DYNAMICS OF HARD AND SOFT POWER OF PAKISTAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY: A PROPOSED STRATEGY

By

Sabahat Nazir

44-FSS/MSIR/F14

Supervisor

Dr. Sadaf Farooq

Department of Politics and International Relations

Faculty of Social Sciences

International Islamic University Islamabad

2016

Accession No. IH1789 K

NS
3

Transitional security concepts

Terrorism - Russia

DYNAMICS OF HARD AND SOFT POWER OF PAKISTAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY: A PROPOSED STRATEGY

By

Sabahat Nazir

Registration No 44-FSS/MSIR/F14

Supervisor

Dr. Sadaf Farooq

Department of Politics and International Relations

Faculty of Social Sciences

International Islamic University Islamabad

2016

Certification

Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "Dynamics of Hard and Soft Power of Pakistan's National Security A Proposed Strategy" submitted by Sabahat Nazir Registration no 44-FSS/MSIR/F14, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of MS/M Phil Politics and International Relations
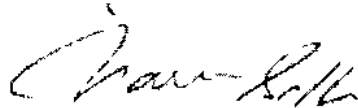
Supervisor

Dr Sadaf Farooq
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics and International Relations.
International Islamic University, Islamabad

Internal Examiner

Prof Dr Amna Mahmood
Professor/Chairperson
Department of Politics and International Relations.
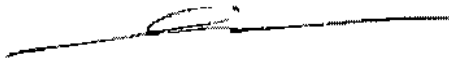International Islamic University, Islamabad

External Examiner

Dr Noman Omar Sattar
Director, Area Study Centre
Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad

Professor Dr Amna Mahmood
Chairperson
Politics and International Relations
International Islamic University Islamabad

Professor Dr Nahi Bux Jumani
Dean
Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University Islamabad

Table of Contents

Chapter 2: Conceptualization of Security

Chapter 3: Traditional security concept in Pakistan

Chapter 4: Pakistan's National Security Threats after 9/11

List of Abbreviations

ATP	Adventure Travel Pakistan
BISP	Benazir Income Support Program
BLA	Baluchistan Liberation Army
CBM	Confidence Building Measures
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CFL	Cease Fire Line
CS	Copenhagen School
CTDs	Counter Terrorism Departments
DCC	Defense Coordination Committee
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
LEAs	law enforcement agencies
LOC	Line of Control

NACTA	National Counter Terrorism Authority
NGOs	Non- governmental organization
NISP	National Internal Security Policy
NISOC	National Internal Security Center
PEMRA	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PTA	Pakistan Telecommunication Authority
PTDC	Pakistan Tourism Development Cooperation
PTV	Pakistan Television
RRF	Rapid Response Force
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
TTP	Tehreek- e- Taliban Pakistan
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

UK   United Kingdom

WMD   Weapons of Mass Destruction

Declaration

None of material (except expressed) is of the thesis writer, material has been extracted from the mentioned in text citations and references

Dedication

Dedicated to my beloved parents Mr and Mrs Nazir Hussain for their endless love, encouragement and support in every movement of my life, especially to my mother who has passed away seven years ago but I believe that all successes in my life are just due to her prayers and these will be with me till the last movement of my life I am really thankful for everything which they have done for me

Acknowledgment

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the most Merciful

Thanks to Almighty Allah who gave me strength to complete this project I am highly thankful to my beloved father, husband, sisters, brothers and all other family members for their prayers encouragements, love, care and support during this challenging task

I owe sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr Sadaf Farooq It is due to her guidance, suggestions productive comments and encouragement that I have become able to complete this hard and challenging task

Last but not least, special thanks to the Head of Department and all other faculty members of the department of Politics & International Relations, for their guidance and moral support throughout my academic year in the university and special thanks to the faculty of different libraries and research institutes where I have visited and have found desired articles and books related to my topic

Abstract

Since independence Pakistan's main focus had been on hard power The basic reason of this obsession with hard power was the security concerns of Pakistan mainly from India Reliance on hard power for solving every national security problem undermined the use of soft power for national security of Pakistan Facing one crisis after another, Pakistan fell short of balancing its hard power with soft power However in today's world especially after participation in war on terror Pakistan is facing such problems that required soft policies for enhancing national security and survivability The main focus of this study is that how Pakistan can utilize its soft power resources to counter the emerging national security threats Pakistan's political values, culture and foreign policy are important source of soft power and they can enhance Pakistan's national security But unfortunately less attention is paid on these elements in order to use their potential as a soft power tool Pakistan is blessed with a vast pool of ingredients that constitute an ideal platform to project its soft power Although Pakistan is facing various challenges like terrorism, militancy, extremism, violence, corruption etc but still Pakistan has the potential to build its soft power just little attention is require in this domain. The study concludes that in order to ensure national security and survivability Pakistan can't just rely on hard power and military capabilities rather it should also use soft power for its national security

Chapter 1

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1.1. Introduction

In the post Cold War era, the concept of national security has been changed Now it is not related to the military security, autonomy and territorial integrity, it is also related to the human, economic, political, social and environmental security There is a focus on both traditional and nontraditional security in the contemporary world politics Now the competition among nations is not just for hard power but states also vie with each other for soft power in order to enhance their influence and power both at external and internal levels (Romm, 1993) Hard power is the ability to use force and harsh means to defeat an enemy. On the other hand, soft power is the ability to shape and influence the preferences of others through attractiveness and understanding The term "soft power" was used for the first time by Joseph S Nye in 1990 After that the term soft power was frequently used in international relations

> To achieve the requirements through any sort of charm
> instead of intimidation and costs is called Soft Power It
> comprises of political values, culture and foreign policies
> Soft Power can be increased by making policies attractive in
> the thoughts of people (Nye, 2004)

The basic reason of this transformation is that new national security threats like terrorism, extremism, non-state actors, information warfare etc have been emerged that demand changes in traditional security policies which relied just on hard power So in this situation hard

power which had been significant instrument of a state's power is waning and state's public diplomacy, its culture, norm, values and foreign policies have got more significance (Nye, 2011)

After independence the most important problem for Pakistan was its security and survivability During the initial years of its independence Pakistan had three wars with India and many low level conflicts and also had a proxy war with USSR in Afghanistan In such crises national security had been a top priority of Pakistan either from external threats or internal ones and for this purpose Pakistan paid full attention to enhance its own defense capabilities in order to fulfill its security needs (Ganguly, 2013) Pakistan had always relied on hard power for its national security Military had always played an important role in Pakistan's national security Similarly Pakistan's nuclear doctrine is based on first use; it does not abide by the no first use policy In this regard Pervaz Musharraf stated in May 2002 that in a case of war with India we will respond with full might This statement was interpreted by experts that if India will attack Pakistan with conventional weapons Pakistan would use nuclear weapons for its national security (Aziz, 2007) In today's world the concept of national security and the nature of threats have been changed In this situation in order to ensure national security and survivability Pakistan can't just rely on hard power and military capabilities (Faruqui, 2003) However in Pakistan the soft power is generally neglected, here the basic focus is still on hard power while the other countries are using soft power along with hard power for their national interests and security The most important example is Pakistan's rival India which is paying attention on soft power for enhancing its image in international community but on the other hand Pakistan's image has been shattered in world community due to terrorism After 9/11 Pakistan has been facing various problems due to terrorism, it has tried its best to solve this problem but still international community is not ready to recognize Pakistan's efforts and still it is facing various problems in world community The

basic reason is that Pakistan has not given importance to soft power and image building process of the nation If Pakistan wants to solve this problem it must improve its image in the world and this can be done through the use of soft power (Sayeed, 2014) Media is an important tool that can be used to fulfill desired national goals and objectives In west media is commonly used to enhance their soft image in the world and to get their national interests But on the other hand in Pakistan the media is not used in right manner that can be helpful in image building process For example Pakistani media highlights those things that can just damage the image of it in the world Pakistan is highlighted by the media as a country where girls are targeted for being educated, the safety of tourists and sportsmen is not sure here Media should play a vital role for drawing soft and positive image of Pakistan through prominence of cooperating things in achieving national interests (Sayeed, 2014)

Culture is an important tool of soft power Pakistan has a rich culture but despite this cultural prosperity it is not possible for Pakistan to attract the attention of world community Gandhara and Mohenjo Daro are two prehistoric religio Cultural heritage places make Pakistan a most worthy place for visit. Pakistan has a multicultural societal structure and the distension of positive activities and cultural assortments can be used in drawing soft image of Pakistan The independent media, natural land beauty, four seasons, the participation of Pakistan women in every field of life and Coke studio can be used to display music richness and all other features can also be shown by the media in order to display Pakistani cultural verities Through the attractiveness of its culture tourism can be flourished in Pakistan, revenues can be generated and through social and cultural exchange programs Pakistan can have good relations with other states and its image can be enhanced that can be helpful for Pakistan's national security (Malik, 2006)

Pakistan's Political values and foreign policies can be another source of soft power and they can enhance Pakistan's national security Domestic policies must be designed in such a way that internal crises, conflicts and problems must be solved reasonably and with justice because hard power is generally used for solving domestic problems and this harsh attitude with opposition militant groups and other conflicting parties just increase hostilities and result in the outbreak of conflicts at a wider scale But if Pakistan will handle domestic crises with soft means it would enhance Pakistan's image in international community and this thing would be helpful for Pakistan's national security (Nuri. 2010)

Foreign policy of Pakistan can also play an important role for its national security Basic principles of Pakistan's foreign policy are protection of territorial integrity, non interference in other state's internal matters, endorsement of international peace and stability, implementation of United Nations charter etc Foreign policy can be a greeter help for Pakistan in enhancing its soft image and national security In its international dealings Pakistan must focus on building soft image in other states, people to people contact. scholarships to foreign students must be offered and sports, cultural exchanges must be started at a broader level (Amin, 2010) Through these policies it would be easy for Pakistan to have good relations with other states and its vital national interests can be fulfilled more easily Pakistan should use soft power in order to present itself as a responsible member of international community and to have good relations with other states If our prevailing systems social political economic and administrative function reasonably, effectively and efficiently no harm can come to Pakistan and we will be able to promote soft image of Pakistan

1.2.Statement of Problem

In Pakistan the paradigm of national security has always been dominated by hard power but in today's world Pakistan needs to create a balance between hard and soft power in such a way that it does not have to depend on hard power alone, soft power must be adopted in order to solve different national security problems

1.3. Research Questions

1: How the challenges confronting Pakistan underscore the incapacity of the traditional security concept and what are the key challenges it has faced in attempting to utilize soft power?

2: How the importance and obsession with hard power had led to the undermining of soft power in Pakistan?

3: How the potential of soft resources can be translated into soft power of Pakistan?

4: How the loopholes in the present national internal security policy can be overcome?

1.4. Research Methodology

This study will be qualitative It will rely on primary and secondary sources from the most current literature regarding national security It would be descriptive and analytical Secondary sources would include different books, journals, research articles, online articles and newspapers and official documents Primary sources would include interviews from different analysts military personals, and researchers of different institutes

1.5. Objectives of the Study

- To analyze the significance and role of soft power for Pakistan's national security

- To explore the post 9/1 security threats for Pakistan's national security

- To highlight the challenges that underscore the incapacity of the traditional security concept

- To investigate the challenges faced by Pakistan in attempting to utilize soft power

1.6. Significance of the Study

Pakistan's national security is based on hard power but now the world has shifted its focus from hard to soft power. The soft power approach is very important for security, stability, progress and survivability both at national and global level. In the 21 century when non-traditional security threats have also become important Pakistan should create a balance between hard and soft power in order to secure its security and survivability. This study will help policy makers to understand how the soft power can be an important tool for Pakistan's national security. This would help them to devise policies accordingly. This study will also helpful for the future researchers and students to understand how a balanced approach including both hard and soft power is necessary for Pakistan's national security

1.7. Literature Review

Searching for the answers of research questions needs wide research and effusive study in numerous directions. Data is available on certain aspects of the study but some areas of the study lacked data and needs stiff research. For example abundance of material is available for the understanding of the concept and theory of soft power, hard power and about the national security of Pakistan. But there is limited material available that can explain the significance and relevance of soft power in national security of Pakistan. There is hardly any declassified governmental document on the need and importance of soft power in Pakistan's national

security Literature review is covering different aspects related to the title of this study Review will explain the concept of national security and power before and after cold war It will also explain the national defense strategy and the dominance of hard power for and the significance of soft power for Pakistan's national security

Joseph S Nye in *Soft Power the Means to Success in World Politics* elaborates the term soft power and shows its importance and application in post 9/11 USA foreign policy. Nye said that if a state want to be powerful and successful in contemporary world politics it must use both the hard and soft power elements in their domestic and foreign policies The main sources of a state's soft power are its culture, political values and foreign policies Through hard power you can just dominate others but through soft power you can win the hearts and minds of others and by using the soft power a state can fulfill those national objectives which are not possible through hard power So in the post 9/11 era USA must use means of soft power in its foreign policies (Nye,2004)

Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde in *Security A New Framework for Analysis* has said that in today's world our thinking about security must be changed it must include issues such as environmental, economic and societal security There are two schools of thoughts in contemporary world politics traditionalists want to confine the concept of security to military and political issues while the non traditionalists or wideners want to expand it to non military sectors In the post cold war era the traditional security complex theory can't be applied to understand the relations among states Now the competition among states is not just for military security and power but states also compete with each other for economic progress and development and social issues have also become important. So there are various non military causes of conflicts among states in such a situation the traditional concept of security is not sufficient for explaining the

contemporary world politics rather this concept must be widened and must include societal, environmental, and economic issues (Buzan, Wæver & Wilde, 1997)

Joseph S Nye in *Future of Power* has stated that in today's world politics power is not based just on domination and manipulation rather on collaboration and cooperation He has described three forms of power soft power, hard power and smart power Smart power is the combination of soft and hard power States use hard power, means force or military capabilities to fulfill their national interests and objectives The hard power is based on intimidation and coercion on the other hand soft power rests on one's ability to influence others perceptions It depends upon the attractiveness of a state's culture, foreign policies and political values Nye has said that in today's world states can't gain their national interests and objectives just through hard power Soft power is an important alternative to hard power Through soft power even those national goals can be achieved which are not possible through hard power (Nye, 2011)

Joseph J Romm *Defining National Security The Non Military Aspect* has talked about the conceptualization of security Before cold war the term national security was used just for military security but in post cold war era the meaning of national security has been changed as new non military challenges have become a threat to USA national security Now national security just not meant military security rather it includes social, political, economic and environmental security also He has stated that new threats to national security are connected with each other, for example energy security plays an important role in national security and energy security is connected with environmental and economic security This book provides a new agenda for national security which includes not only the military aspects but also the non military aspects as important elements of national security (Romm, 1993)

Another writer Jonathan Kirshner in *Globalization and Security* has also tried to explore the impacts of globalization on national security policies of states Globalization has a profound impact on international system and on the national security policies of states and this impact has become an important question in security studies and in the study of international relations He has identified three different effects of globalization, it has strengthened trade and economic relations among nations, social relations have also been increased due to market forces and fast flow of information and technologies across borders In this globalized world non state actors have become prominent and their actions have changed the meaning of national security This situation requires a change in state's national security policies in order to meet new threats and challenges posed by globalization (Kirshner, 2013)

T V Paul in *Warrior State Pakistan in Contemporary World* has stated that in developing world states that are governed by military have remarkable and constant economic developments and with the passage of time these states have changes into partial democracies But Pakistan where military has always been played an important role has been an obvious failure During crises Pakistan's economy is dependent on international aid Law and order situation is weak and in spite of having strict national security policies Pakistan is still victim of aggression and intimidation After its independence Pakistan has always been a center of geopolitical rivalry for example US-Soviet rivalry, indo- Pak crises and the post 9-11 crises After independence Pakistan has fought wars with India and has various internal and external threats to its national security In order to meet security challenges it has always devoted a major portion of its budget to military preparations and this thing has created problems for the social and economic development of Pakistan But on the other hand India also has internal security challenges and

threats like corruption, ethnic conflicts etc but despite all these problems India has remarkable economic growth and has sustained democratic institutions (Paul, 2014)

Ahmad Faruqui in *Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan The Price of Strategic Myopia* has tried to explore the relevance of hard and soft power for Pakistan's national security He said that since its independence military has played an important role in Pakistan's national security After independence Pakistan adopted the hard path for national security and military was a dominant actor in national security policies But this hard power approach to national security is not much affective as much budget is allocated to military and social and political sectors of the country are ignored or there is less development in these sectors due to the lack of resources But even in this situation the military and other important decision making bodies of Pakistan are just paying attention on the military and are not ready to reduce the defense and military expenditures even they are ready to sacrifice economic and social development of the country In contemporary world a soft path for national security is becoming popular According to the proponents of this approach the national security is not just depended on military competence rather national security can be achieved by a good interaction between national security, social, economic and political policies of states So the soft path of national security is based on social consistency, political might, financial growth, diplomatic support and defense capabilities (Faruqui, 2003)

