autonomy by reducing the influence of Ministry of Finance and will ensure FBR is performance managed.
- Champion the shift towards direct taxation as the primary source of tax revenue as opposed to indirect taxes.
- Incentivise businesses to become a part of the formal economy, thus adding larger sources of tax income to the national exchequer.
- Champion sustainable initiatives to reduce taxes on businesses.
- Simplify tax assessment rules for corporations and small businesses.
- Integrate tax registration with associated processes to reduce the transaction cost of paying taxes.
- Improve audits by establishing risk engines and smart algorithms to identify potential taxpayers for audit.
- Improve enforcement through a robust standardised escalation process to ensure follow through of every non-payment.
- Publish names of non-compliant debtors and strongly pursue large tax evaders.
- Crack down on corrupt practices that promote tax evasion.

## Create 10 million jobs and strengthen the labour market

**PTI will strengthen the labour market and create 10 million jobs over 5 years in key sectors: SME, housing, ICT, health, education, green economy and tourism.**

Article 38 of the constitution states that the “state shall provide for all citizens, within the available resources of the country, facilities for work and adequate livelihood”. Approximately two million additional youth enter the labour force each year, which totals to 10 million over the next 5 years. We believe Pakistan’s youth can become its biggest asset. However, if we do not take action, the youth dividend can also become our biggest challenge and lead to drastic economic and social consequences.

To fulfil our commitment of creating 10 million jobs and strengthen the Labour market we will:

- Create 10 million jobs through cross-cutting initiatives led by the private sector.
- Ensure that each economic development initiative explicitly specifies and contributes towards the “10 Million jobs” agenda.
- Create a labour exchange to strengthen and effectively regulate the labour market along with a job placement mechanism supported by public-private partnerships to improve skills matching.
- Crack down on corrupt and other illegal practices that deny employees social welfare.
- Social welfare of workers will be ensured by the state without putting any additional burden on businesses.
- Legislate further and enact laws and regulations with strict enforcement against workplace harassment and denying minimum wage.
- Implement a technical and vocational education reform programme for upskilling our labour force in demand-driven trades.
- Upgrade existing and build new technical education universities by engaging world-class institutions as partners.
- Create a business and investor-friendly environment for investments in human capital and professional development.
- Ensure that economic development initiatives will offer Employment Guarantee Schemes for the Bottom-of-the-Pyramid with focus on women and rural areas.

## Implement policy framework to build five million houses

**PTI will play the role of an enabler and facilitator, but not developer, to build 5 million low cost housing units. We will ensure the development of 1.5 to 2 million urban and 3 to 3.5 million rural housing units.**

Pakistan is currently facing an overall housing backlog of between 11-12 million housing units. The urban housing shortage is estimated to be 4 million housing units, while rural backlog is between 7 to 8 million housing units. The people at the Bottom-of-Pyramid largely live in illegal habitat, squatter settlements, and slums (Katchi Abadis); while low-income segments live in indecent housing. On the housing finance side, the situation is disappointing as we stand at the bottom in terms of Mortgage Debt to GDP Ratio when compared to region. Further to this, there is no framework in place which incentivises allied industries to facilitate the development of our housing market.

In order to implement our Housing policy we will:

- Implement a policy framework to build housing units for the low and lower-middle income segments only.
- Provide fiscal and regulatory incentives to resolve demand and supply side issues of low-income housing; which will also include incentives for allied industries.
- Strengthen the role of academia, specialised housing finance companies, building control authorities and Association of Builders and Developers of Pakistan.
- Introduce slums rehabilitation and resettlement programme to ensure decent habitat.
- Discourage sprawling and shift towards high rise buildings without compromising on environment standards.
- Provide incentives to households including partial tax offsets against income on interest and debt payments.
- Rationalise “Services Tax” levied on developers on low cost housing development.
- Allocate housing units to Persons with Disabilities (PwDs).

## Make Pakistan business-friendly

**PTI will put Pakistan in the top 100 economies of the world according to the World Bank’s doing business rankings in five years.**

Pakistan’s Ease of Doing Business Ranking has plummeted from 107 to 147 since 2013. This low ranking is primarily driven by weak and cumbersome

processes to establish and do business which is further exacerbated by corrupt practices and incompetent management by relevant institutions.

In order to make Pakistan business-friendly, we will

- Further digitization of processes to make doing business easier.
- Increase ease of business through process improvements by compressing timelines for provision of basic amenities and by reducing the frequency of tax payments while retaining the amount of payable tax.
- Digitise all remaining land records and automate processes for property registration.
- Digitise court orders linked to property cases to reduce fiduciary risk to investors.
- Champion initiatives to steady supply of electricity and other basic amenities to industries.
- Increase transparency and quality of public sector customs service and reduce transit delays.
- Improve logistics infrastructure, specially related to railway cargo and container terminals.
- Reduce red tape culture through online filing of documents, especially to improve turnaround time for routine and permit approvals.
- Dedicate courts for commercial contract enforcement.

## **Revive manufacturing and facilitate rapid growth of the SMEs**

**Unlike previous governments, PTI is committed to delivering an industrial strategy that contributes to growth and employment, and encourages SMEs to scale up and move toward value-added exports.**

Pakistan's manufacturing sector is uncompetitive in the region and lacks the requisite infrastructure to sustain growth and explore new avenues. Not only is doing business-as-usual difficult but the energy cost is high, tax policy is detrimental, monetary policy is suboptimal, technology is obsolete and our human capital skill level is low which contributes to low productivity, lesser innovation and a slower growth rate.

We will establish pilot SME Incubators across Pakistan with:

- Improved access to funding

- Advanced technology to facilitate innovation
- Efficient transport & warehousing facilities
- Partners for Joint Ventures
- Cost sharing solutions
- Technical assistance on tax, legal and regulatory compliance.

We will launch a ten-year incentive plan for rapid growth of the SME sector including tax holiday on new investments for the first 3 years and 50% tax rate in next 7 years, and a withdrawal of minimum tax on turnover for the first 3 years and then tax at half the rate for the following 2 years.

We will transform export processing zones with leaner processes and upgraded infrastructure.

We will ensure that export oriented sectors and allied industries will be 100% zero rated and install a mechanism for faster refunds on income and sales tax.

We will facilitate imports of manufacturing inputs (e.g. synthetic fibre) at low tariffs.

We will encourage higher value-added exports in Sunshine sectors (agriculture, garments, light engineering).

We will introduce cascading tariffs on raw materials, intermediates and finished goods to move production towards value-added exports.

## Transform key economic institutions

**PTI will turnaround State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) by creating a wealth fund, aggressive depoliticisation and through effective performance management of capable and autonomous leadership.**

Pakistan's SOEs are perpetual loss-making entities. There are over 200 SOEs which are collectively making a loss of over PKR 650 billion annually, with majority losses coming from a few select enterprises such as PIA, Pakistan Railways and Pakistan Steel. This poor performance is a result of an ailing infrastructure, politicised leadership, poor policies and management.

