

**ROLE OF PAKISTANI PRINT MEDIA IN  
RAPPROCHEMENT TOWARDS INDIA (2001-2012):  
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SECURITY CONCERNS**



**PhD Thesis**

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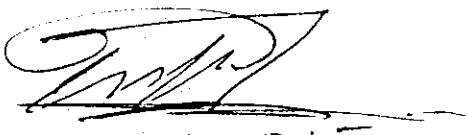
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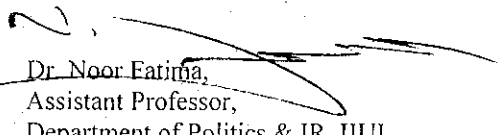
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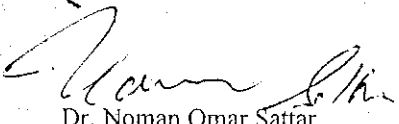
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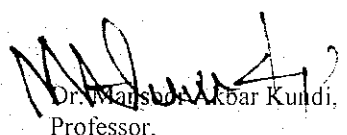
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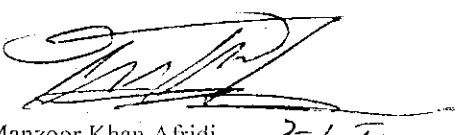
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## ABSTRACT

South Asian Region is unfortunately housing two non blossom neighbors that are carrying traditional hostility since decades. In Indo-Pak realm, their speculative relationships are so deeply engrained that no one takes the risk to take the peace dialogue to some logical end. Indians ecstatic desire to perform the role of *Genderme* (french-Policeman) with a view to dictates its commands and tip-toe her small neighbours, remained a constant source of concern for the security and stability of their countries. India finds Pakistan, the biggest hurdle into its grandiose dream to come into reality. Indian vibrant media is fully portraying its image from regional power to mini super power of the world through powerful propaganda and diplomacy. India never misses any opportunity to harm Pakistan's interests in the bilateral, regional and multi-national forums. Indian chauvinistics especially the BJP lead *Hindutvagawks* are engaged in pursuit of *Kautlya Arthashastra* aggressive, cleverish and treacherous strategies like, "*vijigishu*" (to remain aggressive against neighbouring states), "*Ojha-Teja*" (Mighteousness-Righteousness) and "*Bhratrighaat*" "Fatricide-while smitering smile" to establish *Ramraj*(rule of the Hindu diety) in constitutionally secular India. They are publically threatening Pakistan to undo "*Luxman Rekha* (Red Line), the present Indo-Pak International border and to cross the Line of Control (LOC) and conduct surgical strike inside the Pakistani territory. Instead of thwarting out, Indian aggressive stance in the period under review of the thesis, i.e, 2001-2012, Pakistan's JANG group of newspapers took strange magna opus initiative, urging for rapprochement towards India in the press track history of Pakistan with Urdu-Hindi remix verbiage of "*Aman-ki-Aasha* (Hope for peace)" under the banner of South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA). This novelty of bon hommie with India was presented by JANG Group in the Pakistani print and electronic media like 'Avatar Incarnation' but rest of Pakistani media groups restrained being satirical in sense. It also generatedwoes and security concern in Pakistani savvy think tanks because the core conflictive issues between the two countries are lying un-resolved since creation of Pakistan. Indian preponderance exponents are following the hegemonic policies since introduction of Indra doctrine (also called by themselves as mini Monreo Doctrine in South Asia) since 1983. More-so, Pakistan security concern has been increased in many folds with the introduction of enemy launched Fifth Generations Warfare (5GW). JANG Group orchestrated mediatization of peace under multi-dimensional security threat enviornment bears an important land mark in Indo-Pak context. The synthesis of this JANG group positive symphony with India,the factors behind this peace pacification and their imposters jostling for rapprochement towards India, would unfold many mysteries of media flirt as Peace juggalo with Pakistani nation on the noble name of "*Aman*" (Peace), putting asides the national interests of Pakistan.

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( Irfan Ahmad Tahir)

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ABC	Audit Bureau of Circulation
ABS	Abhinav Bharat Squads (India)
APA	Associated Press of America
APNS	All Pakistan Newspapers Society
APP	Associated Press of Pakistan
BLA	Balochistan Liberation Army
BLF	Balochistan Liberation Front
BJP	Bharti Janata Party
CTD	Counter Terrorism Department
DMC	Dubai Media City
FATA	Federally Administrated Tribal Areas
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
DVS	Durga Vahini Squad
GW	Generarion Warfare
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Authority
ICCPR	International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultral Rights
ICGR	International Crises Group Report
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOR	Indian Ocean Region
ISPR	Inter Services Public Relations
Int'l	International
LEA	Law Enforcement Agencies
LIC	Low Intensity Conflict

LOC	Line Of Control
MDG	Millinium Development Goals
MIND	Movement in India for Nuclear Disarmament
MQM	Mutahidda Qaumi Movement
NFC	National Finance Commission
NGO	Non Government Organisations
NPT	National Press Trust (Pakistan), Non Proliferation Treaty
NSA	Non State Actors
PAPRA	Press and Publications Regulatory Authority
PEMRA	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PFUJ	Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists
PGL	Press Gagging Laws (1860)
PID	Press Information Department (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Pakistan)
POTO	Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance
PPF	Pakistan Press Foundations
PPI	Pakistan Press International
PPO	Press and Publications Orders (1960,1963)
PTM	Pashtun Tahfuz Movement
QPQ	Quid Pro Quo(Task)
RAMBO	Regulatory Authority for Media Broadcasts Organisations
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing (India)
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevac Sangh (National Volunteer Organization, India)
SA	South Asia
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation



SAATH	South Asian Against Terrorism and for Human rights
SAFMA	South Asian Free Media Association
SAGAR	Security And Growth for All the Regions (Indian Ocean)
SSS	Shev Sena Squad ( also known as Shiv Senaksacks of Bal Thackery)
STG	Saffron Terror Groups (India)
TTP	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States of America
VHP	Vishva Hindu Parishad
WW1	World War One
WW2	World War 2

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background/Historical overview of the problem**

South Asia has been considered an erratic, highly volatile and explosive ridden region of the world as it houses two arch rivals, traditional foes and nuclear neighbours i.e, India and Pakistan. Vicissitudes in their relationship occurred due to known factors of historic prejudice, racial hate and continuity of violence. Both India and Pakistan seems to be virtual prisoners of their disgusting past where Hindu and Muslim communities could not sail together and got themselves divided into two separate states. When it comes to redoing/reforging of their relationships, no one sides takes the risk in taking the dialogue process to some logical end. Indian ambitions for regional preponderance and Pakistan's determinantal quid pro quo response for second to none usually creates tense situation like two moose antelers clash over a dispute enmeshed with lock horn tense situation. The macabre syndrome that afflicts relationships between the two, have multifarious differences on multiple ground, starting from ideological to political to religious to unresolved territorial issues. Their continuity of hostility usually starts with sporadic firing at Line of Control (LOC) and at working boundary and culminates in the form of border skirmishes, smaller battles to major wars. Hardliners and inimical forces have been adding fuel and providing ammunition to increase the intensity of the issue and to rigid stance culminating into prolonged tension. Hindu chauvinistic groups like Rashtriya

Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) based Saffron Terror Groups (STG), Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) based Bajrang dal, Abhinav Bhart Squad (ABS) -young male armed squads and Durga Vahini Squad (DVS)- young women armed squad and Bal Thackery,s Shiv Sena Squads (SSS)- popularly known as Shiv Senaks are engaged in lynching down Muslims in India Inside Pakistan, hard liner groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba, Hizbul Majahedeen and Jaish-e-Muhammad urge Pakistani government to take severe counter measures against India. Both suffered with huge casualties and colossal losses in the process of antagonism, jingoism and second to none strategy. After the nuclearization of South Asia (SA), the violent relations are likely to come to the brink of nuclear flash point, thereby; appealing and forcing the peace lovers to build an atmosphere of trust and peaceful co-existence and making the South Asian Region (SAR) free from violence and war. Although India and Pakistan established diplomatic relations right after the creation of their independent states from British held India but violent partition added more trust deficit and enmity. The massacre of innocent and empty handed Muslims community from Hindu and Sikh communal gangsters even cool minded person like Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah felt with full sorrow grief and has to express angrily;

“The systemic massacre of defenseless and innocent people puts to shame, even most heinous atrocities committed by the worst tyrant known to the history. We have been the victims of deeply laid and well planned conspiracy executed against us”. (Afzal, 1948:39)

The injustices in distribution of assets/ resources, with a view to weaken Pakistan defence capability right from the start and Indian coercion occupation of Muslims ruled/ dominating territories further overshadowed the chances of better and cordial relationship between the two neighbouring states. It was great resolute and patience of

Quaid-e-Azam, who despite of these unwanted situations/developments and injustices, urged to have good relations with India being a neighbouring country but India never spared a single chance to harm Pakistan Pakistan's interests since its creation. It would have been better that both parties would had thought and worked out strategies in the best interests of people rather than promotion of State and Security interests.

Although the Freedom of Press remained a popular jargon but it remained questionable and disputed in the press tracked, political history of various democratic and non democratic regimes in Pakistan. In the period under review, 2001-2012, efforts were seen by the Non Government Organizations (NGO) and business groups especially related to Media industry which were endeavouring to lessen the tension and hostile attitude /mind set. Although the two countries are stumbling forward but once again with very conscious approach under the climate of considerable optimism but Non State Actors appeared with more vigour. Due to General Musharraf's media glasnost policies in Pakistan, media emerged as a powerfull and vibrant instrument in the Pakistan's media landscape. JANG group of newspapers magna opus initiative in launching the prima facie scintilating campaign of Aman-ki-Asha (Hope for peace) was a dejavu move for rapprochement towards India without catering for the disputed issues causing the sour relationships with India and Pakistan. This Peace pacifying satirical media campaign on both electronic and print media was widely propagated by the JANG group of newspapers along with Indian newspaper, 'The Times of India' was a strange modus vivendi for rapprochement towards India without considering the national interests and security concern of Pakistan. The researcher considers himself keen in understanding as to why the JANG group of newspapers took this strange and surprising initiative by launching Peace conciliatory campaign for



rapprochement towards India against the ground realities making Indo-Pak sour relationships in the press tracked history of Pakistan.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

In the present geo-political scenario, India's bon hommie with US and Chinese commercial interest in the region, Pakistan, appears to be isolated and its security concern has increased in manifolds. Under such scenario, one finds many perceptions that his long unresolved outstanding issues with India may be over shadowed rather they are ignored because of changing interests of regional power like China or global power like US. In changing paradigm, if a state or state representatives seems to be least interested in settling the issue/dispute, there are other forces which can play their significant role in reducing the tension like media and civil society for persistence of peace in the region. The Peace pushers urge for better State demeanour and much more social acumen to bring the two State nearer but the cavern critics, hawks and traditionalists disregard the efforts as the old issues persist like the past.

Optimistically speaking that, there is no innate reason to carry on hostilities as the whole world is going towards peace and resolving their issues through dialogue and other peaceful means and why can't these two? Unfortunately Indian chauvenistics are committed to see *Ram-Raj* (Hindu Diety rule) since *Swa-Raj*(Independence) but interestingly in the period under review; i.e. 2001-2012, Indian abdicated from traditional hostile mindset and prejudice towards Pakistan and displayed restrained. Meanwhile, JANG Group of Pakistan along with Times of India started la carte campaign on the name of Aman ki Aasha on January1, 2010 on the basis of similar culture and shared lingua franca (Urdu/Hindi and Punjabi) against the very concepts of "Two Nations Theory" and "Separate Muslim Identity from Hindus"

which were the foundations of creation of Pakistan. This pretentious Peace pacification campaign was mind boggling which raised many eyebrows and induced many queries and questions.

### **1.3 Research Methodology**

Qualitative Research Methodology was adopted for the dissertation using primary and secondary means from textual and digital resources. The analysis of the research study was made while utilizing available related books, research articles, newspapers sources, and online data. As the dissertation deals with the Pakistani print media especially with the Jang Group, hence the concerned newspapers were critically analysed urging for rapprochement towards India as well as the campaigns of the Jang Group on the name of 'Aman-ki-Aasha'. Interviews of the key persons of the Jang Group were incorporate as a primary sources in the thesis. Participants observations were critically analysed in the period under review of the study and efforts were made to explore why Jang Group of Pakistan took magnus opus task for persuading people of Pakistan for rapprochement towards India which was never done in the pre-struck history of Pakistan. To illuminate the reality and explore the study and to enrich the carpus of the findings, analysis was made without going into the incessant controversies. To ensure the credibility and dependability of the work, the procedures were practices and irrelevant material with non-coherent meanings were discarded.

## 1.4 Literature Review

Many research scholars and political scientist mostly abroad propounded theories and carried out scholarly discussions which were relevant to the international Peace and promotion of Peaceprocess for economic prosperity and human wellbeing. Although sufficient literature is available in the forms of books, periodicals and newspapers on issues making the Indo-Pak relations fragile and doldrum in South Asian Region. State representative conducted many bilateral talks and their certain de-classified informations on Indo-Pak confronting issues are available in few books of old government official having relevant portfolios. Certain scholars and intellectuals have also discussed the issues in length in their articles but involving the role of media especially the print media in Indo-pak realm urging for peace was scanty. Media interference in the politico cum security domain is surprisingly new experience, hence requires elaborate efforts to collect, collate and synthesise the available material before reaching to some logical conclusion. The researcher is inquisitive to identify and explore new dimension of this Pakistani media modus operandi for rapprochement towards India in the under review period i.e, 2001-2012 narrated in the theme of thesis. Indepth study and critical analysis of the avaible material by the researcher finds certain identifiable areas which, generally are not agreeable as they have recognized gaps, dim lags, murky views and unanswered questions, hence require evaluative review of available and relevant literature;

Ziring (1997) argued in his book, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century-A political history*, that the nation states appeared either from collapsed empire or as a result of spawning popopular revolution. Pakistan from the beginning was void of such expressions. Jinnah created Pakistan but could not transform into Nation State. The

problem for Pakistan appears not to be in their stars but lies in their ill defined presence of Nation State. Pakistani people could not develop themselves as a one Nation, as presently; the vast majority of Pakistanis are gullible congeries of factions, clans and tribes with their manipulations of traditions and customs. The embryonic expressions of this new separate entity were rooted in Islamic values and traditions. The initial wars with India were fought to defend the newly created Islamic state and Islamic ideology.

The author is wrong in his judgment as they were not fought for Islam or Islamic ideology rather it was pure a territorial dispute in which whole Nation fought as one Pakistani Nation to save guard the national interests and territorial boundaries of their motherland.

Stoessinger (2005) asserts in his book, "Why Nations Go to War" that the tension between India and Pakistan is due to deep root animosity and religious differences. He justifies his statement that the elements that produced the three armed conflicts between India and Pakistan constituted veritable witches brew. The most savage religious war in history was neither Christian crusades against Islam nor the "Thirty Years Wars" that pitted Catholic against the Protestants. It was the War of Hindus against Muslims in the 20th century as Muslims believe in one God and His Prophet, where as Hindus worship pantheon of gods. Muslims observe strict silence in their mosques while Hindus play music in their temples. Therefore all the wars were outgrowth of religious conflict between Hindus and Muslims. The author may be correct in his judgments as religion is the prime factor in the daily life of all Muslims and Jihad is ordained on Muslim through their Holy book "Al-Quran" and Jihad is considered as one of the motivational tools to fight against the non believers/pagans (like Hindus).

Nazrul Islam (2007) in his booklet, "Consolidating Asian Democracy" writes that, it is almost impossible for a western scholar to appreciate the Asian Politics especially concerning with the South Asia where western approach is partially useful due to peculiar nature of communal violence. The creation of India and Pakistan was a result of communal violence between Hindu and Muslim communities. The author seems to be biased in his judgments as the then East Pakistan and West Pakistan had same Muslim identity, then why Bangladesh was created. It was created on realization of the fact at later stage that the Bengalis were deprived from their legitimate share in national wealth and in services sector and they thought out that it was in their best interest to live as an independent nation. They made struggle for separate homeland through the moral and physical support of Hindu leadership from India. The eruption of civil war and wrong Media coverage owned by local elite converted into fullfledged war with India in 1971. The press published subversive literature against Pakistani troops and justified Mukti Bahini actions sponsored by RAW and justification of Indian forces landing in East Pakistan. Its newspapers like Morning News, Inqalab and Bengla News projected as saviours to Indian troops in Bengala land. The author never mentioned that both East and West Pakistan jointly fought against India in 1948 and 1965 wars. Even the great hero and combat pilot M.M.Alam of Pakistan Air Force was a Bengali and he refused to repatriate to Benglada Desh after 1971 war. It was the press and the Hindu mindset which planned and executed nefarious campaign against Pakistan.

Morgenthau (2003) in his one of the internationally famous book "Politics among Nations- *the struggle for Power and Peace*" opines that, publicizing the issue through mass media campaign attracts the attention of the global community and gains favorable public opinion. Many burning issues and potential conflicts were

averted/de-escalated because of successful media campaigns and general public support. The author views may be best fit-in and suiting to the civilized world of US and Europe but not in the South Asian scenario. It has its own political dimensions as it houses people belonging to different religions unlike the Christian dominated Europe and US. None of the nation state in Europe was created on the name of religion like Pakistan. In Indo-Pak scenario media supports the religious ethos, moulds the public opinion in favour of certain issues in favour of government viewpoint and motivates the nations in enhancing the fighting spirit. Kashmir issue with India has generated many wars between India and Pakistan but despite of highlighting this core issues on global scale could not avert any war in the past and would remain a flash point for future war between India and Pakistan.

Earle (2003) in his book, "Makers of Modern Strategy" narrates his views that lack of proper strategies and rigid stand of the states invites wars which are completed through the soldiers alone. He appears to be partially correct that soldiers win the war but there are other elements which matter in decision making in broader perspective like statesman, civil society and its vibrant media all pave ways for the successful execution of strategies provided by the national leadership and think tanks. It is the media presentation of their leaders magnificent speeches and statements which pursue the people why their sons and fathers are dying in the far flung battlefields for the noble and sacred national cause. It is the media and media affiliated persons which create likes and dislikes for peace and war. They justify government actions and write / speak in the favor / against the government policies. At times media deceives the public through eloquent propaganda without any testimony to foster psychological and moral ascendancy in the nation.

Beaufre (1974) in his book, "Strategy for Tomorrow" describes that the war potential of a neighbouring hostile country be gauged as a whole some assessment in pure military terms (p.11). The author is obsessed with global power potential thinking as he experienced from contemporary British and American rigid military strategists devoid of social relations. Their followers supported the sovereignty and security of a smaller state like Kuwait as a part of global power politics and Iraq was punished through Gulf war for breaching the security of smaller sovereign state with multiple ulterior motives. However in the Indo-Pak scenario, India remains unchecked by global powers for her aggressions against Pakistan. Solutions of problems, while setting a side, Indo-Pak dialogue based on equal sovereign status appeared as anathema to India and still going through same agony in BJP lead modi regime. Arthshastara (1964), quoted Chanakya Kautilya, also known as Vishnu Gupta (Vishnu-deity protector of Gupta dynasty who at one stage ruled north of Indian sub-continent), an ancient Indian political treatise and royal advisor in 283 B.C. is very clear from following him through Indian perspective that, "The agreement of peace shall be made with equal or superior kings and inferior king shall be attacked" (P.151).

Alison Dagnes (2010) in his book, "Politics and Mass Media" opines that Mass media has a powerful tool in present days as it influences the public opinion and lays foundations of political belief and some times considered as a fourth branch of government in the democratic countries. No doubt the author is correctly advocating the media role in western world where they have settled their political differences and even agreed on one currency in the form of Euro but in South Asian Politics, the two major contenders are yet to agree on their conflictive disputes and public opinion is hardly persuasive where the people suffer daily with casualties through cross border

firing, how Pakistani Media can pave their positive way towards India. The hard liners exploit this phenomena to their political advantage.

Allen & Unwin (2004) in their small booklet, "Mass Media, Politics and Public Life" mirror that although Mass Media, politics and public life are familiar terrain to us but we are not sure about what we receive from media reporting and how to respond in our public life. The authors appear to be very sensitive towards Media reporters where they make complete story from a small gossip for their commercial interests and thus avoid very principles of objective reporting which is really warranting their professional ethics and a genuine concern for those who want to see truthfulness and prefer human interests. National interests be considered supreme than commercial interests by Media house owners and Media persons be conscious of covertly funded programmes by the enemy agencies and anti State elements.

Stewart (2002) in his book, "Bridges: *Not the walls*" describes that intimacy and frequent interaction create better social relations. He appears to be trained and groomed in pure western cultures where same religion dominates and communal violence is recessive as compared to south Asian politics where historically communal violence and mixed religious affinities caused oscillations and reverberations. After the appearance of permanent borders between India and Pakistan, human interaction became subservient to State dignitaries permission and even visit of Holy shrines by the devotees became difficult. Bridged can only be built if justice prevails and peaceful co-existence to continue for a long time.

Smruti (2004) views in her book, "Elite perception in foreign policy: *Role of Print Media in influencing Indo-Pak relations*" that, their relations encompass various types of intricacies. It is elite that never wants cordial relations between the two countries against their people wishful thinking to get closer. Foreign policy is largely



controlled by the elite which construct parameters and print media remains in those encapsulated shells, It only generates hopes and optimism on topsy-turvy path towards peace and development. The author has given a very bold opinion on the intricacies existing in the Indo-Pak doldrum relationship. What stops India to resolve the core and conflictive issues with Pakistan because India itself has created these issues and if she comes towards certain amicable solutions what face their elite are going to show to their masses as they considered it their political suicidal. As for as role of Print media is concerned in bringing the normalizations in Indo-Pak relationship, they have really adopted encapsulated approach, are they not free and fair in their opinion? what stops them in giving candid opinion? Are they safe guarding their personal and commercial interests? Print Media must rethink, reinvigorate with new dynamism to call spade a spade in the best interest of the people of South Asia (SA) for promotion of peace and development in the region.

Michel, Bennet and Jannet (2005) in their latest printed revised edition " Mass Media, Society and Culture, very candidly view that they provide basis for better societal interaction while their Media Organisations are seen as bounded organizational systems with certain degree of enjoying autonomy in the hands of political parties and institutional pressure groups. Media has to get it socialized in this this frame work. The authors apparantly seem to be correct in the prevailing scenario of developed world but in the third world countries the government are strong enough to influence Media, e.g, In India, the Kashmir issues has been hardly highlighted by the Media groups as they donot want to confront with government policies as their advertisement earned money will be stopped by the government, thereby showing more concern towards their commercial concern than their professional ethics. However few individual raise their voices on India government atrocities on

Kashmiri people but their impact on government decision making is hardly enough. Certain elements talk about similarity of culture and ethical values from Indian side to fillfill their personal interests leaving set a side of this fact that the Pakistan was raised on "Two Nations Theory and they have fought three wars as a autonomous nations and their media groups favoured their government policies. Media groups provide only critique on domestic issues and not the issues involving State actions and institutionalized response.

Qayyum and Rizvi (2004) in their book, "Indo-Pak wars and conflicts and the role of Media" view that, the reason of hostility goes dateback to prepartition of British India as both were never able to see each other eye to eye. It was the courtesy of Media which assisted creating better milieu. It was the Print Media especially the Newspapers which provoked war on both sides. Digital media also provided bollywood movies like , Hindustan Ki Qasam, Veer Zara and recent India,s famous documentary movie, Border really depict Indian biased and hostile sentiments towards its neighbours and sufficient enough to show Hindu bias and hostility towards Pakistan. Indian Government and their censorboard need to be asked as to how and by whom consent these venomous material containing material/contents were passed/ released for public consumption. This is the type of sincere attitude which Indian government is possessing towards Pakistan and its people desiring for peace prospects in the region.

Mubarak (2015) in his Urdu book "*Tareekh aur Siasat*" (History and Politics) opines that, Politics of Indo- Pak is based on harassment and coercion. The author had his own judgment about politics of Indo- Pak, he may have suffered seriously from Politicians or from their sponsored men. It is the education which creates awareness into human being. As majority of the political bigwigs especially in Pakistan were not

sufficiently educated, hence remained biased towards imparting education to their subjects. More so enlightenment is necessary for a civilized society, if educated and enlightenment politician will come into the scenario of politics, they will be watchful of moral ethics and serve the masses without their business and any other vested interests. Harassment and coercion techniques are adopted by illiterate people and who believe on their physical capabilities than logic. Press and Media has a substantial check on their follies and corrupt practices and they try to buy the press through hook or by crook. Indian has adopted the same very technique in South Asian politics

Javed Jabbar (2012), a renowned media scholar, staunch think tank and former senator, urges in his article, Indo-Pak relations and the role of Media that, dialogues and diplomatic channels must continue for great interaction and developing a better understanding between India and Pakistan. The author appears to be true that dialogues and diplomatic channels create congenial environment between the two states whereas India and Pakistan played many dialogue innings in the past decades but the core conflictive issues persist as ever before. The dialogue and CBMs only brought temporary phase which was for a limited period. The discerning mindset of big neighbor with knightly virtue approach of preponderance could only create a drama to display without tackling the real issues. Although the ultimate strength of any civilization is to promote and build its culture. Harmonious culture only grows in those civilizations where there is no violence, no contentious issues to remain unresolved and in peaceful co-existence. Living in the same culture, Jinnah created Pakistan and now the BJP lead Hindu xenophobia is proving that Jinnah was right in creating a separate state for the Muslims of India. How certain Media groups and NGOs paid journalists are boasting that the ideology of Two Nations Theory was wrong. In the garb of Peace journalism they are unnecessarily trying to milch the milk from their lip

service and rapprochement towards India as the core conflictive issues making sour Indo-Pak relationships are unresolved. It is known fact that intellectual progenitors invade any civilizations on the name of homogenous societies and culture as it is manifested through Indian congress leaders Ms Sonia Gandhi speech in Amethi (UP) on 20 December 1984 in which “ India has already invaded Pakistan through Cultral invasion”. Antiquarian optimism for perennial peace is good enough but pacific inclination towards India on the name of similar culture is tantamount to appeasing hostile neighbor for nothing.

### **1.5 Significance of the Research Study**

Communications in the shape of audio and printed material have been historically employed as an instrument of propaganda in military campaigns and as an art for conveying necessary informations/ messages for public consumption. Communication through print material are a cheaper medium and is considered prestigious than others forms of media being more reliable, credible and long lasting. Etymology of the word “Media” is derived from English word “ Medium” which means carrier or mode to convey information. Later on, the term was first used with the Press and extensively with the advent of newspapers and magazines. However, with the passage of time, the term broadened by the inventions of radio, TV, cinemas and arrival of Communication and Information Technology (C&IT). Therefore; Media was broadly classified into Electronic/Digital and Print Media. It is because of accessibility of Media that the reader or viewer while sitting into his drawing room know what is going on around the globe. The media has a strong social and cultural impact upon society. Because of its inherent ability to reach large number of public, it is widely used from elite to the all segments of civil society. It is the media which keeps the

people updated and informed about what is happening around them and in the world. Everyone can gain and draw lessons or something of own interests from it. Today, in this ultra modern world, the role of media and particularly of print media is being augmenting day by day. It has been serving as a vigilant watchdog for government policies to departmental performance and to the corruption tales. Because of the growing population and developing lifestyle, the demand for more entertainment is increasing. Every year billion of dollars is traded in entertainment industry. Examples of Hollywood and Bollywood can be quoted in this regard. Media men cover all aspects of our interest like weather, politics, war, health, finance, science, fashion and music, etc. People can listen, watch and read latest news whenever and wherever they want. Media plays a great role in bringing common man close to their leaders and vice versa. The media focuses in bringing details of all major political situations, decisions and election coverages etc. The political leaders appear on the Media, explain their view point on certain issue, try to persuade the public and even get results through various survey conducted by independent groups. Hence people can better understand their rights and make better decisions. Because of the power of media is so extensive and huge, it can be used to educate people with very little cost. Imagine a classroom in every city with thousands of students being taught by just one teacher. But unfortunately, because of money-making approach of media and lack of interest by government, very less work is done in spreading the education. Various authorities and agencies utilize the power of media to spread informative messages to public. This may include warning against a storm or epidemic, delay in arrival or departure of flights and trains, etc. In some cases, it is legally binding to publish notices in newspaper like tenders, change of property ownership, etc. Freedom of expression is not only the core of a healthy media but also a fundamental human right and vital for

a democratic structure. It stands for freedom of speech, the right to information and the representation of different opinions in a heterogeneous society.