Farida Aziz in *Pakistan's National Security Problems* has explained the security challenges faced by Pakistan after its independence till 1984 Pakistan's basic national interest is survival and security from internal and external threats Soon after its independence Pakistan had a war with India over Kashmir in October 1947 to November 1948 At that time India took this issue to

UNSC and agreed to the provisions of UN but till date Kashmir issue is not solved and has become a bone of contention between two states After that Pakistan had three major wars and many low level conflicts with India Indian defense spending and military preparations have a direct impact on Pakistan's national security Due to rivalry and misperceptions between them arm race started between India and Pakistan Pakistan spends more and more on its military expenditures and this thing create limitations for social development as fewer resources are available for development Furthermore the Afghan war has dangerous impacts on Pakistan's national security During this war Pakistan acted as conduit and provided financial aid to Afghanistan from USA and other states Pakistan also opened its borders and granted refuge to about five million Afghan refugees but this thing became a burden on country's weak economy and created economic problems for Pakistan This thing also created security challenges for Pakistan's national security Writer has provided some recommendations in order to enhance national security She said that Pakistan must have good social, economic political and security policies in order to meet threats and security challenges from all types of aggression against its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence (Aziz, 1984)

Seab Kay in the article *Globalization, Power and Security* has described the role of power in new globalized international system Due to globalization the means and sources through which a state exercise its power and influence has been changed There is no doubt that military capabilities of a state play an important role in its power and prestige but in today's world soft power also plays an important role in enhancing a state's image not only in world politics but also at internal level Through soft power and soft policies a state can solve those problems and can fulfill these objectives in its relations with other states which are not possible through hard power (Kay, 2000)

Maliha Tariq, Najam Rafique and Saba Imran in *Narratives of National Security* have stated that in the post Cold War era the concept of national security has been changed Now it is not just related to the military security, autonomy and territorial integrity it is also related to the human, economic, political, social and environmental security There is a focus on both traditional and nontraditional security in contemporary world politics In order to ensure national security states can't just rely on hard power and military capabilities rather in 21st century the means for security has been changed, a state must use not only means of hard power but also the means of soft power in order to have good relations with other states and to ensure their security and stability in today's world (Syed, 2013)

Hadia Rahma in the article *Pakistan's Soft Power Prospects and Limitations* Contemporary Power Politics has said that there is a shift from hard to soft power. All major powers of the world are focusing on soft power in their international dealings that shows the importance of soft power From a long time China, USA, Britain, India and Russia are using soft power along with hard power in fulfilling their national interests and objectives in world politics Developing countries are also paying attention on building their soft image Pakistan needs a lot to focus on its soft power because due to terrorism, weak economy, frail tourism and poor law and order situation Pakistan's soft image has been badly affected in outer world Pakistan has a lot of things and sources like literature, art, Music, theater and tourism, through which it can endorse its soft image in the world (Rahman, 2014)

Akmal Hussain in the article *A perspective on Pakistan- India relations Power Dynamics Democracy and Development* has showed that from 1958 to onwards military has been a central part of the national power structure and always played prominent role in formulating Pakistan's national security and foreign policies India has always been seen as a rival and the armed

conflicts with India have further strengthened this commencement and thus military has always played an important role in economic, political and security relations with India. However with the passage of time it was realized that normal relations between India and Pakistan can play an important role for economic growth of both states for this purpose a shift in security paradigm is needed in which national security can be pursued not only through military but also through means of soft power like economy, culture, human security etc (Hussain, 2014)

Dr Nazir Hussain in *The Role of Media in National Security A Case Study of 1998 Nuclear Explosions by Pakistan* has explored the importance of media for national security. In the present age of information technology media plays an important role in influencing people's perceptions and in statecraft machinery. Through media people get information about national, regional and global issues and events and people's perceptions depend on what is presented by media. So media can play an important role in national security by promoting confidence and trust among people. During national crises governments use media support for national security and to fulfill their national interests and objectives. During nuclearization of South Asia Pakistani media played prominent role and helped state to gain its national security objectives. During this time period PTV tinted the national security issues and repeatedly presented the views of security experts, security professionals, journalists and academicians (Hussain, 2008)

General Mirza Aslam in the article *Dichotomy in application of our state power* has said that the power which a state applies in order to gain its national interests is either hard power or soft power. Whenever a state loses control over some areas it uses its power to regain these areas. Military (hard power) is used to recover these areas and civil authority (soft power) is used to renovate law and order situation in this part of territory. But regrettably from the last 55 years

Pakistan has just used hard power to regain control and to fulfill its national security objectives and soft power is always neglected and it has not used by the state authorities to establish law and order situation The current security challenges to Pakistan in the form of terrorism, poor law and order situation and social turmoil is just due to the ignorance of soft power and reliance on hard power in Pakistan's national security (Aslam, 2014)

1.8. Theoretical Framework

Hard power is absolutely linked with realism The outbreak of WWII aggravated harsh criticism of liberalism Critics such as E H Carr and Hans Morgenthau argued that liberalism has failed to maintain world peace and stability Peace and cooperation between states is not possible through interdependence, League of Nations has failed in maintaining world peace These critics said that liberals have ignored the harsh realities of world politics and human nature that always prefer their own interests and goals by ignoring the interests of others They said that world politics is not about writing laws, treaties and establishing global associations rather it is a struggle for power and security National interests and pursuit of power are the factors that drive relations in world politics (Donnelly, 2000) Due to the growing dissatisfaction with liberal ideology realism emerged as a new philosophy of world politics in 1930s. The realist ideas and assumptions have their roots in the writing of Thucydides on the Peloponnesian wars In his writing he used the word power and interest to show that these things are the driving force behind the relations among states Due to the criticism against liberalism a number of influential writings came that marked the appearance of realism as an important philosophy in world politics (Daddow, 2009)

One was the E H Carr's book *Twenty Years Crises* in 1939 He criticized the liberalism and called it utopianism and said liberal ideas of morality, cooperation, law and justice are not driving factors behind interstate relations rather national interests and power are the main forces(Carr& Cox, 2012) Hans Morgenthau's book *Politics Among Nations* was also a critique of liberalism Morgenthau said that liberal ideas about morality, cooperation and goodness of human nature is not reality rather states always struggle for power and opposing interests and clash between them is unavoidable Human are by nature selfish and they always try to maximize their own interests and objectives These influential writings marked the appearance of realism as an important philosophy in world politic (Clinton, Thompson &Morgenthau, 2005) E H Carr, Hans Morgenthaw, George Kennan, Reinhold Niebuhr, Kenneth W Thompson are the main proponents of realism Following are the main assumptions of realism·

- Human are by nature selfish and always compete with each other for self interests and theses self interests always overcome morality

- States are the main actors in world politics

- All actions of states are motivated by sovereignty, independence, power and national interests, every state try to maximize its own interests and power either by hook or crook

- International system is anarchic it lacked a world government that can regulate the relations among states (Jackson & Sørensen, 2012)

- International institutions and international law can be helpful in maintaining relations among states if these are backed by fore and coercion,

- The anarchic nature of international system force states to build their own self help system to secure their own independence and security

- States always try to maximize their power and military capabilities to deter attack by potential enemies and to exercise influence over other

- Military capabilities are more important for a state's sovereignty and security than economies, states pay more attention on building military capabilities and less attention is paid on economic and social development, economies are important in a way that they provide resources for military capabilities

- Alliances may be helpful for states to protect themselves but their allegiance and consistency cannot be assured

- There is no place for morality in international relations and world politics (Weber, 2013)

1 8.1. Concept of Soft Power

In 1990 Joseph S Nye in *Bound to lead The changing nature of American power* used the term soft power for the first time, after this the term soft power was frequently used in international relations In 2004 he wrote *Soft power the means to success in world politics* and further elucidated the concept of soft power (Pallaver, 2009) Joseph S Nye has described soft power as "Soft power is the capability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced"(Nye, 2004) In world politics a state may fulfill its objectives and interests easily if its values, culture prosperity are admired by others and they want to pursue it Soft power is the ability to attract others without using force Soft power is sometimes more successful than hard power because through soft power even those interests and objectives can be fulfilled that are not possible through hard power (Rahman, 2014) Joseph S Nye has described the following main sources of soft power

1.8.1.1. Culture

Culture can be defined as a set of customs, ideas, values, traditions, practices and behavior of a particular group and society. Culture can be differentiated as high culture like literature, art, education etc. High culture is generally regarded the culture of the elites of a society like aristocracy and intelligentsia. Low culture is generally regarded the culture of the masses or less educated people of a society which includes gossip, magazines, television, popular music etc. Through the attractiveness of its culture a state can get its desired outcomes and can fulfill its national interests and can enhance its security and survivability. A stat's culture enhances its ability to have good relations with other states and to get desired outcomes if its culture includes universal values and promotes those ideas and interests that other states share with it. In such a situation a state can easily get its national interests by establishing good relations with other states that have the same cultural values and interests. On the other hand a state that does not have universal values and culture can't get its desired outcomes easily and is not much affective in attracting other states or in producing soft power (Nye, 2004)

1.8.1.2. Political Values and Foreign Policy

Political values and foreign policies are another source of soft power. A state's domestic and foreign policies sturdily influence it soft power. These policies can both strengthen or disperse a country's soft power. If domestic and foreign policies are seen legitimate in other states the soft power of a state is enhanced and it can be helpful for a state to get its desired outcomes and national interests but if these policies are seen as deceitful, conceited, apathetic by other states and these are not related to the interests and values of others, don't have a universal value and

approach then a state's soft power can't be much affective and even such values can weaken the soft power of states

For a state's national security hard and soft power both are necessary in today's world Hard and soft power both are correlated because both are the means or ability to get one's desired objectives and goals The only difference is in the nature of resources that are used to fulfill one's objectives Hard power is associated with command power that compels others to do what they don't want to do On the other hand soft power is related to cooperative power that shapes the agenda in such a way that is related to other's needs and desires and they find no reason to oppose one's values, interests and policy objectives Soft power is a new phenomenon in international relations as compared to it, hard power is older and is experienced more easily throughout the world (Wagner, 2014)

This thesis is based on the theory of realism and soft power According to realism alliances may be helpful for states to protect themselves but their allegiance and consistency cannot be assured After independence Pakistan lacked resources required for its national security in such a situation Pakistan made alliances with other states to fulfill its needs of security and survivability Pakistan joined CENTO in 1955 and SEATO in 1954 The basic purpose of these treaties was to provide mutual defense and security to member states But these treaties were not helpful for Pakistan to fulfill its national security needs, in 1965 and 1971 wars Pakistan tried to get aid through these treaties but it was rejected by the USA and other member states by saying that the basic purpose is to contain aggression by USSR and not by India USA was not interested to help Pakistan in its conflicts with India The purpose of these alliances was not fulfilled and Pakistan was not provided economic or military assistance for its national security

Realists say that the anarchic nature of intern international system forces states to build their own self help system to secure their own independence and security To secure its national security Pakistan tried to build its own self help system, first it made alliances and signed defense pacts with other states to fulfill its security needs but these were not much helpful for security needs so Pakistan paid full attention to enhance its own defense capabilities in order to fulfill its security needs It modernized its defense forces allocated a major portion of its budget to defense and security needs and made good relations with those states which were helpful for building its armies and defense capabilities like China Furthermore Pakistan tried to build its own nuclear bomb as its most rival state India had acquired nuclear bomb and Pakistan wanted to balance this power gape.

All actions of states are motivated by sovereignty, independence, power and national interests, every state try to maximize its own interests and power either by hook or crook In 1998 Pakistan became a nuclear power and the basic reason behind this was the nuclear explosions by India When Pakistan started its nuclear program it faced severe criticism by other states but Pakistan stated that its nuclear program is for its self defense and it is in Pakistan's vital national interests to have nuclear power as anticipation against nuclear India If India can become a nuclear power then Pakistan also has the right to do same and through conventional means security guarantees Pakistan can't secure its national interests against Indian nuclear threat International community imposed economic sanctions on Pakistan and all its aid programs were stopped Pakistan faced severe criticism, faced sanctions and economic problems but it carried out its struggle either by hook or crook and at last it succeeded in acquiring its nuclear weapons

Military had always been much important for Pakistan's national security Pakistani governments have always paid attention in enhancing military capabilities for securing vital

national interests Till date a major portion of budget is allocated to defense and military capabilities and social, political sectors of the country are ignored or there is less development in these sectors due to the lack of resources. But even in this situation the military and other important decision making bodies of Pakistan are just paying attention on the military and are not ready to reduce the defense and military expenditures even they are ready to sacrifice economic and social development of the country in order to have good military capabilities to secure their national interest and security needs

Pakistan has always relied on hard power for its national security but in today's world when the nature and meaning of national security and threats have been changed Pakistan should also use soft power for its national security Through soft power Pakistan's image can be enhanced in other states it would have good relations with them and in such a way its national security can be improved and there would be fewer threats to its vital national interests by other states But in Pakistan soft power is neglected and no attention is given on the use of soft power for Pakistan's national security According to proponents of soft power a state can enhance its soft power and image in the world through the attractiveness of its culture, political values and foreign policies Pakistan's soft power can flourish easily just attention by higher authorities is needed in this direction Pakistan has a rich culture but despite this cultural prosperity it is not possible for Pakistan to attract the attention of world community Two prominent ancient religio-cultural heritages Gandhara and Mohenjo Daro can make Pakistan a worth visiting place Pakistan is also a multi cultural society and the protuberance of cultural assortment and positive initiatives through media can helpful in portraying a softer image of Pakistan Media should play a vital role for drawing soft and positive image of Pakistan through prominence of cooperating things in achieving national interests Through the attractiveness of its culture tourism can be flourished in

Pakistan, revenues can be generated and through social and cultural exchange programs Pakistan can have good relations with other states and its image can be enhanced that can be helpful for Pakistan's national security.

Pakistan's Political values and foreign policies can be another source of soft power and they can enhance Pakistan's national security Domestic policies must be designed in such a way that internal crises, conflicts and problems must be solved reasonably and with justice because hard power is generally used for solving domestic problems and this harsh attitude with opposition, militant groups and other conflicting parties just increase hostilities and result in the outbreak of conflicts at a wider scale But if Pakistan will handle domestic crises with soft means it would enhance Pakistan's image in international community and this thing would be helpful for Pakistan's national security

Foreign policies of Pakistan can also play an important role for its national security Basic principles of Pakistan's foreign policy are protection of territorial integrity, non interference in other state's internal matters, endorsement of international peace and stability, implementation of United Nations charter etc. These foreign policy principles can be a greeter help for Pakistan in enhancing its soft image and national security In its international dealings Pakistan must follow these principles and it must focus on building soft image in other states, people to people contact, scholarships to foreign students must be offered and sports, cultural exchanges must be started at a broader level. Through these policies it would be easy for Pakistan to have good relations with other states and its vital national interests can be fulfilled more easily

1.9. Scheme of the Study

Chapter one will give an overview of the whole study and it will also include theoretical framework

Chapter two will explain the traditional and nontraditional concept of security

Chapter three will be about the traditional security concept in Pakistan

Chapter four will explain the national security threats of Pakistan after 9/11 incident and how these challenges undermine the traditional security concept in Pakistan

Chapter five will explore the obsession of hard power for Pakistan's national security and how this obsession had led to the undermining of soft power in Pakistan It will also explain how the potential of soft resources can be translated into soft power of Pakistan

This chapter will be followed by conclusion and recommendations

Chapter 2

Conceptualization of Security

Security is one of the basic needs of human beings. American psychologist, Abraham Maslow has said that after the completion of basic human needs such as eating, sleeping, drinking, housing the next fundamental need is safety and security The simplest meaning of security is protection from danger or something bad Security is a resilient and varied conception that can be grasped from different angles, means and in various forms Any meaning of security is dependent on the perception of threat, desired goals, objective and the means that can be helpful in the achievement of these goals and objectives (Buzan, 2008) From the western point of view security has no independent meaning it is always related to the individual or societal value systems In social science, security is taken as a concept that is vague and resilient in its meaning Justin Wolfers an American economist and public policy scholar has talked about objective and subjective sense of security concept "In an objective sense security means the absence of threats to acquired values, goals and objectives In subjective sense security means the absence of fear that these acquired values and goals will be attacked " According to Realists security is attained when the threats, dangers, challenges and risks to desired outcomes, values, goals and objectives are evaded, forbidden and handled by individuals, groups, states, regional or international organizations Constructivists say that security is always intersubjective or security is what actors make of it