In order to turnaround SOEs, we will:

- Remove SOEs under the purview of line ministries to initiate depoliticisation.

- Corporatise all SOEs and transfer ownership to a wealth fund, modelled along the lines of Khazanah in Malaysia.

We will launch transformation programme for SoEs by:

- Appointing and empowering non-political and autonomous boards
- Signing performance contracts with boards and agreeing on KPIs
- Selecting outstanding professional CEOs on merit through boards
- Offering performance linked compensation to management
- Committing to zero political interference in operations of SOEs-

We will develop time-bound turnaround plans through management and review progress on routine basis.

## Fix Pakistan's energy challenge

**PTI will complete electrification of rural areas, solve circular debt issue through reducing transmission and distribution losses, and implement our plan to harness our natural resources towards a greener energy mix.**

Power outages are still common and the primary problem lies in the transmission and distribution of electricity due to heavy line losses and power theft. An accumulation of these losses, system inefficiencies, management incompetence and power theft has resulted in doubling of our circular debt to over PKR 1 trillion which is passed on to the consumer. Further to this, there is still a dire need to reduce dependence on energy imports for power generation to improve our balance of payments and shift towards “greener and sustainable” alternatives such solar, wind or hydropower.

In order to meet Pakistan's energy challenge we will:

- Shift away from rent seeking models to increase system efficiency.
- Complete rural electrification through renewable and off-grid solutions.
- Transition towards “power exchange”, allowing more efficient technologies to get precedence in dispatch.
- Continue to support the expansion and utilization of indigenous coal, primarily Thar Coal.
- Revive oil & gas exploration.
- Champion and expand net metering and solarisation of houses.



## Ensure CPEC translates into a game changer

**We will create solid two-way linkages with China and promote an indigenous resource focused growth strategy to leverage trade infrastructure of CPEC and OBOR.**

CPEC is Pakistan's golden opportunity to resurface and complete its economic turnaround. Even though CPEC is in its inception phase, it is imperative for us to establish a solid and transparent foundation for a truly empowering corridor with two-way linkages. Currently, Pakistan is not fully benefiting from CPEC related investments due to insufficient transfer of knowledge and capabilities, lesser partnerships with local businesses and our high dependence on imports of goods and services from China.

We will ensure the completion of CPEC but encourage a shift towards partnerships for project completion.

We will utilise expertise from China to supplement domestic manufacturing capabilities and enhance yields in agriculture.

We will create more opportunities to promote local value-addition through Joint Ventures and by offering incentives for value-added exports.

We will facilitate the integration of Pakistani manufacturers in global value chains.

We will ensure that local Pakistani businesses are fully involved in implementation of CPEC project and policy.

## Enhance access to finance for citizens and industry

**We will improve and implement State Bank of Pakistan's National Financial Inclusion Strategy, drastically increase access to finance, increase deposit base of banks and establish an infrastructure lending bank for large projects.**

Pakistan ranks low on financial inclusion; only 23% of Pakistanis have a bank account and thus access to formal and regulated finance is poor. Further to this, despite effective administration and a robust policy framework of the State Bank of Pakistan; prevalence of informal credit is high and innovation in our banking product and services is insufficient to uplift financial inclusion. There is a strong demand for easy access to innovative financial instruments, both from citizens and businesses, which can be met with manageable risk exposure. However, supply is constraint due to market uncertainty, which increases risk and inefficient delivery mechanisms which hampers ease-of-access.

We will improve and implement the State Bank of Pakistan's National Financial Inclusion Strategy for easier access to finance.

We will have State Bank of Pakistan develop policies to increase bank deposit base from 30% to 50% of GDP to encourage higher savings.

We will champion digital financial services efforts to encourage shift towards a cashless economy.

We will incentivise development and delivery of innovative financial instruments and services.

We will establish Infrastructure Lending Bank (IPDF model) to fund large projects (e.g. Bhasha Dam).

## Boost the tourism industry

**PTI will turnaround the tourism industry to improve Pakistan's international image and increase its direct contribution to GDP.**

Tourism in Pakistan has undoubtedly immense potential given our diverse culture, heritage and natural endowment. However, for now it is a missed opportunity owing to multiple reasons including the war-on-terror, minimal marketing, poor public and private sector infrastructure and services.

In order to boost tourism we will:

- Promote and position Pakistan as "Asia's Best Kept Secret" in the global tourism market.
- Champion tourism in places including and beyond the northern areas of Pakistan – especially along the Indus and the historic Sufi sites of Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan.
- Develop 20 new tourist destinations in 5 years; 4 each year.
- Implement a framework to incentivise private sector investments in upgradation and development of new facilities which in particular would encourage "themed" tourism such as eco-tourism and other special incentives.
- Open all government guest houses to the public.
- Undertake the uplift of our accommodation infrastructure and transport services across all, from hostels to 5 star facilities.
- Aggressively encourage entrepreneurship, especially by SMEs, to boost economic value and job creation in the tourism industry.

- Improve processes to issue tourist visas, in particular for groups and champion initiatives, which strengthen our visa on arrival programme.
- Eliminate NOC condition for high potential tourist destinations (as has already happened in Malakand).
- Support TVET curriculum and institute development to upskill human capital in hospitality to fill the supply side deficit of skilled labour.

## Turnaround IT sector to build a knowledge economy

**PTI will champion Pakistan's journey towards a knowledge economy, digitisation and boost the IT exports with a cross-cutting strategy driven from the centre, improved infrastructure, uplifting our human capital, supportive tax policies, incentivising innovation and encouraging entrepreneurship.**

Pakistan's ICT sector and exports have shown consistent growth in recent years. However, the IT sector stands far from its potential and our exports hovers around USD 2 billion. Whereas, India has rapidly increased its ICT exports to over USD 126 billion. The primary reason is that Pakistan is uncompetitive in international market due to the repressive policies enforced by FBR along with lack of quality human resource, IT infrastructure, government sponsorship and innovation.

We will establish a Knowledge Economy Authority with cross-sectional powers across government departments to end our fragmented approach and adopt a central strategic direction towards digitisation.

We will launch the Digital Transformation Initiative Programme for digital infrastructure, citizen services and other e-government programs.

We will create and implement the National Digital Policy to ensure privacy, security, standardisation and data sharing across all stakeholders.

We will create and implement a regulatory and legal framework to enable Open Government Data and platform for shared services.

We will establish a National Outreach Scholarship Programme to identify our best minds and fully fund their placement in the top institutions.

We will increase access to international markets with a favourable visa regime and improved business development through our embassies to boost exports.

We will ensure a forward looking regulatory and tax regime to make room for new business models and innovation.