Independent Media on one hand can provide a platform for debate on issues in questions with the divergent opinions while on the other hand, it can be misused to be utilized as a propaganda tool and diversionary purposes, to incite hatred and spread rumours and therefore artificially create chaos, confusion, consternation and even tensions on target people. In case of a crisis or a conflict, the media can attract worldwide attention. Since most armed conflicts these days have governmental and not territorial reasons; the parties are often concerned with making sure that the majority of people are on "their" side, which bears a lot of potential for misrepresenting facts and trying to seize control over the resources and for political heresay and to ensure their hegemonic policies over smaller states e.g, Media has done nothing in crises management in Saudia Arab and Yeman crises, Syrian or Iraqi crises except to serve the interests of their Media house masters and powers behind the scene. For this very reason the intervention of unbiased and free media is important not only for the world public but also for the people which are directly affected by the crises. The number of conflicts, however, that gets global attention is small; therefore local media is vital in this context. Local media usually have a deeper understanding of the existing political structures, the participants of the conflict as well as the changes preceding the outbreak of violence. The media can therefore not only influence society but gains favour of a public on required basis and apprise feedback. The media has the power to enhance or to defuse tensions and also act as an eye opener for the governments, opposition and society. It has also the onus to provide suggested measures to resolve the issues by highlighting commonalities and positive aspects, thereby; dumping the burning issue with sand or dust.

Main stream media is guided in its spectacular coverage of events by values like sensalization, dramatization, thrill and action. The same characteristics are provided while covering the violence and war. It is the media power which present it as evil or produced it as good. Johan Galtung, the pioneer of Peace journalism guides for conflict management that during the conflict coverage, Media to adopt low road ebb discourse to reduce the intensity for easily going for conflict resolution. In Indo-pak context, Media usually followed the government towed in official line and always supported the nationalistic cause and national interests like covering the Indo-Pak war and latest during the Kargil crisis of 1999. In the period under review of the study, i.e, 2001- 2012, due to government liberal policies media became more vibrant in both electronic and print media track history of Pakistan. Print media involvement in security related issues between India and Pakistanis and some Media affiliated persons buttereses approach towards India is novice, astonishing and mind boggling. It seeks special attentions from politico-military analyst to synthesise the issue and to recommend viable measures utilizing the positive approaches for the peaceful coexistence in the region. The regional and global dynamics is gradually compelling both the arch rival states to budge away from their traditional woeful stance. In India and Pakistan, both sides of the peace lovers and peace pushers desire that these conflictive parties move forward towards peace and solve the imbroglio of hostility and tension but they usually receive bashing in India from BJP as they kept on trying to create atmosphere of hostility and anti Pakistan hysteria created by Saffron Terror Groups(STG). Indian liberal think tanks and well wisher of peace process like I.K.Gujral, Manishanker, Lalu Prasad Yadav, Gulzar, Kulkarni, Paraful Bidwai and Mahesh Bhatt, had to face severe criticism from Indian hardliners. Similarly in Pakistan Islamists and fanatics group leaders like Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Iyas

Kashmiri, Hafiz Saeed and Maulana Zakiurrehman Lakhvi always tried and criticized to derail the process of better relationships of Pakistan with India. Therefore dead lock persists in the process of peace and status quo continues as vital issues are usually ignored in the bilateral talks.

In purview of theme of the thesis, the period under review, has been selected from 2001-2012 to get sample of both non democratic regime of General Parvez Musharraf and democratic regime of Zardari-Gilani, in which Pakistani print Media made involvement in Rapprochement towards India without considering the pros and cons of Safety and Security concerns of Pakistan. The researcher finds it a unique topic of its kind, being less work is available on selected topic especially involving the Media efforts in bringing the peace between two arch rivals. Besides this, the research work will assist in determining the real causes of tension and other conflicting issues making their relationships hostile. Among the others multifaceted factors, I have selected this research topic for imparting my contribution for certain reasons, enlisted below;

1. The process of peace between India and Pakistaan would remain insurmountable barrier and level of threat to loom forever on the heads of its inhabitants.
2. Most of the studies conducted by the researchers are either based on bringing Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) between India and Pakistan or core issues settlements like Kashmir issues, Sir Creek issue, Siachin issue, River water stoppage/distribution issues etc but less work is available in involving Media for rapprochement with India. The topic selected for the thesis will be an academic contribution for avid researches and for the defence analysts keen in Indo-Pak peace context.



## **1.6 Objectives of the Research Study**

The research study provides new dimensions and intends to explore non-conspicuous aspects with following major objectives in mind,

1. To examine the nature of Indo-Pak conflictive relationships and judge peace promotion prospects in the region.
2. To inquire as to why the Pakistani JANG group of newspapers and other imposters for peace launched déjà vu media campaign under the banner of South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA) for rapprochement towards India in the period 2001-2012 while other Pakistani media groups restrained.
3. To assess the impact of media campaign of “Aman-ki-Aasha” on Pakistani government, civil society and defence quarters in the settlement of issues and rapprochement process towards India.
4. To explore the security concerns of Pakistan from Indian in-ordinate ambitions and their peace imposters under Hybrid Warfare especially from the new dimensions of enemy obscurely launched 5GW ?

## **1.7 Research Questions**

1. Why gospel choir of Peace mantra and good neighbor-hood by those Indian quarters who have not accepted the creation of Pakistan from the heart and breach blocked the sovereignty and security of Pakistan many a times? Under such hostile and conflictive environment, chances of Peace between Indo-Pak belligerent states exist?
2. Why only JANG group of newspapers of Pakistan collaborated with Indian group of newspapers, “The Times of India” under the banner of South Asian Free

Media Association (SAFMA) for launching conciliatory campaign on Urdu Hindi mix verbiage of “Aman- ki- Aasha” (Hope for Peace) while rest of the Pakistani print Media groups either adopted boycott or showed restrained ? Whether JANG group of Pakistan magna opus venture was for the promotion of peace or part of enemy covertly launched Fifth Generation Warfare (5GW)?

3 Whether JANG group peace campaign Aman ki Aasha attained its objectives? What impact this conciliatory campaign had in softening up the prevailing tense situation between India and Pakistan?

4. What are Pakistan.s Security concern from Peace Pacifist and Peace Imposters embedded with SAFMA clientele, inimically operated under 5GW?

## **1.8 Research Design And Theoretical Framework**

IR scholars focused themselves on the concepts of power, balance of power and national interests in support to their views. Although the traditional international theories and thinking remained focused towards State interests but at later stage there was a little attempt to consider the relationship of state and society. Neo Realists like and Kenneth Waltz and Robert Gillpin asserted in expressing different configurations of State/Society complexes and role of other non state actors in the realm of state affairs incorporating human welfare through rapprochement for existing of prolonged Peace process in the region. Neo Realists like Kenneth N. Waltz(1986) criticizing Morgenthau says, “Morgenthau conceptual definition of power was murky, since he failed to distinguish between power as a source (based upon tangible as well as intangible assets) and power as the ability to influence other’s behavior, since it is only a tautology and will earn nothing except an activity without any outcome, since human nature is not constant as to why the warfare should be constant” (p.98).

Similarly according to Gillpin (1996), “ the classical realists limited themselves to the domain of power and power relations. As a result, their explanations are naïve with respect to economic, social and human development relations” (p.13). It is closer to Ashley (1981) famous problems solving theory in which he encourage for dialectical shift from state to statesman involving the “Human Interests” (p.255). Media attempt in improving the social realations in the Indo-Pak realm is inline with global and regional paradigms where the civilized world has settle down their bilateral and regionaldisputes through peaceful and avoid the hard means like battles and war. The 21<sup>st</sup> century will remain elusive if the essential conditions for maintenance of Peace and Stability in the region, are not fulfilled. Although no headway on any issue can be achieved in jingoistic and hostile environment. Non State actors like civil society and media can be effective in providing temporarily ease and sigh of relief in the tense environment. This is closer to media based “ limited affects theory” which urges close interaction of media with the public for peaceful aggrandizement in the region.

In the theoretical framework, exploratory type along with qualitative methods were adopted with focus on three analytical aspectsof the research study i.e, prospects of peace in Indo-Pak fragile relationships, Pakistani media especially the print media rapprochement for peace towards India in the years 2001 to 2012 and Security concern of Pakistan from this media knitted, sui generis peace continuum matrix in Indo-Pak context under on going Fifth Generations of Warfare (5GW).

Qualitative Research Methodology has been adopted including the invIEWS of the key persons related to the print media in Pakistan. Data collection has been made using both primary and secondary means from textual and digital resources to carry out in depth analysis of the research study. Participants and non participants observations were critically analysed in the period under review of the study. Canded efforts are

made to explore why JANG Group of Pakistan took magnus opus task to pursued the Pakistani people for approachment towards India which was never done by any media group in the pretrack history of Pakkistan. To illuminate the reality and expore the facts efforts are generated to enrich the carpus of the findings without going into incessant biasedness and un-pleasant controversies. To ensure the credibility and dependability of the work, checking and re-checking procedures were practiced and irrelevant material with descriptive contents were discarded.

Game theory dealing with the model of conflict and cooperation in its application to IR explaining the behavior and interaction of States has been incorporated to understand the relationship between India and Pakistan. For better assimilation, the model has to be described the in literary sense, which is literarly defined as, "Game theory is a way of modelling complex phenomena in simple, mathematical ways, showing gains and losses in the form of points."It is used in mostly in the fields of Political science, psychology, sociology, economics, and international relations. Being a student of International Relations, the Researcher found this model to test in Indo-Pak context. This model was modied by Synder and Diesing in 1977 who developed from famous IR theory of Balance of Power presented by Thomas Shelling in 1960. The research design is kept constant in the hard core of Realism. Extraneous factor of media has been tested and its impact in bringing Reapproachment process between India and Pakistan was focussed in the process. Realists' main domain i.e, States were taken as main actors while print media interference in the political issue which used to be pure Realists approach was meticulously observed, critically analysed with a view to predict logical outcome. Certain academic typologies were also made use of to reach the conclusion whether the print media effort possesses pertinancy or leading towards indeterminacy. Can hope for peace by print or

electronic Media bring any effect on State politics or lessen the Security Dilemma of a smaller neighbouring state or of a nation? Liberals or exponents of Wilsonian Idealism cite the example of Canadian-US relationships which are virtually cordial since sixties and find free from irritations,coercions and violence.But at the same time they forget that they have neither have any traditional hostility in their mindset nor have any ideological differences, while Indo-Pak have both core and peripheral issues unresolved/unsettled. In South Asian politics in the realm of Indo-Pak, the irony of fate is that the issues are known,identified, bilateral talks remain being conducted with certain pauses on but with fake friendship rather with parsimony, they resort to snapshots, Mediaphoto sessions and thenwithdrawal with the hope for next talks. This process is going on since sixty years while the core issues are present as they were in the period of their predecessors. In such a fragile environment, Media chorus of Peace and presenting friendly larger state behavior is quite astonishing and urging from a smaller state for “complemancy” on the name of Peace is totally disgusting, rather morally unacceptable. Media is trying to interven into state politics, projecting itself custodian of wilsonsian traditions or pretending to become a modern Michiavelli is tatamount to satirical imitation of heroic verses and mockery of mis-adventurism. Morgenthau (2003) views while depicting the Realists perspective, it is dangerous thing to be a Michiavelli. It is disastrous thing to be a Michiavelli with *virtu* (p.57). It is quite difficult to interpret issues and finds linkages among issues if one does not possesses sufficient knowledge and requisite qualifications.Talking about Peace is very easy process but maintaining peace on the face of big enemies and aggressive neighbour is quite difficult. In the Realists views, non of the powerful state accepts the desire of a smaller state to survive according to its own wishful thinking rather it tries to coerce or use threat to dire consequences in case of Non compliance to its desires

or dictates. Smaller States resort to Self-help or Co-operation arrangements in the form of Alliances or Pacts for its Security and Sovereignty. For Realists the fundamental cause of war is the uneven growth of Power which Pakistan's neighbour India is gaining day by day. Why Media is involving into the Realists domain of State and State Politics, what are its interests and intentions? That's mind twisting drill creates curiosity and inquisitiveness for staunch political analyst avid researcher of International Relations (IR).

The study is to be analysed under the existing theories about the role of media in the existing geo-political scenario of the world ;

### **1. Limited-Affects Theory**

The exponent of this theory was D.A. Schuefele who developed in 1950 which argues that because people generally choose what to watch or what to read based on what they already believe, media exerts a negligible influence. It explains that communications make limited sensory experience to its readers and viewers. Their effect on them is limited in existence as the contents are short lived in nature, hence the overall impact is time specific and trivial in nature. The range of its affects are limited in time and space. The impacts are usually short in time frame like excitement in human behavior like listening to the good news. The impact of the such news are dramatic, sensational and not the long lasting. Its judgement / assessment to be assessed has temporary which is liable to human cognitive mode; therefore the impact on the individual / society are weird one.

Media exponents hold that media practitioners have thrived well in their conflict management role in the region under review whereas media critics argue that media practitioners played dysfunctional role in the aforementioned conflict. Thus, blowing

mere misunderstanding and misconception of issues from the warring parties into a full blown violent conflict that hampers societal development which would have been nipped in the bud if mass media were alive to their social responsibility role to the society. Media cynics argue further that media inflammatory reports made in South Asian region a hotbed of crisis for personal aggrandizement of media bigwigs and entrepreneurs at the expense of societal development before the emergence of the amnesty to the ex-militants. Hence, instigating cultists and ex-militants in the region against federal government and corporate bodies without a dialogue. Consequently, the cynicisms against media role in pre amnesty era in the region has given rise and stimulus to this paper. Therefore, this paper holds valid recommendations with vitality to impel a paradigm shift from media industry in conflict management to rapproachment in Indo-Pak context.

## **2. Culturalist Theory**

The culturalist theory was developed in the 1988 by Eckstein, which combines the previous literary cultural studies theories and describes that people interact with media to create their own meanings out of the images and messages they receive. People make their own arrangements and create reasons to hold good for themselves. Their frequent exchange of cultures and frequent visits/ interactions bring cultural change. It propounds that trans-cultural interactions paves way for better harmony among the individual / people and eventually to the states.

The theory explains that different individuals have different capacities to receive and to exhibit according to their age groups and intellectual level of thinking and expressing viewpoints. Since Printed material is more authentic, educated elite more rely on it in making opinion formation while the lay man express what they watch

without analyzing the theme behind it, hence they become easy target to propaganda campaign of media. They easily adopt the vivid culture being displayed to them. Media in Pakistan like other parts of the developed world was not enjoying the vibrant status in Pakistan. Print Media being the only available medium to the reader was not accessible to the masses due to poor economic conditions and very low literacy rates especially in the western portion of Pakistan. Media got special attention in the liberal policies of president general Musharraf Period where it started serving its primary objectives of general awareness to the public, entertainment and advertisement. Government free hand policies provided opportunities to the Media persons to work and write in more independently and in bold way and in proactive approach. Media adventure especially by the JANG group of Newspapers on the name of peace and similar culture is to be analysed using the above theoretical approaches.

Coming over to the role of Media in Indo-Pak rapprochement, the political scientists, strategists and Media analyst presented many research theories and approaches to discuss the various issues in this quest but academically speaking, there are “Three Approaches” which can be applied in bringing détente between India and Pakistan. One is from the “Top- Down Approach” or Dictatorial Approach where the top level decisions are mounted on the public like Ex President of Pakistan, General Parvez Musharraf decision to join US camp in the Global War on Terror (GWOT). The second one is “Bottom-Up Approach” or Democratic Approach like Turkish government passed resolution in their national assembly and got it approved before joining US camp in GWOT. The third one is, the “Flanking Approach” or Regional Approach where some regional power like China, may force the belligerent groups to settle the issue. Neither approach can work independently in the present circumstance and social forces like Not State Actors and Media, has to be mobilized for enduring



peace. Neo-realists approach using Ashley “problem solving theory” in which he suggests, “dialectical shift from state to statesmanship” and Synder- Diesney “game theory model” has been incorporated to understand the issue in question and to explore the certain facts leading towards some logical conclusion.

In subcontinent, Hindu and Muslims communities, despite of living of thousand of years together, could not sail on one boat to achieve common goal and engaged in communal violence and bloodshed in historical contexts. Their fusion of personal, group/communal boudage ramined weak. Their cultural heritage was separate, their dress code, their life style remained separate. Although they lived together in same country but with endless differences and multiple diversities. Muslim’s leadership like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Muhammad Ali Jinnah were having the staunch motives to live together in their early period of socio-political life but sooner they realized that both should live under separate identity and the idea of Two Nations Theory was expounded which later become the force to achieve the separate home land for the Muslims of India in Subcontinent in the shape of Pakistan. Ironically to say, after the passing of more than 6 decades JANG Group of Pakistan engaged its self for rapprochement with India to Pakistani nations on the name of similar culture and Lingua Franca against the very concept of basis which were made by the Pakistan movement to achieve separate home land. The canners of debates and critiques were opened up among intlelectuals and keen researchers as to why there was a need to discuss objectionable material which is against the very concept of creation of Pakistan and violation of the constitution of Pakistan. Cultural folks incorporating dance, drama and music may be part of Hinduism but conitradictory to Islamic teachings. Although social and cultural values, belief, attitude, market assertions, do affect in individual life but amalgamation of Hindu cultutre with Islamic Society is a

difficult proportion . Such concepts of similary culture are difficult to survive in a Muslim society. Pakistani state being an Islamic Republic of Pakistan puts bars through Article 19 of 1973 constitution on its inhabitants to live a adhere the life in specified parameters. Therefore theories like culturist theory, advocating for hybrid culture to bring desired change or very difficult in a traditional and religious knitted society existing in Pakistan.

### **Application of Game Theory in Indo-Pak context.**

The Game Theory was developed during the tense period of cold war between USA & former USSR. The cold war panorama was full of escalations, de-escalations and the media palyed a significant in the crises management. Politics and International Relation Scholars like Morgenthau (2003) were convienced that publicizing the issue mass media compaign attracts the atten of the global community and gains public favourable opinion. Many burning issues and potential conflicts were averted/de-escalated because of media successful compaigns and positive public support. The Game Theory was modified by Synder and Diesing in 1977 from International Relations famous theory, "Balance of Power". Since they were the supports Journalists they awarded the name of their modified model "Game Theory Model",after seeing the result from various sports events. There is a lot of variety of games which we play in our daily life knowing or unknowingly without caring for the outcome or conclusions. Some games are based on chance like snakes and ladder while others rely on strategy like the game of chess. However, there are games which include both chess and chance adopted by the researcher that attempts to model the Non State Actors to play their role like a good players in the level field provided by confronting states for better human interaction and sustainable developments. The

underlying assumption is that Non State Actors are rational actors who try and maximize their benefits in any situation. Therefore; Game theory is a way of modeling complex phenomena in a simple, mathematical ways showing gains and losses in the form of gains or point scoring and weighing through 2-2 payoff matrix by accounting for a third party as envisaged by the Nash equilibrium for best outcome. Media involvement from the corporate world as a Non State Actor in Indo-Pak arena has been incorporated, assessed to understand its dejuv initiative through unilaterally launching of media campaign between the confronting states of India and Pakistan. The outcome of either side contestants strategy in adopting negotiation in terms of goal was considered as standard game of 2 pts vs 2 pts zero-sum game and third party i.e, media being a Non State Actor from corporate sector gaining maximum from the situation. Neo-Realist like Thomas Schelling and Sydney Sheldon introduction of “ Game theory Model” in 1962 was firstly tested between the two global arch rivals of USA and USSR during the Cold War. In the aftermath of Cuban missile crises, when both came to the brink of nuclear war before USSR backed out, game theory was used to understand brinkmanship, escalation, crisis management, de-escalation and rapprochement for peace. Similarly, India and Pakistan fought many wars also observed era of détente, limited cooperation and also observed cold peace during many escalating and violent situations. Media attempt to supplement Peace against the traditional hostile environment. With the mushrooming growth of privately owned media outlets in India and Pakistan during the period of 2001 to 2012, lust for maximization of gains like capital maximization became the ultimate objectives of media entrepreneurs. India and Pakistan adopted strategies to choose for negotiations or not. Both India and Pakistan sides strategies be modeled as Prisoners Dilemma games, where the individual has to choose between self interests and mutual

interests e.g, if side A pursue its interests, outcome is worse than if both A and B had cooperated for mutual interests. If A and B both stay silent and donot confess – would get the two suspects a total prison sentence of two years. Therefore it is the Game theory rationale in the best interests of each sides/ individuals if they cooperate in the game. Coming over to Indo-pak realm if one sides foe cooperate the second sides foe betrays and if second foe sides betrays the first sides foe cooperates in the next round. Although this turns out to be a winning tactics but in terms of cost benifits analysis appears to be overall a zero sum game. If India prefers the choice of negotiation, she will be either benifited from this course of action. Similarly, if Pakistan prefers the strategy of negotiation he will be either benifitted or not. This stalemate effect neither side is ready in taking the risk as nothing will pay back to them and wholesome result will be zero. If Pakistan launched Chhamb-Akhnur offensives in 1965 war, India opened the Lahore front and so on. This aspect is closer to tit for tat strategy but not involving the third party course of action. Similarly, India mobilized its forces during Brasstack in 1986/87 for more than three months and military stand off in 2002 for more than ten months. Both countries were in a situation of rising tensions and fear of nuclear war raised on their head. Due to resolute of Pakistani leadership and effective counter measures by the Pakistan armed forces, Indian think tanks realized during the cost-benefits analysis that it will not pay back, hence decided to give up. Their media also generated campaign to reflect the horrors of war for the betterment of humanity and human developments in india and Pakistan. Operation Parakaram of India has a strong counter response from Pakistan in the shape of Maark-e-Baqa and over all impact was a nuclear stalemate in the South Asian Region. The insight of such game is that whenever threat emanates and situation escalates, its escape routes are also available to de-escalate. Both sides

consider the likelihood of strategies, perceptions and probabilities that opponents will adopt and react according to their capabilities, limitations and whether the phenomena will payoff any worthwhile gain? The “Game Theory” model fairly fits in the the context of Indo-Pak spectrum where balance of power and tit for tat strategies by the two actors culminating into skirmishes, conflicts and Détente in the relationships remain a common phenomena and their contentious issues are lying in the same old basket of hostility and mistrust. If the larger state shows the prejudice how it is possible that smaller state would show openness and submissive behavior and wholesome gain through peaceful negotiation will be zero. Media being the third party from corporate sector propagating for peace and reapproachment towards India has only commercial ventures for earning maximum gains in the period under study i.e, 2001-2012.

### **1.9 Limitations of the Study**

Although dedicated efforts were made to compile the material, verify the authenticity and testify on the available theoretical models in social sciences especially in the discipline of International Relations. Having access to certain documents like Indus Basin Treaty, Simla agreement held between Indian and Pakistan and others Memorandum Of Understanding (MOU) made during Agra summit, Ufa declarations etc could not be made available being State classified documents in nature and treated as a State Secret in classification of documents. Similary interview of the JANG group key position holders was taken but its exective, Mir Khalilur Rehman was missed as the individual has run away from Pakistan to UAE being wanted by the Police and Courts of Law in Pakistan. My study was primarily focused to see the impact of Media especially the print media on Pakistani public and influence of print

media through rapprochement process towards India in the period under review i.e, 2002-2012. The findings of my study were restricted/ limited to certain aspects as I deliberately avoided certain classified matters being unauthorized to me as classified material and secrets in nature.

### **1.10 Organization of the study**

The structural approach making the road map of the research study in the dissertation has been illustrated in an inter disciplinary manner with essential contents embodied in coherent way like sign posts. The organizations of the study is as following:

**Chapter 1 – Introduction.** In the first chapter, background of the study is given along with problem statement and literature review. Research questions and theoretical framework are also part of the chapter.

**Chapter 2 – Indo-Pak Kerfuffle – The Womb of Hostility Hatching.** This chapter describes the causes of Indo-Pak enduring rivalry, Hindu hate and hiatus towards Muslims and identity issues were the main factors of division of British India in 1947. Retrospect of Hindu leadership hostility towards Muslim, state of Pakistan to weaken it from the early stage like Junagarh case, Kashmir issue and Muslim massacre in Jammu-Akhnoor were highlighted in the chapter as a test case.

**Chapter 3 – Indian Odyssey from Idealism to Realism with Regional Preponderance - a Constant Source of Concern for the security of Pakistan.** India transitional shift from Idealism (Mahatma Gandhi idiosyncratic odessey) to Realism path (Indira Gandhi's contentious rule) was clear drift seen in the regional to international politics. India trekked history from Non Violence propagation to Non Aligned Movement policy and after war with Pakistan in 1971, Indira's ambitions for regional hegemon in South Asia was a constant concern to its neighbours especially

with Pakistan. It created an instability and offset the regional imbalance and Pakistan counter response for survival and security, generated arms race in the region.

**Chapter 4 – Media Jettison Free Period in General Musharaf Non Democratic (2001-2008) and Zardari Gilani Democratic Regime (2008-2012) and Jang Group of Pakistan Campaign for Rapprochement Towards India.** During the era of General Musharaf media and communication industry highly flourished. Liberal media policies during Zardari-Gilani Democratic era further expended it. Jang Group of Pakistan carried out media campaign for rapprochement towards India. A wacky slogan ‘Amman-ki-Aasha’ was chanted to remove the enmity of two traditional rivals; India and Pakistan apparently. .

**Chapter 5 - Fifth Generations Warfare (5GW) – The New Dimentions Of Enemies Launched Hybrid Warfare And Security Concerns Of Pakistan.** This chapter offer the latest concept of generatons of warfare where battles are not fought with jets and tanks while communication information technology are used to defeat (or weaken) the enemy. In this chapter certain technical / tactical aspects are discussed that how India used the term peace to accomplish its filthy / nefarious designs against Pakistan.

**Chapter 6 – Pakistan Security Concerns and Response to the Challenges Posed by India.** In this chapter Pakistan Security Concerns and its different dimention are defined in detail. Further mofe Pakistan’s Nuclear deterrence and its impacts on the peace and stability of the region are discussed. Water terrorism unleast the India threat the food security are also highlighted. Indian wicked attempt to declare Pakistan terrorism harbouring state and Pakistan efforts in generating peace and stability in region are appreciated.

## OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

**1. Fifth Generation Warfare (5GW).** It is the new dimensions of enemies launched warfare in the conceptus of Generations of Warfare. It is based on mass communication and information technology and hitting the ideological objectives with major focus on human being as direct target. Dexterous use of modern gadgets and computer technology for disrupted and destructive purposes. It is operated in all the physical domain (Land, Sea, Air, Space), Non Physical domain (Ideological, Social and Physiological), Virtual (Cybernetics, Elctromagnatic Spectrum) and Human (Cognitive & Enigmatic).

**2. Hybrid Warfare:** This type of Warfare made through dissemination of the fake news, fake websites imitative themes, fabricated imageries, concocted stories and through planted media agents (Propaganda experts, Imposters / lurking lies experts).

**3. Security:** The word has been amply used in military and non-military purposes. It has diverse dimension from mental satisfaction to physical protection. It is the ability to provide care free environment by giving the sense of freedom / independence from various odds / dangers to individuals, organizations, society / states.