In the study of international relations there is no clear and broad definition of security, terms such as national security, collective security, hemispheric security and more recently human security are widely used in the complex international security puzzle Security theorists like

Barry Buzan, Michael Mandelbaum, Peter J Katzenstein etc has tried to find out clear meaning and definition of this security puzzle Due to such efforts a never ending debate has been started between different security theorists, scholars and policymakers (Reuter & yoo, 2013) Two important schools of thought can be identified in this debate, one is traditionalist school of thought which sees states as main and significant actor s in security studies, second is the non traditionalist school of thought or wideners which says that there are various angels of security, it is not just related to the state and military security rather it is related to different actors and different sectors including economy, human beings, environment etc The main point of this traditionalist vs non traditionalist debate is that whether the field of security should be widened to include non military issues or it should be confined to military issues alone (Sheffer & Inber, 1997)

2.1. Traditional Concept of Security

The intellectual study of security had been confined to the field of international studies, primarily related to the relations of nation states The traditional concept of security dominated the world politics from 1940s till the end of Cold War In this traditional concept the main object and provider of security was the state The concept of security was defined narrowly here the basic focus was on national security primarily the military security In this traditional concept the realists were the dominant players. They believed in power politics, considered the state the main actor According to them the main security threats come from other states A state's economic might and geographical positions are also significant but military power is vital for security So this explanation of security directed towards the buildup of huge defense expenditure and military might during Cold War This state centric concept of security permitted states to decide what the vital national interest is and how to fulfill these national interests State craft men and

policy makers were of the view that relations among nations are primarily conflictual and war is the outcome of this conflicting relationship that can't be avoided (Akpeninor, 2013) For traditionalists state is the dominant actor in world politics and international organizations, individuals, NGOs are the secondary or not much important actors Traditionalists dominated the paradigm of security during Cold War During this time period military aspects of security dominated the conflictual relationship between two rival superpowers The USA-USSR rivalry became a prominent factor in international security during Cold War years Due to this rivalry the basic focus of national security institutions was the external threat and other feature of national security like civil defense and social development were overlooked as they were considered non important by the policy makers In this situation the main focus was on interstate wars and on military threats by other states and these circumstances demanded higher military capabilities and tactical decision-making in order to enhance state power and to fulfill national interests

So international security scholars focused on the balance of power between these two rivals, their military capabilities, arms race, crisis stability and the leeway of surprise attacks and their mutual arms control agreements were the basic concern of security studies (Nye, 2011)

2.2. Non Traditional Concept of Security

The end of Cold War brought dramatic changes in world politics Many academics and international studies scholars started to view security as under conceptualized Richard Millet stated that the basic divergence in security setting during and after Cold War was that during Cold War the policy makers were aware what their national interests, how to fulfill these interests and how their desired interests and outcomes can be threatened. But this is not so in the post Cold War era now the situation is totally changed Scholars argued that the arms race

between USA and USSR and the development of WMDs in the name of national security has become a threat to human beings. The Cold War bipolarity had confined the concept of security to military capability and arms race between the two rival superpowers. However with the end of Cold War this rivalry also ended and the new environment required changes in security concept as new threats emerged due to the disintegration of USSR. The new states that emerged from the former USSR faced the problem of poverty, ethnic conflicts. Now the security issues are not just related to the USA and USSR rather it involves a large number of security issues and these issues required a change in the traditional security concept (Jones, 1991). During Cold War the traditional national security concept ignored all other sectors of state that also play an important role in national security. The basic focus of security studies was on external threats especially military threats from other states. But in the post cold war era the nature of threat has been changed now the military threats are not the only danger to the lives of people, poverty, famines, diseases, global warming, enormous relocation of refugees and environmental obliteration etc are the major threats to the lives of people around the world. Critics argued that traditionalists paid extensive attention to military power and capabilities. They ignored the non military causes of wars and did not recognize that force can't solve political problems rather use of force create problems and conflicts among states. The critics said that war is unavoidable but the end of cold war has brought new issues and challenges to the security studies (Javed, 2008). Critics agreed on three basic reasons that required change in the traditional security concept

> First, in the post cold war era military power has become less important in world politics. Some scholars argue that it means that now military threats to state's security from other states have been declined, for some it means that military force is not much useful as an instrument of statecraft as compared to cold war era

Second, there is a need of rethinking the international relations and national security The basic reason of this rethinking is the changes that emerged in world politics in post cold war era

Third, paradigm of national security must be broader as compared to the cold war era that focused just on military issues. Some scholars say that broader national security means that national security agenda must include domestic issues and problems and some says that it means that nonmilitary threats to national security from other states must be included in national security agenda.

This changing security agenda has shifted the attention of academics from military to other non military sectors like economics, politics, societal forces etc which also play an important role for a state's national security and survivability (Javed, 2008) Thus the end of cold war has shifted the focus of security studies from traditional to non traditional approach International security studies scholars have defined non-traditional security threats as "Non-traditional security threats are a challenge to the endurance and welfare of peoples and states These threats are based on nonmilitary sources like climate change, cultural, religious and ethnic aggression, population growth, terrorism, cross-border environmental squalor. resource diminution, contagious infections, natural disasters etc" Richard H Ullman a scholar of international affairs has said that "national security is not just about the defense of a state or nation from military attacks from other states The concept of security was narrowly defined because this traditional concept of security had diverted the attention from non military threats that can be an important challenge for a state's national security and survivability and it assumed that threats from other states are more dangerous to a state than threats and challenges that occur within that state" (Baldwin 1998) So nontraditional security threats are not similar to the traditional security threats and they

can be a serious challenge to the survival and well being of people and states Nontraditional security threats are in sharp contrast with traditional threats. These threats can affect government institution and civilian populations and they can be generated by the actions of individuals, non state actors and social groups rather than the actions of states

2.3. Copenhagen School of Thought

Due to the growing criticism of traditional security concept, in early 1990's new approaches of security emerged The most important of these approaches is the theory of securitization that is now called the Copenhagen School (CS) The idea of securitization was first presented by Ole Waever in 1989 in a working paper *Security the Speech Act Analyzing the Politics of a Word* Ole Waever, Barry Buzan and Jaap de Wilde further explained this idea more scrupulously (Balzac,2011) In 1989 Ole Waever has stated that the concept of security is directly related to the state but later on in mid 1990s he with Buzan and Wild talked about the inclusion of other referent objects of security, including the individual The basic reason of this transformation was that during Cold War state was acknowledged as the main object of security but in the post Cold War era the role of state was challenged by New World Order Now a broader framework for security is needed that can integrate a large number of concepts that were not considered a part of security studies This new situation required to include referent objects other than state into security studies because these objects occurred in practice and must be included into the theoretical framework of International Relations The Copenhagen school of Thought was most prominent in this regard other referent objects were included into the securitization approach (Zilovic, 1992) The CS describes securitization as

> Securitization is a process of recognition of threat to a
> specific referent object and considered valued protecting,

through speech act an issue crop up as security issue It is
language which highlights a specific actor or issue as a threat
to a specific referent object "

Following three steps are required for successful securitization·

1 existing threats recognition

2 urgent measures to handle these threats

3. impact of these actions on inters unit relations

For a successful securitization following three components play an important role,

1 Securitization agent   in this step a specific issue as security threat is highlighted through speech act These active performers may be political leaders, pressure groups, government and lobby etc

2· A referent object, it is an entity which is under threat and must be alleviated

3 A direct link of the audience with the security issue (Floyd, 2007)

This approach was based on the idea that the field of security must be widened to non military issues and sub state groups and actors must be included into security analysis This school of thought identified some significant changes that have been occurred in world politics after cold war Non state actors have been emerged in international relations system, emergence of non conventional security threats, terrorism, imposition of international law and principles to regulate international relations etc (Brauch, 2011).

The CS gives a broader definition of security which is based on different sectors and levels Levels include individuals, states and international Military threats have taken primacy in traditional security studies but the changing environment has exposed the significance of other sectors Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde have described five sectors military, political, economic, society and environment where securitization could take place All these sectors are interlinked and play an important role in the analysis of national and international security (Baldwin, 1993)

According to Copenhagen School individuals can be the securitizing actors as well as the referent objects of security In the post Cold War era there are more intrastate conflicts as compared to interstate conflicts The basic reason of this transformation is the increased hostilities in states due to ethnic identities and cultural differences The human security concept is embedded in the development of international humanitarian law, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Geneva Conventions and the UN Charter Dr Mehbub-ul Haq introduced the term human security in 1994 in the *Human Development Report* of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) It was stated that security must not be confined to military or state security, rather it must be related to the security of individual people (Alkire, 2007) Security can not be provided through armaments and military capabilities rather security must be provided through development, employment, all interests and needs of individuals must be secured and fulfilled without any danger and fear Security is not about the absence of wars rather security is about the absence of diseases, poverty, hunger, illiteracy and all other forms of threats and dangers that intimidate the survival and well being of people The UNDP has described food, environmental, health, economic, community, personal, and political security as important components of

human security (Sayeed, 2014) Human security is a great leap from traditional security where

main focus was on state but now in human security individuals become the focus of security

Traditional VS Human Security

Types of Security	Referent Object	Responsibility	Threats
Traditional	The State	Integrity of the state	Interstate wars, nuclear proliferation, revolution, civil conflict
Human	The Individual	Integrity of the Individual	Diseases, poverty, natural disasters, violence, human right abuses

Further more in 1990s cooperative security concept emerged it was based on the idea of

achieving security through cooperative efforts These efforts would be made for those issues

which have a common concern of all states and are important for their survival and development

like fight against terrorism, environmental destruction, fatal diseases etc (Carter, Perry,&

Steinbruner, 1992)

Global terrorism is a major non-traditional security threat that prompted during Cold War but it

was not entirely esteemed until 9/11 events Global terrorism is non-traditional security threat

because its focus is on soft targets, it targets civilian population rather than the states and the

militaries, global terrorists are non state actors they can be supported by states but their actions

are considered individual or group acts rather than by the states (Akpeninor,2013)

The events of 9/11 brought important changes in world politics. The cross- border associations

among terrorist organizations, the propagation of WMD by rogue states and the efforts of non

state actors to obtain these weapons these things were of greater concern for Western powers

After 9/11 terrorism became an important non- traditional security threat not only at local but

also at regional and international level. At local level Western states and their nations became a

target of terrorism This type of terrorism affected the lives of people, critical infrastructure and

government institutions Due to this, dramatic changes occurred in national security policies in

order to counter this non- traditional security threat At regional level terrorists try to create

turmoil, fragile states or unstable regions in order to overthrow unpopular regimes and to replace

them with the regimes that can be helpful in fulfilling their desired objectives and outcomes

Globally terrorists try to create rift in the international community especially among those states

that are alleged of supporting terrorism, states that are acquiring WMDS either through legal or

illegal means and the states that would decide to act "pre-emptively" in order to solve these

issues Threat of global terrorism required states to undertake non-traditional security measures

(Burgess, 2007)

To conclude, Security is the condition in which states face no military, political and economic

threats and they can pursue the path of development and progress Individuals and communities

of the states must be secured from any kind of threat and danger, vital human needs like

education, food, housing, health are fulfilled Citizens must have the right to pursue any social,

political and economic activities In the post Cold War era the concept of security has been

changed Security is not just related to military but also related to political, social, economic,

environmental, human etc Non military threats have become more prominent threat for national

security Resource scarcity, poverty, fatal diseases, famines, illiteracy, and unemployment often

create conflicts, social sprain, tensions and discord in state that can be a threat for its national

security.

The concept of security is a multi-dimensional phenomenon It comprises military security, which entails considerations about the military threats, armaments, disarmament, conventional and non conventional weapons Political security is about the political stability of states as a mean of invigorating relations with other states Economic security is related to the issues of trade, tax, manufacturing, economic policies and their effects on states and nations both at regional and global levels Human security means that human beings must be free from all kinds of threats and fears and their basic needs, interests must be fulfilled Now the field of international security should not focus just on military issues and threats rather it must include non military issues as well which also pose a serious threat to the security of states and are a challenge for their survivability

Chapter 3

Traditional Security Concept in Pakistan

Since independence Pakistan had always relied on hard power for its security After independence the most important problem for Pakistan was its security and survivability The strategic location of Pakistan caused serious defense concerns because it is located in the region that is called as the axle of Asia After independence Pakistan faced problems in a hostile strategic environment due to the security challenges from neighboring states especially India (Wynbrandt, 2009) India was the major factor in Pakistan's sense of insecurity because most of its major cities and lines of communications were nearer to the common border with India This critical situation required that Pakistan must have well equipped and well trained army So the defense necessities became the top precedence for Pakistan's policy makers Maximum resources were owed to the military Pakistani government (civilian or military) paid special attention to the reorganization and renovation of armed forces For the training of military personals, military academy was ascertained at Kakul Military officers were sent to USA, France, China and England for technical and specialized training (Malik,1993) Pakistan also gained military aid from different countries especially USA, Great Britain and China Pakistan made alliances with other states to fulfill its needs of security Pakistan joined CENTO in 1955 and SEATO in 1959 The basic purpose of these treaties was to provide mutual defense and security to member states Pakistan and USA wanted to fulfill different goals from these treaties The USA perspective was global but for Pakistan regional concerns were most important, USA wanted to contain China and USSR but for Pakistan, India was the major rival and Pakistan wanted to counter its military dominance In 1965 and 1971 wars Pakistan tried to get aid through these treaties but it was

rejected by the USA and other member states by saying that the basic purpose is to contain aggression by USSR not by India USA was not interested to help Pakistan in its conflicts with India These treaties were not helpful for Pakistan to fulfill its national security needs (Agha 2009) In such a situation Pakistan focused on its military advancement and tried to enhance its military capabilities in order to counter Indian aggression because India was trying to undo Pakistan through wars, armed conflicts and political pressures directly and with the help of other states. Both countries have fought three major wars and many low level conflicts

3.1. First Kashmir War (1947-1948)

Kashmir is the main cause of conflict between India and Pakistan At the time of partition the leaders of Princely states were asked that according to the geographic and demographic location of the states they are free to join either Pakistan or India The state of Kashmir was connected to both India and Pakistan but the bulk of inhabitants was Muslim The Dogra Maharaja of Kashmir was not ready to join Pakistan When the struggle for independence started the Muslim populace of Kashmir also revolted against the cruel policies of Maharaja he became more brutal in crushing the uprising When the tribesmen of Khyber-Pakhtoon khwa, heard about the Mharaja's brutality against Muslims they went for the help of their Muslim brothers Now the Maharaja was unable to control the situation and he appealed the government of India for help (Hassan, 2015)

The Indian government asked the Maharaja that if he needed help to crush this uprising he must have to sign an agreement with the Indian government that the state of Kashmir must be accede to India Maharaja agreed on this condition and the Indian military went to Kashmir to defend it This thing was not acceptable for the Pakistan so the Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah

regulated Army Chief General Douglas Gracey to sent Pakistani force in Kashmir for the help of Muslim population but at that time the forces of both states were still under a joint command, and Field Marshal Auchinleck compelled the Army Chief to vacate this order Pakistan army provided arms to the rebels in Kashmir (Mangrio,2007) In May 1948 Pakistani army penetrated the conflict for the protection of its borders. On January 1, 1948, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru complained in the UNSC that according to the Articles 34 and 35 of the UN Charter disputes between India and Pakistan must be solved peacefully but the Pakistani army's official involvement in the Kashmir dispute is against the peaceful resolution of conflict The UNSC set up three member commission and send them to mediate the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan In April 1948 the commission was extended to five members and they were asked to refurbish peace and security and to organize plebiscite in the state of Kashmir (Mcleod, 2008) On January 1, 1949 a cease fire went into effect between both states after that UN Secretary General appointed Chester Nimitz (an American) as the plebiscite proprietor but he was not able to perform his functions as both India and Pakistan were not ready to obey the UNSC resolution of demilitarization(Pardesi & Ganguly, 2007)

In December the UNSC handed over this responsibility to McNaughton of Canada now Pakistan agreed to concurrent withdrawal of forces but India was not ready and raised many moral and legal issues about the demilitarization plan and without Indian participation this plan failed In March 1950 UNSC passed another resolution and appointed Sir Owen Dixon as the administrator he proposed a plan that plebiscite would be limited to the Kashmir valley where majority of population is Muslim but this plan was not accepted both by India and Pakistan (Mir 2014) In June 1953 Nehru and Mohammed Ali Bogra met at the Commonwealth conference in London after that they decided to solve the Kashmir issue directly without UN involvement

Nehru agreed to conduct a plebiscite in Kashmir But in 1954 and 1956 when Pakistan joined

SEATO and SENTO inverted his decision about plebiscite because this step of Pakistan was

against the concerns of India as a non aligned state In April 1951 the Dr Frank Grahm, former

USA senator was appointed as the representative he also tried to persuade both India and