We will boost start-up development with an empowered ecosystem offering access to venture capital and tax benefits such as sales tax rationalisation and minimum withholding tax.

We will create special courts and dispute resolution forums to resolve intellectual property matters and copyrights.

## Strengthen international trade

**PTI would implement structural changes to the existing and outdated system to create a comprehensive and integrated approach to improve our balance of payments, drive innovation and diversify our exports.**

Pakistan's international trade is on a very fragile footing; with 70% exports coming from only three types of products (textile, rice & leather) whereas our imports are mostly inelastic such as oil. This situation adds to our current account deficit and puts serious pressure on our foreign exchange reserves which will further force devaluation and add to inflation. All previous strategic trade policies and initiatives have failed to enhance exports due to Pakistan's poor investment climate and absence of required leverage over our main export drivers.

We will ensure cohesiveness between revenue policy, trade policy & national industrial policies.

We will ensure that our foreign exchange rate is regulated based on economic fundamentals.

We will champion diversification of our export product suite.

We will increase our export destinations through economic diplomacy and institutional support while adhering to our commitments within the GATT/ WTO framework.

We will reassess FTAs and PTAs premised on principles of our national interest.

We will incentivise linkages between academia, research institutions and industry to improve technology and innovation in our exports.

We will champion and incentivise creation of regional supply chain linkages; focus will be on increasing regional trade.

## Revitalise textile sector and boost exports

**PTI will make Pakistan's textile industry more competitive to boost exports and regain its position in the international markets.**

Pakistan's textile sector has experienced a consistent downgrade over the last 5 years. The sector is burdened with an ailing infrastructure, high energy costs, low cotton production, blocked tax refunds, artificial foreign exchange rate and poor quality human capital; making us regionally uncompetitive. As a result, our textile exports are hampered and Pakistan is losing its export share in the global market.

We will make energy costs regionally competitive for the textile sector.

We will ensure release of blocked tax refunds and subsequent refund orders issued will take form of “Negotiable Instruments”.

We will lobby for the GSP+ status of Pakistan; specifically in EU through foreign missions with support of trade regulatory authorities.

We will increase our cotton production through better inputs and research, while ensuring right prices are offered to farmers.

We will establish internationally accredited labs for product testing and improve product quality.

We will champion local textile machinery manufacturing and incentivise plant upgradation.

We will strengthen the allied industries to ensure that required inputs are manufactured in Pakistan to the extent economically viable.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## Uplift Agriculture and Conserve Water



## Unleash Pakistan's potential in agriculture

**PTI's will increase farmer's profitability and boost growth rate; we will optimise existing subsidy programmes, reduce input costs, transform agriculture produce markets, improve access to finance, champion mechanisation and incentivise value-addition for exports.**

Agriculture is undoubtedly the backbone of Pakistan's economy as 45% of the labour force depends on this sector for livelihood. However, growth rates have been poor owing to bad policy decisions and poor implementation. Farm input costs are rising, our agriculture produce markets are monopolised, access to finance is dismal, bad practices are depleting our natural endowment, climate change is adversely affecting our ecosystem, value-addition of crops is weak and agriculture related exports are far below potential. This gross neglect of the agriculture sector, especially small farmers, will hamper Pakistan's GDP growth rate if left unattended and an aggressive turnaround is now pertinent.

We will make inputs cheaper for farming to be profitable; we cannot encourage a commodity price increase to achieve profitability as it will add to inflation, but a one-time price adjustment may be required. However, we will decrease costs by:

- (1) Optimising existing and introducing new subsidy programmes
- (2) Increasing access to credit with easy terms of repayment
- (3) Sharing costs of investments required to improve productivity

We will expand agriculture produce markets and enforce an efficient and transparent market clearing mechanism to get fair market prices for farmers.

We will expand existing and create new warehouses along with crop grading system in key locations across Pakistan under public-private partnerships.

We will deregulate the seed market apart from a few commercially important seeds.

We will reduce import duty on farm machinery to increase productivity.

We will incentivise farmers to conserve water, adopt regenerative agriculture, effectively control weeds and be more market driven with their crop mix.

We will expand existing and create new markets for value addition, e.g. organic farming, SME level processing to provide cheaper inputs for local manufacturers (reduce import burden), encourage high-value exports, etc.

We will encourage private banks to roll-out digital loans for quick access with easier terms of repayment and launch warehouse receipt financing.

We will impose a research emergency and spearhead scientific cooperation initiatives with other countries to strengthen agricultural research.

We will transform and expand the Agri-extension programme to provide effective on-farm technical support.

## **Revamp the livestock sector**

**PTI will boost the livestock sector and make Pakistan self-sufficient in milk and milk-based products, expand meat production for domestic consumption and exports; we will ensure that small livestock farmers are the primary beneficiaries.**

Livestock productivity is low in Pakistan, despite of which we would almost always meet our domestic demand for consumption. Furthermore, our exports have consistently been poor as we do not meet international quality and hygiene standards. But with income levels rising and a growing middle class, our livestock supply is failing to meet domestic demand, let alone missing out on the opportunity to increase exports. Majority livestock holdings are with small farmers, which makes achieving economies of scale to increase productivity even more difficult; hence to boost the livestock sector the state has to intervene with productivity enhancing initiatives.

We will promote research and champion advancements in technology such as genetic improvements to increase livestock productivity.

We will identify and demarcate specific livestock zones with high potential.

We will champion sustainable commercial production of quality feed to tackle malnutrition and also increase farmer profitability.

We will increase vaccination supply through imports and local production, and expand network for administering vaccines.

We will improve standards in slaughterhouses, incentivise use of efficient machinery and champion improvements in supply chain.

We will improve and enforce milk and meat standards to regulate quality.

We will create incentives to encourage investment in processing for exports.

We will secure off-take agreements from overseas buyers to guarantee market for additional produce.

We will incentivise investors and producers to organise small farmers to build community biogas plants, shared cooling and milk collection infrastructure.

We will develop disease management plan to enhance capability and capacity to roll-out and sustain longer-term interventions.



## Build dams and solve Pakistan's water scarcity challenge

**PTI will build dams and solve our water crisis with immediate steps to conserve and improve management of water. We will expedite development of requisite infrastructure and ensure implementation of Pakistan's national water policy and our water plan for each province.**

Pakistan is predicted to reach absolute water scarcity by 2025. This impending crisis is a result of inadequate water conservation efforts and poor management. Pakistan's economy is already one of the most water-intensive in the world and the situation will only worsen with population growth, urbanisation and high water losses in agriculture; let alone the threat from climate change and unresolved regional water disputes. Solving Pakistan's water crisis will undoubtedly be our top priority.

We will strengthen our Ministry of Water Resources, other water sector institutions and build a platform to encourage stakeholder participation.