**4. S3 Corroborative typologies:** They may be differentiated as:

- Secrecy – of the intentions, hidden aims, secret plans and classified data etc. it contains the elements of confidentiality, privacy and non-physical segement etc.
- Safety – of the human beings from potent threats e.g., X rays, Fire and diseases. Keeping of oneself free from harms/risks/dangers e.g. usage of warning signs to keep the individuals vigilant like inflammable road safety signs, high electric power signs etc.



- Safe guards- of the physical infrastructures e.g., valuables, buildings etc. use of physical measures/appliances like keeping sentries, modern gadgets/appliances like CCTV, scanners, smoke detectors, lighting system, barbed wire, barriers and putting alarms against theft/robbery to provide warning and response time.

**5. Security Paradoxes:** The classical / Realists lore of IR focus the State as fundamental aspects while State Security is of Supreme importance, believing that adversary possession military means and capabilities as a direct threat to own state survival and Sovereignty. The modern school of thought focus on Human Security than state security and see the adversary potential beyond military means e.g Fifth Generation Warfare (5GW).

**6. Brain Computer Interface (BCI):** The latest technique used in the modern warfare to control the brain functions through Neurological control of human beings while dictating own commands to convert them into physical actions like Robotics. Signals are given from a device to the brain to perform external activity as desired by the initiators just like putting a finger on a mouse for some inimical commands to convert to muscular actions.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **INDO-PAK KERFUFFLE- THE WOMB OF HOSTILITY HATCHING**

#### **2.1 Hindu dharma obsessional and successive mindset of *kirtayuga* of mahabharat**

The savvy people propagate the old maxims saying that, “Bury the old hatches” and “Forget about the past” but such maxims appear as politically motivated obsessions which remain short lived and culminate with the end of their objectives. In real scenario, the contentious issues have deep roots of hostility and buried past events appear sooner or later, though in modified forms of hiatus or in proxy nature. In the sub-continent spectrum, history reveals that although both Muslims and Hindus lived together for centuries but they could not fully absorb themselves as one nation owing to different social, cultural, religious and ideological belief and practices. Hindus historical journey from Brahmin (superior caste base in Hindu social order) to Brahman (enjoying the myth of absolute entity and ultimate reality in religion and political philosophy) to Brahmanic (related to the Indo-Aryan Brahman rule over Akhand Bharat) since Ashoka Brahmanic imperial rule since 268B.C.E. to 232 B.C.E and considered them as *Hindus Dharma Kirta Yuga* (Hindus religion golden period of {Ram Raj}). Foreign invaders like Darius, Alexander, Turko-Afghan Muslims and British ruled. At the time of withdrawal of Britishers from India, Hindu majority dreamed for once again rule over “*Hindu Asthan- Hindustan*” and wanted that centuries old fog of their miseries and disappointments during Muslims and British era be dispelled by the fan of independence so that they should start revival of their *Kirta Yuga* after British withdrawal from India. Gandhi (1946) expressed his and his

will not accept the division of sub-continent by heart and since then; they are in effort of "Undo Pakistan". Nirad (1967) discloses Nehruvian designs that following the independence, India's predatory aggressions in Kashmir, Junagarh and Hyderabad were all logical consequence to weaken Pakistan and finally undoing it. For that Indian intended to invade Pakistan twice or thrice but were deterred only by British and American remonstrances.

Indian BJP leaders biased attitude, pugnacious statements and Media venom spitting towards Pakistan are further spoiling the peace prospects in the region. Indian agency RAW is supporting the Balochistan separatists groups and subvertive elements in Karachi with a view to destabilize Pakistan. Indian Media is engaged in portraying Pakistan as a terrorist state in the eyes of the world and through giving away the negative image to foreign investors as unsafe place for their investment, thereby enhancing the economic problems of Pakistan. Belying and disdain tactics not only mirror the biased mindset but breed more hatredness and disappointment for rapprochement process for peace and stability in the region. Although some propinquity was observed in Mughal era through the introduction of Din-e-Elahi in sub-continent but Hindus community writers biased approached and prejudice mindset and their reflection of prognosis and non bon hommie of relationships between Hindu and Muslim communities can be conveniently gaudged through their pen pricks, "The Mohammedan conquest of India is probably the bloodiest story in history. The Islamic historians and scholars have recorded with great glee and pride the slaughters of Hindus, forced conversions, abduction of Hindu women and children to slave markets and the destruction of temples carried out by the warriors of Islam during 800 AD to 1700 AD. Millions of Hindus were converted to Islam by sword during this period" (Shastri, 2002:62).

“Hindus who converted to Islam were not immune from persecution, which was illustrated by the Muslim Caste System in India as established by Ziauddin al-Barani in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari. Where they were regarded as "Ajlaf" low castes and subjected to severe discrimination by the "Ashraf" superior castes" (Lal, 1999:73)

After the partition of sub-continent in 1947, although India maintained overt diplomatic but covert symbiotic relationships with Pakistan but his hostility and aggressive actions continued against Pakistan. Real and core issues making the sour relationships between the two states remained unsolved and India's had not spared a single opportunity to harm the interests of Pakistan. For better assimilation and comprehension of the issues between India and Pakistan, let's evaluate the some tests cases as empirical evidence, immediate after the partition of the sub-continent.

## **2.3 Retrospect of early test cases of Hindu,s mindset, hostility and in-ordinate ambitions over Pakistan, immediate after partition of British India, in 1947**

**2.3.1 Junagarh case.** (Legality/Justification for Pakistani case) Junagarh acceded to Pakistan on september 15, 1947 under Indian Independence Act of July 1947, which allows all princely states to accede to either side of the two new dominions, India and Pakistan. The population proportion was 80 % Hindus while Muslims were 20% but ruled by Muslim Nawab who acceded to Pakistan. On September 17, 1947, Indian Government decided to disperse troops with the pretext of ensuring Law and Order situation under the code name of ‘ operation Apolo’. India also made the economic blockade to cramp up and chokes down the state from food and other necessary human needs. Dewan of Junagarh, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto sent a telegram to Lord Mount

Batton, Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan to immediately intervene and stop the Indian blatant aggression as it was against the principles of Sovereignty and violation of Independence Act. Liaquat Ali Khan immediately made contact to Nehru, for which he replied that, "Indian action is for the maintenance of Peace and Stability in the region and promised for the Plebiscite in future" (Qureshi,1967:19).

On February 20, 1949, Plebiscite was held under Indian Army umbrella in which only 91 votes were casted in favour of Pakistan against 1,90,870. Pakistan never accepted the results while India legitimized Junagarh through this voting drama.

**2.3.2 Kashmir issue.** (Legality/Justification for Pakistani case) Kashmir issue occupies a pivotal position in the painful relationships of India and Pakistan. Kashmir will remain a burning question between India and Pakistan as a main source for their sour relationships in particular and awaiting for world,s conscious to awaken in general to create some giant strides. Kashmir is a landlocked state situated in the north of sub-continent. Their Hindu Raja Gulab Singh offered the British just 7.5 million for the possessions of Kashmir as a result of Amritsar accord in 1846. He also expressed He wished that the Kashmiris return to their fore father,s faith i.e."Hinduism".(Qureshi,1967:21) He made the life of Kashmiris miserable by over taxing and severally punishing them over minor offences. During the partition of India in 1947, Dogra rulers announced his accession to India after making contacts with Gandhi,Nehru,Pateland V. P. Menon through his premier Merhr Chand Mahajan. He announced to acced to India against the wishes of the majority (81

% ) of Muslims. Indian send their troops on October 27, 1947 and siezed the control of Sri-Nagar, the capital city of Kashmir. The Kashmir case is an exact opposite scenario than Junagarh and Hyderabad where the rulers were Muslims while the subjects were Hindus in majority.(Rizvi,1986:57) Muslims made the armed revolt and got liberated some portions of territory while the Indian sent Military troops to occupy the Kashmir. Indian prime Nehru sensing the situation that Kashmir is likely going away from their hands took the issue to auspices of United Nations urging for a immediate Cease fire.

“...Our assurance that we shall with draw our troops from Kashmir as soon as Peace and order is restored and leave the decision regarding the future of the State to the people of the State, is not merely a promise to your government but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world.”

(Jawaher Lal Nehru, Telegram No.25, October 31<sup>st</sup>,1947 to Liaquat Ali Khan, PM of Pakistan).

Resultantly, UN asked both the States to observe Cease fire till plebiscite. In 1949, United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP), passed a resolution stating that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be divided through plebiscite. From that time Kashmir issue is awaiting UN plebiscite to be held. Rigged and Fixed election drama was also staged to control unrest and as an instrument of time gaintactics to won the seat, even Nehru has to write down to pliant chief Minister Sheikh Abdullaha,

“ In-fact it would have strengthen your position much more if you had lost a few seats to bonafide opponants” (Qureshi,1967:34).

On this contentious issue, both the countries claim Kashmir as their legitimate part. India claims Kashmir as their “ *Attotung- Integral part*” while Pakistan

considers Kashmir as Jugular Vein, necessary for the life line of Pakistan (Akbar,1985:170). Since then the Kashmiris are feeling political oppressed, denied the basic and democratic rights of Kashmiri people by the Indian troops. An eminent Indian writer, former ambassador and a law maker, Mr, Kuldip Nayar assessed that, "South Asian peace is linked with Kashmir issue and despite of heavy military deployment could not restore peace and law and order situation. It is a high time now, the centre has to find out some political solution through meaning ful dialogue. He considered that Indian misleading and deceptive measures might have worked well prior to 1990 but these are no more practical know. The people of the State has awakened and cannot be fooled any more." Six decade have been passed and the Kashmiries are waiting for plebiscite as urged from UN to fulfill its promise. Protesters are fired and persecution of innocent civilian are finding their way into Print and electronic Media Headlines and outcry stories. Defying of Curfew in IOK has become a routine, raising voices against draconian laws like Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and chanting slogans like "Not Subjugation by force but Freedom is our legitimate right". Indians can not deny as their leaders demanded the very same Freedom from Freedom from British Raj. Kashmirs are bailing out themselves on same universal principles and waiting for Indian democratic conscious to awake and challenging global human rights activists to act before it is too late as the kashmiris casualties figures have crossed Six Figures range. Many a times the Kashmir issue has been raised by Pakistani leadership in UNGA but could not draw any significant action which could influence/force India to reconcile and withdraw troops from IOK. Since than than the Indian position on Kashmir has become a "Travesty of History". UN

has not come out from Ostrich like mode of apathy while the comity of nations are sleeping awaiting their conscience to wake up.

**2.3.3 Muslims massacre in Jammu and Akhnoor** On the pretext of taking revenge of the Muslim,s Conference leaders Poonch rebellion against Hindu Maharaja accession to India, Hindus and Sikhs of Jammu and Akhnur conducted massacre of about 100,000 Muslims innocent migrants on Nov 7, 1947 under the full support of Maharaja forces while they were moving to west Punjab. About 500,000 were forced to leave their houses or face the dire consequences.

#### **2.3.4 Riparian issue (River down stream water stoppage)**

(Legality/Justification for Pakistani case) To ruin the rural economy of Pakistan, India stopped the downstream river water canals of Punjab province of Pakistan on April 1, 1948. The water distribution system was divided owing to the division of Punjab province between India and Pakistan. River heads of Madhapur (Gurdaspur) on River Ravi and Ferozpur headworks on River Sutlej came to the sides of India while their water fed canals came into Pakistan,s sides. India withheld the water to these canals and the dependents farmers started crying for water as they felt huge threat to their agriculture based lifeline. It was estimated that 26 million acre of land was dependent to the canal water fed area. Pakistan has to purchase the water from India which was also denied at later stage. Pakistan desired to take the case to UN for dispute settlement but India refused through 3<sup>rd</sup> party involvement. Indian this act of water aggression was a clear violation of the International law for riparian



countries and UN water conventions on the use of transboundary water courses and international lakes.

## **2.4 Muslim conditions in India after 1947 *Swaraj* (Independence)**

### **from Congress party lead secular rule to BJP lead *Hindutwa Ram Raj* (Hindu deity rule)**

After the partition Muslim socio- economic condition and majority threat of communal violence could not be improved despite of so-called slogans of secularism and plight for the better future. Muslims were to confront the Hindu mindset on an everyday basis at state and societal level. Till late 1950, Nehru and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad made their best to keep the harmony on the name of Indian nationalism and same cultural ethos. They persuaded Muslims not to migrate towards Pakistan but people continue to trickle into Pakistan even through the illegal channels. This was opposed by Sardar Patel who could not bear this ongoing process owing to prejudice and hostile mindset towards Muslims. Congress regimes had a soft stances towards Muslims of India but Hindutva sponsored BJP rulers made Muslims stay in Secular India untenable under the perennial insecurity environment.

India's transition from a superstitious, priest and caste ridden society of many princely ruled states and fiefdoms to a modern secular nation state would have not been completed without undergoing the western style of British governance. Under the leadership Gandhi and Nehru Indian congress has to walk on tight ropes of British system of governance with the overt theory of Secularism and inner feelings of “*Hindutawa-Hinduness*”. Indian leadership under smiling Brahmin rule still holds well by understanding the First Brahmin Indian premier. According to one staunch political analyst,

“Nehru was much more genius enough to remove the ill effects of Gandhi, s Hindu religiosity through faltering of his overt communist choir .The dominance Brahmins and Brahminic thinking explains that five Premier were of Brahmin Background and mostly from Uttar Pradesh U.P., (Indian Northern Province whose language was Hindi), (Akbar, 1985:167).

Historically speaking, the central union vests control in the hands of Hindus of the Northern Province, Uttar Pradesh (UP). Hindu fanatic leadership adopted strategy of evolving the Hindu corporate culture based on Hindi Language and Sanskrit (Hindu written heritage). They introduced to the world new Hindi words into politics like Rajya Sabha (upper house), Lok Sabha (lower house), Raj Neeti (central place to rule, capital) etc. In reality, India cladding the official cult of Secularism to foster Indian cultural milieu and ideological consensus. Khushwant Singh, a great Congress leader also observed that, “ India is a country nominally pledged to secularism but in actual practice increasingly Hindu” (Khushwant, 1984:232).

Muslims minority relatively feels safer in Congress lead rule being the exponents of Secularists values while BJP being Hindu fanatic party rule has made their lives miserable.

Sagarika Ghose who writes for famous Indian daily. “ Times of India” narrates, “India has become a Defacto Hindu, s country for which Jinnah of Pakistan was vindicative” (Times of India, October 17, 2017).

The jubilant remarks of Mrs Indra Gandhi can be cited when she proclaimed in Dacca in 1971 speech, “We have sunk Jinnah two nations theory in the Bay of Bengal for ever”. Unfortunately, JANG Group of newspapers which was the flag bearer of this Two Nations Theory concept has become a detractor because of their alignment towards India and their journalists wealth lustrousness under the banner of South

Asia Free Media Association (SAFMA), the brain child of RAW. Under BJP the Hinduanization of Muslim heritage and removal of Muslim,s identity from Indian cities is going on especially in the province of Uttar Perdesch (UP) being dominance of Hindu Brahmins in the political realm.

## **2.5 Pakistan's steps after its *Azadi* (Independece) towards Nationalism and Pro-Islamic Identity.**

Since Pakistan was created on the name of One God and for its followers, the Muslims leadership urged for separate home land where they should live according to their religious codes and social ethics. It is ordained unto Muslims in the Holy Book , “Oh, who believe (the believers of One God-Allah the All Mighty), indeed the unbelievers (Mushrikeen- the polytheist, the pagans, the idolators) are unclean”

Al Quraan (Surat-ut-Tauba, 28/9).

Muslims ruled the subcontinent and it was difficult for them to live under Hindu,s majority tyrant rule. They left no stone unturned to gain a separate state under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and gained Pakistan. After independence, he urged for complete faith on God, unity, adherence of proper discipline, transparancy and feel proud to be having a Pakistani identity. Quaid-e-Azam made it clear that,

“We are now all Pakistanis- not Baluchis, Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis, Punjabis and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else.”

(Reply to the civic address to the Municipality on 15<sup>th</sup> june,1948)

After bearing the pains of newly created state and overcoming the economic crises, Pakistani ruling leadership gave special attention to add Muslim religious injunctions ordained by Islam and focuss towards the “Ideology of Pakistan” which culminated

into "Objective Resolution". This resolution was passed in 1949 by the constituent assembly of Pakistan which declared Islam as the religion of the Pakistani State. Furthermore it was made mandatory for all governments to pass laws that are not repugnant to religious injunctions (probably it enhanced the role of religious bands/groups to start violating in case of not acceptance of their version of Sharia). Liaquat Ali Khan thundered in his opening remarks of the resolution clarified that "There are certain factions of so-called *Ulema* which are creating doubts with a particular mission regarding the bonafides of the Musalamans of Pakistan. Do not for God sake lend your ears to such mischievous propaganda. They are infact the enemies of Islam while posing as friends and supporters of Islam. This resolutions which was read by Maulvi Tamizudin in a pindrop silence clause by clause and than asked the house to vote for it, can be considered a "*Pakistan,s Magna Carta*", as it provided a future roadmap to Muslim,s State Identity and incorporations of certain constitutional provisions for which Pakistan was created i.e, on religious grounds and religious rheutories like (*Muslim Hae To Muslim League Mein Aa & Pakistan Ka Matlab Kia, La Elaha Ilallah*;If you are a Muslim than join Muslim League and What means Pakistan, there is no god but only One God(Allah). This resolution provided basis for the Islamic identity of Muslamans of Pakistan. Jinnah himself narration of speech as *Muslim Millet* (Muslim Nation) on August 11, 1947 was a "*raison d,etre*" for this newly born State. Hindu biased writers like Faisal Devji in his book, *Muslim Zion; Pakistan a political idea* argued that like Israel, Pakistan was conceived on geographical considerations which has now become secondary and stands distinct in its political ends as accidental homeland for followers of covert Muslimhood. Devji (2013) propogates, "Pakitan has never been a Nation-State, grounded in the historic

connections of lands and people. Just as Israel is the only Jewish State, Pakistan is the only Muslim State to make religion, the sole basis of its nationality”.

Pakistan was declared under constitutional provision of 1956, as Islamic Republic State and renamed as a “Islamic Republic of Pakistan”. It claimed that Islam constitutes the basis of new state as a matter of collective commitment to Allah, The All-Mighty. Pakistan was created with the aim to make it an Islamic Welfare State. Islamic democratic identity and Islamic laws were framed in the constitution of 1956. Although the constitutions of 1956 and 1962 provided certain Islamic clauses but remained enforced for few years till the constitution of 1973. The constitution of 1973 introduced by Z.A.Bhutto declared Islam to be the State religion, the Pakistani state official name as “Islamic Republic of Pakistan” and no non Muslim can be the head of the state. Zia also introduced islamization process in the text books and Riba(interest) free banking. In nutshell, steps were taken to infuse nationalism and to provide islamic stature to Pakistan. Zia introduction of Haddood ordinance especially the flogging punishments were objected by liberals supported by foreign lobbies and certain local journalists/ hawks of print media. They feared that Islamization process will end their elite class status and ruined their western liberal style of life. Print Media actively participated against coercion and authoritative measures of martiala regime of General Zia which was relaxed in the successive democratic and non democratic regime especially in the period under review, i.e, 2001 -2012.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **INDIAN ODESSEY FROM IDEALISM TO REALISM WITH REGIONAL PREPONDERANCE AMBITIONS- A CONSTANT SOURCE OF CONCERN FOR PAKISTAN**

#### **3.1 Indian idiosyncratic odessey from Mahatma Gandhi Idealism to Indra Gandhi Realisam**

India (also called constitutionally in Hindi as Bharatvarsha or Bharat Varsh, "land of Bharat" after legendary sage monarch Ashoka who reached its zenith and glory from Mauryan kingdom ( 267-232 B.C.E.) is the area wise the 7<sup>th</sup> largest state of the planet. She got independence at such a crucial time when the clouds of cold war were hovering on the world and its influence on the politics of newly emerging countries of Asia and South Asia was not an exception. However; in the spectrum of South Asia (SA), Indian stalwart Hindu leaders like Gandhi and Nehru from the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries made continuous struggle for the rights of Indians and staunch lovers of Peace philosophy were convinced on impartiality as they understood the value of independence, human rights and continuity of the process of peaceful coexistence. Gandhi philosophy of Non violence and Peace were the popular political rhetoric in Indian political struggle against the British colonial masters. They were knowing that how the colonial power emancipated the human rights and adopted coercive policies to prolong their rule. They felt the need for giving recognition to fundamental human rights of all men and women irrespective of race, color or creed for the promotion of local, regional and global peace. The development of this neutral and peaceful coexistence approach by India helped her to keep out of such pressures and

examine global issues on the basis of impartiality and neutrality and they decided to stay away from global bipolar blocks rivalry.

Indian leaders made significant contribution in formation and ensuring the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) to remain within the firm commitment to the UN charter. This self proclaimed block was preopounded by India, Egypt, Indonesia and Yugoslavia which could hardly made impact of neautrility and made profound impact on the world politics and cold war between US and USSR led allies continued. After a short span of partition of India, there was a military conflict between India and Pakistan on Kashmir issue while relationships with China were also strained on border disputes and it was also culminated into 1962 Indo-China war. These hard facts forced India to part away from Gandhi idealism and Wilsonian policies, thereby moving on Realists path. Therefore, India has to plan to launch a large scale program to enhance military power and to boost economic growth with a view to stand on its feet without having dependence on either side of the Cold War rivals to ensue feelings inside the Indians to survive on its feet as an independent nation. She had to modernize its agriculture and industries, educate the vast population, and find ways to mobilize resources to finance these modernized programs. Nehru provided mature and stable democratic era in India while In Pakistani political realm, so quick change of governments was going on that on one occasion, tauntingly on Pakistan stated that, "I have not changed so many *Dhotis* (the lower open dress wrapped up round the lower portion of body by the Indians as a dress) so quickly as Pakistan has changed their governments". Other developments at later stages, such as two wars with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 further weakened Gandhi-Nehru philosophy of Non violence, Peace and shocked the Indian think tanks, followers of Wilsonianism and exponents of Idealism. Indra Gandhi after achieving victory in 1971 war with Pakistan further

perfected Indian policies in following the Realist path through “Indra Doctrine” which (Shankar, 1984) explicitly enumerates,

1. India would not accept any external intervention in South Asian Region (SAR) with anti Indian implications.
2. India would not tolerate any regional country calling for assistance with anti Indian bias
3. Indian exculsion from regional assistance requested by SAR countries would be regarded as anti India move
4. Any South Asian State requiring external assistance to first seek assistance from regional countries.

Indo-Sri Lankan accord 1987 was a practical manifestation of Indra Doctrine in South Indian political realm in which Sri Lanka accepted Indian interference to resolve Sri Lankan civil war by allowing the Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF) but Tamil groups notably the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE) refused their arms to surrender as they had not been made party of the bilateral talks. From such doctrines evaluation, it would be unfair to say that Indian national aim is to appear a dominant power in South Asian scenario and would not hesitate to employ all resources to achieve its ambitious aims.

The end of the Cold War by Gorbachev in 1987 through introduction of policies of Perestroika and glasnost, bringing a big change into world politics. India took a “U turn” into his policy perimeters and changed his previous objective set by its founders and created closed interaction with US to avail the golden opportunity, being a sole unipolar power of the world. Following the Realists path, India has started and is now actively participating in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal and



Pakistan,s affairs both covertly and overtly to ensure its policy objectives throughout the South Asian Region (SAR).

### **3.2 Indian geographical scenario and territorial claims over neighbouring countries**

Indian posses a huge land mass (Hindu leaders proudly called in Hindi dialect- *ganaraj*- the lord of the clans) having border with six countries comparising with multiple types of terrain and changing climate. It has to manned lengthy 14,103 KMs of land borders, including 7000 KMs of borders with the countries having some territorial disputes which still persists.A coast-line of 7,600 KMs with responsibility of protecting more than 500 islands and Exclusive Economic Zones (ECC). India politically claims that China is occupying 37,550 Square KMs of its legitimate area and Pakistan illegally ceded 5,180 Squares KMs of its Ladakh area to China and is still occupying its 78.000 Squares KMs of its territory of Kashmir, and Gilgit Agency. Pakistan is blammed a major sponsor state of harbouring terrorism and insurgency in its boundries.Chines show down and political influence in Nothern state of Tibet is a source of concern for India. Moreso, China is also assisting Pakistan in enhancing defence capabilities and modernisizing weapons system, upgrading the missile system and fighteraircrafts which to Indian side is potential war concern from Pakistan,s side. India has also shown apprehension on Pakistan Navy as it has to only mann the coast-line of only 700KM and why it is developing the port of Gwadar with supporting airfield complexes and state of the art shipping port facilities through the support of China. India is also crying for Pakistan,s recent order of four sophisticated French submarines which is indicative of her designs in the event of hostilities to target our commercial ships. Indian strategic planners also assume that in the future war, their

industrial and commercial infrastuctural complexes will be the future targets of Pakistan in case hostilities are launched. They also perceive that despite of recent Sino-Indian rapprochement of friendship, China will remain a major rival with India in political, economic and in military fields with India. Indian observed (Mehta 2003) that, the current challenges facing India are complexed one and are varied in nature which range from low intensity threats characterised by tribal, ethnic, extremism and proxy war supported by Pakistan.

India's political hierarchy and military think tanks used to considered external threat to its frontiers from China and Pakistan catering for military and non-military dimensions. India bears a poor history of invading on her neighbors. For instance, in North East front, war with China, on its West and East three major wars and clashes with Pakistan, with Kashmir dispute as a centre point of the conflicts with exception of Indo-Pak war 1971 resulting into cessation of East Pakistan, (now Bangladesh), skirmishes with Bangladesh, Proxy wars with Sri-lanka and Nepal . One can easily feel a hostility in the conduct and in mindset and Pakistan smell of gunpowder and a feelings of in-security in the brewing smile in Indian leadership and its relationing with Pakistan as India has not accepted the creation of Pakistan with the heart and maintaining these so called Indo-Pak relationships for global face saving. Several evidences are a proof that India planned and conducted Clandestine Operations, Psy-ops strategies and conducted saboteurs' activities to quench her thirst to damage and weaken Pakistan both militarily and economically with a view to break Pakistan as soon as possible. India in pursuant of her ambitious designs of expansion, she has acquired a massive offensive capability and has made remarkable achievements in the field of nuclear, missile, IT and space technology. She has already earned the status of Quasi- regional power and is endeavoring to have its role in the international power

politics. India desires to have complete hegemony in the region, for which she finds only one major obstacle, i.e. Pakistan. Her plans are there, to neutralize Pakistani capabilities with a view to remove Pakistani impediments in her way as soon as possible. It is natural for Pakistan to balance the adversary capabilities through strong and effective response and to prevent India from any misadventure. Pakistan suspects that Indian offensive may occur and unfolded like Blitzkrieg style (Sunderjee doctrine) which is going to be a dangerous option for Pakistan as it possesses a less strategic depth, therefore the survival of Pakistan lies to keep the India away from its boundaries, considering Pakistan defence capabilities and effective response. Indian agencies remained actively involved into political and military affairs of neighbouring smaller countries. For instance, in former East Pakistan, its agencies supported Mukti Bahini, Shaanti Bahini and Benga Sena to cut Pakistan into two halves to create a separate state to damage Pakistan and to install a puppet regime. In Nepal, they supported Maoist insurgent group to destabilize the Royal family rule. In 2001, King Bindra, Queen Aishwaria and eight others Royal family members were suspiciously killed. India oftenly threatens to economic blockade in case of non following of its political dictates. India deployed 100,000 troops in 1975 in Sikkim and annexed it as a 22<sup>nd</sup> state in Indian union. Sri-Lanka faced Indian supported Liberation of Tigers Tamil Ealam (LTTE) movement which killed 23,327 fellow Sri-Lankans. However, in present Geo-strategic scenario, India has developed cordial relationship through trade interaction with China after bitter experience of War with China in 1962. As for Pakistan is concern, India perception of threat stems from its insecure position over Kashmir issue and centuries old animity between the two communities of Hindus and Muslims in the Sub-continent. Due to non existence of amicable solution to core conflictive issues making Indo-Pak relations strained, Indian

policy of suspicion and conscious approach is likely to remain unchanged. Although flower of détente blossomed many times but for a short period and reverted back to own position. Recent incidence of Bombay blasts added more fuel in the existing animosity and security apprehensions against Pakistan. As for as Sri Lanka and Bangladesh are concerned, the current Geo-political environment is in favour of India and India leadership is taking a sigh of relief but views improving Pakistan Sri Lankan relationship with concern especially after incidence of firing on Sri Lankan Cricket team in Lahore. The political rivalry between India and Pakistan is even affecting the sports matches already scheduled. In such a biased approach by ruling elite towards peaceful relationships, can not improve the already torn relationships.