Pakistan to accept the UNSC resolution of demilitarization but all in vain Security Council was

not successful in convincing Pakistan to vacate the occupied areas of Jammu and Kashmir and

also failed to convince India for arbitration (Cheema, 2015)

3.2. Rann of Kutch Dispute 1964-1965

There had been remaining a continuous stress between Pakistan and India since 1947 No doubt

Kashmir issue is most important and hottest one between two countries but some other conflicts

also remained there, importantly the Rann of Kutch During partition the territory of Rann of

Kutch was one of the areas which remained undecided (Ray, 1990)

Pakistan claimed for this area in 1948 The Indian government rejected this claim The Sindh

police rangers developed some posts along the southern border in the Pakistan side of Rann

They started a 16km long track to be used for patrolling purposes After one year in the area of

Chad Bet north of the 24th parallel the Indians started to influence and claim The Indian reserve

police recaptured Chat Bet on 24th February 1956 They also developed their posts in the areas

considered under Pakistan territory like Sadar, Vigokot, Biar Bet, and Karim Shahi At that time

Pakistan complained India that their forces are influencing in Pakistani are of Chan Bet but the

Indian government took no notice of this issue

Pakistani forces controlled the northern areas of Chan Bet for about nine years But when the

Indian forces started influencing the Pakistani areas and captured Mara, Rahim ki Bazaar Ding,

Kanjarkot, Surai and started large scale manipulation in Rann Then the Pakistani authorities decided to block the Indian violation in Pakistani areas They provided a support to the Indus rangers with regular army in pre captured kanjarkot (Hassan, 2015) The desert rangers in March 1965 during their patrolling course noticed that the India has established two new posts in the Pakistani area On asking to remove the newly established posts the Indians said that they are in the Indian area After this the India attacked Pakistani post on 8th April 1965 at Ding without any reason Then Pakistani rangers acted to defeat this attack Pakistani government decided to use regular army to remove the Indian Para military troops from Sadder post and Biar Bet The Pakistani military attacked on Sadder post with heavy artillery and heavy mortars

Pakistani government decided to took this matter in international court of justice on May 3, 1965 During month of May the British government gave different proposals for cease firing The both countries finally agreed to act upon the British proposal For this purpose the both countries representatives met on June 17, 1965 in Britain An agreement was done at that time for the withdrawal of troops in disputed areas and immediate cease fire on June 30, 1965 The previous status of Jan 1965 was fully restored on the basis of this agreement (Ali,2009)

3.3. The Second Kashmir War (September 1965)

All efforts to solve the Kashmir dispute peacefully had failed by 1965 In April 1965 Pakistan had a border dispute with India in Runn of Kutch region Indian army faced difficulties during operations in Runn of Kutch region as it was a marshy area This thing stimulated Pakistan that if an uprising arose in Indian held Kashmir it would be difficult for Indian army to risk an all out war with Pakistan In such a situation Pakistan instigate an operation known as operation Gibraltar to recuperate Kashmir (Adhikari,& Kamle,2010) In August 1965 Pakistani infiltrators

were sent into Indian held Kashmir to elevate uprising against India But contrary to the expectations of Pakistan policy makers these infiltrators were detained In a response Indian authorities took offensive measures across the cease fire line and incarcerate main penetration route in Pakistani held Kashmir As a response Pakistani army also crossed the cease fire line and attacked Jammu and tried to detain Akhnur town it was very important town for India and by that action Pakistan could cut off India's connection with its forces in Kashmir (Shukla, 1984) It was misunderstood by the Pakistani authorities that the encirclement of Indian troops would not be acceptable for India and in these circumstances India would be compelled not to confine the conflict in Kashmir where it's military was facing problems In order to release Pakistani military's pressure on Indian troops in Kashmir, on 6 September 1965 Indian army attacked Pakistan near Lahore (Amin, 2000) It was not expected by the Pakistani policy makers that India would not keep the conflict limited to Kashmir After that a full scale war between India and Pakistan started In this war Pakistani military was highly motivated because of the Muslim victories in the past centuries and the success in the Runn of Kutch dispute with India Furthermore the Pakistani military had the highly sophisticated weapons received by USA through military alliance During war Pakistan received support from its Muslim brother states Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia as well as from China (Mishra, 1987) But at outset of this war USA affirmed that it would stay neutral during this war and argued that both India and Pakistan must agree to an abrupt cease fire USA also stopped the arm supply both to Indi and Pakistan but this arms embargo was disadvantageous just for Pakistan because it was highly dependent on arms supplies from USA as compared to India In such a situation Pakistan faced the shortage of arms and international community also pressurized Pakistan to stop the war In these circumstances Pakistan had no option but to agree to a cease fire In January 1966 Soviet Union initiated a

peace agreement between India and Pakistan at Tashkent (Malik, 1993) This peace agreement reinstates the status quo but the Pakistanis were disappointed because Kashmir dispute was not solved even after a full scale war between India and Pakistan

3.4. Indo-Pakistani War of 1971

In 1971 India and Pakistan fought a bloody war which was linked with Pakistani civil war also known as the Bangladesh Liberation War In 1970s elections the Awami League of East Pakistan won 167 of 169 seats in East Pakistan and secured majority in Pakistani Parliament Mujibur Rehman, the leader of Awami League asserted the right to form government But when these demands were not fulfilled revolts started in East Pakistan In a response Pakistani armed forces tried to curb these moves by using force But this fierce campaign killed thousands of people in East Pakistan (Kak, 2012) Large number of rebels was arrested but this thing further worsened the situation and resistance movements were started on a large scale After that Pakistani military cracked down on Dhaka on March 25, 1971 The Awami League was evicted and many of its members fled to India Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi supported the Bangladeshi movement for independence The Indian Bangladesh border was opened for the Bangladeshi refugees In order to stop any pro Pakistani resolution in UNSC, Indira Gandhi visited Europe and succeeded in achieving UK and France to split with USA She also signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with USSR (Mishra, 1987) In a response to Pakistani crack down on Dhaka the Mukti Bahni took actions and caused severe casualties to Pakistani army In this situation Yahya Khan declared emergency in Pakistan and told army to be ready for a war Meanwhile eight airfields in North Western India were raided by Pakistani air force and this thing gave India a reason to counter attack Pakistan The India reacted with an enormous synchronized air, sea and land attack on Pakistani army in East Pakistan Pakistani army counter

attacked India in the West for territorial gains that could be used as a bargaining chip for the territory that they anticipated to lose in East Pakistan. In this response the Indian air force carried out 4000 sorties in West, the small air contingent of Pakistan air force was also damaged that resulted in the Indian air force superiority in East Pakistani forces faced insuperable losses and on December 16, 1971 gave up in East Pakistan On 17 December 1971 India declared a unilateral ceasefire that Pakistan accepted (Kak, 2012) During war some states made efforts in UNSC that West Pakistani military troops should be withdrawn from East Pakistan and the people of East Pakistan should have the right to decide about their future relationship with Pakistan But the head of Pakistani delegation rejected this, he received much praise from the West Pakistani people but the disastrous effects of his move came when the west Pakistani military troops surrendered in East Pakistan The Indo- Pakistani war of 1971 proved a devastating defeat for Pakistan In this war Pakistan lost about 56000 square miles of territory and lost millions of its citizens to the state of Bangladesh

In January 1972 peace negotiations were held at Simla India insisted that Kashmir issue would be kept out of these peace negotiations and demanded that Pakistan would not push the issue in International forums Pakistani leadership rejected these conditions set by India and argued that the provisions of Simla agreement were without prejudice to the recognized positions of either side on Kashmir Both sides agreed upon the withdrawal of troops from the territories occupied during war, return of prisoners of war was also agreed by both sides

3.5. Brasstacks Crisis 1986-87

In 1986-87 serious crisis aroused between India and Pakistan The reason behind theses crisis was the large scale Indian military exercise (code named Brasstacks), Indian military carried out this activity in Rajstan desert closer to the Indian border with Pakistan The Pakistani leadership

viewed this exercise as a preparation for a large scale attack against Pakistan Furthermore official statements by the Indian leaders worsened the situation Indian army chief General Sunderji said that

> Another major war with Pakistan was expected by New
> Delhi in which the automated formations being tested in
> Brasstacks would play vital role

In this situation the Pakistani armed forces were also altered and they also took exercise near Indian border In a response Indian forces took defensive positions Indian Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi also decided to start airlifting troops to Punjab in January 1987 It was also demanded that Pakistani forces would go back to peace time situation India also sealed its borders in Punjab After that Indian forces took positions alongside the border with Pakistan In a response to all these Indian moves Pakistani forces took defensive measures and offensive troops took forward positions near Indian border with Pakistan (Khalid, 2013) There were the chances that crisis can turn into an all out war between India and Pakistan When the crisis escalated the Pakistani Prime Minister Junejo and Indian Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi tried to de- escalate the crisis Rjeev Gandhi had a meeting with Pakistani ambassador in which he stressed the importance of de escalating the crisis Meanwhile Defense Coordination Committee had a meeting in Islamabad in which President Zia said that he would personally talk to the Indian Prime Minister to manage the situation In January 1987 the Board of Control of Cricket invited Zia to come and watch the Indo- Pakistani cricket series The purpose behind that invitation was to normalize the relations Zia visited India and meet with his Indian counterparts although this visit was not much successful in normalizing the relations bur it was projected as a major diplomatic initiative After Zia's return the second round of discussions was held in Islamabad

Alferd Gonsalves the secretary in the ministry of foreign affairs and N N Vohara the additional secretary of defense and some other officials came to Islamabad to discuss this critical situation with their Pakistani counterparts This round of talks was successful and the crisis defused Both sides agreed on a reciprocal withdrawal of forces, forward airfields were deactivated and the operational readiness of naval forces was also reduced Thus the crisis was solved without any outbreak of armed hostilities between India and Pakistan

3.6. Pursue of Nuclear Weapons by India and Pakistan

The Indo- Pakistani war of 1971 was a devastating defeat for Pakistan In this war Pakistan lost about 56000 square miles of territory and lost millions of its citizens to the state of Bangladesh During war Pakistan was unable to get any support or aid from its allies USA and China Pakistani leadership felt that they are secluded globally and felt that they could not rely on anyone during crises they would have to build their own self help system (Hotania, 2015) In January 1972 a meeting of Physicists and engineers was held in Multan where Zulfakar Ali Bhutoo who at that time was the minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources initiated the Pakistan's nuclear program India tested a nuclear device in 1974, after that the Pakistani leaders felt that they also must have to build their own strange defense system so that the situation of 1971 could not be repeated anymore now (Jauhari1, 2013) After the Indian nuclear explosion. Z A Bhutto said that.

If India makes the bomb, we will also do the same either by

hook or crook, we will eat grass, leaves or even go hungry,

but we will get one of our own

In 1975 Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan who is a German trained metallurgist came back to Pakistan with his help Pakistan established a broad covert network for obtaining essential substance and

Alferd Gonsalves the secretary in the ministry of foreign affairs and N N Vohara the additional secretary of defense and some other officials came to Islamabad to discuss this critical situation with their Pakistani counterparts. This round of talks was successful and the crisis defused Both sides agreed on a reciprocal withdrawal of forces, forward airfields were deactivated and the operational readiness of naval forces was also reduced Thus the crisis was solved without any outbreak of armed hostilities between India and Pakistan

3.6. Pursue of Nuclear Weapons by India and Pakistan

The Indo- Pakistani war of 1971 was a devastating defeat for Pakistan In this war Pakistan lost about 56000 square miles of territory and lost millions of its citizens to the state of Bangladesh During war Pakistan was unable to get any support or aid from its allies USA and China Pakistani leadership felt that they are secluded globally and felt that they could not rely on anyone during crises they would have to build their own self help system (Hotania, 2015) In January 1972 a meeting of Physicists and engineers was held in Multan where Zulfakar Ali Bhutoo who at that time was the minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources initiated the Pakistan's nuclear program. India tested a nuclear device in 1974, after that the Pakistani leaders felt that they also must have to build their own strange defense system so that the situation of 1971 could not be repeated anymore now (Jauhari I, 2013) After the Indian nuclear explosion, Z.A Bhutto said that

> If India makes the bomb, we will also do the same either by
>
> hook or crook, we will eat grass, leaves or even go hungry,
>
> but we will get one of our own

In 1975 Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan who is a German trained metallurgist came back to Pakistan, with his help Pakistan established a broad covert network for obtaining essential substance and

technology for developing uranium enrichment capabilities When Pakistan started its nuclear program it faced severe criticism by other states but Pakistan stated that its nuclear program is for its self defense and it is in Pakistan's vital national interests to have nuclear power as anticipation against nuclear India (Quinlan, 2009). If India can become a nuclear power then Pakistan also has the right to do same and through conventional means and security guarantees Pakistan can't secure its national interests against Indian nuclear threat International community imposed economic sanctions on Pakistan and all its aid programs were stopped Pakistan faced severe criticism, faced sanctions and economic problems but it carried out its struggle (Krepon, 2015)

In the late 1970s Pakistan was successful in gaining sensitive uranium enrichment technology and expertise In 1986 Pakistan produced adequate fissile material that is required for a nuclear device Pakistan sustained its uranium enrichment program and in 1987 it was able to carry out a nuclear explosion On May 11 and 13 India carried out five nuclear tests, in this response Pakistan also conducted five nuclear tests on May 28, 1998 Pakistan's nuclear posture is based on first use Pakistan refuses to espouse no first use policy This thing shows that for its national security Pakistan would rely on nuclear weapons It means that if India attacks Pakistan would hit India with nuclear weapons even if India doesn't these weapons against Pakistan This nuclear posture of Pakistan has an important impact on Indian decision making

Pakistan's threat of first use deterred India from seriously

considering conventional military strikes (Narang, 2009)

After Pakistan became a nuclear power there is no full scale war between India and Pakistan, although there are many conflicts but these were solved before turning into a full scale war between these two nuclear rivals (Montgomery & Edelman, 2015)

3.7. The Kargil Crisis of 1999

The Kargil war of 1999 was the first military confrontation in a nuclearized South Asia, and arguably the first major conflict between two nuclear states The conflict started when in 1999 when some Mujhaeeds and Pakistani irregulars occupied kargil heights in the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir In the back ground of this dispute was the Indian invasion and occupation of Siachen glaciers Pakistan was unhappy about this Indian aggression As before this aggression Siachen was under the administrative control of Pakistan For undoing the perceived wrong it has decided to capture the vacated posts of Indian army in Kargil during winter

The occupation of Kargil highest by these freedom fighters took Indian forces by surprise, after that occupation the Indian army was at a disadvantageous position The aim or reason behind this occupation was to exclude the Indian forces from Siachin which was under the administrative control of Pakistan, to cut the link between Ladakh and Kashmir and to force India to come to negotiation table for the settlement of Kashmir dispute Pakistani leadership hoped that any crises in nuclearized South Asia would internationalize the Kashmir dispute and this thing would be helpful in its prompt resolution (Hagerty, 2005) The Indian army came to know about this occupation in early May 1999, after that they sent some soldiers to inspect the issue but they were murdered by the freedom fighters After that the Indian army made various efforts but as they were at strategically disadvantageous position so they endure serious losses When the Indian army was unable to solve the issue they decided to take the help of Indian air force Indian air force took actions against these intruders on May 26, 1999 (Dixit, 200lear rivals 3) The

international community start involving in the conflict keeping in view the risk of a nuclear confrontation between these two nuclear rivals and the belief was reinforced when the leader of Pakistan's senate noted "The purpose of developing weapons becomes meaningless if they are not used when they are needed" The statement made by the Pakistan's foreign secretary Shamshad Ahmad that "an escalation of the limited conflict could lead Pakistan to use "any weapon" in its arsenal" further increased the concerns of international community about the risk of nuclear confrontation During this crisis Indian media played a significant role in gaining international attention and support EU and G8 nations denounced Pakistan due to the violation of LOC and supported India China also insisted on a peaceful resolution of the issue and the withdrawal of forces (Farooque, 2006)

USA intervened to diffuse the crisis due to the increasing tensions between both states On 4th July Nawaz Sharif had a meeting with Clinton That meeting continued for three hours after the meeting both leaders reached an agreement USA ensured its affective involvement for the diffusion of crisis, Nawaz agreed upon the withdrawal of Mujahedeen and forces from disputed area After the withdrawal of forces Kargil crisis was diffused (Khalid, 2013) Although due to this crisis the Kashmir dispute came into international focus but it was done in a negative manner that distorted its credibility President Clinton's demand from Pakistan to withdraw militants was also seen as a clear shift in USA policy against Pakistan (Lavoy, 2009)