We will improve and ensure implementation of our master water plan for each province and the national water policy.

We will launch an aggressive public awareness campaign on the "Need for water conservation" and against "The mismanagement of water".

We will create opportunities for public-private partnerships to expedite implementation of our National Water Policy.

We will pursue and resolve issues pertaining to our water treaty at all forums.

We will expedite construction of Diamer-Bhasha dam and will speed up feasibility studies for other dams.

We will build small dams across Pakistan to conserve water and fulfil local demand.

We will champion all initiatives to improve water management in urban and rural areas, especially ICT enabled interventions.

We will reduce share of non-revenue generating water, crackdown on over-abstraction and commit to recharging our aquifer.

We will drastically cut water losses in Agriculture by promoting best practices, smart interventions and improved monitoring of farms.

We will aggressively expand our rainwater catchment capacity in urban and rural areas.

We will invest to improve research, water information management systems, disaster relief management and support adaptation to climate change.

## Revive our fisheries industry

**PTI will uplift the fisheries industry with infrastructure investments, incentivising adoption of best practices and effective monitoring to increase our fish stock to a sustainable level.**

Pakistan's marine fish stock has reached an alarmingly low level due to intensive exploitation, bad practices and poor government controls along our coastline. Furthermore, previous governments' neglect has kept the sector far from reaching its export potential. Our fisheries industry provides livelihood to a million people and it is now imperative to reverse depletion and build our fish stock to a sustainable level for the industry's survival.

We will increase protected areas from 1% to 10% of our coastline.

We will incentivise fish farming and lower taxes on equipment for sustainable business development.

We will use wasteland for fish farming to promote inland aquaculture; in particular to farm "Tilapia".

We will champion cold chain development from sea to shore, from farm to storage; to decrease wastage and improve quality for end consumer.

We will ban fishing certain species during specific periods in a year, especially in spawning season.

We will develop and enforce standards on fishing net size, mesh size, and size of fish captured, in particular to avoid harvesting juvenile fish and to rehabilitate endangered marine species.

We will ban issuance of new fishing licenses till our marine fish stock has reached a sustainable level.

We will stop further licensing of fishmeal factories and ban fishmeal export till compliance to raw material quality control standards are adopted.

# CHAPTER SIX

## Revolutionising Social Services



## Healthcare for all

### **PTI will ensure universal health coverage and enhance the focus on primary care while upgrading secondary & tertiary facilities**

Pakistan faces a double burden of disease: high prevalence of communicable diseases (e.g. TB, Hepatitis, diarrhoea, etc) and non-communicable diseases (e.g. Diabetes, heart diseases, etc) simultaneously. Moreover, low coverage and quality of care results in a maternal mortality rate of 170 per 100,000 births, and a child mortality rate of 86 per 1000 live births, one of the worst in the region. These problems are exacerbated by weak health delivery systems: Facility coverage is low, especially in remote areas (e.g. 56% BHU coverage in Balochistan), positions are vacant (e.g. doctors in BHUs), staff is not always present and essential medicines are not always available.

We will upscale the Sehat Insaf Card Programme across Pakistan to provide access to quality healthcare to citizens, especially the poor.

We will ensure that citizens have coverage for a defined package of services, insured through a number of policy interventions such as public insurance for the poor, mandatory employee insurance etc.

We will double the size of the Lady Health Worker (LHW) programme to ensure each woman has access to complete package of LHW services (including family planning, pregnancy management, neonatal care), with adequate training, support and service structure for LHWs.

We will ensure the availability of diagnostic facilities, preventive and curative treatment for communicable diseases such as Hepatitis, Tuberculosis and HIV.

We will double efforts to increase vaccination coverage in provinces with lesser coverage (Balochistan and Sindh in particular)

We will increase number of 24/7 BHUs & RHCs equipped with basic package of services, staff and ambulance service to ensure each village has access to a facility within 10 km radius and reduce the burden on tertiary hospital

We will launch an incentive programme to attract more doctors, LHWs and nurses to BHUs, particularly in remote locations

We will establish training institutes for nurses and paramedical staff nationwide.

We will enhance focus on childhood nutrition, through LHWs and BHUs

We will invest in a referral system at BHU level, ensuring capture of adequate patient data, and efficient referrals to secondary & tertiary healthcare facilities

We will upgrade secondary care facilities and enhance service delivery at Tehsil Head Quarter Hospitals & District Head Quarter Hospitals by ensuring provision of adequate equipment, specialist doctors and medicines

We will build state of the art hospitals in major urban centres to ensure the best healthcare facilities to the poor

We will encourage private sector participation and partnership to improve the service delivery standard of public health facilities.

We will depoliticise hospitals, governed by autonomous professional boards.

We will review and report on access and quality of service delivery at each facility through collection of regular data.

We will expand the capacity of the public healthcare system through additional capacity in existing facilities, making new facilities or public-private partnership.

We will create a mental health policy and champion initiatives to promote and address mental health issues through improve service delivery and research.

## Transform education

**PTI will put in place the most ambitious education agenda in Pakistan's history, spanning reform of primary, secondary, tertiary, vocational, and special education.**

Since the devolution of Education as a subject to the provinces, a national consensus on critical matter of equity in education has been evasive. Pakistan's National Curriculum has not been reviewed or updated in the past 12 years, and no national consensus on medium of instruction and teaching of languages exists. The education budget allocation remains well below the prescribed 4% of GDP and poor education planning results in supply and demand mismatches. Nearly 22.5 million children are out of school in Pakistan and the ones who are not learning commensurate to their age or grade. The public school delivery system is under-resourced and has capacity constraints. At the higher education level, research volume and quality is limited, and university administration continues to be highly politicised.

We will establish a National Ministry/Commission for Human Capital Development to forecast future domestic and international labour force requirements to increase or decrease supply of different fields of education, evaluate the curricula based on needs and trends of the labour market and develop a National Human Development Strategy annually to propose the supply of any new fields of technical or professional education.

We will establish a National Commission for Education Standards that will issue a revised "Minimum Standards" list within 6 months of its constitution and initiate a

National Dialogue and technical consultation to approve a policy on the teaching of languages at each level of education.

We will build the largest public-private partnership for education access in the developing world through vouchers for low-fee private schools & access to credit for educated youth to teach students in their communities.

We will create an Education Fund for young entrepreneurs to develop technology and communication-enabled solutions to provide access to education in remote areas.

We will establish minimum standards for all public schools to ensure provision of facilities and a child-friendly learning environment.

We will launch a nationwide literacy programme to engage 50,000 youth volunteers to teach literacy in exchange for university credits.

We will launch a Teach for Pakistan effort to bring high quality talent into the public system as teachers or coaches.

We will launch a large-scale teacher certification programme.