### **3.3 Indian security policy and its impact on neighbours**

Indian strategic thinking is profoundly influenced by British policy of controlling the maximum land mass and complete foothold in the Indian Ocean. Qutubuddin (2011) summarized the salient points in post Indian strategic policy as,

1. Safeguarding the Indian territory from all directions especially from North West frontiers of India through which successive invasions were made by foreign armies into Indian mainland.
2. Preventing the area from foreign subjugation.
3. Ensuring command and control over Indian Ocean and its environs.
4. Keep the borders sealed off from infiltrators
5. Defend Indian interests in all forums of diplomatic, economic and military.
6. Protect masses from the menace of terrorism.

Indian strategists believe that India it is imperative to keep a vigil eye on those neighbouring states which can undergo the influence of extra regional powers. India

desires that smaller neighbouring states should seek Indian security assistance if not may be and one else be requested during odds. In case of non compliance the country should face the wrath as it did with Sri Lanka, Maldives and with Nepal through using military and economic means. Indian security policy created a strong security dilemma on smaller neighbouring and regional states. They pursued policies of self help and power balancing rather than strategies of cooperation and accommodation. Pakistan being the arch rival has to seek close strategic relations with extra regional powers in order to neutralize the Indian ambitious hegemonic designs, it has to make strategic alliances with regional and global powers for its survival and legitimate security concern. Indian rationale for the acquisition of nuclear weapons was based on its threat from regional neighbours and to enter the prestigious nuclear power club. Talking about their deployment or employment of Nuclear weapons system lies with highest Politico- military leadership as to whom rests the responsibility of Command and Control and others delivery means systems. Coming over the battlefield scenario, it is not only the Deterrence factor against neighbor rather used against adversary as a First Strike Capability. As noted by V. R. Raghavan, the "Indian plans are firmly based on taking a future war into all Pakistani territory, even if the conflict commences in Jammu and Kashmir." Pakistan threat perceptions provide confirmation to Indian neighbor intentions and Pakistan second strike capability would be able to maintain "Nuclear Equilibrium" and "Nuclear Stalemate" in the South Asian poverty ridden region. China is an emerging super power of the world and at is not having irritating geopolitical situation with India so only Pakistan is left over to compete with India on multiple grounds. Pakistan has to maintain its forces vigil and operational worthy to thwart out any threat emanating from India. The decades of seventies and eighties saw Introduction of India's Monroe Doctrines or

simply Indra Gandhi Doctrine propounded more openly in the teeth of Cuba's right to forge a relationship with former USSR in order to maintain its independence vis a vis US. It was practically manifested in Sri Lanka and Maldives.

Pakistan figures very prominently in India's security speculations and explicit linkages with developments in LOC, IOK and Indian East Punjab. Pakistan despite of being reduced to half size, it has displayed the capacity to defend itself against Indian coercive designs and maintained its full sovereignty as a independent state. Worst scenario of Indian calculations was a Nuclear Pakistan along with the effective deterrence of its conventional armed forces. Indian planners find Pakistan a big hurdle in their hegemonic obsessions to perform the role of "*Gendarme*" in South Asian Region.

### **3.4 Indian viewpoint on Indo-Pak doldrum relations**

Historically speaking its Hindu leaders and founding fathers had not accepted the very concept of Pakistan from the British Raj. They considered British division of sub-continent as a greatest strategy of the century which is tantamount to the vivisection of the body of mother India. BJP leaders publically call the creation of Pakistan as a mischievousness of Muslim bourgeois who struggled to satisfy their greed for self governance. Raison d'être was not a "Two Nations Theory" but to serve the interests of Muslims elite.

Moderate and enlightened Indian class urges that it is the high time to bury the old hatchets and move ahead towards prosperity route which comes through mutual business interaction and frequent exchange of economic commodities. They stress to move with the changing global trends and paradigms towards peaceful coexistence. Today, more than sixty eight years after independence, the common people as well as

the elite of India and Pakistan are concerning towards establishing condition for permanent peace. It is known, no more secret that India and Pakistan are nuclear powers and nuclear war exchange will ruin them off from the region. Indian think tanks consider that Pakistani military regimes create situations and then engage them into wars while democratic regimes in Pakistan prefer trade and peaceful coexistence in the region. South Asia is a large reservoir of natural and human resource making it a prime destination for finance, a lucrative market for trade and a source for cheap raw material. Indian think tanks visualize that bilateral trade under democratic regimes would be more accelerated as military regimes have been asking them rigorously to solve first hardcore issues than to talk on bilateral trade with Pakistan. So, it is in India's interest that democracy succeeds in Pakistan so that the dividend of 'Democratic Peace' can be harvested in South Asia. India desires that first minor disputes should be handled and then major issues/disputes will be taken care of. Indian diplomats urge that first CBMs be taken into considerations and then core issues be tackled through diplomacy. While some improvement observed in trade but that is slow process where two step forward and bilateral levels little progress had been made at the regional level where SAFTA is suspended and on elimination of terrorism, Pakistan and India decided to setting up mechanism to counter-terrorism. Pakistan desired to establish relationship between the two sides based on equity, justice and fairplay would be a difficult proportion as core issues persist as such in actual conditions.

### **3.5 Indian media maligning propaganda against Pakistan (5GW)**

Indo-Pak tussle is historically proven fact, some times the situation escalates and on certain occasion the tense environment de-escalated. Media fulfills its obligations

through giving away its share by portaying the otherside as a barbarian state, not adhearing the civil rights and international norms. Each side conducts critique on other sides activities and proves to be itself an innocent and flawless. Only facts and circumstantial evidences prove that who is aggressor and who is at at fault. In the international historical spectrum, the weaker state only adopted defensive strategy while the power state to satiate it thirst for to be more powerful, attacked and annexed the weaker/smaller state(s). the powerful state always endeavoured to have influenced on smaller neighbours through powerful military means and economic tactics. It showed intolerance in ensuring its policies and gave dictates/terms. Its Media fully supported State policies and justified even barbaric/aggressive actions. It was Media reporting in New York which portrayed Arab- Israel War as a War between Barbaric people and a Civilized nation (Israel). Indian movies portraying Muslims as a uncivilized creed and Islamic laws as “ Barbarian laws”. In the Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and 1971, Indian official radio news network, “*Akashvani Samachar*” spread extreme obnoxious propaganda and mislead the public from the real issues and from Pakistani response. Its reporting on Kashmir issue towards Indian nation as their repeated rheutoric of “*Atoot-Ang*” (integral part, Non-Seperable) and no compromise on national unity and integrity is a classical example of hiding the facts and putting facts under the colorful carpet of propaganda. Their state lead narratives of putting Pakistan as a Terrorist State and support for their proxy war have becom a common themes with repeated contents and messages. BJP lead print and electronic media is fully engaged in all out confrontation policy towards Pakistan which is worrysome aspect for regional Peace lovers and concern for the peace and harmony in the region. They openly state that, Hit Pakistan before it hurts you.”(Times of India, February 1,2015). The statement of Indian Minister for Information and Broadcasting,



Rajyavardhan Rathore, "We will attack any country including Pakistan to counter Terrorism, at the time of its choosing." (ARY NEWS, June 9, 2015, Daily DAWN, June 10, 2015). Indian Defense Minister Mr. Manohar Parikar statements that, India will deal proactively with all the states especially against Pakistan, Indians Sikhs going Pakistan is tantamount to going to hell" (DAWN, August 27, 2016). His statements not only infuriated Pakistanis rather generated envying feelings among Sikh minority as they are frequent visitors to Pakistan for their pilgrimage to Nankana Sahib and in Hassan Abdal temples. Such hating statements against Pakistan and calling it a veritable hell are sowing the seeds of hatteredness for their short term political gains but sufficient enough to tarnish the secular image of India. If Indian stalwarts are sincere in the peace process and normalization of relations with Pakistan, they must seek apology from Pakistanis and from the Sikh Community. Indian leaders intentional/ un-intentional behavior towards Pakistan on Media shape the contour and future road map of Ind-Pakistan relations. It clearly reflects the pre-emptive mindset, hostility in the attitude and non cognizant approach towards sincerity of purpose. As India is passing through Media-age democracy, delinquencies are not expected from a mature age and any lapse in wrong handling the state of affairs can put into future dilemma for South Asian region.

Indian Media hawks and outlets appear to be in search of time to propagate against Pakistan. Indian news agencies and Media houses keep on adding fuel on the burning fire. Just to gain popular support, their Media remain unchecked while spitting venom against Pakistan. Only one thing is common to them, they remain silent when their troops violate the Cease fire line accord. Civilian are killed but continue to resort unprovoked firing. Indian Media which started propaganda warfare against Pakistan for harbouring terrorism towards India and intensified through unusual methods to the

limits like giving mischievous broadcasts to pilotless vehicles to balloons to pigeons techniques adopted by creating more hatred against Pakistan (Financial Times, October 4, 2016). Indian Media is propagating that these are modern techniques adopted by Pakistan to use them against India. BJP lead/ under patronage IT teams are using hashtags like #actagainstpak and #uniteagainstpak derived from popular hashtags #actagainstterrorism and #uniteagainstterrorism. Such type of Media hostility and bellicosity creates unrest and war mongering sentiments. Indian Media many a times created hype for propagating surgical strikes by Indian troops inside Pakistani territory without any evidence. Whether that strike was in air as no body in Pakistan knows and where are the damages/casualties, such murky reporting without any truth and reality. Their Media was bursting against the arrest of their spy agents like Surbajeet Singh and now is crying against the arrest of another agent Kalbhosh Yadav announced death penalty according to the laws of Pakistan. Indian media is fomenting anti Pakistan feelings, not only into its masses, rather regional to global spectrum. May it be a forum of SAARC, EU or UNGA, it leaves no stone to generate anti Pakistan propaganda that Pakistan is harbouring Terrorist sanctuaries, sponsoring bandwagons like Dawood Ibrahim, Hafiz Saeed, Maulana Azhar Masud, Ilyas Kashmiri and they are unchecked in Pakistan (Asia News International (ANN), Times of India, the Hindu, March 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> editions, 2017). They urged from masses to remain alert as Dawood Ibrahim has joined hands with Pakistan jihadi groups operating in Indian Held Kashmir. To unearth truth, it is a known fact that Hafiz Saeed is under house arrest in Pakistan, how he can join hands with Dawood Ibrahim in India and in Indian Held Kashmir. His activities and his band outfit are under strict vigilance in Pakistan and are scrutinized by the government of Pakistan. On the other hand, it was told to Indian parliament on May 2, 2015 by the interior minister that

they don't have any clue about the whereabouts of Dawood Ibrahim. Now mostly, Indian media is corporate supportive segment which some time coincides with Pakistani JANG Group for more capital gain ventures. They pledged to operate SAFMA umbrella but could not produce any worthwhile results. However, on National issues, Indian seems to be in line with their government, hence usually remain silent on Kashmir and Water distribution issues confronted sour relationships with the two belligerent states. BJP led Hindu fanatics openly hurl abuses to Muslims and chant anti Pakistan slogans to express their pro-indian patriotic standards and Indian Nationalism with a view to incite public sentiments against Pakistan. Their Media is also involving themselves to create rift, wedge and widen chasm between civil-military relations in Pakistan. Their reporting is aimed to hit the main pillar of Pakistan's strength i.e., Pakistan's military on issues like Kashmir where military possesses a firm stand that Kashmir is the unfinished agenda of division of sub-continent. Mirza Waheed, an Indian held Kashmiri, famous journalist and author of books like "Gold Leaf" and "Burning *Chinars*" disclosure of Narendra Modi led BJP brutalities in IHK, simply victimization of Muslims in a pre-dominantly Muslim region, Indian government highest legal officer, the attorney general defending the killing of Kashmiris in the courts of law and RSS chanting rhetoric, "Killing Kashmiris is likened to kill mosquitoes" (The NEWS, Encore, April 30, 2017), are an eye opener for those Media quarters urging for rapprochement towards India. Their Media propagates that Pakistan military is against the democracy and democratic norms but General Musharraf regime has proved that Media in Pakistan got blossom in his era and his predecessor appreciated his steps. Indian Media vacillating campaign to defame and malign Pakistan's executives like Judiciary and armed forces in the eyes of Pakistani public is only to be considered as a devil's claw which

must not be closed. Indian Media If Indian Media continued generating so much heat in the South Asian panorama, than there will be no light for fraternization in Indo-Pak relationships.

### **3.6 Indian media endeavors to present soft image of India to hide atrocities against minorities ( especially against Muslims)**

The exposure of modern means of communications and enhanced educational standards especially in the Communication and Information Technology advancement and middle class leader *Anna Hazare*, "anti corruption drive" provided them good opportunities to present soft images of India and Indian people to the outside world. Although the Muslims, Sikh and Christians minorities are currently facing the growing menace of Hindutva assertiveness to their great distress. Indian achievements in the last two decades of liberal economy and better educational standards helped her its poor and down trounces people from abject poverty to the affluent society. This rejuvenilation in Indian nation through presenting one of the best annual growth rate at par with the European standards, are able to provide them more attraction to the world market economy forces. Indian which posseses huge Media channels thoroughly propagated this unusual progress. Pakistani think tanks and Security establishment consider that if trade with India booms than Kashmir issue will be camoufladged rather compromised and Pakistan stance on Kashmir would wither away. Only war would be restricted to proxies for which Pakistan geography, military capacity and economic resources donot permit rather favour such tools and options. More-so big world influencial powers like US and China also shifted their orientation which have entrenched economic interests with India being their largest consumer market. They view maintaining their relations with the India from their commercial perspective.

They avoid imposing their pressure and influence in the Indian policy domain and their display both at home front and abroad. Smaller Indian neighbouring countries are not in a position to say "NO" to Indian dictates while with China it has ensured cordial relationship to utilize mutual trade opportunities. Indian think tanks feel much secure in present regional and global paradigm shift except it has suspicion of its security concern and a matching response from Pakistan and does not favour any prolonged wars, only continuity proxy wars with a view to make Pakistan weak and irresistible. Pakistan is the only country left over where India would like to maintain formal cum artificial relations to avoid world odium and to display better image to rest of the world. India wants to normalize relationship with Pakistan on its terms and conditions as it is only interested to talk with Pakistan on main two issues like Terrorism and Bilateral trade while Pakistan stresses to talk with India on eight issues including the previously mentioned issues with Kashmir and River water distribution as main agenda. Indian overambitious dream fell flat when its application for full fledged membership of Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) was rejected at the beginning rather not even discussed at the plenary session in Seoul. NSG was founded in response to Indian nuclear tests in May, 1974 and consists of those countries which regulate and prevent nuclear proliferation by controlling the export of those material, equipment and technology that could potentially be used in Atomic devices. Surprisingly, the same country desperately wanted to join this group which has refused rather still has not signed the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Both India and Pakistan are contestants to join NSG and are non signatory to NPT. India based its campaign against Pakistan entry into NSG on point: since Pakistan is allegedly involved in proliferation and India is not, it deserves membership. The idea could not get a buyer and miserably failed. This Indian strategic failure and humiliation at the

international level, despite of Indo- US background of civil nuclear deal and full support to join the NSG, has created gripeful conditions which is likely to extorinate towards Pakistan. Pakistan and China are facing diplomatic offensives and US and India for opposing Indian entry into NSG. Principally speaking, if both India and Pakistan had jointly supported and struggle together for membership, they would had succeed but India betrayed. Plausible to say, if China can join NSG in 2004 after signing on NPT in 1992, what is stopping India? One can foresee Indian expansionist nefarious designs which poses challenges to the sovereignty and security of Pakistan. Therefore one should not be optimistic for any improvement in near future. India wants to catch a big economic fish from Pakistan without wetting paw into Kashmir and its downstream rivers which appears to be an impasse and resorting only timepassing attitude. Indian Media will keep on showing its doldrum position and about turn role as steered by its Media house owners or as directed by the Indian State policies. This painful relationships would continue if the distrust level prevails and peace process will remain insurmountable between India and Pakistan unless the UN puts its weight behind to force both the parties to come to some solution acceptable to both the parties. The whole of South Asian region is politically unstable, but instead of helping hand to each others, eliminating hunger, the region is engage with Arms Race and unnecessary bashing against each others to get popular vote through chanting slogans of anti-Pakistan and anti-India slogans. Their leaders have not come out from the politics of hate and promotion of communal violence. At least 466 million Indians are living below poverty line, a population more than the African continent, but it is trying to become a global power. Prosperity in the region will only come through connivance and cooperation but not through agitation and allegations against each others. Trade and not Hate tactics would pave the ways for prosperity.

Trade potentials between India and Pakistan remain hostage to uncertain relations between these two countries. It is much affected by diplomatic tensions and Media created hype on both sides of the borders. Whenever some Trade picks up pace and gear, it receives set back from Pakistan especially under military regimes as they urge for core disputes to be solved as first priority than mutual trade exchange with India. Similarly, Pakistan has not encouraged Non Tarrif barriers imposed on Indian goods while India has favoured Pakistan for granting Most Favoured Nation( MFN) status to Pakistan. Ironically, indirect Trade through third country like Dubai is twice than from formal trade through borders. Indian economic intelligencia believe that India with Pakistan has lot of trade potentials provided both countries to sustain dialogue and economic activity in the region. Pakistani think tanks reject this Indian logic and stress for economic activity under stable and secure enviorenment with India, hence formal trade eventually becomes impossible and the the whole process turns towards blind ends.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **MEDIA JETTISON FREE PERIOD IN GENERAL MUSHARRAF NON-DEMOCRATIC (2001-2008) AND ZARDARI-GILANI DEMOCRATIC REGIMES (2008-2012) IN PAKISTAN AND JANG GROUP OF PAKISTAN RAPPROCHMENT TOWARDS INDIA**

#### **4.1 South Asian panorama and Muslim,s Press active involvement in political realm**

The Muslims of India established their own press to promote their own communalistic voice and to support for partition agenda. The newspaper Dawn, founded by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and first published in 1941, was dedicated to promoting for an independent Pakistan. The conservative newspaper, Nawa-i-Waqt, established in 1940 was the mouthpiece of the Muslim elites who were among the strongest supporters for Pakistan ideology and struggle for an independent Pakistan. In a sense, Pakistani print media came into existence with a mission to promulgate the idea of Pakistan, which was seen as the best national option for the Muslim minority in British India and as a form of self-defense against suppression from the Hindu majority. Dawn, Nawa-e-Waqt and JANG are the pre-partition newspapers of Pakistan. Dawn was founded by Quaid-e-Azam to become voice of Mohammadans in Sub-continent. Nawa-e-Waqt national daily was established by Hameed Nizami, considered as one of the oldest Pakistani journalists. He actively involved in Pakistan Movement and supports the cause of creation of Pakistan. Nawa-i- Waqt is read for its Editorial as they depict full National spirit and preserve National Interests and Islamic Ideology. It is not in favour of bringing



innovate techniques and showing obscenity to enhance circulation value in the market as shown by other competitive print media groups, rather it believes on conservatism to some extent and its Family magazine is liked by the Muslims conservatives.

JANG was introduced by staunch journalist by Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman who first publish the news paper namely, "JANG" as a news sheet meant for reporting the latest news and developments in World War 2. The word implies its Urdu name "JANG" which means war. After partition the owner moved to Karachi, the newly declared capital of Pakistan. Its news papers, Urdu daily "JANG" and English daily "THE NEWS" are published simultaneously from Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi, Quetta, Peshawar and International edition for the overseas Pakistani are published from London. JANG is known for not having any political or religious commitment except supporting the party/ group in power and then drifting speedily as the interest's game is over. They are enjoying the highest circulation of their dailies and possess a successful business in the Media market. They show more concern on their business than erosion of their credibility and perseverance of National/ Islamic identity. Although JANG is more widely read because of very liberal views, use of vivid pages/glamorous photos and attractive inner page showbiz but its editorials lack depth and void of national ideology and spirit. "JANG group" remained on the left of various governments for hiding the actual circulation value figures from Income Tax department. They resort to negative reporting once government puts pressure to pay their legitimate dues. Ironically, they talk about public accountability while they themselves are not accountable to even government on taxation issues. They get an undue number of advertisements by showing loyalty to the government or greasing the palm and sycophancy techniques but once it comes to them to perform their moral duty they avoid, rather adopted misuse of media like coercion and blackmail. The print media,

preliminary role was to serve as a unifier for the newly born state. The stances adopted by JANG, Dawn and Nawa-i-Waqt during the last phase of struggle for independence presented the demand for a separate homeland. These pioneer print media groups due to different factors have gradually shifted their priority from nation-building to commercial dependence. The primary role of 'national cohesion' played by print media in the Pakistan movement had vanished along with the creation of Pakistan. The principle centers of publishing were Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar. Lahore is coming the main hub of publishing houses of Newspapers since creation of Pakistan. After shifting of capital from Karachi to Islamabad, all the major national dailies have publishing houses from their business is booming day by day due better educational levels and accommodative prices by the readers. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah desired freedom of the press and said,

“ It is also necessary to have an independent Press in order to counteract false and malicious propaganda” (Excerpts of Jinnah interview given to Associated Press of America (APA) on November 8, 1946, Ardsheer Cowasjee, reproduced in DAWN, January 16, 2011).

Unfortunately, the successive government in Pakistan did not pay any heed of this necessity and adopted tools to suppress the Press with a view to keep away from the masses from certain issues and Government stringent measures and policies. Quaid-e-Azam desired,

“I expect press for complete fearless” (Fazl-e-Muqeem, 1963: 16).

Regrettably, press in Pakistan could not pursue the goal of Quaid-e-Azam vision. Journalist astray from vision and teaching of Quaid-e-Azam and involved themselves in the malpractices. Democratic regimes liberal policies opened up the doors for yellow and *lifafa* (Envelop) journalism, i.e. Earning of unlawful money by journalists through

the envelop. Despite all these menaces, Pakistan's print media has assumed respect among the most liberal and free to express in South Asia (Pakistan Press Foundation, 2006). There are hundreds of Pakistani newspapers from the large national Urdu newspapers to the small local vernacular papers which are published and widely circulated through out the country. Religious and lower middle classes are criticizing for western orientation of Pakistani press in their contents and immoral printing of material and obscenity displayed on the papers on the name of freedom, liberty and democracy.

There were approximately 4 million circulations of newspapers before Musharraf liberalization policies which reached to 8 million plus in the end of decade in Pakistan. Among the Urdu press, JANG is considered the largest newspaper followed by Nawa-e-Waqt whereas, THE NEWS, Dawn, Nation, Express and Business Recorder are the English popular newspapers. Poor literacy rates, urban orientation of the press, and the high price of newspapers are the detrimental factors for the low circulation. The circulation of newspapers per capita in Pakistan is among the lowest in the world (Pakistan Press foundation, 2006). Urdu newspapers have a broader reach than the English-language papers (Official Pakistan Government). The English papers are circulated among the elite who are considered the opinion formers and control the state of affairs. Urdu newspapers usually include scandals of sensations, local and regional politics, entertainments and on religious occasions issue religious material, etc. Major cities like Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and to some extent Peshawar get more news coverage than the rest of the cities even certain news issues separate pages entailing local news of readers interests. Newspapers and magazines are published in 11 languages; most in Urdu and Sindhi, but English-language publications are numerous. Most print media are privately owned which severely

criticize government follies and hidden corruption. The Press is generally free and has played an active role in national elections, but journalists often exercise self-censorship as a result of arrests and intimidation by government and societal actors. The press is much more restricted in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), where no newspapers are published, and in Azad Kashmir, where publications need special permission from the regional government to operate and pro-independence publications are generally prohibited.

The Muslims owned press like JANG, Nawa-e-Waqt and DAWN supported the Muslim cause and highlighted the importance of freedom and separate homeland for the Muslims of India. The staunch reader and analyst can view the BJP lead government pugnacious policies against the Muslim living inside India, IHK and towards Pakistan. Indian Media crystal gazing techniques and propaganda to declare Pakistan as a terrorist heaven state are reprisal of Hindu biased mindset and sinister designs against the sovereignty of Pakistan. It is said that nature cannot be changed and retrogradation of peace mantra by some Media persons and Journalists seems to be a temporary phase which will be crystal clear in the proceeding literature.

#### **4.2 Media freedom and Pakistan's constitutional provisions.**

Freedom to receive and share information without any fear is the entrenched foundation of any democratic polity. Free and fair media is considered the soul of democracy and a flagship torch bearer for human rights. Freedom of speech and to express in writing one's sentiments puts restrictions on the tyranny of the majority and dictatorial style of governance. Media is a prism through which the public reads, views and gets information about national, regional to international happenings and on various issues of public interests. Media is supposed to provide voice of those

whose voice is not heard in the concerned quarters and those who matter in the realm of affairs. Media prosper in the democratic regimes and faces tough time in the non-democratic governments because of liberal and independent stance which the dictatorial regimes do not permit. Democratic norms provide best opportunity to journalist to express candidly, highlight societal grey areas and criticize government follies and policies in the best spirit for nationhood and protection of human rights. Although all the Pakistani constitution provides freedom of speech, expression and press but the frequent martial law regimes and only transitional democratic periods did not allow the journalist to participate in a befitting manners. Media plays a vital role in strengthening and promoting the democratic polities as media is considered the part and parcel of civil society and also assists in the peaceful transition of political powers in a democratic country. Media expresses and depicts the political ethos of a given society in the religious, political, cultural, historical and ideological spheres and spectrum. Anthony Giddens (1997) described that, Media constitute the fourth pillar of the State (For him the four institutional clusterings are, the capitalistic enterprise, managerial system of production, hypersensitive surveillance and information channels).

Many democracies in the world like US, being a notable example, considers itself to be the flag bearer state, still retains some rights for the state to restrict speech where it deemed to be in the public interests (e.g, around certain sensitive issues of national security and others related concern). Press freedom passes through more government scrutineers and checks/penalties than the digital media world and the informations delivered from it are expected to be more reliable without any fraud and mischievousness. Therefore media in any democratic state should operate under its own country constitutional provisions, rules and regulations.

Media in Pakistan, sometimes in its capital incentive vibrant race, it ignored certain constitutional bars and barriers as reflected in Article 19 of 1973 constitution like restriction imposed by law in the interests of the glory of Islam, finality of prophethood of Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) as a last messenger of God, matter involving sensitive Security and Defence related issue, decency or morality in relation to contempt of court or incitement to offence etc. The Official Secrets Act 1923 (Article 19) states that, the government officials cannot pass information to the media without authorization. Under the rules, no official can give any information to the journalists except the minister or secretary of any ministry or person authorized to do so. Pakistan Penal Code prescribes punishment for offences committed within and beyond Pakistan which endanger the national security, the public peace and the public morale. The act also provides that spoken or written words, visible representations do anything which is likely to be prejudicial to the interests of the security of Pakistan or public order or to the maintenance of friendly relations of Pakistan with foreign states shall be punishable. Many governments used this act as a tool to control the media. The Code of Criminal Procedure empowers the government to stop media content having seditious or promoting sectarianism and bad religious feeling in the country. Press is suppose to be a main tool for readers motivation, binding force for National coheasiveness and educating readers about the values and norms which are vitally important in building a united, integrated and disciplined society in the light of Islamic injunctions, moral ethics and code of conduct prescribed in the constitutional provisions of Pakistan. Although Print Media liberal discourse started after repealing of infamous 1963 PPO in late 1980s which accentuated the bold Journalis to highlight the corruption of rulers in the headlines of their Newspapers. This Journalists assertive approach credit goes to journalist community and ultimately this

active journalism made profound influence on the forming and breaking of successive governments in Pakistan.