To conclude, after independence India was the major factor in Pakistan's sense of insecurity because most of its major cities and lines of communications were nearer to the common border with India So the main focus of Pakistan's national security was on hard power and it tried to solve its national security problems by using hard power, although at that time there were some crisis that required soft means for their solution the most important example was the social unrest

in East Pakistan This unrest required soft policies and means by the Pakistani leadership in order to fulfill the demands of East Pakistani people but still Pakistani leadership used harsh means and tried to overcome the unrest but the result of use of force against its own people was devastating and Pakistan was divided into two parts Pakistan had always relied on hard power After becoming nuclear powers although there is no full scale war between them but still there are many low level conflicts between them An unending arm race is started between them and due to this arm race Pakistan allocates more and more resources to defense regardless of the level of social and economic development in the state

Chapter 4

Pakistan's National Security Threats after 9/11

Security and survivability is the main concern of every state It is the responsibility of every state to make its internal and external security policies in such a way that its national security needs and interests must be fulfilled easily The security policies of a state provided opportunities for external interventions and make it attractive for international and regional actors to fulfill their interests and objective In Pakistan the security situation totally changed after 9/11 attacks In the Post 9/11 scenario Pakistan is facing various traditional and nontraditional security threats and challenge that have become a big challenge for Pakistan national security and survivability (Hamid, 2015) On 11 September 2001, terrorists seized four passenger airplanes Two of them hit the Twin Towers of World Trade Center of New York As a result of this crash both of the buildings were collapsed One of the planes hit the Pentagon and one into a field near Pennsylvania After that horrible incident the USA government declared war against terrorism in order to eradicate Taliban, Al- Qaida and other terrorist organizations that pose a serious threat to the security and survivability of every state (Sultana, 2012) The origins of Al- Qaida can be traced back to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan Islamist Afghan mujahedeen were supported by the China, USA, UK, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan against USSR (Hussain, 2007) Osama bin Laden and some other Afghan Arabs also took part in the war against USSR In 1996 the group, World Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders (WIFJAJC) was reformed as Al Qaeda sponsored by Osama bin Laden In 1998 Osama bin Laden issued a fatwa and declared war on Israel and West

Pakistan is linked to Afghanistan due to its geographical, commercial and cultural interests But immediately after 9/11 attacks USA government asked Pakistan either to become an ally of USA in their war against terrorism or they must be ready to be treated like Taliban and isolated internationally Due to the changing regional and global scenarios Pakistan had no option instead of becoming USA ally and a front line state in war on terror Due to American pressure Pakistan was compelled to take U turn on Taliban policy On 13 September 2001 Pakistani leadership announced their cooperation to USA General Parvaz Musharf in a speech to nation said that

> It's a very critical situation for Pakistan Sovereignty,
>
> territorial integrity, economic stability and Kashmir cause
>
> are our vital national interests A wrong decision at this time
>
> can be harmful for all these interests Pakistan comes first
>
> anything else is secondary We have to secure our vital
>
> national interests (Ahmad, 2011)

President Mushraf's decision to become an ally of USA in war on terror was not venerated by the nation It was commonly reported in national and international media that USA and Pakistan should not make long term strategic partnership because of the assortment of their vision and interests After Pakistan's cooperation in war on terror, Bush administration announced rewards for Pakistan USA provided over one billion dollars to Pakistan as aid, it was also said that Pakistan would be supported by USA for loans and for debt rescheduling Sanctions which were imposed on Pakistan due to its nuclear blasts were also elevated Pakistan became front line ally of USA in their war against terrorism but the results of this cooperation and the war in Afghanistan proved very devastating for the national security of Pakistan Due to Pakistan's cooperation with USA a number of violent, extremist, militant networks emerged These

networks damaged the economic immovability, social harmony and created insecurity and chaos among people Rebellious actions by the terrorist organizations and non state armed groups posed serious national security challenges for Pakistan (Rehman, 2003) Now Pakistan is facing many traditional and nontraditional security threats such as extremism, terrorism, image problem, sectarianism etc

4.1. Terrorism

After 9/11 terrorism became an important nontraditional security threat not only at local but also at regional and international level After 9/11 attacks tremendous changes occurred in Pakistan's foreign policy Pakistan became an important ally of USA and took u turn on its Taliban policy This u turn policy became an important cause of terrorism in Pakistan All Qaida, Tehreek- e-Taliban Pakistan and other terrorist groups started actions against Pakistan and tried to subvert American ally in their war on terror. Terrorism and radicalism became an important security threat in Pakistan (Khan, 2012) There are many terrorist networks that are operating in Pakistan and have become an important threat for Pakistan's national security, territorial integrity Target killings, bomb blasts, suicidal attacks and other terrorist activities have become a normal thing in Pakistan Life of people is not safe here, thousands of people are killed in such terrorist activities Pakistani army started operations on Pak- Afghan border in order to eliminate terrorists but this thing further worsened the situation As a response of these operations terrorists became more violent and increased suicidal bombing in the state in order to take revenge of the killing of their companions (Irshad, 2013)

Operation Rah-i- Nijat and Rah-i-Rast were launched in Swat and Waziristan to eliminate terrorists as a result of these operations terrorist activities started in every city of Pakistan In

terrorist attacks and suicidal bombing thousands of civilians, police and military personals were killed In order to eliminate terrorists and their residence USA government also conducted drone attacks Although in these attacks many terrorists and their leaders were killed but these attacks also killed many civilians in these areas Social infrastructure was badly affected but government did not pay attention for the development and reconstruction in the affected areas FATA is the main source of terrorist activities in the country Terrorist networks have gained sound grounds there and have become a serious threat for the internal security and integrity of the state Beside FATA such violent activities by terrorists in Baluchistan have also worsened the security situation of Pakistan These networks try to entrap the state socially, physically, psychologically and ideologically (Hussain, 2007)

4.2. Islamic Radicalism

Zia ul Haq became the president of Pakistan in 1977 After assuming power as president he took the islamization of society and polity as the main policy of government. Zia is usually considered as a person that is accountable for turning Pakistan into a global center for political Islam Islam was made as the state religion, separate sharia courts were established in order to arbitrate legal cases under Islamic doctrine In banks system of profit and loss payments was established instead of interest payments Text books were renovated to eradicate unislamic stuff, influence of Ullma and Islamic parties was strengthened (Mahmood, 1995) Some changes were made into the constitution of 1973, these changes created discrimination between non Muslim and Muslim citizens Although the basic purpose of these islamization policies was to venture a universal Islamic version But Sunni- Shia religious revolts started over the divergence in Islamic jurisprudence This islamization process brought out cleavages between Sunni and Shia and this thing promoted sectarian violence These state sponsored policies of islamization had reinforced

or not the Pakistan's national solidity is still dubious But one thing is clear that religious extremism and radicalism started in Pakistan that caused serious challenges for Pakistan's national security Forces of religious fundamentalism strengthened to such an extent that none of the later government was able to decrease their influence (Ahmed, 2006) Even today, Islamic radicalism is one of the alarming security threats that Pakistan is facing Youth population is the most susceptible target of radicalization It is a common practice in villages that people send their children to madrassas because they can't afford their educational expenditures About 20560 madrassas are registered with Wafaq- ul- Madaris but these madrassas and their curriculum is not controlled by the government Radical groups try to bring changes in the social, political economic and religious structures of Pakistan It is broadly accepted that sectarian aggression is a new phenomenon in Pakistan In January 2002 Musharraf said that

> We condemn all acts of terrorism in our state We are
> committed to combat extremism and radicalism in Pakistan
> Militant groups would not be allowed to inflict any harm to
> Pakistan's national security and territorial integrity Through
> careful consultations we have decided to ban extremist
> groups that are promoting militancy in the state This
> decision is taken in national interest and not under any
> foreign pressure

These militant and extremist groups regarded war on terror as a paid war of USA and other Western powers They think that Pakistani authorities are killing Muslims just for economic benefits by the USA Due to the terrorist activities of these militant groups Pakistan has lost the lives of as many soldiers by its own people as compared to the three full scale wars with India

The biggest cause of radicalism is the drone attacks by the United States across the border of Pakistan & Afghanistan, most of the people killed in such drone attacks are Children and Women, killing of one innocent in drone attack produce a number of extremists who want to take revenge for their murdered families (Khalid, 2015) Drone attacks across the Pak-Afghan border are giving rise to numerous extremists which are direct threats for both the western world as well as Pakistan's national security

Sectarian groups create chaos, panic and insecurity among people through violent means There is a strong collaboration between Taliban and other militant and radical groups for the fulfillment of their objectives After that collaboration terrorist activities became more violent These terrorist organizations try to cause maximum damage to the civilians, security forces and economic, social and political fabric of Pakistan Predominantly, the Shia- Sunni conflicts have become prominent in Pakistan State policies of islamization are the main cause of sectarian conflicts in Pakistan (Mahmood, 1995) Some people say that sectarianism is the result of proxy war between Iranians and Saudis, some say that Iranian revolution and the Zia ul Haq policy of islamization is the main cause Whatever is the cause of sectarianism it is stimulating terrorism and religious extremism in our society and has become an important threat to our national security after terrorism

4.3. Economic Instability

Pakistan faced various political and economic problems after 9/11 attacks The war on terror proved counterproductive for Pakistan's economy Due to the terrorist activities the foreign investment in Pakistan was badly affected Decline in foreign investment had a very bad impact on economy, unemployment and poverty raised in Pakistan Western citizens were advised to be careful to travel to Pakistan About 50% of Pakistani exports go to European Union and USA but

now foreign buyers are hesitant to visit Pakistan Before 9/11 attacks many international buying houses set up their offices in Pakistan but now they have moved to Hong Kong, India and Singapore etc Strict visa restrictions were also imposed on Pakistani businessmen (Javria & Shah, 2015) In such a situation the context of Pakistani businessmen with foreign businessmen is restricted or denied because of the strict travel and visa policies Security forces need more budget and resources to eliminate terrorism. Due to the increased defense budget fewer resources are available for social development, healthcare facilities, education etc and this thing in return impose serious challenge for economic growth and development Instability in Afghanistan has affected Pakistan's economy directly or indirectly and it has suffered losses in terms of decline in foreign investment, unemployment, poverty. 9/11 incident proved devastating for Pakistan's social and economic development and progress and Pakistan is still under the impact of that horrible incident (Shabir, Akram, & Padda, 2015) War on terror proved more devastating for Pakistan as compared to USA DR Salman Shah former finance minister of Pakistan said that Pakistan has paid a lot in this war on terror in terms of investment, human life, and infrastructure etc It has also inflicted huge damage to Pakistan's social and economic structure and Pakistan is still under the impact of these attacks even after one decade

4.4. Impact on Education

Terrorism has badly affected the infrastructure in Pakistan by a series of attacks on healthcare facilities, communication networks and educational institutions etc Terrorism has an adverse impact on educational sector in Pakistan Education plays a vital role for the development and progress of a state But in Pakistan the educational system is in a very poor condition due to terrorist attacks on educational institutions The situation is worse in tribal areas of Pakistan In these areas students are killed and schools are being targeted by bomb attacks In such a situation

parents are reluctant to send their children to schools as a result the level of education has been reduced in the country. In tribal areas most of the educational institutions are destroyed and the literacy rate is declining day by day (Naqvi, Khan, & Ahmad, 2012) The most horrible attacks on educational institutions are the terrorist attack on army public school Peshawar in 2015, the attack on Islamic university's new campus in 2010 and the attack on Paja Khan University in 2016 In these attacks many students were killed Educational department of NWFP reports that about 65% of schools have been destroyed by terrorists Not only girls schools are targeted about 42% of boy's schools are also targeted As a result of these terrorist attacks on schools and other educational institutions a number of international schools and educational institutions which were construed here have now stopped working due to the threat of terrorism All such acts by militants have badly affected the education and literacy rate which is already low in our country and is further relegating (Afridi, 2014)

4.5. Impact on Tourism

Tourism is generally regarded as the third main industry in the world Tourism industry plays an important role for the economic development of a state Economies of many states depend on tourism industry for example Thailand, Malaysia, Switzerland, Maldives, and Holland etc A developed and reputable tourism sector plays an important role in increasing national income, livelihoods and balance of payments In developing countries like Pakistan it also plays an important role in poverty reduction (Rehman, 2013). In Pakistan like exports tourism is also an important source of getting foreign exchange, enhancing business activities and poverty reduction Northern areas of Pakistan are rich in natural beauty and mountain ranges Hindukush, Himalay's and Karakoram and beautiful valleys attract numerous visitors every year Before the horrible incident of 9/11 attacks a large number of foreigners use to come Pakistan to visit

historical and tourist points In 2000 about 0 557 million tourists came to Pakistan from different parts of the world But after 9/11 attacks the number of visitors was reduced to 0 498 million in 2002 During the same year the revenues generated by Pakistan's tourism industry also reduced from 551 million to 533 million (Anjum, 2014) Terrorism and rising militancy in different cities of Pakistan especially picturesque cities, unstable security and poor law and order situation proved devastating for Pakistan's tourism industry

In June 2013 residency of Quaid-i- Azam located in Ziarat was destroyed by Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA) militants. This incident tinted Pakistan's deteriorating tourism industry and security situation. Chief Secretary of Baluchistan Babar Yaqub said that

> This residency was a precious heritage of our country It had
>
> never faced any threat in past It was very important for local
>
> people It was an important tourist point it had been catching
>
> the attention of local and foreign tourists

After few days of this incident nine foreign tourists were killed on the Himalayan Peak of Nanga Parbat in a terrorist attack This tragic incident proved disastrous for Pakistan's tourism industry which was already facing problems due to terrorist activities by different militant groups (Abbas, 2013) It also proved harmful for Pakistan's image in outside world Director of operations for Adventure Travel Pakistan (ATP) Shirz Nasir said that

> After 9/11 attacks it was for the first time that a large number
>
> of international tourists came to Pakistan But this tragic
>
> incident is a major blow for Pakistan's tourism industry

Now it is required that awareness campaigns must be started

in order to reconstruct our national image and tourism

industry

As compared to pre 9/11 scenario Pakistan's role is very limited in global tourism industry The basic reason of this limited role is the poor law and order situation, volatile security, poor infrastructure, bad image of the country due to terrorism, extremism etc (Kzmi, 2012) All these factors are the main reason of the decline of Pakistan's tourism industry and image in the world

4.6. Image Problem

The image of a country in outer world is actually the reflection of that country's policies, law and order situation, economic condition etc Now a day's Pakistan is facing serious image problem in outside world Internal security situation of Pakistan is one of the main reasons that are superseding the soft image of Pakistan In Pakistan inter provincial disputes, killing of minorities, poor law and order situation, economic instability, unstable political system and terrorism badly affect the image of Pakistan in world community After 9/11 Pakistan has been facing various problems due to terrorism, it has tried its best to solve this problem but still international community especially west is not ready to recognize Pakistan's efforts and it is facing various problems in world community (Afridi, 2014) Many other countries of the world like Britain and USA are also facing terrorism but these states have no bad image in the world Pakistan is also a victim of terrorism but it faces serious image problem The basic reason of this tragedy is that it is alleged that Britain and USA face threat of terrorism from outside terrorists on the other hand Pakistan faces terrorism form internal actors Now a day's Pakistan is facing problem of extremism and Islamic radicalism Suicide attacks in the name of religion are a

serious security problem of Pakistan This thing is harmful for the image of Pakistan in other states because these acts by the so-called religious militant groups present Islam as a harsh and violent religion Foreign visitors are attacked and killed by these militant groups frequently For example in 2009 Sri Lankan cricket team was attacked as a result six police guards were killed and seven Sri Lankan players were seriously injured. This incident shaped bad image of Pakistan in the world as a result international teams are hesitant to visit Pakistan Law and order situation is very poor in Pakistan as a result foreign investment is declined as compared to pre 9/11 scenario Due to the decline in foreign investment Pakistani economy is facing problems of instability and economic instability further reduced the chances of foreign investment.