We will increase schools at secondary level for girls by upgrading schools every year in high-enrolment areas and launching nation-wide radio, television and online self-learning programmes for secondary students

We will provide stipends to secondary school-going girls to reduce barriers to access.

We will establish a National Steering Committee to enact examination board overhaul and move towards instituting a standardised central examination scheme and participate in the PISA-D.

We will launch a strategy to provide equipment, teacher training and competitions and co-curricular activities for students to improve instruction and learning of STEM subjects.

We will establish at least 10 technical universities in Pakistan to provide skills to our youth

We will provide public scholarships and set up a National Endowment Fund for international universities, and provide international distance-learning opportunities for tertiary education.

We will attract foreign university graduates from Pakistan to teach and supervise research in local universities.

We will create partnerships with international universities to improve teaching and research quality and will incentivise research quality (as judged by international benchmarks) as opposed to research volume.

We will remove political influence and create an independent, transparent mechanism to select Vice Chancellors and senior administrators.

We will regulate university curriculum to include compulsory courses on communication, reasoning, IT literacy as well as instruction in social sciences.

We will transform the National Vocational and Technical Training Council (NAVTTTC) to a best-in-class organisation to plan, monitor and support provincial bodies in implementation.

We will streamline the role of provincial institutions such as TEVTA, Skills Development Funds, Boards of Technical Education and eliminate obsolete institutions.

We will engage foreign technical universities and providers under public-private partnership agreements to offer specialised, high-quality training.

We will expand vocational training programmes to provide relevant, high-quality skills to post-secondary students each year and will create partnerships with local industries and foreign governments to employ vocational and technical graduates.

We will map out and register all seminaries across Pakistan including information on finances, and introduce literacy and mathematics teaching as formal subjects within the Madrassah curriculum.

## Unleash the potential of the youth

**PTI's youth policy will provide the youth the three Es: Education, Employment and Engagement. Our policy will ensure that we create a group of educated, skilled young people that are invested in making Pakistan a great nation.**

Pakistan is experiencing a youth bulge, with over 63% of the population under age 25. Out of these, 43 million are currently between ages 15-24. However, this population faces constraints of poor education and skills. The UNESCO Institute for Statistics estimated in 2016 that around 25 percent of the Pakistani youth was illiterate with no vocational or technical skill.

We will double the size of existing skill development & vocational training programmes.

We will launch a national programme to provide practical training to graduates in the public & private organisations.

We will establish a liaison office under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to promote foreign placement of young Pakistani talent.

We will invest in the youth members of local government bodies by training them and empowering them to conduct village-level activities for other young people.

Launch a Youth in Politics and Community Challenge Fund to engage the youth in national & provincial development by giving small grants to young people for solving pressing problems of their communities

We will revitalise the youth Parliament and create programmes in which young people can intern with parliamentarians as staffers or researchers

## Expand the social safety net

**We will expand the Sehat Insaf card to the poorest families across Pakistan and launch special assistance programmes for differently-abled persons. We will retain and strengthen the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP).**

Pakistan's public spending on social protection is low at 0.54%, nearly half of South Asia's regional average is ~1% of GDP. Consequently, Pakistan's Human Development Index (HDI) is 0.550, lower than that of nearby Bangladesh's 0.579 and the lowest in South Asia. 29.5% of Pakistan's population lives below the poverty line. This translates to about 60 million people and 8 million Households that live below a consumption level of Rs.3030 per adult equivalent per month. While BISP has been a big breakthrough over the last decade, other safety nets like Bait-ul-Maal, Zakat & Usher have been underperforming consistently.

We will expand the Sehat Insaf card to BISP beneficiaries nationally using a phased approach.

We will retain and improve BISP as the primary social safety net for the poor, and launch special assistance programmes for differently-abled persons.

We will develop specific development packages for all provinces and special economic packages for districts in extreme poverty with a focus on provision of basic infrastructure, education, healthcare, drinking water and nutrition.

We will improve capacity and delivery of the other 4 existing social protection programmes: Workers Welfare Fund (WWF), Employees Old-Age Benefits Institution (EOBI), Zakat Fund, and Pakistan Bait-ul-Maal.



## Provide clean drinking water for all

**We will increase the supply of safe drinking water in urban slums and rural communities by providing point-of-use solutions and water treatment plants at the local level through public-private partnership.**

Only 36% of Pakistan's population has access to clean drinking water, which puts us off-track from meeting Sustainable Development Goal 6 of universal safe water provision by 2030. As a result of diarrhoea caused by microbial contaminants in the water supply, nearly 39,000 children under the age of 5 die in Pakistan every year.

We will increase and sustain the national spending on water and sanitation.

We will immediately launch a clean drinking water supply campaign in Karachi that will provide point-of-use purifying solutions to households. In the long run, we will undertake comprehensive reform at the Karachi Water and Sanitation Board to upgrade infrastructure, retail framework and eliminate pilferage from pipelines.

We will follow the launch in Karachi by launching similar initiatives in major cities across the country within the first year of government; Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar and Quetta.

We will provide resources and support to local government bodies to provide filtration plants through a public-private-partnership model.

In parallel, we will launch a public awareness programme to generate and manage demand for safe water, and promote conservation of drinking water.

## Tackle climate change and champion green growth

**PTI recognises climate change and our increasing environmental pollution; the damage it is causing and the threat it poses to our future. We will take action to manage climate change and make Pakistan greener under our Green Growth Agenda by investing in long term adaptation to climate change, addressing the root causes of environmental pollution, strengthening our institutions, planting 10 billion trees in 5 years, and by improving our disaster relief management and risk reduction. Environmental conservation will be at the core of PTI's governance.**

Pakistan ranks 7th on the most adversely affected countries due to climate change. Both, climate change and environmental pollution pose a grave threat to Pakistan's sustainable future. The negative impact on our weather pattern is already evident; rising temperatures, major flooding, prolonged droughts, unpredictable rainfalls etc cost Pakistan an estimated USD 6 to 14 billion

annually, even though we barely contribute 0.2% to global emissions (one of the lowest in the world). Furthermore, air and water pollution cost Pakistan an additional estimated USD 3 billion per annum. It is now imperative to tackle climate change and reverse environmental degradation as Pakistan's situation will only worsen as the economy grows, especially when we have no concrete plan in place.

We will ensure that Pakistan as a nation takes responsibility to reverse environmental degradation and manage climate change to safeguard its citizens, natural endowments and investments.

We will educate our children to be the custodians of nature and guardians of our sustainable future.

PTI's cross-sectoral and multi-dimensional Green Growth Agenda will aim to address this challenge holistically, as this cannot be managed with ad-hoc initiatives or by any single ministry, and responsibly partner in the evolution of the global eco-civilisation.

We will establish a Green Growth Task Force under the Prime Minister's cell to facilitate necessary legislation and implement the Green Growth Agenda.