Since print and electronic media are considered the mirror and reflection of society, hence finds respectable and elevated status in a society. They must provide the true picture what they observe, without any biased approach and remarks. Effective press guides the government in a righteous direction and provides forum for Political maturity and general awareness. Press also plays a significant role in human development and assists in public opinion formation. With the onset of privately owned media houses, the job opportunities in press and digital media have emerged for the potential journalists while the senior journalists are receiving handful pay packages in Pakistan. Although these private media owners are giving attractive salaries and packages to the media persons but at the cost of their professional requirements and moral ethics. They are giving their mandate and providing the line and direction where they have to work, express and disseminate informations to the masses. Since the process is patronized, sponsored and moulded according to the benefits of media outlets owners interests and business gains. This dubious process raises many doubts and questions on the credibility of information which the public is receiving. Media's owners have become a elite class and tend to make political affiliations as part of elite interests groups. Their paid journalists prepare the story and paint the picture as desired or dictated by their financiers and owners, thereby; denying the basic professional ethics of free and fair reporting. A staunch reader and viewer can easily make out that a particular media house is working for whom and why so much media coverage is given to a particular personality or political party. The contents of ads, Newspaper, News channel and concerned channel clearly dictate the theme and interests behind the scenes. Certain media outlets, owned by the corporate

sector unfortunately involve themselves in blackmailing the notables and government officials and become either tool of their financiers or satiate their gleeing lust through earning illegitimate income. Such Journalist produce negative image at large canvas and loose the credibility of information which the public is receiving. Therefore; media to perform its duties with care, utmost caution and professional obligations. Media assumes extra significance once it reports news and issues concerning with the national interests of Pakistan. It must not envy the public sentiments and exceed limits even compromising on country,s interests in the race for pitty business gains through commercial ventures. It is imperative to say that media must not play in the hands of few and act on the agenda set by their financers and handlers.

#### **4.3 Pakistan,s print media compulsions and press gagging laws in various democratic and non democratic regimes in Pakistan.**

A national press is considered the mirror of national politics.Press has seen the long spell of military coup d'état and their suppressing techniques since decades of non-democratic rule in Pakistan. Press endeavours that democratic government should remain answerable to the public which the journalist find hard task in the martial laws governments. Military government introduced Censorships and Press regulating laws and threats, violations of which, the Journalists were to face the dire consequences and stringent punishments.Press has faced the draconian laws, stringent policies of dictatorial regimes and pervasive influence in Pakistan. Freedom of Press remained a popular jargon but disputed slogan in the press tracked history during non-democratic period. It faced all the chronical odds and repressive measures wih perseverance and paved its way to call spade a spade in the Media landscape of Pakistan. Press has faced the draconian laws, stringent policies of dictatorial regimes and pervasive



influence in Pakistan. Since Press becomes non supportive to military rulers unconstitutional actions, bears the brunt. The first code of ethics for Press in Pakistan was formulated and also approved by them by Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists in 1949 which essentially maintained its position through adopting the fundamental principles of behavior under "Self Correcting" and "Self disciplined" codes as they thought there was hardly any requirement of government legislations for them being independent and free operators. Some Journalists overplayed with this liberty and severely criticized the government follies and actions. In 1958 military coup d'etat by President Sikandar Mirza (Thirteen days after exiled by General Ayub Khan) abrogated the constitution and laid foundation stone for successive military rules for decades in 1958-1971, 1977-1988 and 1999-2008 respectively. These repressive military government hounded the working journalists and their Newspaper,s owners. They were beaten by the batons once they protested against them. Press remained troublesome and found itself on a tight leash when they wanted to report matter considered not within their domain. Military wanted to follow the official line but Media person did not liked this tight rope route and desired for more and more freedom for fair and impartial reporting. The official Secret Act 1923, the legacy of British rule was invoked to muzzle the Press on a constitutional process that had gone astray. Press reaction was crucial, they united themselves under Nawa-e-Waqt daily leadership and decalared it a wrong order against the independence and freedom of Press. During the first 7 years (1947-1953) of Pakistan, in the Punjab province alone, 31 Newspapers were banned. In 1954, an attempt was made to deal with 12 press laws that has been issued in 1860 and were coming in vogue but the conclusions remain innoculous. Press had a severe blow during Ayub regime when many important national dailies like Pakistan Times, *Imroz* and *Mashriq* were closed on

April 18, 1959 and their owners and majority share holders were put behind the bar under the orders of Qudratullah Shahab, the Information Secretary, for not supporting the Martial law regime. For the Journalists, those were the days of repression and dark clouds kept on hovering on their physical safety and on their business outlets. These repression made a hard impact and the financial position of Associated Press of Pakistan (APP) in 1961 reached to financial collapse. In 1963, General Ayub Khan introduced Press and Publications Ordinance (PPO) which repealed the laws of British era with a view to ensure government grip over press through Legal proceeding. General Zia-ul-Haq banned national daily "*Musawat-Equity*" and put ban on Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ). As a result of this action, the journalists in Karachi went on hunger strike on December 1, 1977 which proved to be a successful and within eight days the government lifted the ban imposed on them. However the rigid censorship and strict control over Press continued violation of which the defaulters and violators were to face the 25 years imprisonment and 10 lashes in public. Press/Media coverage of any political activity was banned. Certain quarters of Journalists objected his introductory Hudood ordinance and Blasphemy laws but faced outraged. Some affected journalist criticize his anti Press laws to that extent that the infamous colonial masters' Press Gagging Act-1860 seemed benign. It was the Media clamps free year 2002, when General Pervez Musharraf provided Freedom of Information Ordinance that oblige government to provide access to all forms of informations except those which are restricted in nature. It was General Musharraf who obliterated the military regime negative impression with the press by bringing the refreshing change and thus, became the champion of freedom of Press and Media in the sour history of Journalists in Pakistan. In the period under review i.e, 2001- 2012, Media in Pakistan emerged as

a powerful instrument in the Pakistan political scenario. Press unexpectedly found free, Print Media provided space to even Electronic Media which operated without any fear and with full confidence. In the year 2000, there were only 3 channels and that too State owned but by the year 2008, the figure went beyond 50 channels which were privately owned.

#### **4.4 Print and electronic media jettison free period in General**

##### **Musharraf dictatorial rule and exponential growth of privately owned media outlets**

Media in Pakistan, right from its start in a newly born State, remained under State controlled U bolted clamps of burocratic tools and machinery but gradually it started getting freedom from their fetter chains. With the rise of political awareness and educational standards, Pakistani media has started to exert itself to influence on government and public affairs. There are many known factors that have contributed to the sudden surge in the media industry boost and developments, but Non democratic devil must get its due share, as it was the last dictatorial rule of General Musharraf that perhaps gave the maximum liberty at par excellence to European standards to the media industry ever since the history of Pakistan. On 12<sup>th</sup> October 1999, General Musharraf took over power through coups d'eta toppling down elected prime minister Nawaz Sharif. In a radio and TV broadcast he addressed that, Media forms an integral part of state hood, in this era of information, I have great regard and respect for the Media. I trust it to play a positive and constructive role. I am a firm believer of the freedom of the press and considering to liberate the policies on the establishment of private TV and radio channels. General Musharraf after assuming command of the country focused democratic ethos of liberalism, moderate enlightenment, awarding equal representation to the women in

all the fields and media freedom. It was his liberal period of General Musharraf regime when Media felt free and independent while giving his opinion even on issues which used to be sensitive rather than sacred in the previous regimes. Since Media expressed and represent the political ethos of a society in cultural and ideological perspective as a mode of their discourse. He gave free liberty to press and Media persons to freely criticize his government policies and on many domestic, national and international issues. He was a staunch believer that Press and Government both are power pillars of the state. He introduced new ordnaces for the freedom of Press and State Security classified material propagation codes and ordinances. PAPPRA ordinance 2000 asks from press, that Press publications and Newspapers publishers are to be licenced from government for licencing possession failing which they will be penalized.

General Musharraf established the Regulatory Authority for Media Broadcasts Organisation (RAMBO), the predecessor of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) being established in 2000 to facilitate the devolution of responsibility and power to grassroots by improving the access to mass Media at the local and community. This effort was apparently an effort in pursuant to specific clauses in the country,s constitution about decentralization down to grassroots level as envisaged and enlightened moderation in devolution process initiated by himin 2001. He introduced PEMRA ordinance 18, 2002, Section 32 and 36 which guides that, nothing will be aired which is against the security institutions of Pakistan.

The liberal policies of Musharraf accentuated independent channels to operate freely and unhesitationally. The independent channels reached the ardent figure of more than one hundred. Media operated boldly, vibrantly in line with the democratic ethos although Musharraf himself was a dictator but his moderate and liberal policies open

doors for the Media industry in Pakistan. Prior to 2002, News Agencies in Pakistan were completely unregulated. Established under the Press Council of Pakistan Ordinance in October 2002, the body operates on a semi-autonomous nature along with an Ethical Code of Practice signed by President Musharraf. It is mandated with multi-faceted tasks that range from protection of press freedom to regulatory mechanisms and review of complaints from the public. Taking opportunity of more business profits, there is a trend of mushrooming growth new of print and electronic media channels in Pakistan which provide all sort of social and entertainments to the audience and readers. Mostly, the print media rely on press releases which are a reflective of publicity journalism. Media owners keep journalists under their thumb by giving them contractual appointment and low salaries without benefits and allowances. Media owners are only interested in profit making and therefore not in investigative journalism. In private ownership of Media houses, government influences media contents through awarding of official advertisements. Thirty percent of the advertisements being distributed to media are controlled by the government through the Press Information Department (PID). Government also controls media bribing through allotment of plots in big cities to senior journalists. Sometimes vocal journalists are given appointments in government's offices/departments to stop criticism. Lack of proper media research also limits media innovation and truthfulness of Media contents. Print Media pays more heeds towards authenticity of informations being provided to the consumers while electronic Media hardly follows this principal and focusses more on commercialism in Pakistan. The mushrooming Media outlets are running for commercial interests which still requires maturity and the nation and civilized class in particular facing the irritant contents produced due to over-accelerated growth and irresponsible attitude.

#### **4.5 Media mushrooming growth in Zardari-Gilani liberal democratic era and their impact on national politics**

After the long spell of General Parvez Musharraf dictatorial rule, President Asif Ali Zardari assumed political rule in Pakistan. Zardari and Gilani ideological alliance on freedom of Media policies in their political rule assisted private owned Media outlets to grow and boom with full blossom. They continued liberal policies of General Musharraf era and went even few steps ahead for extra liberal policies. Both Print and Electronic Media streams probably found free and independent beyond any doubts. They focused on Media self regulation and upkeeping of human rights under the code of morality and ethics which would automatically protect the individual and group interests. In their era, the Media outlets remained unchecked, resultantly; indecency, obscenity and vulgarity were openly seen in Printing and Electronic Media. Unwanted and undesirable literature were ignored by the ruling elites in country, s historical landscape of various democratic and non democratic rulers. In the political spectrum of Pakistan, it was JANG group of Pakistan who jointly started its stubborn campaign along with the Indian daily, The Times of India and provided space on the main pages of its English daily, The NEWS and urdu daily, JANG. The print and electronic Media campaign aimed for Rapprochment towards India through the wishful jargon of “Hope for Peace” without caring from the State and Defence forces of Pakistan “Security concerns from India”. It was a curiosity in the patriotic quarters that who is funding for this outburst campaign? what are their aims and objectives? Throughout the campaign, the relationships of JANG Group with Defence officials remained at low ebbed as JANG Group was unable to prove the reasons for this unpleasant initiative. It also faced outburst response from the opposition leaders like Imran Khan

from the main theme and roadmaps provided by their pioneers and founding fathers. Now the owners of Media houses are the part of social elite class of Neo-bourgeoisie which harvested fruit from this era of free market economy which is the linchpin of capitalism. These Media groups provided protection to either political elites and their cotries rampant corruption or their own under hand business just to hide the wealth to evade from taxation department.e.g, JANG Group of Newspapers is publically known as one of the biggest Tax defaulter of the Government of Pakistan and many related cases are under trial in the various court of law in Pakistan. Unfortunately, human rights and other politico-social issues find space inside the leaflets of Newspapers while maximum space is provided to the mamoth ads and advertisements on the front pages. Their sensationalization style of News headlines, their liverage to government follies mirrors their allegiance towards certain elites, political parties and functional cum commercial rivalaries can be analytically seen from their contents of published literature.

Print and electronic media made exponential growth and flourished in the years 2001-2012 because of liberal and democratic policies of both Non democratic era of General Parvez Musharraf and Democratic era of Asif Ali Zardari and prime minister Syed Yussaf Raza Gilani. General Parvez Musharraf daring initiative was probably due to his military grooming and his perception towards India was as an age old and traditional enemy of Pakistan. His thinking was based on, in military terms; to neutralize Indians monopoly and propaganda machinery in Media as a part of Media and Psychological Warfare by countering through opening the maximum Media channels as a part of counter propaganda campaign against India. India must be engaged across the borders through satellite technology for effective response by Pakistan inside the India and educate people of rest of the world about Pakistani

stance on various issues making sour relationships with India. As for as the Zardari and Gilani era is concerned, Media made boomed and private owned channels and Newspaper publishing house earned huge wealth by showing allegiance to a particular elites or Interests Groups. Conservative elements did not liked the extra ordinary liberty as they considered it against eastern values and Muslims society codes of conduct. It exposed many pitfalls and shortcomings and challenged the impartial status of so-called Media hawks and pseudo press activist. These private owned publishing houses and TV channels like GEO TV belonging to JANG Group fully provided unfettered coverage against the ruling PPP government and demonized their politicians and political workers and supporters. Premier Gilani was ousted by Supreme Court of Pakistan for not writing a letter to Swiss government to reopen corruption cases against Zardari. Press and Media continued the relentless campaign against PPP rule under Zardari which subjugated their political governance style, public perception and raised negative image in the eyes of the people. This public disapproval mainly caused through Press and Electronic Media ended in humiliating defeat of PPP lead government in the general elections 2013 of Pakistan.

#### **4.6 JANG Group prima facie initiative through scintillating campaign for rapprochement towards India**

JANG Group took unique and magna opus initiative in the press track history of Pakistan on January1,2010. It was due to the liberal policies of Zardari-Gilani democratic regime which accentuated this media group in collaboration with Indian based daily, The Times of India for Peace pacification campaign in South Asia under the patronage of South Asian Free Media Association(SAFMA). In pursuing the lines of US and Western based Media outlets and their effective propaganda experiences



during WW1, WW2, Gulf War , Iraqi president Saddam Saga and Aghanistan scenario, it was coconsidered that it will fetch the desired objectives. It is a known facts that the mediatization of certain conflictive issues may camouflage legitimate facts, exaggerate figures than actual one and blurred the authentic informations. Media houses and their designated anchor persons have their general orientation towards their commercial interests in-line with the emerging trends of market economy where maximum profitization appears to be wholesome game. The biased and partial approach may negate the very principles of Neutrality, Impartiality and Fair reporting of informations in a positive way to the viewers and readers.

In the past, the States were inclined in the use of media for propaganda tool to achieve the political, economic and military objectives. The decades of 1980 and 1990 have for instance witnessed the use of media by United States of America and its Western Europe allies for politico-military ends. The projection of former USSR as an, “Evil Empire”, North Korea, Iran, Libya, and Iraq as an, “Axis of Evil”, Saddam Saga as an beholders of “Weapons of Mass Destruction” and latest projections of Afghan Mujahidin freedom fighters as Islamic fighters, *jehadiis* to terrorists and than after 9/11 incidence Usama Bin Laden from a Islamic jihadi fighter to a notorious “Globally Wanted Terrorist”, are some examples to be cited. Simply to say that it is the media which is busy in making the personalities from, “ Heroes to Zero, Leaders to Lead astrayed and Martyre to Evil Beast disposed off in any field. Recently Indian media also attempted through her vaciliferous campaign of conducting “Surgical Strikes” by its armed forces inside the Pakistani territory to camoufladge its armed forces follies but it miserably failed because of lack of any concrete evidence and went into wastebin basket. Pakistan’s independent media regulatory mechanism of General Musharraf regime provided full opportunity to JANG Group to satiate its

quest for peace promotion and to complete its media campaign. Unfortunately, they focused their energies in fluttering for India and generating cooing voice doves of white dove in electronic media and crafting the dove, holding olive branch magical themes in the print media to provide cloaking to India to conceal the conflictive issues on the noble name of peace. As both the print and electronic media boomed in General Parvez and started endeavoring into Indo-Pak relationships domain. In the past, Press and Media usually towed itself the official line in Indo-Pak realm and issues related to defence and security in Pakistan. They fully supported the national cause even in the Pakistan peaceful nuclear programme despite of western opposition and Indian vacilliferous propaganda campaign which declared it as "Evil for Peace" in South Asian Panorama.

The JANG Group of Pakistanis one of the richest publishing group in Pakistan. It was founded by noble journalist Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman (Late) before partition in Delhi to report WW2 news to the Indians which after partition shifted to Karachi. Today, best selling newspapers and magazines in English and Urdu and the multi-billion rupee GEO TV channel projects are being run by Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman, the Mir Khalil's brainy son, who also owns a lot of projects pertaining to real estate business in Pakistan and abroad. Though he can be very modest, his tussle with Nawaz Sharif in 1999 spoke volumes of his unmatched influence in all domestic and international quarters which matter Shakeel is one of Asia's most well known media barons. His newspapers have served to be the breeding nurseries and prosperous way for income generation for country's top journalists. His elder brother Mir Javed-ur-Rehman and tender son Mir Ibrahim (both are looking their business and legal aspect in Pakistan and are placed on managerial positions) also assist him fairly in the business affairs. The Group, as most politicians agree, has been instrumental in both toppling and

building governments in Pakistan for decades. Unfortunately, this media group under the patron chief of Mir Shakil-ur-Rehman is blamed for the torch bearer of those capitalistic forces arrayed against the national interest of Pakistan on the so-called name of democracy, development, peace and progress in the region. Media approach towards national interests appears to be parochial and self-centered as they believe only on spreading sensationalism, use tool to black mail government, politicians, and businessmen and craft vivid stories to attract financiers and buyers. For the last many years, the JANG Group/Geo has taken upon itself the challenge of campaigning for a reform and peace agenda and launched overt campaigns like *Aagahi* (Awareness), *Zara Sochia* (Think for a while) and *Aman-ki-Aasha* (Hope for Peace) while the contentious and vital issues are intact. Their covert mission has to be unfolded by disclosing their inside and trans-border business interest and regional and global powers involved in this game plan. The JANG Group and Geo are accused of trying to encourage the people of Pakistan to go for peace by forgetting the painful experiences of the past and drying of their water and The JANG Group has entered into an agreement with the Times of India Group, the largest media group in India to campaign for peace in the region while the contentious issues remain intact. One of the famous anchor person, Mr. Mubashar Lucman made serious allegations for accomplishing Hindus and Jews agenda and involved in anti State activities like; Getting of Indian movies through *Hundi* and *Hawala* without paying government holding taxes and than showing these movies in cinemas on fake censorship certificates. Obtaining funds from UK based NGOs to launch Media campaign against Islamic laws and Pakistan Hadood ordinance. JANG Group has formed its own NGO – Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman Foundation (MKRF) which received 20 million pounds to the MKRF (as quoted by Pakistani born British baron, Lord Nazir Ahmad in British

house of lords) on February 07, 2017 that the funds were allocated by UK government to promote education in Pakistan, but not a single school was built and the whole amount was diverted to JANG and Geo kitty except they provided certain advertisements. Just imagine how much these NGO,s are getting funds from abroad to serve their interests in the garb of development funds for a third world country. It is a violation of PEMRA regulations which strictly forbid foreign funding in any channel (S. 25 (d) of PO 2002 & S.1 (g) Of PR 2009). Moreover, it is an undeniable fact that Indian spy agency RAW has covert links with Hindustan Times (HT)? Mr.Shakeel *samdhi* Jehangir Siddiqui (who owns JS Bank in Pakistan) was secretly staying in India at that very moments when campaign for Aman-ki-Asha was launched by both sides of borders by JANG Group and Times of India.JANG Group and its affiliated circle of journalists are engaged overtly and covertly in making money against the very ethics of journalism.Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaaf (PTI) , the second largest political party which is sitting on the opposition benches in the center but having government in Khyber Pakhtunkhawah (KP) also issued white papers against the covert and overt activities of JANG group. It entails bank default i, e. National bank of Pakistan (NBP) for Rs. 1.7 billion for which NBP filed lawsuit in 2010 (B-11/2010 of Sind High Court). Obtaining loan of Rs. 300 million from Burj Bank in September 2013 by mortgaging the same property/equipment for which you gained loan from NBP. JANG Group also owe to FBR of cases totaling Rs. 6 Billion of tax default and this group resorted legal tactics of delay through Stay orders and continuity in business loss due to country security situation. PTI Chairman Imran Khan and PTI's Central Information Secretary Shireen Mazari had demanded government inquiry or to face judicial proceeding for their frauds and defaults. It is interestingly to say that editor-in-chief of JANG Group stays in Pakistan as a non-resident Pakistani who lives just one or two weeks in

Pakistan who hoarded a trove of wealth outside Pakistan and hence he has no stakes here. Now he is wanted by the criminal courts in Pakistan and has settled in Dubai. How can he feel the pain and problems of a citizens in Pakistan. Singing song for peace and chanting for Amman-ki-Asha is merely a fraud, just to please the foreign officials and funders. Recently, Pakistan Electronic Media Regulation Authority (PEMRA) served a show cause notice to the administration of Geo News for allegedly bringing premier spy agency Inter-Services Intelligence into dis-repute and harming national interest. The regulatory body has also demanded a reply from the news channel's administration by May 6, 2014. In the history of Pakistan, first time, the Ministry of Defence had submitted a written request to the Pemra for action against Geo News for violating the PEMRA Ordinance. The results are unknown to the readers and viewers. Hassam khan, a prominent analyst and also working for media watch alleged in his article dated April 8, 2014 "The DADA called GEO!!!" "There is no doubt about it, GEO is the worst thing that ever happened to Pakistan. Thanks to the last elections, we know how bigger a mafia is GEO itself. Those who wasted 5 years highlighting the corruption of Asif Ali Zardari are silent on the misdoings of GEO. Hamid Mir and Kamran khan are the most hated characters in Pakistan. Hamid Mir who received his father award as a journalist from government of Bangladesh for supporting Bangladesh cause and to launch propaganda campaign against brutal acts and launching of atrocities of Pakistani soldiers on Bangli people. It was severely criticized by quarter of Bengali and Pakistani intellectuals for demonstrating unrealistic facts and figures e.g. 3 Million Begalis were massacred by Pakistani soldiers. How an army of 25,000 regular troops can do this heinous crime? This army was facing not only Indian troops majority but armed Bengali rebellion group called *Mukti Bahaini* consisting of Million of well equipped and well organized people

supported by India. Similarly, Kamran Khan is involved in getting gratifications from notorious *Bol* Media group which has been banned by the government of Pakistan on cases of corruption, malpractices and forgery etc. Such is the moral and ethical state of affairs of these persons feeling pride themselves to be known as Journalists while the nation called them “blackmailers”. GEO is involved in all forms of corruptions, all cartels, from banking to land mafia to stock exchange and the charge sheet against GEO is so huge that might not be able to confine it.

Mr. Masud-ur-Rahim, the editor in-charge of JANG Newspapers during an exclusive interview with the researcher on 27 November 2014 which he verified certain hard facts about the JANG Group of Pakistan for which he has to resigned from his portfolio in JANG Group of Pakistan in Rawalpindi Region. He being true patriot admitted that present administration of print media publishing is giving more concentration towards Commercial interests leaving aside the patriotism and security aspects of Pakistani State. They appear to be more money minter than journalists. The founding father of JANG newspaper had always rejected such approaches and worked for the Pakistan's interests but present administration has ignored this vital aspect and is lacking this spirit of nationalistic feelings and blindly running after business concern.

#### **4.7 Aman-ki-Aasha wacky campaign and Indo-Pak peace improbables**

JANG Group of Pakistan launched Aman-ki-Aasha on January 1, 2010 with the illusion to promote Indian shrewed peace diplomacy as a part of track 2 diplomacy. It was aimed to present Indian soft image to the civil society of Pakistan in particular and to the world in general, thereby hiding the Indian atrocities in IHK and cover up Hinduthva xenophobia against the minorities in India. It was a Hindu intellectually

crafted sermon, the *Bhushan* to pave way for Indian culture and open up Pakistani markets for Indian traders. Once JANG Group started showing the distorted facts and defaming its armed forces, in the track history of Pakistan, Ministry of Defence floated request application to PEMRA to close the channels being violating the constitutional barriers and working beyond limits. Resultantly it was closed till April 28, 2010, voicing in support of JANG Group, Indian leader Mr. Yashwant Sinha met Pakistani government officials and stressed to open up the channel. This unveiled the JANG Group links with the Indian officials and intrigues of carrying out vacilliferous propaganda against the institutions of Pakistan. It was publically known that the puppeteers were sitting abroad while the puppet is staging the drama through the vivid *tamasha* of Aman –ki-Aasha in Pakistan as a quest to fill their sachel with wealth.