Instead of appreciating Pakistan's efforts in its fight against terrorism the western media just show those stories that can highlight the bad image of Pakistan Media is an important tool that can be used to fulfill desired national goals and objectives But in Pakistan the media is not used in right manner that can be helpful in image building process (Lubna, 2009)

To conclude, after 9/11 attacks Pakistan is facing various national security problems These problems are deteriorating the security and image of Pakistan both at national and international level As a front line state in global war on terror Pakistan has faced various problems The loss of human life, poor law and order situation, damaged infrastructure, inflation, economic instability, terrorist attacks, extremism, decline in foreign investment are some of the costs paid by Pakistan in war on terror Due to all these problems Pakistan's national security is deteriorating day by day Cooperation and national unity is required in these problems In the pre 9/11 period Pakistan's main focus was on hard power in order to counter national security threats but now the nature of threats is changed In the post 9/11 scenario Pakistan is facing not only traditional but nontraditional security threats also Use of force is not suitable in present situation

because use of force against militant groups increases the anger, revenge and terrorist activities of militant groups. There is a need to adopt peaceful and realistic policies to deal with militancy and to improve Pakistan's image and national security both at national and international level

Chapter 5

Obsession with Hard Power and Undermining of Soft Power in Pakistan

The geographical, political and strategic position of the country on the map highly affects the amount of military expenses. Defense budget is also affected by the domestic violence and geopolitical hostilities The defense expenditures could also be determined and dependent on the implementation of some other factors like technology, political affinity, security and priorities Any country having security threats can never ignore the military expenses regardless of their development stage The military expenses are affected by both internal and external threats (Ramzan, 2013)

Since independence Pakistan had always relied on hard power for its security After independence the most important problem for Pakistan was its security and survivability The strategic location of Pakistan caused serious defense concerns because it is located in the region that is called as the axle of Asia After independence Pakistan faced problems in a hostile strategic environment due to the security challenges from neighboring states especially India (Wynbrandt, 2009) India is the major and most important factor for creating insecurity and instability in Pakistan India is always trying to destabilize Pakistan through wars, its political strategies and through some political pressure with the help of other countries In order to overcome the Indian aggression Pakistan is always focusing on the advancement and strengthening of its military power in order to overcome Indian strategies This is the demand of the situation that Pakistan must have well trained and well equipped army and defense capabilities Due to all above issues the Pakistan's policy makers always take the defense requirements as a top priority (Zubair, 201)

Although at that time Pakistan had scarce resources and a weak economy yet Pakistan allocated bulk of resources for defense and military capabilities that can be spent on social and economic development Due to the hostility and enmity between India and Pakistan an arm race started between them This arms race further impeded the economic growth and social development (Ramzan, 2013) There are two schools of thought about the impact of high defense spending on economic and social growth One school of thought says that high defense spending has a positive impact on social development and economic growth

- Defense expenditures enhance economic growth because defense expenditures endorse research and development, introduces new technologies in the field of defense and these modern technologies are also useful for civil sectors and this thing promotes economic growth and development

- Defense expenditures provide national security, it means that due to proper security law and order situation foreign investors would invest in the country and this thing would enhances economic growth and social development

- During crisis like terrorist attacks, earthquakes, floods and other natural disasters defense spending is used for refurbishing the social infrastructures and economic activity This thing can be helpful in generating welfare and promoting productivity

Other school of thought says that defense expenditures have a negative impact on economic growth and social development

- If bulk of resources is spent on defense then fewer resources are available for other sectors like health, education, economy and social development

- Defense expenditures have opportunity cost as these are used for enhancing war fighting capabilities and weapon's modernization After a war more resources are required to

restore peace and to revamp the damages caused to social infrastructures due to wars This thing hampers economic growth   .

- High defense expenditures cause arms race between two rival states If an arms race is started more and more resources are allocated to armed forces regardless of the scare national resources available for other sectors that also play an important role in national security (Anwar, Rafique & Joiya, 2012)

In the Case of Pakistan defense expenditures always remained the top priority of government The largest constituents of total government expenditures are defense expenditures since independence During the initial years of independence defense expenditures were extremely high During the first half of 1950s defense expenditures were 6 4% and in 1956 it ascended to 9 97% of total government expenditures The basic reason of this high defense spending was the government struggle to attain a minimum level of deterrence in order to counter Indian hostility towards Pakistan In 1965 Pakistan had a full scale war with India As a result of this war in 1966 Pakistan's defense budget once again rose in order to counter any future threat from India (Narain, 2008) In 1971 Pakistan once again fought a full scale bloody war with India and as a result of this war Pakistan was divided into two parts In this tragic incident Pakistan lost about 55% of its population and less than half of country's GDP Due to this disastrous incident defense budget once again rose and the number of armed forces was increased from 300,000 to 600,000 However after a peace agreement with India, the defense budget was reduced and it remained 6 11% till 1980s. In 1980s USSR invaded Afghanistan and Pakistan got involved in this war for the help of Afghan Muslims Due to this participation defense budget rose to 7 26% during the interwar period After the departure of USSR from Afghanistan, Pakistani government was compelled to reconsider defense budget due to the high fiscal deficits In 1998 Pakistan

became nuclear power During the development of nuclear weapons Pakistan's defense budget was high (Mahmood, 1997)

International community imposed economic sanctions on Pakistan and all its aid programs were stopped Pakistan faced severe criticism, faced sanctions and economic problems but it carried out its struggle and allocated bulk of recourses for the development of nuclear weapons After 9/11 incident Pakistan became an ally of US in war on terror and took a u turn on its Taliban policy. Pakistan's role as a front line state in war on terror increased Pakistan's defense budget because due to the Pakistan's participation in war on terror militancy started in the country All Qaida, Tehreek- e- Taliban Pakistan and other terrorist groups started actions against the Pakistan and tried to subvert American ally in their war on terror Terrorism and radicalism became an important security threat in Pakistan (Khan, 2012)

Pakistani army started operations on Pak- Afghan border in order to eliminate terrorists Thousands of Pakistan's armed forces were deployed on western border with Afghanistan Due to the military operations Pakistan's defense budget was increased as compared to previous decade During 2001-2002 defense expenditures were 17 7% but in 2002-2003 it further increased to 18 75 For the next few years this percentage of defense expenditures saw some changes but 2009 saw dramatic changes Defense expenditures increased due to military operation against terrorists During 2009-2010 Pakistan's defense budget was 21 46% but it was reduced to 17 58% during 2010-2011 For the period of 2011-2012 defense expenditures were once again ascended to 14 73% During 2012-2013 defense expenditures were further reduced to 11 79% about 545 billion RS were allocated to defense In the next fiscal year 2013-2014 this amount was increased to RS 627 billion This allocation was further increased to 700 2 billion RS during 2014-2015 Defense expenditures were dramatically increased to 781 162 billion RS

for the fiscal year 2015-2016 Finance Minister Ishaq Dar said that the basic reason of this increased defense budget was the worsened internal national security of Pakistan Given the internal security challenges much of the increase in this year's defense budget by Pakistan is likely to be spent on the fight against militancy The enhanced budgetary allocation will enable the armed forces to meet their growing needs and challenges being faced by the country on internal and external fronts (Shahbaz, Afzal & Shabbir, 2013).

All these factors show that Pakistan has always spent a large portion of its budget on defense expenditures whenever Pakistan has tried to reduce its defense budget it faced such national security problems that required increased defense capabilities and military advancement to ensure national security both from internal and external national security threats Such national security problems always compelled Pakistani leadership to allocate more resources for defense regardless of the low level of economic progress and social development Pakistan has always spend bulk of resources on defense and less resources were available for other sectors which also play an important role for country's development like education, health, infrastructure, economy culture and image building process of the nation in other states Furthermore reliance on hard power for solving every national security problem undermined the use of soft power for national security of Pakistan In Pakistan the main focus remained on hard power and soft power was somehow neglected Facing one crisis after another. Pakistan fell short of balancing its hard power with soft power (Ramzan, 2013). However in today's world especially after participation in war on terror Pakistan is facing such problems that required soft policies for enhancing national security and survivability Due to terrorism and militancy Pakistan is facing image problem in the world in such a situation it is required that soft power must be considered as an important tool for national security and image building process of Pakistan In Pakistan soft

power always faced challenges as main focus was always remained on hard power and the important elements of soft power were neglected The main reason of this negligence was the nature of threat Since independence Pakistan used hard power in order to counter traditional security threats from other states mainly from India but in the post Cold War period especially after 9/11 incident the nature of threat has been changed. Now Pakistan is facing not only traditional but also nontraditional security threats. This changed nature of threat required the use of soft power in order to enhance national security.

Whenever the people are suppressed through hard power they always show reaction against it, fall of Dhaka is the consequences of the use of hard power Soft power is required for the growth of the society like breath is required to survive Currently all of developed countries utilize their soft power as a major tool to get desired results Pakistan's independence is also the consequences of soft power The Muslims were urged and convinced by Quid e Azam and Allama Iqbal to have a separate homeland. Thousands of Muslims were gathered in 1940 to resolute the ideology of Pakistan It was just a soft power because nobody forced them to migrate After sacrifices of thousands of Muslims they achieved a separate homeland where they have their own separate culture, own language, own lifestyle and identity Today's Pakistan is facing a lot of challenges The most important problems are terrorism, poverty, economic instability, illiteracy, unemployment, poor law and order and militancy

It is required that soft power must be used in order to solve all these nontraditional security problems and to improve Pakistan's image and national security However in Pakistan the soft power is generally neglected, here the basic focus is still on hard power Culture, political values and foreign policies are the main elements of soft power but in Pakistan thee elements are not

used in a right manner in order to translate the potential of these elements into soft power of Pakistan

5.1. Culture

Culture may be defined as behavior peculiar to human beings, together with material objects used Culture consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs, codes, institution, tools, techniques, works of arts, ceremonies and so on According to Allama Iqbal

> Culture encompasses all the mental, spiritual 'and physical
>
> activities of a nation. It includes the basic beliefs and faith,
>
> values and literature, art and architecture, music and mode of
>
> dress, manners and customs prevalent in a given society
>
> (Khan, 2010)

In the case of being tangible, cultural heritage is in the form of historic structures and ancient sites, while intangibility of culture includes beliefs, language, traditions, rituals, dance, and music, folktales representing the cultural and historical development of any society The cultural heritage and past history plays a vital role for the development of any society or nation The cultural heritage is also the source of spirit and pride for its people A stat's culture enhances its ability to have good relations with other states and it can achieve its goals and national interests, economic stability, survivability and security by the affective utilization of its cultural heritage (Irshad, 2013). Our country Pakistan has a rich cultural heritage and always proud of its culture accordingly The Pakistani mode of civilization is about more than five millennium old Over the centuries through successive migrations from North West, also by internal migrations in the continent, Persians, Aryans, Greeks, Arabs and Mughals came in this region and settled in this

area They have left behind very rich, glorious and marvelous sites which are being preserved by Pakistan This country is gifted by God a very rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage There are so many cultural site like temples, mosques, churches, gardens, shrines, relics, tombs, palaces and some other historical buildings for tangible cultural reference whereas in case of intangibility it includes 60 local languages, folk music and dances, oral traditions, jewellery, ceramics, crafts, metal work, woodwork and some other forms of arts

Of the 704 cultural heritage sites listed on UNESCO's World Heritage List, Pakistan has six of its sites on the List These 6 listed cultural heritage sites are Buddhist ruins Takht-i-Bahi and remaining of neighboring city, at Mohenjo-Daro Archaeological ruins, Shalimar Gardens and Fort, Texila, Monuments of Makli, and Fort Rohtas UNESCO has also taken 18 other historical and cultural places of Pakistan on Tentative List (Malik, 2006)

The country is equally rich in the archaeological remains of some of the most ancient civilizations such as the Indus Valley Civilization and the Ghandara Art Pakistan, in fact, is in an enviable position as it provides a rare blend of ancient and medieval traditions and culture which provide the country with a potential for development as a unique area for applying information and material for scholars and researchers, as well as serve as a centre of attraction for the tourists from all over the world (Maron, 1957)

Pakistan has a rich culture but despite this cultural prosperity it is not possible for Pakistan to use its culture as a soft power tool The basic reason is the limited funds available for the promotion of our cultural heritage, unplanned infrastructure, training and equipment, corruption, terrorist attacks on important historical buildings and natural disasters are some reasons why cultural heritage is endangered in Pakistan In the past there has been inadequate recognition of the important role that cultural centers can play in the building up of an inspiring national image and

in infusing a sense of national pride The recent few years, however, have witnessed a sense of greater awareness of the importance and significance of historical and cultural centers and to focus attention on the maintenance and development of the various institutions, organizations concerned with cultural activities A separate ministry of culture and sports has been developed for the creation of cultural activities to achieve the national interests and goals This ministry is also being used for the cultural heritages preservation and especially for the reflection of Islamic culture, values and history that surely contributes for the promotion and growth of our country (Abbasi, 1992) Pakistan is a beautiful country Nature has blessed it with a lot of tourist resorts Two prominent ancient religio-cultural heritages Gandhara and Mohenjo_ Daro can make Pakistan a worth visiting place Through the attractiveness of its culture tourism can be flourished in Pakistan, revenues can be generated and through social and cultural exchange programs Pakistan can have good relations with other states and its image can be enhanced that can be helpful for Pakistan's national security (Harry, 2012) But unfortunately tourism industry is declining in Pakistan Terrorism and rising militancy in different cities of Pakistan especially picturesque cities, unstable security and poor law and order situation proved devastating for Pakistan's tourism industry Some other issues of the tourism decline in Pakistan are as under

- Inadequate publicity abroad of the country's tourist attractions

- Cumbersome procedures of entry and exit

- Lack of infrastructure facilities like availability of modest and clean accommodation, transport and communications facilities in tourist resorts

- Under-developed souvenir industry

Pakistani tourism industry is not being properly developed because of security issues (Khaan 1976) No doubt Pakistan has the beautiful hill areas, marvelous peaks, tall mountains, rivers

archeological sites, and historical remains of ancient civilizations The Pakistan Tourism Development Cooperation (PTDC) and the Ministry of tourism are failed to achieve the world's tourist's attraction The main reasons for this are that no one would like to come in such a insecure and instable country where the lives of people are not safe and the leaders or rulers have to make themselves safe through heavy security and they talk to the public behind the bullet proof screens which are quite negative points about the image of our state How could anyone imagine being impressed from a country where the schools, historical places and the Sufi shrines are attacked by terrorists The lives of the people are highly insecure because of poor security situation and worst law and order conditions (Naureen, 2002)

The media plays a vital and forefront role in order to promote the culture and heritage of the state The soft image can easily be drawn through the media in minds of audiences Media can also be used to achieve the desired national targets and objectives Unfortunately the media of Pakistan is not working properly in order to attract the people and to develop desired image Our media mostly emphasize the issues which damage the image of the country instead of its development Pakistan is highlighted by the media as a country where girls are targeted for being educated, the safety of tourists and sportsmen is not sure here Such stories presented by media highlight Pakistan as a country that can be called charming place for terror activities (Sayeed. 2014)

Top subject of every talk show, news, or comedy is criticism on politics, policies and politicians. about corruption, inflation and institutional defaults, target killings, terrorism, violence, injustice, family murders, suicides, kidnappings, robberies and other street crimes All of these things presented by media clearly show to the world that nothing good or right is happening in our country The image and perception created by media since last few years at international level is

that Pakistan is a country just like a forest having no law, insecurity, no value of human lives, corruption and violence and terror activities It is generally said that whoever controls the media controls the minds Other countries use media as a tool to promote their culture and language in the world Whereas in Pakistan media is not being used as a tool for the promotion of our culture and language (Ali, 2012)

The state-run Pakistan Television Network (PTV) launched an English-language news channel "PTV World" on January 29, 2013 The main slogan behind this was Changing Perspectives but nothing was achieved in reality Mostly a major portion of programs features quotes, documentaries, or the routines talk shows discussing political issues domestically Except some of the programs like "Defense and Diplomacy" and Diplomatic Enclave" nothing was useful at national level in this channel It also failed to achieve the attention of audiences at global level The state sponsored TV channels often attract and introduce their own language to the world whereas PTV did the exact opposite It has programs teaching how to improve English instead of Urdu (Zahid, 2012) Despite of this media should be used as soft power tool to achieve desired goals. Government should have properly designed a distinctive policy for PTA and PEMRA to achieve desired goals. Pakistani Government should ban all of the talk shows and dramas highlighting violence and terrorism

Cultural heritage places make Pakistan a most worthy place for visit Pakistan has a multicultural societal structure and the distension of positive activities and cultural assortments through media can be used as a soft power tool of Pakistan The natural land beauty, four seasons, the participation of Pakistani women in every field of life and Coke studio can be used to display music richness and all other features can also be shown by the media in order to display Pakistani cultural verities

5.2. Political Values

Political values are another source of soft power. A state's domestic policies sturdily influence its soft power These policies can both strengthen or disperse a country's soft power If domestic policies are seen legitimate in other states the soft power of a state is enhanced and it can be helpful for a state to get its desired outcomes and national interests but if these policies are seen as deceitful, conceited, apathetic by other states and these are not related to the interests and values of others, don't have a universal value and approach then a state's soft power can't be much affective and even such values can weaken the soft power of states (Li, 2009) Political values of a states include the policies and norms of a government that are important to uphold the political landscape of the state like equality, liberty, democracy, unity, social and economic development etc