We will develop an alternate economy, based on green growth with environmental care at the core; this will provide decent "green" jobs and equip our country to face challenges of climate change and environmental pollution.

We will enact requisite green legislation to champion initiatives such as mandatory environmental education, green building codes, zero waste policy and reducing plastic use in our economy.

We shall endeavour to deliver affordable and sustainable clean energy, promote clean transport, champion green infrastructure, effectively manage waste, promote efficient agriculture and preserve our wetlands wildlife and biodiversity.

We will ensure all relevant policy reforms across Pakistan include measures and initiatives to counter existing and potential negative impacts of climate change.

We will further strengthen financing of institutions for climate change risk reduction.

We will implement an action plan for energy conservation; on the demand side we will incentivise adoption of energy efficient initiatives and on the supply side we will reduce transmission losses.

We will strategically enhance our diplomatic and technical engagement at all relevant multilateral forums, especially the climate change negotiations, to safeguard our national interests.

We will expand and restore the fractured forests of Pakistan through a “10 Billion Tree Tsunami” spread over 5 years under principles of true forest valuation, community stewardship as well as public-private partnerships.

We will strengthen disaster management, especially our response (rescue and relief) capability and capacity, while also reducing disaster risk.

We will mainstream climate risks and the associated costs into decision making and development planning to climate proof our infrastructure and make future development resilient and adaptive to climate change.

We will aggressively implement initiatives and strive to stop polluting and start cleaning our air and water.

We shall aim to internalise and integrate true environmental costs in all economic decisions and present a yearly national “Eco budget”.

## **Create a more caring Pakistan for people with special needs**

**We will take a rights-based approach to provide the necessary resources and infrastructure to diagnose, facilitate/assist and integrate differently-abled persons into mainstream society.**

An estimated 10 percent of the population of Pakistan has a disability. Despite this, public spending and infrastructure for rehabilitation and inclusion of persons with disabilities is limited. Pakistan has one of the worst population to occupational and physical therapist ratios globally, which reflects on the neglect the sector has faced. The 2% quota allocated for the disabled is often not implemented in spirit. Worst of all, Pakistan ignored the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, to which it is a signatory, by not collecting critical data on persons with disabilities in the National census.

We will regularly conduct nationwide surveys to ascertain the extent of disability prevalence and to generate actionable information on supporting persons with special needs.

We will define and acknowledge all categories of disabilities and issue specialised CNIC or disability certificate to ensure that differently-abled persons will receive privileges and facilities without any discrimination.

We will ensure 2% job quota fulfilment for differently-abled persons at all government establishments.

We will provide training, skills and finance through public-private partnerships for differently-abled persons, and income support to differently-abled persons with severe disabilities.

We will invest in the provincial Special Education Departments and Institutions to uplift their infrastructure, human resource and assistive technologies.

We will mainstream individuals with mild disabilities into mainstream schools by offering assistance to overcome/off-set the disability.

We will promote early screening and interaction for children with disabilities by training related medical staff and health workers.

We will offer assistive devices / technologies such as hearing aids, wheelchair, etc., through federal and provincial programmes.

We will conduct provincial and national Special Olympics and Sporting events and arrange for sports federations to sponsor international participation of special athletes.

We will develop Disability Resource Centres at each district, equipped with necessary equipment for screening and therapy of differently-abled persons.

## **Tackle the population growth challenge**

**We will deploy efforts to reduce the population growth rate for the health of mothers, children and families and the prosperity of Pakistan by reducing the impending burden on its resources.**

With a population growth rate of 2.4% and one of the lowest contraceptive prevalence rate in the region of 35%, Pakistan will face extreme pressure on its natural and economic resources if the population continues to grow as it is.

We will ensure the adequate availability of contraception to all married women of reproductive age (MWRA) through the population welfare and healthcare network of Basic Health Units, Lady Health Workers and Community Midwives.

We will build on the existing consensus from religious leaders of all major schools of jurisprudence on using temporary birth spacing methods and publicise their endorsement at the community and household level.

We will revitalise national family planning programmes, including providing air-time on national television to promote behaviour change and increase uptake and continuation of contraception.

We will undertake important structural reforms to ensure coordination between the Departments of Health and Departments of Population Welfare to ensure that expecting mothers and new parents are counselled on family planning.

## Promote arts, sports and culture

**We will provide state patronage to sports, arts and culture by providing the necessary resources alongside local and international exposure to athletes, artists and artisans.**

Sports in Pakistan, except cricket, have faced systemic neglect from the Government. In the 2016 Summer Olympics, Pakistan had only 7 representatives, none of whom had originally qualified, and were given wildcard entries by the Rio Olympics. From a population of nearly 200 million, this means one athlete per 27 million people, an abysmal performance. Largely, this is a result of policies that do not adequately invest in sports and resources at the grassroots. Moreover, despite having a rich cultural heritage and artistic community, Pakistan at best holds a handful of art, film and literary festivals, none of which are through state patronage. In contrast to other countries that have successfully projected and promoted their arts and culture globally, we have not used this potential for Pakistan's image-building in the international community.

We will establish vibrant community centres at the district level, where exhibitions, road shows, literary events and workshops can take place.

We will provide (1) Playgrounds at Tehsil level, (2) Training centres and gymnasiums at Divisional Level to be used for training provincial and national teams and (3) Category A (National and International standard) sports complexes at the provincial level through a phased approach.

We will hold inter-district, inter-division, provincial and national games annually for young people.

We will partner with local and international private partners to hold Expos, Exhibitions, Literary Festivals, Art and Culture Shows and Events to boost Pakistan's image internationally and provide enriching experiences for the citizens.

We will create scholarships and fellowships to promote Pakistan's image in varsities across the world.

We will revitalise Pakistan's National Council of Arts and create art and culture exchange partnerships with international Art Councils and bodies to provide international exposure to local artists.

We will launch a rigorous campaign of cultural diplomacy through the Foreign Office to promote Pakistan's soft image.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

## Ensuring Pakistan's National Security



## External Dimension

At a minimum level Pakistan's core national interests can be identified as:

- Territorial integrity & sovereignty.
- Socio-economic development.
- The resolution of the Kashmir dispute
- Protection of our citizens wherever they may happen to be.

Keeping the above in mind, PTI's external policy will constitute the following:

### ***Structural reforms***

Update and expand institutional structure: Over the years the delivery of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) has deteriorated as its institutional structure has failed to keep pace with the demands of the changing global environment. Four institutional prerequisites will be put in place in order to enable MOFA to deal with the new external environment and policies more effectively in terms of successful foreign policy operationalisation.

**One:** A more robust, proactive and specialised Foreign Service, more expansive in numbers and more efficient, with more specialised qualifications – as part of the overall civil service reforms. Our MOFA must be focused on furthering not just Pakistan's interests abroad but also ensuring protection of our citizens abroad. In this context a major priority of PTI will be to ensure rapid and responsive consular services to our citizens abroad especially those in jails in foreign countries.