JANG Group of Pakistan attempted to introduce universalay acknowleged, Peace affectionado words like Rapprochment and Détente through the courtesy of media. relationship through the slogans of Hindi and Urdu mixed peace adorable words like *Aman- Ki-Aasha* (hope for peace) with sweet choir of bringing the two nation closer on similar culture. Focussing on the period under review for the years 2001-2012, Print Media involved into controversial aspect against national narrative for the reasons of creation of Pakistan like the Ideology of Pakistan and Two Nations Theory. Print Media went beyond the limits of nationhood and national interest and tried to play its self created role of fourth pillar of State and so-called official ambassador of Pakistan asking for rapprochement process between India and Pakistan. JANG group of Newspapers was trying to subdue rather subsumed the hegemony of ideological and historical fact that Hindus and Muslims are two different Nations and making endeavour to unite them is just like to unite the Fire and water at a same place. Ironically, JANG group launched the campaign and committed itself to wrong

direction to bring the two nations together on the name of "Aman-ki-Aasha, HOPE FOR PEACE" in the region. Defence and Security analyst rather use adages in return like " *Aman- Ki- Nirasha* (NO HOPE FOR PEACE)" while certain political parties based on Pro-Islamic thought critically call it as "*Muslims Dushmani Ki Bhasha* (ANTI MUSLIMS SPEECH)" for the obvious reasons of using sweetening tongue but stabbing behind the back and once bitten shy twice. They know that milk cannot be milched from the ox. Apparently, JANG Group has tried to become the champions of Peace, acting as potential agent of change in the region. Their commitment to change the public opinion and "Status quo" stance of Pakistani government on vital political and territorial issues on the name of Peace is beyond comprehension. JANG Group and its progenies are talking about common culture and heritage. They have forgotten that harmonious culture grow only in peaceful societies where there are no more ethnic issues and they have solved their problems and real conflictive issues. BJP lead xenophobia is a big reversal and mind boggler for those who opposed the creation of Pakistan. Media and its theme crafted progenitors are pursuing the goals of those who oppose the Pakistan and talk invasion through manyfolds. Sonia Gandhi speech in Amethi on 20<sup>th</sup> December 2004 that, " We need not to invaded or fight a war with Pakistan, if their (Pakistan) culture is destroyed, they are destroyed." That,s the way, how the intellectual progenitors invade and try to defeat the mind and heart of its enemies. Antiquarian optimism with pacific inclination for rapprochement would not fetch any required results for existence of peaceful coexistence in he region. Abhorrent image of presentation and hiding of facts and figures on the print and electronic Media main streams is neither a good service to the State nor can be considered loyalty to the Pakiastani State. Not talking about the main problem confronting the relationships of India and Pakistan making sour is just like leaving



main course of dish menu and resort to auxiliary contents. It is not a justice and fair play rather than a foul play. Foul play even it is of mild nature will remain a foul play and would lead to negative consequences culminating into violence and harsh treatment. It takes two hands to make a clap, and goodwill traffic. One way flow of gesture comes to appeasement as India has never missed the opportunity to harm Pakistani interests in bilateral and multi lateral forums. After assassination of Indra Gandhi in 1984, it blames Pakistan for the unfortunate incidence which was proved only vacilliferous propaganda against Pakistan. Immediate after the Mumbai blasts of 2008, India launched diplomatic campaign to have Pakistan a terrorist state. India urged from US to use its clout to block loans from the World Bank and international Monetary Fund (IMF). In the sports where equal opportunities and level playing field is provided to all the players, Indian narrow mindset can be reflected through the events of Cricket T 20 Matches of Indian Premier League(IPL) where non of the Pakistani player was invited for auction in the 3<sup>rd</sup> IPL after they felt stock up in Pakistan,s T20 victory in World Cup of 2009. Actors/Singers are considered free lancers and ambassidors of love and friendship. The same avenue has been closed to Pakistanis even to those who were already present in India to participate were told to leave the Indian territory. Pakistani TV comedian Shakeel Siddiqui was threaten for life by Shev Senacs. Singers like Atif Aslam and Rahat Fateh Ali were maltreated despite of their invitations as a guests in inside Indian Territory. Such prejudice and narrow mindedness must be eliminated for coexistence of practical Peace process and not through lip service on Media. Soft approach is appreciable to avoid the violence means and hatteredness. It is the Media which present it with loud words like bouquet of *flowers* or breath of fire to any event. Pakistani National poet, Dr. Allama Iqbal guided the Muslims of India through his

poetry to use the words of Heart loving speech(*Sukhan Dilnwaz*) and polite inspiring language (*Jaan Pursoz*) as a part of good communication skills instead of using aggressive and violent language. Non violent approach can attract all goods and have power to repel the odd and negative propaganda provided it comes from strong leaders like Gandhi and Jinnah. It can fetch magical results and eliminates violence provided that it is based on honesty, trust and fair play. It becomes the language of Peace but looses its credibility once it shrowds the evil intentions. JANG group Media campaign of Peace with India is a one sided story which was heavily funded by RAW and its allied tentacles to divert the intentions of Pakistani Nations from Kashmir cause and to pave way for Indian trade with Pakistan. India has lambasted Pakistan as “Monster and Harbinger of Terrorism” while Our media is twaining for Peace with India without caring for the security concern of Pakistan. It is endeavouring to gather Church and chapel while the realities are that are that , “Oh East is East and West is West and *never the twain shall meet*” (Ballads,1892).

JANG Group unique media adventures on the name of peace and rapprochement towards started without understanding the Pakistani nations thinking about India and hard experiences of the past with India. They made this misadventure without considering the pros and cons and calculating the costs and benefits of their actions and ultimately died to its own worst fate. Astonishgly, non of the print Media in Pakistan adopted JANG Group clique and cliché of Peace under prevalent environment and existence of ground realities with India making the Indo-Pak relationship sour and suavy. Media venture of rapprochement in Indo-Pak context proved non coherent as it was based on distorted hypocism except commercialism. Media in developing countries should serve constructive purposes and not for concealing the facts. People must be educated about enemy designs and told to be

conscious for validity of information which they receive from media. Enemies of Pakistan have massively launched psy-warfare against the ideological foundations and security institutions of Pakistan. Any attempt to defame and denigrate the image of Pakistan and its forces or cast aspirations on their performance is not a service to the State rather tantamount to serve its enemies interests. Such sowing the seeds of hate, discord and discontent against the security quarters of Pakistan are meant to divide the nations and keep them away the fellow citizens of Pakistan from real cause and issues confronting with India and Pakistan relationships and eroding the foundations of Pakistan.

Weakening the State Security institutions is like to strengthening the Anti-State elements and to foment militancy. Mirroring the fanciful assumptions and flowery pictures with ulterior motive would not justify in front of ground realities. Indian intelligence agency RAW and its planted baby, Aghan intelligence Agency, NDS (National Directorate of Security) has penetrated into Pakistani elites and owners of Media groups and their anchor persons are involved in funding them to serve for their interests. Certain political bigwigs have criticized Pakistan policy of "Good Neighbourhood" and their out of context speeches are vindictive to their personal gains against the sacred national interests of Pakistan. Indian sponsor agents have forgotten the fact that, "Nations even rise from slumber and their hopes for becoming a great nation is never forlorn and pure gold does not fear the flame". Assessing the situation and knowing the real enemy whether it is in wolf clothing or smiting dagger while passing the smile is the prime responsibility of not only its security officials but all of its citizens. Unfolding enemy evil designs shrouded in peace mantra is the real bread and butter of its patriotic quarters. Certain Media anchors and analysts which invite their foreign masters to declare Pakistan, a failed state are living in a fools

paradise. Media foxes and so-called “god fathers” of electronic and print Media should tame themselves to positive reporting and acknowledge the sacrifices of Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs) in support of peace and harmony in the society. They should stand shoulder to shoulder to those, who uphold the flags of Peace and Love and fight it out against those, challenging the integrity, sovereignty and security of Pakistan. Let us not forget that by throwing ashes on the smouldering fire underneath can be done momentarily but it never be put out completely. Instead of putting dust on the burning issue, both sides must hammer out a solution to outstanding issue which are making the plague Indo-Pak relationships. Those knave imposters in Media disguise who attempt to create wrong perceptoon about Pakitan and all those who become puppet to foreign powers for pretty financial are to be openly tabloid for being traitorous. According to George Orwell (1984), “

All those who bargain the state owned sovereign guarantees to boost their business interests are not loyal rather imposters. Such states donot need any spy masters like James Bond 007 to steal state secrets of enemy state, they are sufficient enough to harm their own state”.

#### **4.8 Acrid anatomy of onion layering trapped Aman-ki-Aasha peace pacification campaign towards India.**

The unprecedented use of media with the exponential use of hyper information under the transitional levels of 5GW in a liberal democratic society has generated many encapsulated media campaigns with fabricated themes and lethal contents. These are prepared by hostile agencies and are presented through scintillating imageries, media memies and capital lustive imposters. Their main purpose of such knavish propaganda is to gravitate the public opinion into their favour, thereby undermining their

opponents state policies and institutionally defined national interests. Media knitted apparently noble but deceitful commercial clientele with satirical paradigms are generated through elite owned media outlets. These are aimed to mislead the readers/viewers from the actual contents and deflect from the original issue. The enkindled arrows are thrown towards enemy masked with smiling face and melodious chorus sound to disparage individuals, groups and organisations etc.

JANG group Magin David Allegory presentation of *Aman-ki-Aasha* campaign was overtly Peace rapprochement campaign towards India which was accentuated after the work of foreign funded NGO 'FRIENDS WITHOUT BORDERS' which also sponsored musical show '*DIL SAY MILLAY DIL*' in Karachi in 2007 by inviting Indian playback singer Sonu Nigam. Critically viewing, carrying out the content analysis and open ended decoding of thematic presentation and logo of the campaign, the melancholy of *Aman-ki Aasha* is disclosed that the puppets were sitting in Pakistan while the puppeteers and patronists were controlling from abroad through funding/operating under the banner of SAFMA. It was having sinister designs while masking the soft image through noble words of Peace with intent to hide the ground realities making the Indo-Pak relationships sour day by day. The defence and security analyst considered it either *Aman-ki-Nirasha* or *Pakistan Dushmani-ki-bhasha*. For instance, the stereotype image of flying doves in white colour are a sign of Peace throughout the world but the Hindu shrewd architect who gave it to the Saffron colour flying doves in between Indian and Pakistani flags (Ironically to say that how many have seen the flying doves in saffron colour- the saffron bandits of Pakistani waters and eventually to grains). Saffron (*jogia*) colour represents the Hindus in the Indian tri colour flag (*Taranga*). Blooming Lotus flower is an Indian national flower and also the political sign of Hindu fanatic political party BJP. In

Hindus mythology it symbolizes the prosperity through difficult period. It is pertinent to mention that this flower grows in the dirty waters of marshy and muddy scums of impure lands (Hindutva mindset calls the Pakistan as impure land instead of its literary meanings ,that is "Pure land". The word of Peace only appears to be used as a metaphor but not for the noble cause rather for ulterior objectives. Unfortunately; JANG group of Pakistan is tempted enough to make wild goose chase to collect oodles of money against national interests of Pakistan. On November 26, 2008, Mumbai attacks, it was JANG group, "Geo" channel which produced shriek without any authentication broke the headline that the only alive terrorist Mr. Ajmal Qassab was a Pakistani national but on december31,2008, Indian FBI team leader Satish Sharma negated any such involvement or evidence of any Pakistani national in it. Probably it was to strengthen Anti terrorist laws in India and in Indian Held Kashmir. RAW and its sponsored imposters in Pakistan want to support its launched proxies in Pakistan. Such media spurious campaigns are not initiated to pinn-up hopes in the doomed Indo-Pak relations but to isolate Pakistan in the region and beyond.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **FIFTH GENERATIONS WARFARE (5GW)-THE NEW DIMENSIONS OF ENEMIES LAUNCHED WARFARE AND SECURITY CONCERNS OF PAKISTAN**

#### **5.1 The conceptus of Generations of Warfare and the ongoing Fifth Generations Warfare (5GW)**

With the change of time, resources, existence of modern weapon system, technological advancement in the battlefield scenario and techniques to harm/damage the adversaries also contributed to this classification of warfare.

First Generations Warfare (1GW), based on ancient warfare e.g, swords, shields, axes

Second .....(2GW), based on use of gunpowder e.g, automatics guns

Third.....(3GW), based on non linear warfare e.g use of tanks/air

Fourth.....(4GW), based on Non State Actors (NSA) in State affairs

Fifth.....(5GW), based on mass communication and Information

#### **Technology (C&IT)**

1GW, 2GW and 3GW are used against military targets like armed military persons, military equipment/ installations while 4GW and 5GW are used against Non-Military targets like non combatants, unarmed civilian, their state functionaries and institutions. In simple terminology, Non State Actors (NSA) impromptu violence/war waging against State warriors e.g, Law Enforcement Agencies (LEA) and other related functionaries. 4GW usually possesses economic objective through hostile state actions like sanctions, trade embargo while 5GW is based on hitting the ideological

objectives i.e, Human beings are the direct targets through dexterous use of modern gadgets and technology for disruptive and destructive purposes.

Typonomy of 5GW can be further classified in various domains of Human warfare,

- Physical domain- 1GW, 2GW,3GW
  1. Land
  2. Sea
  3. Air
  4. Space
- Non Physical Domain-4GW, 5GW
  1. Economic
  2. Ideological
  3. Social
  4. Ecological
  5. Psychological
- Virtual domain-5GW
  1. Cybernetics
  2. Electromagnetic Spectrum
- Human domain-5GW/ potential 6GW (Brain Computer Interface (BCI))
  1. Cognitive
  2. Enigmatic

Prussian Army General (1832), Carl Von Clausewitz, after experiencing the wars with opponents, opines in his famous book on war strategy, On War;

“ War is the continuation of policy, by others means”.(Book 1, Chapter 1, Section 3, Para 8)



These means include all physical like Low Intensity Conflict (LIC), Sabotage/Saboteur/Subversive activities) , Non physical(Cyber Terrorism, Cybernautics) and Meta physical(Media and Psy-warfare) conducted under obscurant mode through inimical forces. Although war is legal under International Law and all the nations are supposed to have respect the physical and ideological boundries of other states but 5GW is a war without boundries and agreed rules and protocols of war. It is a universal accepted maxim,

“ Without rules, we all loose”.

A hybrid warfare made through dissemination of fake news, web sites, imitative themes, Fabricated imageries, concocted stories and planted agents(Imposters/lurking lies experts) on Media believing that what a sophisticated hoax can do that damage, a bullet cannot do that. Instead of publically appreciating the efforts and sacrifices of their own Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs), certain media persons engage in underscoring rather discrediting them, in the maintenance of peace and rule of law in the country. Cultivation syndrome of fake news reporting and propagating through hired media persons, their penpricks, their pseudo-intellectual articles, their tittle-tattle made comments and lurking lies to distort facts on vital issues carry negative messages, cause embarrassment for the national institutions and adversally affect the morale of nation and shatter the confidence on their capacity/capability which they reposed on them. The spread of fake news and the misuse of modern gadgets and technology have become new platform to launch hostile agenda on intended targets under Fifth Generation Warfare (5GW). Under this warfare, media campaigns are launched/ sponsored through media memies, media midgets and imposters which are designed and intended to create more gaps and enhance the level of distrust among masses and their institutions. Vulnerabilities are exploited to further disengements to

cause harm and more damages to the national fibre and one unit cohesiveness. Onion layer trapped narratives are crafted with vivid themes which are encapsulated through sugar coating process and handed over to corporate nurtured media outlets. They spread the informations without weighing their cardinal virtue for their commercial gains and start generating baffled exaggerations as part of media and psychological warfare. Since the modern media has established indelible relationships with the readers and its viewers, hence becoming more and more effective day by day. It is estimated that by year 2025, 30 billion people will be connected through C&IT and power will rest with those who had controled over them.

## **5.2 Conceptulization of 5 GW and its triological basis**

“A country with strong military force can only be defeated by Peace offensives and making it weak while exploiting it throug internal dissentions”.

(Clauswitz)

5 GW triades finds its invisible basis by dubbing both the concepts of 4GW and 5 GW in its toponomy. The concept entails incorporation of non linear and non symmetric elements of warfare thereby; hitting not physically to the enemy as in the battlefield but to its psychological domain. The salient of the concept are,

1. Forestalling the fault lines, the vulnerabilities and weak areas of the enemies for exploiting it own advantages.
2. Impenge the brain psychic process to launch contradictory para-psychological themes and narratives against intended targets.
3. Abetment of the anti state elements/insurgents and underprivillaged class of society through their agents and handlers.

### **5.3 Aims, objectives and its corroboratives C3 objectives**

“Wars are imposed/directed to break the will to fight of opposing entities and to reduce the enemy without fighting is the acme of skills”.

Sun Tzu (The Art of Warfare)

(Interestingly to note that Sun Tzu is a 5<sup>th</sup> BCE chinese strategist and his nexus with present days on going 5GW is still validating profoundly through the utilization of all Non Kinetic tools and means like Media, Cybernauts, Economic coercions/sanctions, Propaganda and Psy warfare and other disruptive techniques, etc.).

This hybrid warfare encompassing 4GW and 5 GW aims like killing two birds with one stone and the finesse is that you want to achieve your aims without being harmed yourself. The aim is to neutralize your enemy without physically fighting through causing dissensions in the group of people/ nation by the hitting the mind and heart of the intended targets. The incorporated trio of C3 objectives may be one or in combination of two or three which are mentioned as,

1. Create chaos
2. Create confusion
3. Create consternation

Dextrous use of modern gadgets and technology by the developed states like US in the Hybrid warfare is being introduced to achieve strategic objectives. For instances, the use of modern tehnology like Highfrequency Active Auroral Research programmes (HAARP), Winning Hearts And Minds (WHAM) and Mind Control Sciences (MCS) will be utilized to entice the enemy through baiting techniques.

In the modern age, Communication and Information Technology (C&IT) keeps engage the human beings 24/7 round the clock through exchange of information and

passing various narratives and themes to its end users. It is difficult to comprehend whether its aim is constructive or disruptive or destructive. It makes profound effects on the mindset and behavior of the individual/groups/society. Libya, Syria and Iraq have become fertile ground of the Hostile States and their sponsored agents. Hostile Media is heavily committed in creating negative perception of their government and efficacy of their Law Enforcement Agencies (LEA). Hate preachers and dividers in the society has to be identified, isolated, doomed and defeated. Since the survival of the state lies in the hands of people, therefore, let the enemy must not break the strong bond between state and its people. Clouds of this blind/obscured warfare will dissipate rather wither away when a nation would follow the slogan, “ United We Stand, Divided We Fall”.

#### **5.4 Gerasimov and Doval Doctrines of launching 5GW**

1. Gerasimov Doctrine was proposed by Russian chief of General Staff to exploit the grayzone areas of the unwanted governments through false flag operations. He focused his strategy by combining both military and non-military means to achieve strategic objectives. He never believes on the coups de etat or coup de grace but internally affecting the domestic politics. Since no individual is hero in this warfare who should come to limelight of the nation hence concealed characters be fully financially supported to attack them from unexpected ways which a common man is unable to weigh the cardinal virtue of doze being received and not knowing that he is being harmed/damaged.

2. Doval Doctrine to be more appropriately called Anti Pakistan doctrines as the implications lead direct towards Pakistan. The salient points can be summarized as,

- a. Aggressively engagements through tirade strategy e.g, through and ground forces in order to cause heavy casualties to the enemy
- b. Coersive diplomacy to isolate the neighbouring state from diplomatic support in the regional and global forums.
- c. Maximum patronage to the agents, their handlers through which the insurgents receive finances and provide them latest technological available means.

Indian Ex Army Chief , General @ Vijay Kumar Singh in seminar in Bombay, openly confessed that India heavily invested in Pakistani province of Balochistan and awarded huge incentives to the seperatists elements. Ajeet Doval many a times on Indian Media acknowledged in front of participants that RAW is aggressively committed in FATA and Balochistan to the best advantages to Indian interests.

### **5.5. 5GW local, regional and trans-regional manifestations**

“Our enemies know that they cannot beat us fair and square and have thus subjected us to cruel, evil and protracted Hybrid Warfare. They are trying to weaken our resolve by weakening us within”.

General Qamar Javed Bajwa, COAS, Pak Army

Pakistan,s enemy after the sensing its defeat on the physical fronts , know has resorted to asymmetric warfare using all non kinetic means against us. In the ongoing scenario, Hybrid Warfare is more daunting as it has protractracted effects on internal stability and national coheasion. The traditional means find it a hard phenomenon to neutralize it, to nullify it to its ends. Enemy obscure involvement directly and undirectly to weaken the social fibre of the society cannot be ruled out. Our enemy remains watchful to exploit our religious, sectarian, political, ethno-social and cultural fault lines and to hit them head on. Fake news and demoralizing rumours are

dissiminated to subvert the efforts of government and its functionaries to exacerbate the feelings and sense of insecurity with in a society. The enemy trotting efforts to produce the commotion and fearsome environment have been eliminated to much more extent because of improved law and order situation at a national level in Pakistan. Indian malicious designs were completed unfolded and exposed to the rest of the world after Kubhoshan Yadev arrest and Pulwama episode. Bombay incidence was wrongly reported by Geo news of JANG group of Pakistan without knowing the gravity of the situation and brought bad name for Pakistan. Beating the drums of integrity in reporting and crying over the spilt milk has been of no usage. It received odium from the segments of society being irresponsible and unauthentic. Any unauthentic information or a misleading rumour can play havoc with the society and causes substantial damage especially to the naïve ones. Therefore, it is important to have credible information and that too from a authentic source.

Media midgets and mammies unnecessarily has given projections to certain issue which are harmful to national integration, spirit de corps and coheasiveness. Hostile states make destrous use to exploit the situation as it was the case of Pashtun Tahfuz Movement (PTM) which started their movement after the return of relative normalcy in the Pashtun/Pakhtun belt. Their protest was to limelight their grievances which they suffered from the GWOT and from Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and their overt agenda was to secure Pashtun identity and rights to live with peace. It was assumed that government and relavant quarters will address their problems but later on went to the hands of hostile forces which one could easily analyse their galloping changing irritating narratives against the integrity and soverginity of Pakistani state. Pustuns are strongly embedded and integrated in the social fibre of Pakistan. The political of indiscrimination and un-justice with the pushtun population was absolute irracionale

which could cause disharmony, breach in trust and internal dissensions in the social fibre of Pakistani nations. Later events proved that their claims were false, just professed rhetorics and not the real one. Government functionaries fairly tackled this ethno-sensitive pressure point. Another ethno-pressure point in Sindh province, muhajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) is now requesting to Indian government for asylum while sitting in UK as his all the links with the hostile country have been unfolded by his previous political power shareholders, party comrades and partners in crimes and now he finds himself in the blind end. The province of Balochistan is awarded more than their share in National Finance Commission (NFC) award by cutting shares/ squeezing funds from the provinces but due to corruption, the development infrastructure is still poor which is being exploited by the nationalists groups and anti state forces Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) and Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF). RAW involvement to promote Mujeeb-ur-Rahman six point formula and training of Mukti Bahini to create insurgency and fuel the internecine warfare with a view to cut Pakistan into two halves. This whole episode was fully propagated by Indian media on radio, Akashwani and received wide coverage in Indian dailies of English and Bangla editions. Recently kidnapping case of Pakistani retired military officer with the pretext of providing job in UNDP project in Nepal while making fake UNDP websites, email address and a telephone call from UK code telephone number. It was revealed that the website and email address is registered in India and the call was computergenerated from UK. RAW this action may be to counter its serving Naval officer, Kalbhoshan Yadav caught red handed in espionage in Balochistan province in Pakistan. According to First Information Report (FIR) launched against him by Counter Terrorism Department(CTD), Indian spy agency RAW planned and conducted attack through their trained miscreants on China's consulate. Indo-US joint

efforts to keep Pakistan ward off from China Pakistan Economic Corridore (CPEC), considered the game changer with multi billion infra-structural development project and Indian media venomous propaganda against Gilgat-Baltistan being part of Indian territory and CPEC construction of route as illegal. The myth of poor law and order situation in Karachi, FATA and Balochistan has been broken by Pakistani LEAs as exaggerated by the Indian media and inter-alia western media channels and now their shifting to other contingencies to launch proxies. Their efforts to generate rift between civil military relationships had been effectively checked and thwarted out. Pakistani societal image from radical society to moderate enlightened has been built. Pakistan courageous rebuttal to Indian Air force on February 28, 2018 has manifested Pakistan,s capacity and capability to counter act effectively. Now only option with the enemy is to engage in Hybrid Warfare to engage Pakistan in all the five warfare domains of land, sea, air, space and cyber space.

Russian exploited it through hacking of American voting system and controlling the Anti-Russian movements in Ukraine and in Baltic states by fully influencing the domestic politics and stealth maneuvering to achieve political and strategic objectives. US cybernetics into Iranian internal affairs through launching cyber attack on Iranian NATNAZ nuclear enrichment facility by intruding STUXNET virus to disable the official web sites and by hacking the classified data forced the Iranian to abandoned it.

The hostile countries are utilizing all other means to harm the opposing states through spreading rumours, propaganda themes, cyber attacks and even pressing through economic sanctions or dictating financial terms and conditions through International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Financial Action Task Force ( FATF);

“ Pakistan is in the midst of Hybrid Warfare since a decade”.



Dr. Ashfaq Hassan Khan, Ex Governor, State Bank of Pakistan expressed with concern India and like minded states are using all the tools and techniques of Hybrid Warfare to undermine Pakistan will to fight and to safeguard our National Security and Sovereignty by operating through the threshold of conventional warfare. Pakistan needs a strong national response against this ambiguous, asymmetrical 5GW and to counter it with full resolve. Let the larger hostile state/states must not be allowed to invade Pakistan through 5GW stratagems.

## **5.6 Islamic perspective of blatant angles of informations and news received through individuals and others propagating quarters.**

“O you who believe, if there comes a *Fasiq* (Liar-evil person) to you with any news (information), verify it, lest you should harm people out of ignorance and afterwards you become over regretful, for what you have done.”

Al-Hujraat (The inner apartments, the chambers) (6:49)

“And He knoweth what you conceal and what you reveal and Allah is all knower what is in your chests”. Taghabun( Mutual loss and Gains) (4:64)

“An-Nifaq (Hypocrisy) in its major forms, Kufr-al-Raad(turning away from the truth and Kufr-un-Nifaq(Hiding and screening the truth with evil designs)- such people will be in the lowest depth(grades) of hell”. Sahi Muslim The characteristics of hypocrites,29/6).

The messenger of Allah(PBUH) said, “ It is sufficient for a man to be a liar, when he passes the information(News) to the next one without verifying it” (Sahi Muslim The characteristics of hypocrites, 30/6).

The messenger of Allah(PBUH) said,” It is enough sin for a man to speak of every thing that he hears”(44/6).

One of the important segment of media is a free and fair reporting to the public. In the garb of freedom of media, certain quarters start doing false and unauthentic reporting for greed/personal gains and even go to an extent to blackmail key elements of the society. Some ignorant persons/ Societal groups start blindly believing what they listen and convey it to the next with out checking the validity of the informations passed to the next one. At times to gain wealth, media persons are found themselves care free from reporting national secrets, thereby harming the National interests and damaging the image of State in the eyes of the global community. Media should demonstrate as a watch dog of national interest as a prime duty and must provide authentic informations for the awareness and absorption in the society for better civic sense and display of good citizen ship. Media acts as a bridge between government and public and plays a key role in promotion of National harmony and cohesiveness. Dramatic representations of certain themes, pictorial representation and use of attractive language do attract the viewers/readers but must not deceive/cheat its consumers.

The Messenger of Allah (PBUH) said, “ who (so) ever deceives (the people), does not belong to me” (Sahi Muslim 35/6).

Deceiving or cheating to some one is a sin and must be avoided. Similarly giving false information and portraying wrong picture with intentions to hide the real issues/ true facts for some personal gains or entrepreneurs interests through propagating on media cannot be supported. JANG Group irresponsible reporting in the events of Bombay and Pathankot incidences in the garb of race for first to report as a “Breaking News” without verifying the authenticity of news. Ironically to say that the at Later stage, the Indian government has to officially negate any Pakistani State involvement in those incidences. Therefore; the validity of sizable objection remains affirmative on

media that its unhibited reigns must not be allowed as free and unchecked especially involving the State and Security related issues. Media must report within given space and work within prescribed limits and ethical boundaries as involving the sensitive issues. They must not create unnecessary hype and issue bombastic statements in the private controlled channels. They must be educated how to talk especially in those programmes which are broadcast live simultaneously. Therefore the anchor persons must feel responsibility before uttering on sensitive issues.

### **5.7 Importance of peace continuum over violence in the changing peace paradigms**

The 21<sup>st</sup> century will remain elusive if the essential conditions for Peace are not fulfilled. There will be no victorious in the future wars 21<sup>st</sup> century as there will be total destruction and annihilation of humanity. One should ask the importance of Peace from the homeless citizens of Libya, Iraq and Syria which are facing the horrors of conflicts and war as their governments and forces were unable to thwart out insider and outsider threat and now are at the mercy of hostile actions. It is a lesson for the world that Peace and aggressive occupation can not be sustained together. May it be any region in the world and South Asian region is not an exception. South Asia is already a conflict ridden region where Media voluntarily participation in bringing rapprochement is a positive development, with its soft tone and tenor of Peace, albeit of its impact, whether it will be a useful effort or futile is a multi-million question? It also raises the question that how these two warring nations engaged in less proxy more active war-non kinetic to some but going towards kinetic ends in its ultimate objectives come to positive ends, talk about cooperative arrangements and more productive and fruitful arrangements.