Democracy is one of the ideologies and systems upon which Pakistan was sought to be established in 1947 as a nation-state, as envisaged by the leader and founding father of the nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah Pakistan constitutionally is a democratic parliamentary republic with its political system based on an elected form of governance However, in past history there have been deviations from democracy in the form of military coups and political uncertainty Democracy failed exceptionally quickly after independence In the wake of intensifying political instability, the civilian bureaucracy and military assumed governing power in 1958 Since its independence, Pakistan's democratic system has fluctuated between civilian and military governments at various times throughout its political history, mainly due to political instability, civil-military conflicts, political corruption, and the periodic coup by the military establishment against weak civilian governments, resulting in the enforcement of martial law across the country Ever since the creation of Pakistan, the same political parties have stayed

in power (Bahadur, 1998) Independence of speech and equality are the basic principles of democracy But in case of Pakistan the democratic system is failed to provide the independence of speech or equality to its citizens Educated and talented people are not being encouraged as compared to the wealth people in politics So the Uneducated people cannot run the government and cannot build democratic society

Due to weak political value and instable democracy Pakistan's image has been shattered very badly Above all the military and quasi-military rule strangled the democratic rule in the country Due to above mentioned factors Pakistan has been facing many sanctions implanted by World financial authorities These sanctions and financial stresses are the consequences of week democracy and frequent military ruling in Pakistan (Hasanie, 2013) Democracy never exists without rule of law, justice, civil liberties and equality of opportunities

Unfortunately, even today the political situation of our country is not good The political practices, values and principles are not up to the mark which can improve the Pakistan's image in the world The government has been frequently changing in our country and with the establishment of the new government the values, practices and policies are entirely changed New strategies are adopted by the new government. This situation is not good for the democratic growth and progress of any country For the continuous progress and growth of a country political stability is highly required (Bahadur, 1998)

In Pakistan people don't have equal standards of livening They don't have equal access to basic necessities of life like health, education, employment, justice etc Living conditions in each province of Pakistan is totally different from other province Majority of Pakistani people are living in poverty About 45 7% population of Pakistan is living below the poverty line as stated

by Benazir income support pregame (BISP) Out of these about 36 5% are living in extreme poverty conditions Corruption is one of the major causes of poverty in Pakistan A common man is facing a lot of problems in Pakistan whereas a few rich people have captured all of the resources (Chitkara, 1997) The people are unable to earn their livelihood in undeveloped areas of country especially in Tribal areas In these areas long term economic deprivation and hopeless poverty, below the national average gives a chance to people to criticize the government for its failure to look after its population and creates a splintering of the social contract between the marginalized population and the state Economic deprivation enables the militant groups to contextualize their appeals for popular support and to challenge the state under the slogans of social justice, equity and equal opportunity (Ahmad, 2013) More than all, the educational facilities and economic facilities are not equally provided to all of the people of the state Education is the part and parcel of any country's success and progress but unluckily the educational system is not functional in Pakistan Due to terror activities, poor law and order the situation is worse in tribal areas Schools are forcedly being closed in these areas and students especially girls are targeted due to having school education In such a situation parents are reluctant to send their children to schools as a result the level of education has been reduced in the country In tribal areas most of the educational institutions are destroyed and the literacy rate is declining day by day (Naqvi, Khan, & Ahmad, 2012) The literacy rate in Pakistan only increased from 16 percent in 1951 to 26 2 percent in 1981 The literacy rate was raised up to 43 92 percent in 1998 and it was documented about 58 percent in 2009 which is very low in comparison with developed countries So the majority population of our country is uneducated and backward, due to all of such sufferings they are unable to contribute in the development of

Pakistan In a study conducted by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) Pakistan about the "Social Contract in Pakistan", it is argued that

> The unity of the Pakistan state is withering away because of
> the lack of institutional coherence, state's lack of capacity to
> deal with issues, weak justice system, poor governance and
> law and order situation These factors lead to the weakening
> of national cohesion and imperil the social contract
> (Sidique, Parveen & Ali 2011)

Social and human development is not much effective in Pakistan from the last many years According to the annual UNDP human development index of 2014 Pakistanis is at the same position as last and many previous years at 146ᵗʰ among 187 countries The human development index takes into account multiple factors like gender equality, poverty, education, health, access to primary services, infant mortality and life expectancy

The basic reason of this poor human development is that the demand pull from the people and communities at the local level is neither well organized through community organization, nor is it strong enough to get the bureaucracy at the district level and the political leaders at provincial and federal levels sensitive to basic human needs Education and health are the core areas of human development but usually these have poor political and administrative leadership both at the higher level as well as at the local institutional level Furthermore lack of accountability of the bureaucracy at the district and higher levels in every field like education health and other services is another reason of poor social and human development Rajanpur, for instance, stands at the lowest point on the human development index and there are so many other districts in Balochistan and interior Sindh that haven't progressed But no officials have

ever been fired, demoted or denied promotion They get away with inefficiency, corruption and mismanagement of resources because of the poor system of accountability (Rais, 2014) There are many terrorist networks that are operating in Pakistan and have become an important threat for Pakistan's national security, territorial integrity Target killings, bomb blasts, suicidal attacks and other terrorist activities have become a normal thing in Pakistan Life of people is not safe here, thousands of people are killed in such terrorist activities (Khan, 2012) Terrorist activities, poor law and order situation, suicide bombing, killing of innocent people, bomb blasts all such issues are badly affecting the political, social, economic and religious structure of Pakistan (Javaid, 2008)

In Pakistan traditionally madrassas were established as institutions of higher studies, where law, Islamic studies and philosophy were taught Food, Shelter and education are provided by most of the madrassas to students Because of the high rate of poverty people are being forced to send children to madrassas The madrassas are developed in Pakistan as higher education institute and the Islamic law, Islamic studies and Islamic philosophy is being taught In west the general perception about these madrassas is that these produce jihadis and holy warriors But in reality this may be true only in few cases but in all the schools are not involved in such activities The perception in other states especially in West about these madrassas is harmful for Pakistan's soft image abroad (Tanvir, 2002) All these political values and internal governmental policies of Pakistan present Pakistan in the world as a country that is not politically stable, lives of people is not safe here, law and order situation is worsening day by day, people don't have access to main necessities of life like food, health, education, justice and freedom, etc All these factors have affected Pakistan's image in outside world and this thing is creating problems for Pakistan's soft image and prestige in the world

5.3 Foreign Policy

Foreign Policy can be defined as a set of means, strategies and decisions which a state espouse to achieve its national interests and goals in its international dealings Policy makers devise and execute foreign policy of their states keeping in view their national needs, national values, internal and external security situations and the foreign policy goals of other states (Yunus, 2003) Furthermore domestic policies also play an important role in foreign policy of a state Foreign policy of a state does not stay inert but it changes according to the requirements of time and circumstances When Pakistan came into being it inherited the legacy of foreign policy from British India, Pakistan made some essential changes and modifications according to its ideology Security, development and ideology were the basic factors behind the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy Pakistan's relations with other regional and extra regional powers have always been oscillating according to the requirements of time and prerequisite of international situations However there are some core principles of Pakistan's foreign policy

- Preservation of territorial integrity
- Maintenance of political independence and sovereignty
- Acceleration of social and economic development
- Having amiable and gracious relations with all countries, especially the Muslim countries
- Social, economic and cultural development
- To protect the right of its citizens to live in peace, security and free from violence or terrorization (Mazhar & Goraya, 2013).

Since independence geographical location of Pakistan has played an important role on Pakistan's foreign policy and relations with other states Pakistan's foreign policy is always dogged by geo political situations and requirement of national security and territorial integrity Since independence Pakistan has faced various national security threats and challenges that have an important impact on its foreign policy. The incident of 9/11 affected its foreign policy sternly that now important changes in foreign policy is required in order to fulfill national security goals and objectives Pakistan became the main focus of international scrutiny after becoming a front line state in war on terror The post 9/11 scenario has also negatively affected the standing of Pakistan in world community due to the increasing militancy, terrorism and extremism in the country Now Pakistan is facing image problem in the world due to its poor internal security, law and order, instable economy and terrorism In such a situation it is required that Pakistan should formulate its foreign policy in such a way that it would be helpful for image building process of nation and in fulfilling national interests and objectives (Sami & Ali, 2012)

Foreign policy is an important element of soft power but in Pakistan the potential of foreign policy is not used in a right manner in order to make it as a soft power tool For the progress and development of state it is necessary that it must have good relations with its immediate neighbors because in this situation the state would be able to focus on other states if its borders are secured by its neighboring states (Sattar, 2012) But unfortunately Pakistan always has troubling relations with its neighbor states especially India It always has friendly relations with China but it has security concerns with all other neighboring countries. So in a situation Pakistan most of the time is more concerned about the challenges and security threats from neighboring states Furthermore economic development also plays an important role in a state's relations with other states Due to economic progress and development a state becomes attractive for other states and

they want to have good relations with that state (Amin, 2010) But in the case of Pakistan economic development is severely affected in recent years Due to increased militancy and terrorism FDI is badly affected. Foreign investors are hesitant to come and invest in Pakistan due to terrorism and poor law and order situation. Due to economic instability Pakistan's foreign policy faces sever challenges in the world community

History and cultural heritage of a nation are considered as important factors of its foreign policy While formulating and implementing national interest policy makers take into account their cultural links, historical experiences and traditions But unfortunately in Pakistan the cultural heritage is facing problems in today's world it is being destroyed by terrorist attacks and tourism industry of Pakistan is being damaged which is a major source of interaction with other nations (Sreedhar, 2003).

If a state is internally strong it can pursue a better foreign policy, unity of the nation is also an important source of strength it enhances the state's ability to secure their national interests during international bargaining As the external threats, challenges, chaos, riot, and sudden changes influence the foreign policy of states, similarly same changes that occur in the internal environment of state also influence the course of foreign policy (Khan, 2007) In recent times the significance of social structure as an important factor of foreign policy is increased The growing internal conflicts and crises of Pakistani nation can have a negative impact on Pakistan's dealing with other nations These incidents present Pakistan as a state which is not internally stable, lives of people is not safe here, it is a breeding ground of extremism and terrorism All these things badly affect the image of Pakistan in other states which is negatively affecting Pakistan's dealings and relations with other states Extremism and radicalism in Pakistan also affect its foreign policy because Pakistan is viewed by other states as a country that is equipped with

nuclear weapons and facing the problem of terrorism and Islamic extremism Whenever some terrorist attacks or incidents happen it is generally linked with Pakistan's radicalism and extremism The subsistence of these non state actors is considered as challenge to the world peace and this thing is badly affecting our international relations

For a successful foreign policy and for achieving the attention of the states it is important to have cultural, social, educational exchange programs with other states But Pakistan is always concerned on security issues and threats in its international dealings and such exchange programs are limited as compared to other states (Karim, 1991) Education sector of Pakistan is not in a position to attract students from other states Due to growing incidents of terrorism educational sector is badly affected in our country and we are unable to attract foreign students Furthermore our cultural heritage is also affected due to internal militancy and terrorism and we are not in a position to attract other countries by our cultural heritage In such a situation Pakistan needs solid social, political and economic reforms that will be helpful for it to overcome its internal and external national security challenges and will be helpful in enhancing Pakistan's soft image in the world

5.4. National Internal Security Policy of Pakistan

The main problem of Pakistan that is a big hurdle in its development and progress in every sector is lack of internal security To overcome this problem Pakistan after 67 years of its independence has commenced its first National Security Policy (NISP) on 25 February 2014 NISP would be implemented by the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) with the help of Provincial governments, intelligence agencies and law enforcement agencies (LEAs)

The basic principles of NISP are joint inclusiveness and incorporation of all national efforts
NISP has three basic elements

- Discourse with all stakeholders

- Segregation of terrorists from their support systems

- Deterrence augmentation in order to defuse intimidation to internal security of Pakistan, by capacity building of the security apparatus

There are five objectives of NISP

- To protect people from all internal threats and to establish the writ of the State

- To defend the basic rights of the citizens of Pakistan

- To endorse social values like pluralism, freedom, democracy and tolerance etc

- To promote internal security by deterring all threats and challenges in a just and translucent manner.

- To resolve all disputes and conflicts with non state actors through peaceful means (Manzar & farooq, 2014)

The estimated cost of provincial component is RS 22 billion. This amount is required to establish counter terrorism departments, to advance capacity of police, rapid response forces and high security prisons The estimated cost of federal component is RS 10 billion this is required for establishing Rapid Response Force (RRF), Civil Armed Forces Headquarters in the Ministry of Interior, strengthening the NACTA and rejuvenation of LEAs NISP can achieve its goals with the vigorous involvement of provincial governments and police All provincial departments will set up specialized counter terrorism departments (CTDs) in order to provide intelligence to the national Internal Security Center (NISOC) and these CTDs will have rapid response force A national narrative based on values of peace, tolerance and inclusiveness will be developed in

society in order to counter terrorism and militancy Databases would be updated with pertinent information about mosques and madrassa this will facilitate the review and formulation of legal framework essential for de-radicalization and extremism (Haris, 201)

This policy is set up in order to eliminate terrorism and militancy but there are some loopholes and drawbacks in it that can be a hurdle in achieving policy objectives and goals NISP lacks soft power element it did not say anything about the image building process of our nation that is badly affected in outside world due to internal security situation, terrorism and radicalism There is nothing about the promotion of our culture, modifications in political values and in our foreign policy that are required to enhance Pakistan's standing in world community and to be used as a soft power tool for Pakistan's national security (Haider, 2014)

The basic objective of policy is to eradicate growing nuisance of terrorism but in policy there is no clear distinction of short, medium and long term measures

The policy is all about what and how it will be implemented but there is no clear time lines are given in the draft of policy The concept paper of NISP divulge that in the past all such efforts were not successful but even now there is not mentioned in the policy and it lacks any solid steps in order to tell how this policy can be successful this time Furthermore it is mentioned that a national narrative would be established in the society in order to promote the values of peace. harmony, unity and tolerance among people. But it is not an easy task for policy makers to bring people on one national narrative against terrorism and extremism because due to internal crises people are divided on multiple lines especially the growing Sunni and Shia resentment in our society NISP aims at separating the radicalized segments of society from the non radicalized people but it is not an easy task because it has no parallel in any other country in the world Furthermore it is not an easy task to bring Pakistani Taliban on negotiating table in order to

eliminate the threat of terrorism, militancy, extremism which is growing day by day in our country (Anjum, 2014) It is a unique effort under NISP that military and civil bureaucracy would work under integrated command but there is now local model available for this in past Strong confidence building measures are required for this purpose

To conclude, Pakistan's political values, culture and foreign policy are important source of soft power and they can enhance Pakistan's national security But unfortunately there is less attention paid on these elements in order to use their potential as a soft power tool Domestic policies must be designed in such a way that internal crises, conflicts and problems must be solved reasonably and with justice because hard power is generally used for solving domestic problems and this harsh attitude with opposition, militant groups and other conflicting parties just increase hostilities and result in the outbreak of conflicts at a wider scale Similarly efforts should be made to improve the condition of our cultural heritage that is neglected now a day Modifications in our foreign policy should be made in order to enhance cooperation with our neighboring states and to attract FDI and to increase cultural, social and educational exchange programs with other states All these efforts would enhance Pakistan's image and relations in international community and this thing would be helpful for Pakistan's national security

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

Security is the condition in which states face no military, political and economic threats and they can pursue the path of development and progress Individuals and communities of the states must be secured from any kind of threat and danger, vital human needs like education, food, housing, health are fulfilled In the post Cold War era the concept of security has been changed Security is not just related to military but also related to political, social, economic, environmental, human etc Non military threats have become more prominent threat for national security

Since independence Pakistan's main focus had been on hard power Reliance on hard power for solving every national security problem undermined the use of soft power for national security of Pakistan Facing one crisis after another, Pakistan fell short of balancing its hard power with soft power However in today's world especially after participation in war on terror Pakistan is facing such problems that required soft policies for enhancing national security and survivability Due to terrorism and militancy Pakistan is facing image problem in the world in such a situation it is required that soft power must be considered as an important tool for national security and image building process of Pakistan

Pakistan is blessed with a vast pool of ingredients that constitute an ideal platform to project its soft power Although Pakistan is facing various challenges like terrorism, militancy, extremism, violence, corruption etc but still Pakistan have the potential to build its soft power just little attention is require in this domain Pakistan has a rich culture, the Indus valley civilization, Harappa, Mahinjo Daro, Texila and other cultural sites can make Pakistan a worth visiting place

Pakistan's strategic position can also play an important role in its soft power, Pakistan's unique geographical location means it can attract tourists throughout the year Tourism can be used as an important tool for Pakistan in its efforts to build soft power in the world Natural beauty, Deserts, mountainous valleys, coastal areas, and thriving cities with their traditional markets make Pakistan an ideal tourist resort Tourism industry is facing problems due to increasing militancy and terrorism in the country Measures taken for the development of tourism can also be helpful in providing jobs to people because by developing the tourism industry, other businesses such as hotels, restaurants, transport, handicrafts, shopping, local recreational spots and local entrepreneurs get simultaneously boosted and it creates thousands of new jobs for unskilled and skilled workforce