**Two:** A major vacuum, which has resulted in a serious disadvantage in the conduct of our foreign policy, has been the lack of a proper International Law section within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). We envisage playing a major role in multilateral forums at a time when international law, through expanding treaty and UNSC resolutions' frameworks, is becoming central not only to multilateral diplomacy but also bilateral relations.

**Three:** A more centralised and coordinated organisational framework for effective diplomacy requires all aspects of diplomatic activity especially in our Missions, such as press, to come under the purview of the MOFA and the Envoys in our Missions. Hence External Publicity, which was initially part of the MOFA, should directly coordinate with and eventually be re-linked with the same Ministry.

**Four:** Establish a policy coordination cell within the PM office to coordinate inputs from key national stakeholders and Ministries into the foreign policy, for informed decision-making. External policy cannot run on parallel official tracks.

## Policy

Pakistan is placed in a strategically critical location but we have failed to exploit this to our advantage. In fact, over the years we have allowed this to become a source of weakness and exploitation especially by Extra Regional Powers. Course correction in this regard must be a major priority in terms of external policy.

With regard to external policies, PTI's guiding principles will be of reciprocity, mutual interests and international norms that will govern Pakistan's relations at the bilateral and multilateral levels. We are committed to initiating new policies rooted in Pakistan's priorities, including a conflict resolution approach towards improving our relation with our eastern and western neighbours.

- This will include work on a blueprint towards resolving the Kashmir issue within the parameters of UNSC resolutions. For lasting peace within our own region, especially with our neighbour India, conflict resolution and the security route to cooperation is the most viable.
- Also, in the context of bilateral relations, PTI's focus will be on moves to expand the existing strategic partnership with China, as well as with our other allies in the region, including the newly emerging cooperation with Russia. With the US, reciprocity and mutuality of interest will be the determinants of our relationship.
- At an overall regional and global level, Pakistan needs to continue expanding its interaction in terms of bilateral and multilateral activities. Due to the altering global and regional parameters, old allies and traditional relationships cannot be taken for granted.
- PTI's major policy goal, in the new external milieu, will be to sustain and increase its relevance regionally and globally, focusing more actively on multilateral diplomacy through critical multilateral forums from the UN to the EU. Pakistan must play the role of a bridge builder and honest broker amongst the states of the Gulf by adopting a non-partisan role in intra-Gulf conflicts.
- The UN provides Pakistan an opportunity to play an active role in multilateral diplomacy. We need to expand on that role especially on crucial international issues like terrorism, non-proliferation and international peacekeeping/peace enforcement.
- There is also a need to look more attentively towards East Asia and core states in other parts of the world such as Latin America and Africa.
- PTI will prioritise politico-economic diplomacy to revitalise the economy through foreign direct investment and trade. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Commerce would prepare a roadmap to this effect on an urgent basis. An essential prerequisite is for complete coordination between the MOFA and other Ministries in relation to all aspects of external policies.

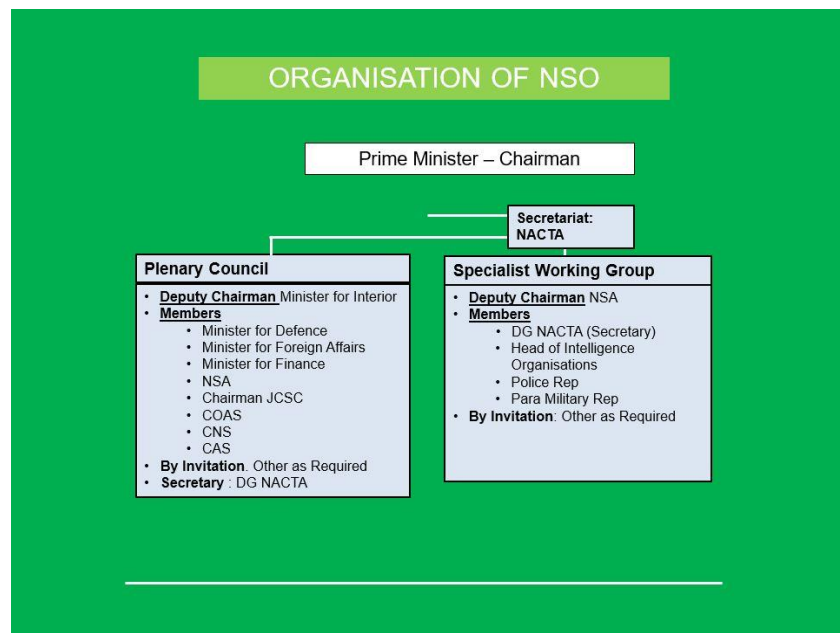


- To strengthen the parliamentary system and the voice of the elected representatives, PTI will seek a constitutional amendment to give Parliament the authority to ratify all international treaties after being presented for debate.

## Internal Dimension

### Structural reforms

There is a need for an institutional framework to deal effectively with internal security – A National Security Organisation. There is a need to have such an institution in which all the stakeholders can come together, strategize and oversee operationalisation of a national security policy, in a structured, organisational manner. There is also the need to overcome the NACTA logjam – and end bureaucratic turf wars.



NACTA is not wide enough in scope, in terms of issue areas and membership, to undertake this role but NACTA can act as the Secretariat to a National Security Organisation. Such a body should have the Prime Minister as its Chairman and comprise two parts: One, the Plenary Council where decisions regarding policy and strategy are made, and which would have the Minister of Interior as the Deputy Chairman while members would be the Ministers for Finance, Foreign Affairs and Defence as well as the National Security Adviser (NSA), the Chairman JCSC, COAS, CNS, CAS. Secretary would be the DG NACTA; second, the Specialist Working Group which would include as members Heads of all 8 intelligence agencies, Police rep, Paramilitary rep, and the Deputy Chairman of this Committee would be the DG NACTA. Such a body should also be institutionalised at the provincial levels as this would also allow the intelligence coordination that is a critical starting point for any

security strategy. Civilian and Parliamentary responsibility and control are essential and must be factored in.

### ***Policy***

Objective must be to deal with internal threats to the state at multiple levels to defeat the four main objectives of the insurgents & terrorists: ideology, manpower, funds and weapons/explosives. The State's policy must lead to strategies to meet and counter the threat at all these four levels.

PTI realises the need to treat this scourge of terrorism on multiple fronts in order to provide security for ordinary citizens so that terrorists are unable to melt into the population and find shelter there; and to convince the militants to lay down their arms. At the same time PTI recognises the need to address genuine political grievances, especially of the people of Balochistan and FATA.