Why global powers and international community are not paying heed to solve this existing imbroglio? It is high time know that both India and Pakistan recess from rivalry stance. They need to cooperate and accommodate each others before the future of next generations become gloom and doom. Global thinking is heading towards curbing the use of force and coercive techniques to oppress the people to prolong the political and military rule and the developed nations are convinced in adopting the Peace process through the peaceful means like negotiations, debates on said issues to justify viewpoint by each party under congenial and conducive environment. Mutual respect and cooperation arrangement between the two states may pave the way to Peace for the future generations. It is to be remembered that, there is no guarantee that in the context of reduced US influence and Chinese commercial interest in the region, India would not spare to accentuate itself to impose her will on the neighbouring countries, therefore, India non-offensive attitude towards Pakistan is likely to remain doubtful and process of Peace between India and Pakistan will remain suspicious and fragile. Misconceptions and regional imbalances with prolong tension, hostility and distress in the region may lead to another war at any time, thereby increasing the miseries and down trounce living conditions of the people of the South Asia.

After studying the reasons of hostility and instability in South Asian region, one finds many perceptions on either sides of both polities which could be overshadowed rather they are ignored for settlement of contentious issues. In changing paradigm, if a state seems to be least interested in settling the issue/dispute, there are other forces which can play their significant role in reducing the tension like media and civil society for long lasting peace in the region. These forces must be taken into account for positive considerations and peaceful rapprochements. There is no innate reason to carry on hostilities as the whole world is going towards Peace and resolving their issues

through dialogue and other peaceful means and why can't these two states come to negotiating table? It is un-denying fact that Indian media often used to carry out venomous propaganda against Pakistan and state capabilities to handle the public affairs but in present scenario Indian media abdication of prejudice and detoxification of propaganda campaigns is astonishing, totally surprising rather than alarming for certain hardliner strategic think tanks and politico-military analysts in Pakistan. Quick U-turn from Indian chauvinist approach to Peace mantra is mind boggling and raises many key questions, why this tectonic shift in policy is took place and why Indian media has changed the tone and tuned up pro-Pakistan band, why gospel choir of Peace mantra and good neighbor- hood has been started with wishful thinking towards smaller neighbours like Pakistan. Is it in line with regional trade interests or political wigs personal interests or in pursuit of global peace paradigms? Will this initiative of Pakistani Print media portraying the soft image of India in Pakistani press be a fruitful effort in bringing the stability in the region?

Indian premier Modi remarks in Dhaka University, Bangladesh on June 6, 2015 where he clearly and openly admitted the Indian role in subversive activities which ultimately led to disintegration of Pakistan into two halves. Moreover Pakistan sharing of three dossiers to UN in October, 2015 containing evidences of Indian involvement in Pakistani province of Baluchistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Karachi metropolitan city were clear proof of nefarious designs and blatant actions were undeniable facts and figures. Due to publically statements and blatant policy declarations of Indian regime, the dead lock persists in the process of peace and status quo continues as vital issues are usually ignored in the bilateral talks. Although the JANG group and Times of India have taken a step to bring the two countries closer and to remove the irritants and

miss-conception through the mode of effective communication for peace and harmony in the region. One should remember that obsession in having superiority in Arm Races and compilation of stock of weapons and ammunition would never help to reduce misery and definitely going to serve the humanity at all on either side of both the countries. Both countries make a huge junk of population in South Asia and many of their people are living in down trounce conditions. Pakistan possesses population of 200 million while India exceeds 1.2 billion. Pakistan today possesses the lowest growing economy in the South Asian region with the GDP of Mayanmar booming at 8.6%, Bhutan at 8.4%, India at 7.5% and Bangladesh 6.6% in the region. Pakistani government claims to have GDP growth of 4.7 while independent experts disagree and insist that it is going below than 4% which is a matter of concern for the economists. The economists hope that projects under CPEC are likely to generate heavy economic activity in the years to come to will fillup the pitfalls and would boost public revnues in multiple sectors especially the short fall of energy sector. The future of South Asia, inhabited by more than 1.7 billion people and marred with threats of war depends upon the SAARC leadership which is so far has proved to be a only talk-shop and photo-session studio since its inception in 1985 where speeches are delivered and leaders express their resolve to convert the South Asian region union. It has failed its utility in combating odds and avoid unpredictable conflicts and disastours. India possesses strength of army 3.4 million while Pakistan has 1.1million army to defend its territory against hostile neighbor which has already waged wars to flex its military muscles. India is still non signatory to Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which not only creates suspicion in the eyes of the world and Pakistan. Pakistan is already thickly engaged in its war against terrorism and facing poor economic

outcome. India being a major neighbor must morally support it to end the menace of terrorism and win the hearts of Pakistani leaders and political elites.

In present scenario, the only possible way is to live like a peaceful neighbors' and to solve their problems through manufacturing of peace process while sitting besides at the table. The effective composite dialogue is possible only through ensuring CBMs by which both Pakistan and India can solve their long standing issues peacefully including the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir. For the success of CBMs the will from both the states is a prime factor. Both states must encourage those people and organization which are interested in peace and give them full projection on media within the countries and their leadership must demonstrate good will gesture in front of rest of the world. The moderate people should be chosen as ambassador or officials of these countries. Representative of Pakistan and India do not produce any prejudice or religious extremism during their visits. Extremists and fanatic persons must be discouraged at every level. CBMs must be continued at any cost. Exchange of delegations should be enhanced as much as possible. Sincerity and flexibility of mind to accommodate would add positive results. Mere statements of bonhomie by leaders cannot overcome the impediments caused by the non-fulfillment of these conditions. India wants to see its overwhelming influence in the region which Pakistan rejects and asks for equality and mutual respect without compromising its national interests.

It was General Musharraf era in which two belligerent sides were likely to come closer towards some logical solution on core conflictive issue of Kashmir through a composite formula by their representatives but could not accomplish due to BJP leaders non flexible stand on Kashmir. Therefore, these measures appeared as a symbolic and the arduous journey for permanent prevalent of peace in South Asia is still awaited.

India and Pakistan are situated in a strange, perhaps jinxed sphere encompassing steps of only hand shake and pictorial representation and photo session of six decades has to break the ice and work for the betterment of their people. They must end the jingoistic postures and belligerent environment and pin up the hopes for peace and economic developments in the region. They must have mutual agenda for combating terrorism and fight out drugs and poverty through widening up their trust level and collaborating from security to sustained economy. Indian Peace lover and think tanks like Praful Bidwai who worked long time for Indian famous daily "*Times of India*" and then adopted free Lance Journalism won the Mc Bride International Peace Prize for recognition of work opposing nuclear weapon development in South Asia(SA) (Interlink,1999). He stressed more to eliminate the poverty in the region and to promote the humanistic and peaceful milieu in the region. He was also the founder of the Movement in India for Nuclear Disarmament (MIND). He had to face stiff opposition from the domestic front but continued his mission to establish cordial relation between the people of South Asia especially of India and Pakistan for sustainable peace and economic development in the region.

In Indo-Pak political spectrum, impetus for Peace pushing was seen both by Vajpae and General Mushrraf governments to pave the way for conducive and congenial environments through official announcements of composite dialogue and visit exchange of State dignitaries and Media construtive role towards rapproachments process. Indian Media showed restraint in vacilifarous campaign towards Pakistani leadership while in Pakistan,s scenario, Media openness in the period of General Parvez Musharraf Media avoided traditional cruelty towards arch foe which was due to Media freedom from government censorships and clamped policies. It had a profound impact on different segments of society ranging from layman to elite,



soldier to top brass of military, government, semi government and NGO's. Free media has shown more effectiveness in influencing and changing the public opinion. Recent media involvement in the rapprochement process between Indo-Pak relationships is a significant step in strengthening the peace process through the use of print and electronic media, thereby; establishing stability and harmony in the region. Media campaign launched by both electronic and print Media like "*Aman- ki- Asha*"( Hope for Peace) by the Media groups is a model and test case for reducing tensions between the two arch rival states of India and Pakistan. In a Nation State system, the Nation States are the primary character of world politics and same is applicable to regional politics. The Nation States conduct their foreign policies on the basis of their National Interests defined in terms of power, in which military power plays a significant role. In todays politics Japan and Taiwan are the economic power but they are unable to exert their influence on others powers as compare to US or Russia and China. In Indo-Pak spectrum India possesses a huge military powers and desires to dictate its policies on smaller neighbours. Pakistan is the only countries which denies Indian hegemony and desires to talk on equal footing being having sufficient response potentials and believes in Defensive offensive Strategies. Power and Balance of Power are the two important segment in the Realists domain and a smaller country like Pakistan would keep on endeavouring to ensure its Security for its Survival under all odd conditions while watching through the Realists lore lenses.

The détente and dilation of hostilities and hostile mindset would only be possible if both the parties show flexibility in their attitudes and in their conduct. Academicians, political leadership and Media persons must remember Quaid-e-Azam remarks about Indo-Pak relations while being interviewed by Mr. Duncan Hooper, Reutter, Daily DAWN on October 25,1947,

(Afzal,1948) quoted that, “We are always ready to come to an understanding or enter an agreement with Hindustan as two independent, equal, sovereign states just as we have alliances, friendships and agreements with any other foreign nation (p.44).

India uses the cliché of custodian of the biggest democracy of the world and up-keeper of Secular constitution and Indian think tanks while forging their policies must follow their founding father Mr. Gandhi Peace and Non violence philosophy. India must prove that it is the India of *Mahatma Gandhi* who puts compassion and tolerance above all else and display an *act of bravado* and *Peace affection- ado*.

India and Pakistan are situated in a strange , perhaps jinxed sphere encompassing steps of only hand shake and pictorial representation and photo session of six decades has to break the ice and work for the betterment of their people.They must end the jingoistic gestures and belligerent acts and pin up the hopes for peace and economic developments in the region.They must have mutual agenda for combating terrorism and fight out drugs and poverty through widening up their trust level and collaborating from security to sustained economy. They should learn lesson from neighbour China which has the world biggest territorial boundries with 14 neighbouring countries and has multiple disputes with neighbouring countries. Its booming trade and diplomatic engagements are beyond these commitments to its trade interests and purely because of declaration of “Non Intervention Policy”. Even China and India have rivalry in trade and possess territorial dispute but their trade volume is more than \$75Billion while Indo-Pak share only \$4Billion. Indian Peace lover and think tanks like Praful Bidwai who worked long time for Indian famous daily “*Times of India*”and than adopted free Lance Journalism won the Mc Bride International Peace Prize for recognition of work opposing nuclear weapon development in South Asia (SA) (Interlink,1999). He stressed more to eliminate the

poverty in the region and to promote the humanistic and peaceful milieu in the region. He was also the founder of the Movement in India for Nuclear Disarmament (MIND). He had to face stiff opposition from the domestic front but continued his mission to establish cordial relation between the people of South Asia especially of India and Pakistan for sustainable peace and economic development in the South Asian Region(SAR).India post 1991, liberal domestic economic policies put it on the rampant economic growth which facilitated its down trounce peoples to up lift their living standards who were earlier living below poverty line.The economistof the view that if India continued such pace , it may reach to the world fifth largest consumer economy by the year 2025 and beyond.India became the centre of world attraction for its exalted growing economic policies while the world has suffered economic recession phase.These socio economic advancement and uplift surged potent assertion in the South Asian (SA) politics. It was a paradigm shift from Indian Hindutva trivial ideological belives to reconstruct its approach towards economic re-orientation for better status in the regional affairs assertively and in the global politics ostensibly. Under the banner of SAARC, cooperative arrangements are urged from member countries for the mutual benefits but ironically to say, Indian economy is boosting and affluent society is flourishing day by day while Pakistani economy is crippling and deteriorating under prevalent political economy.There is a dire need to make functional of South Asian Free Trade Agreement but under prevalent political tension, mistrust and misperception scenario, it appears difficult for any breakthrough between nuclear rivals of India and Pakistan. What so ever the case may be, cooperative arrangements are necessary for promoting the welfare of people and improving the quality of poverty ridden region of South Asia. In India, the economic growth assisted the political elite in pragmatically engaging its people as par

excellence with other democratic societies of the developed world. Media was extensively used for the personification of the ruling elite for their political advantage and to blur of their certain folies on domestic front and abroad. Media provided a powerful base for their projection and support for their logics and to gain positive public support for their policies.If India wants to extend its economic markets to Pakistan and beyond Afghanistan towards Central Asian Republics (CARs) than he must arrange concrete measures to pave ways for implementing the CBMs towards Pakistan and show serious attitude in settling core issues for betterment of the people of South Asia. There is a need to create capacity to accommodate each other grievances and move forward towards establishing right kind of linkages for promoting trade and investment that could tackle poverty and ensure prosperity. The world, after seeing the horror of nuclear catastrophe in the shape of destruction of humanity and their infrastructures which ended the WW2 and the victorious camps started the bipolar era in the globe. The Atlantic world was considered a safe and secure community as they pledged for not taking up armed against each other. Global thinking is heading towards curbing the use of force and coercive techniques to oppress the people to prolong the political and military rule and they are convinced in adopting the Peace process through the peaceful means like negotiations, debates on said issues to justify the viewpoint by each party under congenial and conducive environment.

The scenario and events of post cold war educated nations of the world that wars are not the only solution to solve the political issues and territorial disputes, rather they must come forward for peaceful settlement through the process of connivance and mediation and keep on making endeavors to maintain peace. Avoidance of hard measure and promotion of soft means and soft image of State and its people in the

eyes of global community is considered as the ardent requirement to meet the changing milieu and paradigm. Mutual respect and cooperation arrangement between the two rival States may pave the way to Peace for the future generations. Diverging from the world changing paradigm towards peaceful co-existence, Indo-Pak panorama presents absolutely opposite side of the show. They had been waging wars against each other unlike the European States. The European empires melted like a snow and vanished from world map after WW2 and re-appeared with squeezed frontiers with confirmation to sovereign multi States system respecting each other autonomy and declared boundary with a view to live in harmonious milieu.

Letting go of one's ego and foregoing the evil spirit of lust for having more and more would only paves ways for contendidness and preserverance. It is equally not applicable to the human beings but also to the nations as well. Maulana Rumi reflects his feelings saying that,

“You are not a drop in the ocean, you are the entire ocean in the drop”.

If you are interested to find a solution, you have to hold the keys of compassions, humanity and empathy to contribute for the welfare for humanbeings. The words of tolerance, forgiveness and accommodations of each others interests in a community are perhaps the best peace builders in the social comity of nations. The 21st century is replete with peace pledges and proposals for peaceful solutions. Modern weapon system and nuclear war heads have taken the qualitative jump to total annihilation, making mass death and devastation, a certainly unmatched by the whole history of warfare. Peace and Peaceful co-existance is the only way out of this chronic menace and dilemma. This can only be achieved throughby letting the fear and suspicion out of minds and heart. The firm conviction and futility of war may be a favourable option to resolve the issue. But by negation of this optionto resort it, may lead to

allegations of holding responsible for terrorism and banning vicious propaganda on media against each others for promotion of peace and deeper integration of harmony and prosperity in the region. Both the countries should abstain from sporadic exchange of fire and indulging into border skirmishes and armed clashes. Not only faux pas strategies and mere demilitarization statements are required rather but People centric approaches and human development strategies are the need of hour. Practicing the double standard for preaching disarmaments but failing to take necessary steps themselves would increase the gulf. Sitting on the edge of the knife and waiting for elimination of frustration, chaos and mayhem without practical steps is not going to solve the issues. Attempts at sneaking spies and covertly encouraging those forces which promote chaos and foster violence and terrorism would wither away the chances of lasting peace and peace prospects in the region. It is a high time for both the countries that if they ran out of conventional war options, the next nuclear options will be a total annihilation. Strategic stupidities, breaches of securities and lock horns approach in settling issues would lead repeated blood baths of humanity.

The fast fading Geopolitical scenario has manifested that war ambitions and arms race are futile elements while Peace has also never proved itself to be a pristine virgin. The failure of secular ideology in the form of Neo- colonialism and Neo-imperialism through iniquitous aid and trade, multinational corporations and mushrooming NGOs and regional based economic blocks have changed the paradigm in favor of Peace. Although, it is very difficult to forget the past and forgive the past follies but sane persons always pay heed for present and cater for future. Charging allegations and blame game tactics vitiate the peace prospects and spoil the chances for normalization of relations necessary for existence of Peace process in the region. According to Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 2014 report, one third of world population is

living in extreme poverty in which only South Asia is housing 40%. India being the biggest beneficiary of 21<sup>st</sup> century after China should realize the extension of economic benefits to its neighbors is in the better interests of the region. It will enhance prosperity among under privileged class living in South Asia. Indian Media to create such conducive environment across its borders favorable for Peace and economic progress in the region with candid and pragmatic approach. More than Sixty Nine years have been passed and still both countries are coming at daggers drawn. Jinnah and Nehru wanted the painful relations between the two newly born states while Gandhi could not even imagine such bitter fact. Nationalism and Religious sentiments must not suffer the neighbourhood and instigate violent attitude. Decades of conditioning and brainwashing of the generations is bringing them to a point of No Return. There is much more to Pakistan than the image portrayed through the media in Pakistan. Print Media through its Newspapers, weekly/monthly periodicals should focus itself in maintaining normalization of relations and must not spread hate in the minds and hearts. Both should not be obsessed with the task of putting each other down and avoid head-on tactics or locking horns into vital issues turning into stalemate. Diversity of view point is a natural phenomena but it must not be turned into conflict. BJP leaders like Jharkhand Chief Minister Mr. Ragubar Das conclusive remarks at Sangh Pariwar that those considering India their homeland should treat Cow as their mother. He highlighted the fact that Cow meat is banned because it encourages rapes and other social crimes in the society. Such insulting remarks are sufficient to enrage Muslim community in India. Even Hindu community representatives like West Bengal Chief Minister, Mrs Mamata Bannerjee, she has to state that Modi dictatorial style of governance has suppressed minorities and they are losing their freedom as given right to them under Indian constitution. Hate speeches like Indian premier Modi

delivered on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2016 saying that Pakistan rejoice when terrorist hit India would convey wrong messages, not for the people of India but to the world in particular. Contrarily, Pakistani premier despite of Indian troops indiscriminate firing of pellets (Unlawful through Geneva convention) on Kashmiri political protestors asking for independence and awful Quetta terrorist attacking incidence, avoided any blaming remarks against India in his 14<sup>th</sup> August 2016 speech showing greater Statesmanship. Hated speech from leaders mouth make the entire country people stun and faceless. None of the architect and founding fathers perpetuated for hate narratives and ideology of violence. If the European states can live like good neighbours why can't India and Pakistan. India being the largest in size and resources should care for the smaller neighbor like Pakistan and resolve all political disputes through dialogue and not the use of force. I conclude with Quaid-e- Azam Muhammad Ali *Jinnah* (which itself belong to Jain-Gujrati creed of India and J means in Hindi language victorious and Jina in Gujarati means living with victory through Non violence). To quote the visionary words of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, "We must work our destiny in our own way and uphold the concepts of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as a Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind." (Quaid speech concept on July 1, 1948 and Reproduced by Express Tribune, October 3, 2012)

India should accept this thing that, "Pakistan is a reality on the globe of world as an autonomous sovereign State; it would never be reunited under Indian Union Territory concept as Indian Union as their Hindu obsessed leaders dreamed through



successive generations for *Akhand Bharat* (Unified India)". Both sides of the leaders must consume their energies to promote welfare of the people of the region through accelerated economic growth and social harmony. Both government should forego the scary policies and demonstrate a big stand to come out of box for a mutual agreed solution to Kashmir issue. It is a historical fact that Peace prevails between democratic regimes as they solved their conflictive issues across the table and not in the battlefield. Both should launch the peace offensives and rapprochement initiative to win the laurels of human based developments by improving their social standards. False reporting and baseless propaganda in the Media against each other be noticed at State level, it must not be ignored even if found at low ebb rather it be totally stopped to gain trust and confidence level. Optimistic views and pragmatic steps are to be propagated to prepare grounds for solving the issues. Why should such a troubled and frustrating state of affairs continue?

### **5.9 Formation of South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA) and Pakistan,s threat perceptions through counter intelligence techniques**

SAFMA consists of surpitious media persons having propensity towards India. This Indo-Pak nexus of jouranlists are committed to create soft corner between the people of both the sides by ignoring the core interests of Pakistani state but to safe guard own financial interests and their Media owners business tycoons. Jan Group of Publishers, after tax evasion of multi millions rupees in Pakistan, the owners of JANG Group have shifted their head offices in Middle East.s Not even a single person from India has a history of speaking against Indian constitution, its judiciary or Armed forces but coming on Pakistani sides, they speak volumes of critical against Armed forces of

Pakistan, repealing of Article 62-63 from the Islamic republic of Pakistan constitution, critically carryout barrage of bombardment against decisions of Pakistani judiciary. They want to accolade tip of iceberg silence on Water issue with India, osteracization of Pakistani government policy towards IHK and possess strong urge of rolling back of Pakistan nuclear programme. In the race of containing equilibrium between their professional ethics and reporting, they hide the truthfulness and resort to false reporting for pretty financial gains. Their hidden agenda of SAFMA can be summarized from their views and thematic expression through using the counter intelligence technique and collate intelligence,

1. Defy Two Nations Theory
2. Defy Islamic laws, values and norms through making frivolous statements.
3. Promote Secular norms and social values.
4. Defaming of Pakistani institutions like judiciary and its Armed Forces as a part of 5GW.

The present Chairman is Mr. N. Ram from India while its Seceretary General, Mr.Najam Sethi hails from Pakistan. It is a known fact that Najam Sethi migrated from India to Pakistan in 1963 and he was tried by Bhutto regime for working for RAW and secretly funding the Baloch ribals in Balochistan, How such persons can work for National interests of Pakistan? The other mainstream bigoted and shadowed personalities from Pakistan like Imtiaz Aalam (JANG Group who expressed that huzoor (SAWW) was wrong by treaty of Hudaybiya), Iftikhar Ahmad (JANG Group), Marvi Sarmad (Secular women who pretends to be Muslim but openly supports lesbians in the programmes and her lineancy towards India and extra ordinary liberal ideas fairly be judged from these print Media pen pricks, “Kashmir coverage by

Pakistani Media is over exaggerated and a mere propaganda through pakistani narrative”.

“Pakistani liberals have to embrace the Kashmiri narratives like Arundhati Roy etc. Kashmiri desire to leave us alone as it has done us enough damage. Pakistani are not aware of the real Kashmir Narrative”. (The Nation, July19,2016)

Beena Sarwar (who shared anti Pakistan vociferous articles with ex RAW chief Mr. Vikram Sood and proclaims to be patriot Pakistani), Nusrat Javed (AAJ TV and ill-reputed himself through getting gratifications from government ceased channel BOL) and Salman Taseer (Ex governor Punjab assassinated for supporting blasphemy act) daughter Sheher Bano who is fame for close aide of Mr. Barkha Dutt of ndtv, famous for anti Pakistan bigotry theories,norms, beliefs and writing editorials for Times of India are pinnacles of this chain etc are members of this organization. It appears that wealth lust flies and scoundrel gang have gathered around “*Gurr* (continental name of raw sugar in sub-continent). According to Zaid Hamid, one of the critical analyst and staunch patriot, disclosed during famous anchor programme of Dr. Shahid Masud at ARY News Channel that SAFMA is heavily funded by Indian secret agency, RAW to distort Islamic ideology and disintegrate unity of Pakistan. Thanks God. Such personalities donot have any credibility in the eyes of the masses and majority of the Pakistani reject their secular messages and anti Islamic ideological approach. These JANG Group sponsored personalities are so much influential that they managed to get appointments like Chairman PTV, Mr. Ataulhaq Qasmi, Absar Alam,Chairman PEMRA, Mr. Absar Alam(now both deposed from the court orders being ineligible/disqualified) from Nawaz Sharif government. Ironically Absar Alam also worked for NGO under covername “Open Society Foundation”(Formally Open society Institute) founded by US business magnet Mr. Gorge Soros with \$24.5 billion,

apparently to raise voice for justice and Media freedom but famous for sharing Islamphobia and anti Catholic laws(especially Pro-Abortion rallies) campaign in US, Europe and across the world. During last visit of Pakistani premier Absar Alam was the contact person for arranging meeting of Pakistani premier with this US business magnet, Mr. Soros who was award burocratic appointment in Pakistan, meant for grade 22 officer from Pakistani establishment. Mr. Hamid Mir affiliated with JANG group who used to blame Pakistani agencies behind every untowards incidence happening any where in the South Asia and is equally awarded by India and Bangladesh for his services rendered to their interests. He went to Bangladesh to appease India to receive his father award for aiding Bengalies against the Pakistan. Lately he also tried to involve one of the prime agency of Pakistan for his plotting murder attemp incidence for which Government of Pakistan constituted commission to investigate and bring out facts in front of the Pakistani people under Justice Zaheer Jamali who rejected all allegations and issued 41 pages report stating that affidavits and recorded statements of Absar Alam and hamid Mir against ISI were baseless and pack of lies. Certain *inter alia* aspects of their receiving gratifications from elites for working for vested interests are mostly of classified nature but researcher wants to disclosed some aspects of public interests, highlighting that such so called, pensellers can go to such an extent for their greed and lustfor wealth, they have positive symphony to fill their tummies and pockets.

**5.10 SAFMA and anti Pakistan implications.** The establishment of South Asia Free Media Association (SAFMA) in the UAE, the membership awarded to SAFMA to anti State working elements in Pakistan is a matter of concern and posseses an existential threat to the roots of Sovereignty and internal security of

Pakistan. Its members are key position holders and deeply involved in political realm of Pakistan. Their members seems to be more worried about terrorism in Mumbai and Delhi than in IHK and in Pakistan. Its active member Marvi Sarmad who also works for UNDP and JANG, open confession that she donot believe on "Two Nations Theory" and say that government of Pakistan Article 62 and 63 and supporting arguments through Quranic verses are *Khurafaat* (baseless absurd argument) and shamelessly believes to see Pakistan as "Sex Free State, a heaven for gays and lesbians" and justifies detention of Aafia Siddiqui. Another member Imtiaz Alam (President of SAFMA in Pakistan, never believes on religious codes in Pakistani constitution and exponent of Secularism in Pakistan. One of the outspoken women of this forum was Asma Jehangir who can be seen in social Media by putting saffron costume. Occasionally she carried out Artillery bombardment of words on the Defence personnels and judicial judgements in Pakistan but kept tight lips silent on Indian brutalities in Kashmir and Indian RAW sponsored confessional statement in Pakistani Media as he was involved in terrorists acts in Pakistan. In one of the TV programme once Air Marshal® Shahid Latif ex Vice Chief of the Air Staff of PAF requested, not to use Hindi words in her talks, she derogatory remarked, why he was insisting her to use Urdu words. According to Justice Syed Jamshaid Ali commission report of Supreme Court of Pakistan, She along with her Husband Mian Tahir Jehangir, got Rs 50 Million charged off from Hala spinning mills. Although she has declared her religion Islam in government documents but whole Lahore knows that She, her Husband and her Father Malik Jilani all are "Qadyanis" (Roznama-Jasarat, Karachi, February 7, 2013) and they leave no stone unturned to malign Pakistan Armed forces. Her legal aid office which is working on the name of "Dastak" a shelter for house deserter women is being looked after by Mr. Muneeb Ahmad who is

also co-anchor person of Mr. Sethi programme "*Apas ki Baat*" run under Geo channel of JANG Group. During Bombay blast she was present in India when without any proof she stated to Indian channel that Pakistani ISI is behind this blast. Such selfish leeches also in SAFMA are sucking the blood of Pakistani nation and tarnishing Pakistan's image. Another member Aroosa Aalam who had affairs with Sikh, the son of a former CM of Indian Punjab, Mr. Amrinder Singh, preferred wealth accumulation than Islamic religion bindings. Gandhu, Nehru and Patel all together opposed Two Nations Theory and now they are doing support of Indian leaders ideological and political ideas and related mantras. SAFMA members are directly and indirectly hitting the the separate entity and Islamic ideology of Pakistan which are the basis of creation of Pakistan. According to Ahmad Qureshi who writes for English dailies in Pakistan and is public policy commentator SAFMA is a group of defeatist minded Pakistanis who believe in Anti-Pakistanism. This minority is Indian implant group receiving undeclared funds from foreign governments. SAFMA is a darling baby of RAW which pay them heavily in arranging functions and seminars on regional politics and related issues for their undercover journalists, especially with regards to Pakistan. They are involved in maligning Pakistan and systematically organize poor image of Pakistan in front of international readers and viewers. SAFMA is a RAW funded nexus in Pakistani electronic and print Media which is riding the Pegasus and producing the Trojan horse impact on Pakistan under Hybrid Warfare.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **PAKISTAN'S THREAT PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGES POSED BY INDIA**

#### **6.1 The concept of security**

The term of "Security" is extensively used in a society but also of paramount importance in the eyes of IR scholars. The word has been amply used in military and non military purposes. It has diverse dimensions from mental satisfaction to physical protection. The etymology of the word is derived from latin taxonomy with closer combination of two English words,i.e, Se-Cura in which Se stands for without and Cura means care, the place or a state which donot require any care. It is the ability to provide care free enviroenment by giving a sense of freedom/independence from odds to individuals, organization, society /state/states. In socio-political sense, it is the social order in which any community lives without fear or danger and in military sense, it is the provision of physical protection from impending threats to your land,sea and air domain and in IR typology, it is the safeguarding of interests ranging from individual to territorial to economic interests of state/states within a globe from potential dangers/threats.