Sports are also used as an important tool of soft power Pakistan has many endowed athletes and talented people but lack of infrastructure and system is a big hurdle in the progress of sports and sportspersons in the country To improve its image in the world Pakistan must endorse its performance in internal and external matters. In order to meet the national security challenges Pakistan should refurbish its internal and foreign policy. The foreign policy should not focus on just one dimension of power rather it should be a multifaceted strategy to achieve goals There is an urgent need to bring political stability in Pakistan as well as to improve the deteriorating law and order situation

So in today's world when Pakistan is facing image problem in the whole world it is very important that Pakistan should use soft power in order to present itself as a responsible member of international community and to have good relations with other states If our prevailing

systems social political economic and administrative function reasonably, effectively and efficiently no harm can come to Pakistan and we will be able to promote soft image of Pakistan

Recommendations

- To counter extremism and radicalism it is required that internal policies should be based on tolerance and moderation To promote harmony in society policies and development programs must pay special attention on issues like extremism and terrorism

- To eliminate terrorism and militancy from Pakistan, income and employment generation opportunities must be provided to the people who become an easy trap of terrorist due to the lack of employment opportunities

- To eliminate extremism and radicalism from society madrassas and their curriculum must be controlled by the government To eradicate radical preaching madrassas should be under scrutiny, so that the madrassas preaching and producing militancy need to be cracked down, as this menace of militant extremism is no more limited to tribal or frontier region but now has spread out to other settled areas of Pakistan

- Reforms in economic and educational sector can bring positive changes in our society Pakistan must improve the standard of education by investing more and more in education

- To improve our image abroad media should play its role Image building campaigns must be started Instead of showing events which discourage the soft image of the country focus should be on content which uphold a positive bright illustration of the homeland

- In order to bust-up tourism in the country government of Pakistan should develop proper policy by empowering tourism ministry, and considering all the stake holders at the

bottom; including Indigenous bodies and Community Based Organizations to facilitate and making sure the security of tourists The historical and archaeological departments have to be re-designed to showcase historical sites

- Foreign policy of a state plays an important role in image building process of the state Bilateral and multilateral diplomacy are the basic areas that are related to soft power in the field of foreign policy Pakistan's foreign policy should be tailored and distorted in a way that it endorses the soft image of Pakistan

- Pakistan should encourage cultural exchange programs Such programs generate people to people contacts and are helpful in swabbing out the misunderstanding and bad image of state Similarly literary festivals must be organized in order to change the specific discernment about Pakistan

- To get students from abroad, Education especially of Science and technology much be given importance Scholarships should be offered to the students worldwide

- Social sciences and literature must be promoted as they are the breeding ground for the academia and intellectuals It can definitely help to create an improved soft image of the country

- Pakistan must invest in new technologies, must build tax free zones near major cities in order to encourage foreign investment and for this purpose serious measures must be taken in order to improve law and order situation of Pakistan

- Pakistani Diaspora abroad should play an active role to improve the impression of Pakistan by highlighting various colours and shades of Pakistani culture

References

Ahmad, M (2015) India, Pakistan, the History of Unresolved Conflicts *FWU Journal of Social Sciences, Vol 9, No 1*

Abid, L (2009) The Rann of Kutch and its Aftermath *Journal of South Asian Studies Vol 24, No 2*

Adhikari, S (2010) The Kashmir An Unresolved Dispute Between India and Pakistan *Geopolitics Quarterly, Volume 6, No 4*

Aslam, M Dichotomy in Application of Our State Power *The Express Tribune*

Amin, M S (2010) *Pakistan's Foreign Policy A Reappraisal* New York Oxford University Press

Aziz, M (2007). *Military Control in Pakistan The Parallel State* USA Routledge

Alkire, S (2003) A Conceptual Framework for Human Security *Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Securityand Ethnicity*

Akpeninor, O J. (2013) *Modern Concepts of Security* London Author House

Ahmed, K (2006) Islamic Extremism in Pakistan *South Asian Journal. Issue Second*

Ahmad, I (2011) Pakistan and the Fight against Terrorism *Asia Pacific Foundation and George C Marshall European Center for Security Studies*

Ahmad, M (2013) Insurgency in Fata: Causes and a Way Forward *Pakistan Annual Research Journal Vol 49*

Afzal, A K ,& Considine, M (2014) *Democratic Accountability and International Human Development Regimes, Institutions and Resources* London Routledge

Anwar, A M, Rafique, Z, & Joiya, S.A (2012) Defense Expenditures – Economic Growth Nwxus A Case Study of Pakistan. *Pakistan Economic and Social Review Vol 50, No 2*

Abbasi, Y M (1992) Pakistani culture a profile *National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research*

Ali, A Y (2012|) *A Comparative Analysis of Media & Media Laws in Pakistan* Sang-e-meel Publications.

Ali , K , & Sami, K (2012) Challenges to Foreign Policy of Pakistan in 21st Century *South Asian Strategic Stability Institute*

Amin, M S (2010) *Pakistan's Foreign Policy A Reappraisal* Oxford University Press Sreedhar (2003) Pakistan after 9/11 Manas Publications

Anjum, N (2014) Pakistan's National Security An Analytical Study. *J Asian Dev Stud Vol 3 Issue 3*

Balzacq, T (ED) (2010) *Securitization Theory How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve* Canda Routledge

Buzan, B (1997) Rethinking security after the cold war cooperation and conflict *SAGE Journal, Vol 32, No 15*

Buzan, B (2008) People, States & Fear' An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era UK ECPR Press

Brauch, G H (2011) Concepts of Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks

Baldwin, A D (1993) *Security Studies and the End of the Cold War* New York Cambridge University Press

Burgess, P J (2007) Non-military security challenges. *International Peace Research Institute Oslo*

Bukhari, S (2011) Religious Extremism in Pakistan *Pakistan Analysis*

Bahadur, K (1998) *Democracy in Pakistan Crises and Conflicts* New Delhi Har-Anand Publications

Colman, J (2009) Britain and the Indo-Pakistani Conflict The Rann of Kutch and Kashmir,1965 *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History Vol 37 Issue 3*

Chakma, B (2012) *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons* UK Routledge

Carter,B A , Perry, J W ,& Steinbruner, D J (1992) *A New Concept of Cooperative Security* Washington, D C Brooking Institute.

Chitkara, G M (1997) *Human Rights in Pakistan* New Delhi APH Publishing

Carr, H E ,& Cox, M (2001) *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939 An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* New York Palgrave Macmillan

Dixit, J N (2003) *India-Pakistan in War and Peace* UK Routledge Pp 161-165

Dalton, T , & Krepon, M. (2015) *A Normal Nuclear Pakistan. Stimson Center and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Donnelly,J (2000). Realism and International Relations New Delhi· Cambridge University Press.

Daddow, O (2009) *International Relations Theory* London SAGE

Faruqui, A (2003) *Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan The Price of Strategic Myopia* England· Ashgate

Floyd, R (2007) Human Security and the Copenhagen School's Securitization Approach Conceptualizing Human Security as a Securitizing Move *Human Security Journal Volume 5, No 2*

Gallarotti, G (2011) Soft Power. what it is, its Importance, and the Conditions for its Effective use *Journal of Political Power*, vol 4,(1)

Ganguly, S (2013) *Conflict Unending India-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947* New York Columbia University Press

Hassan, S (2013) Qaiyum Khan and the War of Kashmir, 1947-48 *Asian Social Science Vol 9, No.1*

Hotania, N (2015) Pakistan's Nuclear Arms *New York Times*, April 16, 2015

Hussain, N (2008) The role of Media in National Security: A Case Study of 1998 Nuclear Explosions by Pakistan *South Asian Strategic Stability Institute, Volume 20,(3)*

Haider, A (2013) On the Death of Pakistan's Tourism Industry *PAMIR TIMES*

Hashmi, S R ( ) War on Terrorism Impact on Pakistan's Economy. *Daily Times*

Harry, N. (2012) *Understanding Pakistani Culture* Author House

Hasanie, A A (2013) *Democracy in Pakistan Crises, Conflicts and Hope for a Change* AuthorHouse

Haider, E (2014) *National Internal Security Policy and the Road Ahead* Newsweek

Inbar, E , & Sheffer, G (1997) *The National Security of Small States in a Changing World* London Routledge

Haider,I (2006) *Culture and Customs of Pakistan* USA: Greenwood Publishing Group

Jauhari, A (2013) India-Pakistan Relations International Implications *Asian Social Science Vol9, No1*

Javed, M (2000) Pakistan-India Conflict with Special Reference to Kashmir *Journal of South Asian Studies Vol 30, No 1*

Jackson, H R ,& Sorensen, G (2012) *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches* UK OUP Oxford

Jones, L S (1991) *International Security Studies after the Cold War An Agenda for the Future* http //belfercenter hks harvard edu/files/disc_paper_91

Javed, J (2008) The Changing Trends of Security Influence on South Asia *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan Vol 45, No 1*

Javaid, A (2008) Religious Militant Extremism Repercussions for Pakistan *Journal of Political Studies Vol 15, No 2*

Khalid, I (2013) *Pakistan India Conflicts An Application of Crisis Decision Making* Lahore Peace Publications pp103-113

Kak, K (2012) India's Grand Strategy for the 1971 War *CLAWS Journal*

Kay,S (2000) *Globalization, Power and Security* New York SAGE

Kirshner, J (2013) *Globalization and Security* London Routledge

Kazmi, H S (2012) Impact of Militancy on Tourism *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development Vol, 2 No 7*

Khalid, A (2015) Drivers of Radicalism and Extremism in Pakistan *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Pakistan*

Khan, A M (1976) Foreign tourism in Pakistan Economic Research and Statistics Section, Ministry of Culture, Archaeology, Sports and Tourism, Tourism Division Review Part II

Khan, I (2007) *Pakistan's Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy Making A Study of Pakistan's Post 9/11 Afghan Policy Change* Nova Science Publishers

Karim, A (1991) Counter Terrorism, the Pakistan Factor *Lancer Paper, No 2 Volume 2*

Lavoy, R P (ED) (2009) *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia The Causes and Consequences of the Kargil Conflict* New York Cambridge University Press

Li, M (ED) (2009) *Soft Power China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics* UK Lexington Books

Malik, H (E D) (1993) *Dilemmas of National Security and Cooperation in India and Pakistan* New York St Martin's Press PP 164- 173

Mcleod, D (2008) *India and Pakistan Friends, Rivals and Enemies?* England Ashgate Publishing Limited pp 71-74

Mishra,G (1987) *Indo Pakistan Relations From the Tashkent Agreement to the Simla Agreement* New Delhi Ashish Publishing House pp 199- 202

Mangno, N (2007) A Historical and Political Perspective of Kashmir Issue *The Dialogue Volume VII, No 3*

Montgomery, B E ,& Edelman, S E (2015) Rethinking Stability in South Asia India, Pakistan, and the Competition for Escalation Dominance *Journal of Strategic Studies Vol 38, no,2*

Mairaj, H (2015) Threats to National Security of Pakistan An Analysis *Published online, on Sat, Nov 14th, 2015*

Mahmood, S (2007) *Good Governance Reform Agenda in Pakistan Current Challenges* New York Nova Publishers

Malik, H I (2006) *Culture and Customs of Pakistan* London. Greenwood Publishing Group

Maron, S (1957) *Pakistan Society and Culture* Human Relations Area Files

Mazhar, S M , & Goraya, S N, (2013) Foreign Policy of Pakistan Internal Challenges *Journal of Political Studies Vol 20, Issue 2*

Matthew, K (2010) Taking Soft Power Seriously. *Center for Strategic Studies Vol 29 (05)*

Narang, V. (2009) Posturing for Peace Pakistan's Nuclear Postures and South Asian Stability *International Security Vol, 34, No 3*

Nye , S J (2011) *The Future of Power* New York Public Affairs

Non-kinetic Challenges to the State of Pakistan (2012) *Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis (ISSRA)*

Narain, S R (2008) *The Military Factor in Pakistan* New Delhi Lancer Publishers

Naureen, M (2002) Tourism in Pakistan Problems and Prospects *National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University*

National Internal Security Policy· An Analysis (2014) *Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency*

Neumann, B Iver. (1999) *Classical Theories of International Relations* New York Palgrave Macmillan

Nye, S Joseph (1991) *Bound to Lead The Changing Nature of American Power* New York Basic Books

Nye, S J (2011) *Future of Power* USA· Public Affairs

Nye, S J (2002) *Hard and Soft Power in a Global Information Age* UK Foreign Policy Centre

Nye, S J (2004) *Soft Power The Means to Success in World Politics* USA Public Affairs

Nye, S J (2008) *The Powers to Lead* USA Oxford University Press

Paul, V T. (2000) *The Warrior State Pakistan in Contemporary World* USA Oxford University Press

Pardesi, M , & Ganguly, S (2014) The Rise of India and the India-Pakistan Conflict *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science Volume 19, Issue 4, Ver II*

Quinlan, M (2009) *Thinking About Nuclear Weapons Principles, Problems Prospects* Oxford Oxford University Press

Reuter, D , Yoo, J (2013) *Confronting Terror 9/11 and the Future of American National Security* New York Encounter Books.

Romm, J J (1993) Defining National Security The Nonmilitary Aspects New York Council on Foreign Relations

Rehman, S (2013) Pakistan Fighting Terrorism with Tourism *Weekly Pulse*

Rais, B R (2014) Why Pakistan is low on human development *The Express Tribune*

Ramzan, M (2013) Determinants of Defense Expenditures in Pakistan and India An ARDL Bounds Testing Approach *Journal of Social Sciences Vol 33, No 1*

Rahman, H (2014) Pakistan's Soft Power Prospects and limitations *J S Asian Stud 02 (03)*

Romm, J J (1993) *Defining National Security The Nonmilitary Aspects* New York Council on Foreign Relations

Shukla S P (1984) *Indi and Pakistan The Origins of Armed Conflicts* New Delhi Criterion Publications pp 24-30

Siddiqa A (2001) *Pakistan's Arms Procurement and Military Buildup, 1979-1999* London Palgrave Macillan

Saeed, A (1971) *Indo-Pak Clash in Rann of Kutch* Rawalpindi Army Education Press, GHQ

Security According to Buzan A Comprehensive Security Analysis New York Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs

Sheikh, R M (2013). The Determinants of Defense Expenditures in Pakistan and India An ARDL Bounds Testing Approach *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences Vol 33, No 1*

Shahbaz. M (2011) The Impact of Military Spending on Economic Growth: The Case of North Cyprus *Defense and Peace Economics Vol 22, No 5*

Shahbaz, M , Afzal, T , & Shabbir. S M (2013). *Does Defense Spending Impede Economic Growth? Cointegration and Causality Analysis.* UK Routledge Publishers

Sidique,M , Parveen, S , & Ali,A (2011) *Factors Affecting Literacy Rate of Pakistan* LAP Lambert Acad Publ

Sattar, A. (2010) *Pakistan's Foreign Policy,1947-2009 A Concise History* Oxford University Press

Schieder, S ,& Spindler, M (2014) *Theories of International Relations* Canda Routledge

Sayeed, M (2014). Need for a Paradigm Shift in Security Adopting Human Security in Pakistan *IPRI Journal XIV,no2*

Saleem. I (2013, September 17) Need to build soft power *Daily Times*

The Indo-Pakistan Western Boundary (Rann of Kutch) between India and Pakistan (1968) *United Nations Copyright Vol XVII*

Tanvir, T. (2002). *Madrassas and Education in Pakistan Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*

Tzifakis, N (2011) Problematizing Human Security A General/Contextual Conceptual Approach *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies vol 11.(4)*

Weber.C (2013) *International Relations Theory A Critical Introduction* England Taylor & Francis

Wolpert, S (2010) *India and Pakistan Continued Conflict or Cooperation?* University of California Press Pp 37-41

Chakma, B (2012) *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons* UK Routledge Pp 9-11

Yusaf, H (2013, July 02) Large Gaps in Soft Power *Dawn*

Zilovic, M (2009) The concept of political and future of the Copenhagen School of Security Studies *SAGE Journal, Vol 24, No 6*

Zahid, N (2012) Responsibility of Media in Pakistan and Its Role in Perception Building http //webcache googleusercontent com

Interviews

Interview with Rasul Bakhsh Rais, professor of political science at the Lahore University of Management Sciences, on 29th November, 2015

Interview with, Raja Qasir Ahmad, faculty member at the School of Politics and International Relations in Quaid-e- Azam University Islamabad on 7th January 2016

Interview with Ishrat Saleem, Journalist at Voice of America on 5th February 2016.