### ***Strategies:***

Reclaiming ungoverned spaces. The first step must be to reclaim all the state's ungoverned spaces. The writ of the state has to be established and this cannot be done simply through military action. It requires putting in place a viable administrative and economic structure in place. A beginning has been made with the merger of FATA into Khyber Pukhtunkhwa Province but we must ensure that the structures of civilian administration are put in place as quickly as possible so that the displaced population is facilitated into resettlement.

To counter terrorism, PTI will begin implementing a comprehensive internal security policy based on 4 E's:

**Expose** links between active and passive (those who provide logistics support but are not part of the fighting force) terrorists and seek to win over the latter so as to isolate the hard core elements who rely on local populations for support – the local population acts as the rear of the terrorists. By separating the passive supporters the state deprives the terrorists of an important component of their support structure.

**Enforce** and fully implement all components of the consensual National Action Plan as well as implementing Pakistan's international treaty/convention commitments on counter terrorism. PTI would seek to choking terrorist funds by ensuring an effective National Terrorists Financing Investigation Cell (NTFIC).

**Eliminate** those hard core terrorists, who refuse to lay down their arms and surrender to the State, through a comprehensive joint military-civilian action

plan of isolation, extermination and blowback prevention. A major focus on this aspect of the counter terrorism strategy would be eliminate sources of supply of weapons/explosives to the terrorists.

**Educate** the population through developing a counter ideological narrative by co-opting religious scholars. Why is a counter narrative critical? Because militants need social space for their existence and growth. In their minds they see themselves as law enforcers, administrators, teachers and justice providers. Having gained social space, they seek out physical space and as governance weakens they become stronger. So it is critical for the state to reclaim social space along with physical space. Media co-option would also be sought to project an effective counter narrative.

PTI will also focus on restructuring syllabi and mainstreaming Madrassas by providing them with proper educational facilities. This would entail teacher training including the establishment of special Islamic teaching academies with diplomas for teaching. Another component of mainstreaming Madrassas would be a public-private “adopt a Madrassa scheme” where the business enterprises in the local area are given tax benefits etc for adopting a Madrassa, upgrading it and offering apprenticeships to its graduating students.

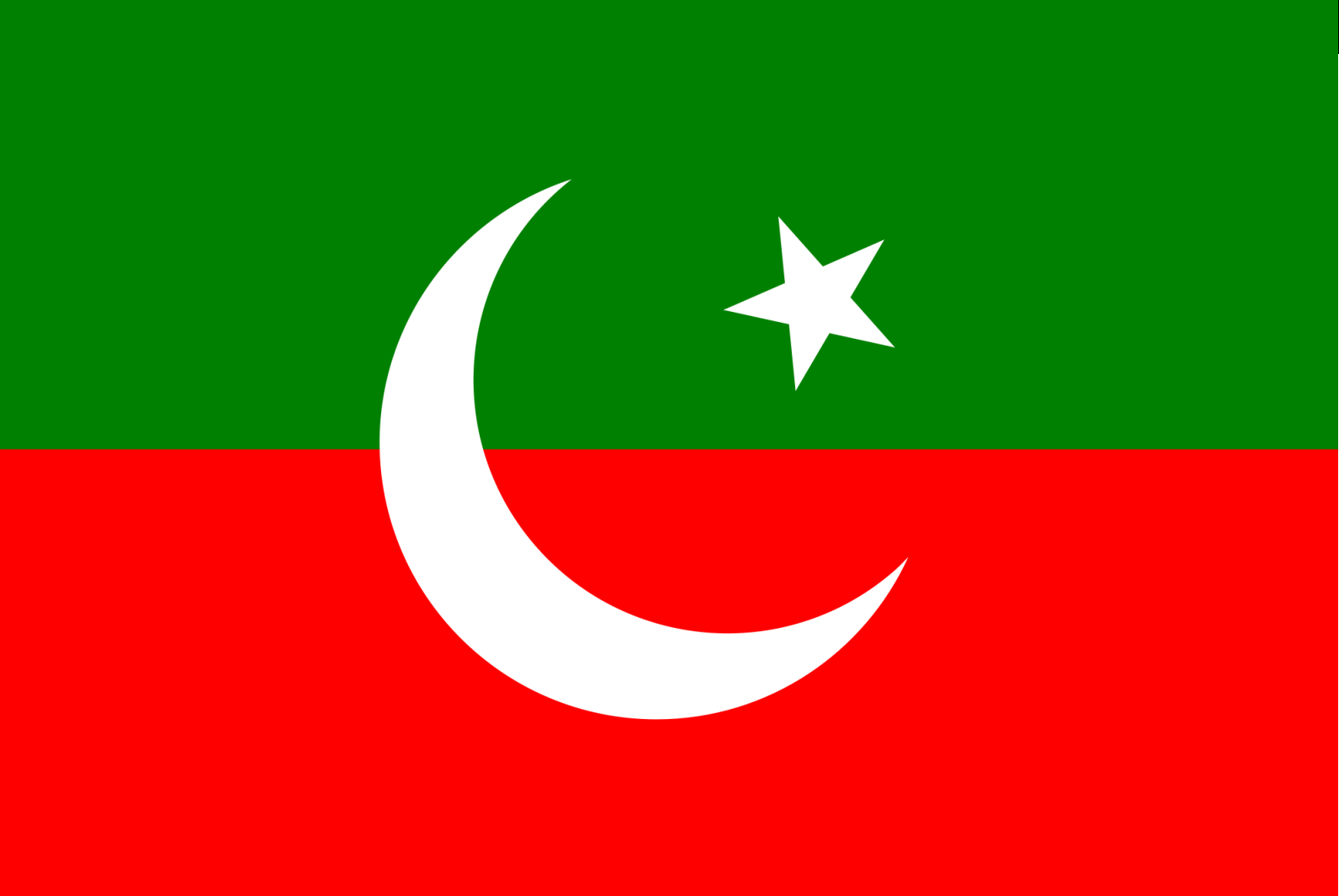
To ensure success of PTI’s counter terrorist strategy, an immediate step will be taken to reform the criminal judicial system and revise the Anti-Terror legislations so that it is precise and focused on terrorism.

PTI will not allow Pakistan’s territory or people, including its armed forces, to be used by any other nation for the promotion of its political ideology or hegemony, for promoting terrorism or for destabilisation of any other state.

## Defence policy

PTI’s Defence and Security policy will be made multidimensional to deal with the emerging nature of threats at multiple levels, especially the enmeshed internal-external dimensions of the threat of terrorism.

- Credibility of Pakistan’s full spectrum deterrence will be ensured.
- PTI will move substantively on the bilateral strategic dialogue with India encompassing all aspects of the strategic nuclear deterrence so as to prevent a spiralling nuclear arms race in the region.
- PTI will push for the principle of non-discrimination in all arms control and disarmament measures, including global nuclear disarmament.



# اب صرف عمران خان بلے پہ نشان