#### **6.2 Conceptulization of security in a nation state system of IR**

Security is the ardent requirement of individual from its mental satisfaction to his physical protection including the kith and kinns and his valuables. It has multiple angles and diverse dimensions from non military to military usage. Although the

common considerations are taken in military considerations but the scope varies from food to finance to informations security.

Security may be required at three levels,

- Individual level. e.g, Personal security- security to the individual,s life, food, health, shelter and to its valuables in his possession.
- National level. e.g, Survival through the Security of the five domain i.e,territorial, sea, air, space and cyber space dimensions. At a state level, protection of its resources,assets and life of its citizenry.
- International level,e.g, Ensuring Mutual Survival through providing protection to the states from all sort of dangers for peaceful co-existence.e.g, freedom from violence/wars, freedom from wants and dangers to humanity.

Modern Nations States system has a firm concept as “ preference of Security as prime” in the national life. All the states for their survival calculates the requirements to maintain peaceful enviornment against internal and external threatsi. Modern State System urges strong society and state relationship bond, embedded in one unit. The States prepare strategies to secure themselves from challenges and threats and modified them according to the circumstances. e.g strategies to meet the menace of terrorism, 5GW threat, Food Security to Physical to Ecological Security. Modern States encourage its citizen and private sector to involve in the State affairs while evolving Security Strategies in the best of national interests.The internal situation and geo- political enviornment, the neighbouring countries attitude and global assistance are catered for making the comprehensive Security Strategy at a State level. At strategical level, the main objective is to “Secure the State interests with in and beyond the borders” through military, economic, diplomatic and all available means



while at tactical level all the kinetic means are employed. The threats are anticipated, prevented, impended and defeated through multi-lateral, multi-directional and multi-dimensional State actions/reactions/responses. At a tactical level, the defence through 5Ds tactics is a baseline and may be explained under following sub headings,

1. Deter- to discourage the enemy from making any attempt
2. Detect- to observe any presence/ existence
3. Deflect- to avoid any happening in your domain/ area of responsibility
4. Defend- to argue, to resist, to repulse through your actions/reactions
5. Destroy- to eliminate the danger/threat to its end

### **6.3 Aims, objectives and security related S3 corroborative typologies**

To provide resilience to potential dangers/threats. The vulnerabilities are identified and are secured through appropriate measures and means of protections. Every State has different measures to defend its sovereignty, to protect its assets/ valuables according to the resources and available means. If a State finds unable to guard its interests against massive threats, resorts to Alliances, Defence treaties with other major States to ensure its Survival. At a State level the main aim is that the " Nation to stay safe and secure from all hazards/threats ( both natural and Man made). It is an unbending fact that the misuse of power and lust to occupy more and more accentuates the human beings for aggressions and human emancipation. Under such adverse circumstances, human interests and its holdings are required to be secured with utmost resources and available means. Same universal principle is applicable to the state which puts all its resources to secure its national interests. In a Nations State System, State provides means to preserve the identity, sovereignty and territorial integrity at all costs. In the Realists domain, the essence of State Survival and Security

remained as a paramount factor and was acknowledged from Roman Empire to present super powers of the globe. The famous classical Latin dictum and adopted in the Spanish armed forces motto,

“ *Si vis pacem, para bellum*- If you want Peace, prepare for War”. (Records of the grand historians, ch47) (Epitoma Rei Militaris{Book3})(In Latin) The Latin Library.

This is an attestation that the most effective means to maintain Peace and Security for a State that it must be appropriately armed, trained and motivated to defend itself from all the odds and thwart out the threats. The scope of Security has been increased in multiple dimensions after the dexterous use of modern gadgets/technology for ulterior objectives and disruptive purposes. In modern sense, the people/ citizen must be secured from all mental and physical threats.

S3 corroborative typologies may be differentiated as,

- Secrecy – of the intentions, hidden aims, secret plans and classified data etc. It contains the elements of confidentiality, privacy and non physical segment etc.
- Safety- of the human beings from potent threats. e.g, x rays, Fire and diseases. Keeping of oneself free from harms/risks/ dangers e.g usage of warning signs to keep the individuals vigilant like inflammable, road safety signs, high electric power signs etc.
- Safe guards- of the physical infrastructures e.g, valuables, buildings etc. use of physical measures/appliances like keeping sentries, modern gadgets/appliances like CCTV, scanners, smoke detectors, lighting system, barbed wire, barriers and putting alarms against theft/ robbery to provide warning and response time.

#### **6.4 Importance of security in a nation state system of IR**

The subject of Security is a fundamental aspect and of paramount importance in IR. The Realists consider the State the most imperative player in the nation state system of IR. The state excels for their survival through safeguarding their security and sovereignty above all means. The state possesses the sole authority within its geographical limits and full authority in its internal domain. No external power can intervene into its domestic affairs. All the states have equal entity in the community of nations and all are bound to respect the sovereignty of other states. Such a unique system which IR model provides to ensure mutual respect and close interactions at regional and international forums. The state resorts to military power being necessary to ensure their survival against internal and external threats from the enemies. For a smaller state like Pakistan which anticipates both physical (hard means) and Non physical (ideological to economic to cyber Security etc) from its enemies, hence finds challenges to its National survival of complex nature and high magnitude. Therefore the ultimate apprehension of Pakistan is 'Security of the State' which is overriding concern in the national life. The realist assumes that national interests as State power while Neo- realist theory assumes that State Survival minimum and State power maximum. States prepare their policies and within a State, the citizens are bound to respect and implement on them. However, they should be given chance to express their grievances and State is responsible to address them. The Non State Actors be given full liberty since they do not pose any direct threat to the State Security and Survival. If a State finds any threat from NSAs, it has the legitimate authority within its boundaries to sort out foes to ensure its supremacy. Therefore the importance of State in the IR cannot be questioned, provided that the State should keep its citizenry

of prime interests within a state and defence and security from external invasions to maintain peace and stability, therefore; State will remain vital in the times to come.

### **6.5 Security paradoxes in Realists domain of IR**

The State centric theorists of IR both Realists and Neo-Realist focus on the study of interstate system using the State as fundamental aspect and with a concept of State, the Security and Sovereignty are of supreme importance

#### **1. Old or Classical school of thought (Realists)**

The traditional school main exponents believe on the security of direct threat from the enemy to the State, thereby, believing on the physical means of military potentials and capabilities in the warfare e.g, 1GW, 2GW and 3GW

#### **2. New school of thought (Neo Realists)**

The Non traditional/Modern school of thought proponents focus on the contemporary scenario and see beyond the military means. The difference in thought is that the Neo Realist believe that State Survival at minimum while Realists assume that National interests as State power as maximum. They also believe in the indirect threat like indirect interventions and latest techniques of the human beings emancipations from the powerful states. It may not adversely affect their life. The State policies has to be pro- human being. They focus human safety and security from the odd and human resource development and wellbeing. In the Generations of warfare, 4GW and 5GW, the human beings are direct/ indirect targets of the Hostile States and therefore it is also the responsibility of the State to provide awareness and means to prevent and counter the potent threats from 4GW and 5GW.

## **6.6 Pakistan geo-strategic significance and in-built vulnerabilities**

Pakistan enjoys a privileged geo-strategic position and makes a centre of political shift that heralds the interests of the rest of the world. Pakistan geo-strategic milieu makes its position as a fulcrum of Asian land as it encompasses a tri-junction of three highest mountain ranges of the world i.e., Karakoram, Himalayan and Hindukush occupies an area of 803,940 SqKm with land mass of 778,720 SqKm having land boundaries with Afghanistan 2430km, China 523km, India 2912km and Iran 909 km while it has a coast line strip of 1046km on Arabian Sea. It used to have three nuclear neighbours, in the North former USSR (now Tajikistan, just 35 KM narrow stretch of Afghanistan, commonly called Wakhan strip), in the North East, People Republic of China and in the East lies Indian territory. India is located on its Eastern side which has never accepted its co-existence since its birth. Pakistan bears ideological and territorial disputes with India since its appearance as an independent sovereign state on the world map. Pakistan strategic depth is very less and its main communication arteries like broad gauge railway lines and main roads passing near its borders. Any swift main thrust of adversary can cut into two halves of North and South portions. To cater for this inherent weakness into its physical structure, it has to keep its forces highly alert with modern gadgets, weaponry system and latest equipment. More-so it seeks constant diplomatic support from regional and international powers to maintain its Sovereignty as an autonomous independent State. Pakistan wanted to enhance its Security parameters by joining US and its Western country alliances for obtaining military and economic assistance to offset Indian military superiority in the region. Though the overall military balance remained in Indian favour since decades. Indian hostility towards Pakistan and muslim community

is known making strained and erodent relationships which are historically old in nature and demonstrated by India through waging three major wars on Pakistan. It dismantled Pakistan in 1971 through the support of former USSR being ally to its camp. India started Nuclear race to elevate its regional and global stature through exploding Nuclear bomb in 1974, describing as Peace Nuclear Explosion (PNE) by its Nuclear Strategists and Think tanks. Indian once again took initiative to show its Nuclear developed muscles through detonating a series of nuclear blasts on 11 and 13 May 1998. It tilted the Nuclear deterrence balance towards Indian side which accentuated ruling BJP leaders to issue hot statements like from today onward, Kashmir is an integral part of India and Pakistani held Kashmir be taken from Pakistan by force and its Nuclear programme even, blamed it a "bluff". It's the then Chief minister of held Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah urged Indian government to carry out attack through embarking Nuclear option to retake rest of the Kashmir and taunted Pakistani leadership to detonate Nuclear device if it had anything into its kitty. Reciprocating the challenge posed by India and dispelling away the wrong impression taken by India and global community about Pakistan capabilities, Pakistan decided for detonating its Nuclear bombs on 28 May 1998, thereby exhibiting its capabilities in case war was imposed on Pakistan like the past by India. Indian leaders harsh words and intentions of hot pursuit in Pakistan became silent. Pakistan this step provided a recipe for regional Peace and modus operandi to Nuclear stalemate for utmost stability in the South Asian Region (SAR).

After 9/11 incidence in America, Indian government found it a good opportunity to take out hidden intention and banned all trade and social exchanges with Pakistan just to appease American on one side and labelled Pakistan as a terrorist state and to hide its own oppression and atrocities committed against Kashmiri freedom fighters and

Muslims civilian of Kashmiri race. Indian even suspended over flight rights of Pakistani commercial planes. Indian Media launched toxic and venomous campaign against Pakistan labeling it a harbinger and pusher of terrorist operating in Indian territory, especially in Indian held Kashmir. In January, 2002 at a SAARC summit in Kathmandu, President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf once again reiterated Pakistan's clear stand on Kashmir saying that freedom fighters in Kashmir are indigenous who are fighting for their legitimate right of self determination. This statement and many other Musharraf demands during Agra Summit infuriated the leaders of BJP in India. Indian think tanks believe that there is one reality is clear that Pakistan does not want to get Kashmir by military strike and seeks international support on issue of Kashmir but international powers will not show so quick interest as they proved in case of East Timor. China, the major power in the region is unlikely to pressurize India and Pakistan in the favor of independent state of Kashmir. Need of the hour is, Pakistan and India to incorporate Kashmir leadership to engage them on talks to pursue them reaching such a solution acceptable to all the parties, otherwise the whole process will go futile.

### **6.7 Pakistan's security assumptions against Indian multi-dimensional threat and safeguards**

Pakistan Security threat assumptions from Indian sides are based upon harsh experiences of the past and potential offensives capabilities by the Indian armed forces and their large possession of Nuclear arsenal. In the scenario where offensive are no possible/feasible, India may like to go many alternate options against Pakistan with a view to weaken defence and economic potentials,

- a. Due to nuclear stalemate in the region and fear of strong response from Pakistan, India may not embroil and push herself in conventional war with Pakistan rather resort herself in creating the unrest and Law and Order situation in Pakistan through funding the NGO, in the garb of development work, conducting social/cultural activities, Media groups/ anchor persons financial patronizing, abetting the terrorist groups for destroying Pakistan's fighting potentials, diminishing political image and destroying the industrial hub, line of communications and economic resources.
- b. India may endeavour to isolate Pakistan diplomatically through wrong projecting its image as a terrorist harbor state in front of the world through its massive Media propaganda campaigns and discredit its agencies in their efforts in Global War On Terror (GWOT).
- c. Pakistan economic condition is poor and volatile but Security concern are forcing it to go for arm race in search of military equilibrium with India. India has already taken steps to ruin our agriculture economy which is the life line of Pakistan by closing and diverting our riverheads which has dried up our dams and canal water system.

Therefore, Pakistan Security concern from Indian sides entail multiple aspects ranging from Physical Security to Ideological Frontiers to Social aspects, hence demands a level of vigilance by its armed forces and constant monitoring of intellectuals, economists and staunch analysts from all segments of society.

In Media propaganda campaign, Indian Media with sweet choir of same cultural affinity and détente in the region, will continue sponsoring strong Media campaigns



for overt rapprochements between the two countries like “*Aman- Ki –Aasha*, Hope for Peace” to fill her covert designs and ulterior objectives.

It is a known maxim to International Relations scholars that International system is anarchic in nature where the States are like individuals who want to pursue power to ensure sovereignty and to safeguard their National Interests.

Jason Blazevic, a defensive realists opines,

“Each nation will attempt to gain power for self-preservation and other nations will see this move as a strategic threat, thus decreasing the collective security. Larger States like China and India want to see their influences and actions like “String of Pearls Strategy.”

(Blazevic, 2003:85)

It is believed that US will assist India in maintaining balance with China which Indian think tanks consider a greater projection of India outside its frontiers. India is geographically closest and possesses more problematic relationship with Pakistan while Pakistan has close relationship with China. This all makes an irritating factor to the Indian side. Similarly, Indian ambitions to arise as a great military and economic power of the region create a great concern for Pakistan's security and sovereignty. The physical depth of Pakistan is only 300 miles average in width which is susceptible to a central swift assault like Blitzkrieg style by Indian armed forces may cut the country into two halves. Thus Pakistan finds most vulnerable to a potent conventional attack by Indian large military forces under heavy air superiority. In such a scenario, Pakistan would not hesitate to use its nuclear option. Most of the scholars who study South Asian politics in context of Indo- Pak relationship also argue that prolonged clash between India and Pakistan may escalate to nuclear war. Even most of the wargaming scenarios played out by US military also foresee any conventional conflict between

India and Pakistan ranging more than fifteen days may reach Nuclear flash point. Indian army exercising a new limited war doctrine in 2004 called "Cold Start Doctrine" which aims in creating shallow territorial gains without inflicting a catastrophic blow to Pakistan and putting Pakistan on post conflict negotiations and giving away terms and conditions of its own choice. To counter that Indian capability Pakistan has to deploy and keep its forces on high alert status. Pakistan has no intentions to wage war and capture any neighbouring territory but endeavouring with a sincere urge to live with peace and honour with hostile neighbour. Moreover, Pakistan perceives India not only to be a serious threat to its social identity but to its very national integrity.

1. "That He might establish the truth as truth and falsify the false, though the guilty might dislike it."

Al-Quran, Al-Anfaal (the spoils of war) (8:8)

2. "And make ready (your strength) against them all you can (able) of power, including the steeds of war (tanks, planes, missiles, artillery) to threaten the enemies of Allah and your enemy and others besides, whom you may not know but Allah does know. And whatever you shall spend in the cause of Allah, shall be repaid unto you and you should not be treated unjustly. And if they incline towards peace, then incline you also and put trust in Allah. Lo (Indeed), He is the one, that Heareth and Knoweth (all things).

Al-Quran, Al-Anfaal (the spoils of war) (60-61:8)

As a Muslim it is ordained on us to have love with your mother land and make endless efforts to ensure the safety, security and sovereignty of the State and above all Pakistani state has been established on the name of Islam and with the rhetoric of "*Pakistan ka matlab kia, LA ILA HA ILLALAH*, (What Pakistan means, there is no

other gods except one God). The State is a historical institution which came into European lexicon in the sixteenth and seventeenth century but the Muslim concept started when Prophet Muhammad (SAW) defended Medina( a newly formed Muslim State) from Meccan Infidels. In Political theory, in vogue the westphalian model of State foundations, the concept is derived from French word “ souverainete” which means Its attainment and retention. Thomas Hobbbes developed theory of Sovereignty in which he describes that sovergnity as absolute power(Lev, chapter 18, para13) the need of sovergnity arose from self seeking and power interested nature of humans which means that in the absence of sovergn principles, the life would diminish into war. Thomas hobbbes sixteenth century biblical leviathan(Chapter 10) synopsis mirror, how a state should claim and defend sovergnity as the soverign never forfeit their rights to rule and the subjects justify the soverign action. e,g the Christian subjects must not authorize any Infidel ruler(Lev,Chapter42,para 11). Soverign actions are prescribed by him are, the “ Concern the Peace and Security” (Lev, Chapter17,para,13). In a modern State system, in its functional aspect a dualistic model is seen with two faces, some looking inward and other segments looking outward. The inward looking face in State relations pertains to the individuals and groups which dwell into the boundary of the State and possess the ability to maintain the domestic order while outward looking segments ensure the security and carry out measures which ensure the internal and external security of the State. Pakistan is not an exception to this Nation,s State model which developed its segments to ensure the security of Ideological State especially its civil and military leaders of 1950 introduced and ensured such principles and policies to defend it from all the gangantuan consiparacies, odds and evens to come. Perceptions and misperception of threat at various tiers perfected its defensive pasture. Certain disbelief are required to

be thwarted out at the very onset.e.g. Israeli intelligence, government officials lacks perceptions of Arab assault on them in 1973 and their Print Media could not provide any rationale for their wrong belief that there will be no war with the Arabs. They had incorrect assessment about the enemy intentions and their capabilities. Their ignorance provided strength to their adversaries and they exposed their intentions in the shape of invasion. Defensive Offensive Realism exponents like Elman believe that if all State seek security they can avoid war but inherent uncertainty about adversary intentions and invoking tendencies leading towards possession of offensive capabilities tend towards potential War. Waltzian Neorealism advocates pursuit of security with power serving as a means rather than an end. He emphasized on distribution of power in the international system for stability and Peace. His concept of Bipolarity of ancient Greece witnessed Pelponessian war and the French – Habsburg bipolarity of the early Sixteenth Century was quite conflictual but Bipolar Cold War period was Stable. There are other arguments also which ensure safety and peace like Mercantalists and Similar culturalistic models but they donot ensure the Safety and Security of the State. Huntington arguments are that, The Nation States are most power full actors in the International System. Future conflict will be based on, not an ideological or economical but on Culture and Religions. The clash of civilizations will dominate in the global politics.

Hindu,s Hate, Hostility and Hegemony greed towards Pakistan,s Muslim State is no more a secret now, just to reiterate and reverting back to the theme of the research thesis topic, it is mandatory to overview Security concern of Pakistani State despite Media mantra of Indian pro-verb “*Aman ki Aasha*” on Pakistani Print Media. The more things change, the more remain the same. This dictum is true reflection of Indo-Pak relations in the last almost Seventy years. Indians cruelty of geo-politics did not

ended with dismemberment of EastPakistan while still India is occupying a vast territory including Kashmir, Siachin, Kargil and Water resources that belong to Pakistan. Pakistan will continue clamouring for Peace and will neither compromise on national security nor surrender against national interests. Some so-liberals and kleptomaniac elites are willfully distorting the Indo-Pak history and making propaganda that Indo-Pak border is just a artificial thin line and Pakistan was created as an accident of history. They are naïve enough to believe that if they would to erase this thin line than there will be no Indo-Pak dispute. Pakistan was neither a drama which arised on globe rather it was a huge efforts and long struggle of Muslims of India which finally came true.I quote pharase from National anthem of Pakistan,

*“Parchame sitarohilal*

*Rahbare taraqiokemal*

*Tarjumanemazi shanehaal*

*Jaane istaqbaal*

*Sayae khudae zuljilal”*

“ The flag of crescent and star

Leads the way to progress and perfection

Interpretor of our past, glory of our present

Inspirations of our future”.

Inshallah it will remain under the protection of Allah the All Mighty. It was given, not as a good will gesture by British or bu Hindu,s leaders as propagated by certain quarters in the Media especially by the JANG Group of Newspapers and RAW funded personalities in Pakistan. It was a gift of God which was bestow upon them after Muslims of India tireless efforts and their descends are duty bound to defend its frontiers and ideological basis of Pakistan. Whether they are civilian brethren or

military counter part, everybody feels morally bound to defend it from all the odds and conspirators.

“No power on this earth can undo Pakistan” Quaid-e-Azam address to the defence forces on 14<sup>th</sup> June 1948 (Reproduced in DAWN supplement, August 14, 1999).

No wonder from the very beginning of our independent state-hood, Pakistan remained confronted with security challenges that perhaps non of other country ever experienced on this globe. Ironically, rather awefully to say, our Muslim country on the North West was the the only country which voted negative for Pakistan, for its joining as a member in UNGA on September 30, 1947 which was under the clout of Indian Congress leaders mislead bogey rheutaric of Pashtunistan with ambitions to reunite the area of NWFP and adjacent areas into Indian Union. This tactical ploy of Gandhi thinking was to be further destined to incorporation of state of Jammu and Kashmir, thereby squeezing Pakistan to small territorial boundries which could not sustain as sovereign state and succumb to temptations only. Such were the inner shades and grand schemes of Congress leaders which never missed any opportunity to isolate Pakistan, to weaken enough to dismember Pakistan, right from the start of its inception. It is a very painful aspect from self-serving, muckraking champions of democray which are continously repeating tragedies in Indian occupied Kashmir and not even missing a single opportunity to harm Pakistani interests in the regional and global forums. They want to see Nehru vision true of September 1946, that there will be only four great powers on the globe, USA, USSR, China and India. For British, he saw no more political role after independence of India from Great Britain and for Pakistan he alluded that Pakistan will only be seen as a separate cultural identity and will no more survive as an independent State. This was the ambitious state of founding fathers of India and they foresaw the future of Pakistan as bleak and a very

weak state which would die its fate in the times to come. Nehru visited Khyber, Malakand, North and South Waziristan Agencies in the autumn of 1946 with a view to have support for congress party under the collaboration of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Muslim majority areas despite of the growing of support for Muslim league in these areas to counter the support of Pir sahib of Manki Sharif. According to Olaf Caroe, who was governor at that time, described that, “ Tribals of Waziristan gave very hostile reception to them at Miranshah and Razmak. At Razmak(South Waziristan), he got loose his temper and was going to be slapped by Malik Mehr Dil Khan Mahsud, for playing anti Muslims sentiments and ploying against Pakistan.(Sir, O.Caroe, The transfer of Powers, 1942-7, Volume 8, page786, Parachinar, October,23,1946). Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan(also known as Bacha Khan as well called by Media as Sarhadi Gandhi), who sought political asylum in Afghanistan and preferred to get buried in Afghanistan during his meeting with Kaldeep Nayar( a vetran Indian Journalist and Peace activist) complained to him for cheating by Nehru as he did not fulfill the promises made to him and Nehru acceptance of Pakistan as an independent State.(KaldipNayar, article published in daily EXPRESS, “*Bainussatoor*”, October 7, 2016). Congress leaders endeavoured to create maximum obstacles in pre and post partition period of Pakistan as they wanted to see Pakistan left as truncated as possible to make its survival as an independent state as difficult if not possible. Historically speaking, Dr, Khan sahib lead Congress ministry NWFP was to oppose referendum while overwhelmingly majority of the pashtuns supported Muslim league to join Pakistan. This Congress leaders Stratagem aimed to bring back NWFP into Indian Union along with the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Thanks to Quaid-e-Azam vision and persistant vigilance and NWFP Muslims political stalwarts and religious notables that NWFP referendum did took place and they voted for

Pakistan. Afghan government not only voted against Pakistan for its inclusion in UNGA but left no stone to continue its mysterious activities. 1<sup>st</sup> Prime Minister of Pakistan was assassinated at Company Bagh (formerly East India Company Garden) in Rawalpindi on October 16, 1951, during a public address, by Afghan national assassin, Mr. Said Akbar. The assassin family had been receiving a monthly allowance of Rs 450 from the NWFP government. (NY Times, Shrouded Murder of Liaquat Ali Khan, November edition, 1949), ([Arabnews.com/node/2879/2006](http://Arabnews.com/node/2879/2006)). Afghan foreign office has been explaining their stance but it is publically known who patronage the assassin and under whom this heinous assassination was made under nefarious designs to destabilize Pakistan immediately after the death of Quaid-e-Azam. Although Pakistan emerged as an autonomous state with two territorial halves between presence of a big hostile enemy with no parallel example in the world. Although the Muslims hearts and minds were together but proved a weak link to connect together and were cut into two halves by Indian cruel and severe military intervention. Now such Indian leadership political revelations are plaguing Pakistan autonomy which are made by Modi lead Indian government for their lust for involvement in Balochistan affairs to satiate their evil designs. (Modi gloated over the role of India in cutting Pakistan into two in 1971 during last visit of Dacca).

Indian Army Chief, Mr. Bupin Rawat statement in a seminar held in New Delhi on September 7, 2017 that, "We may attack on Pakistan at any time on the time and place of own choosing" are matter of concern for the regional peace and security of South Asian region. JANG daily September, 9 2017. Contrarily, neither any Pakistani Politicians nor any military person made any threat or boasted to create unrest in India especially in the political upheaved areas of NE region with separatists tendency having states of Nagaland, Tripura, Assam and Sikkim. It is a clear evident that



Pakistan believes in Non Involvement policy and desires complete Peace despite bittersweet symphony of relationships of India and Pakistan in the region. Indian leadership keeps on repeating its bellicose stance and jingoistic rhetorics towards Pakistan but Pakistani leadership always resorted amicable approach while these solving thorny issues through peaceful means. Pakistani leadership showed full resolve to Indian unabated human right violations in IHK, its constant denial of UN resolutions of self determination to Kashmiries and RAW anti-Pakistan involvement especially in FATA, Balochistan and in Karachi. India exposed its nefarious and hegemonic designs in UNGA by claiming as Kashmir as integral part, spreading the deep desperations and increasing frustrations of Peace lovers, tantamount to dampening the Peace process in South Asia. BJP leadership( who unlike Congress party which believe on the tactics of {*Japhi* (Hugging) and *Kutti* (Bycott)} hurling threatening statements of war mongering through its Media and Media crafted drama of conducting surgical strikes inside Pakistani territory added more fuel in existing tense situation. One of BJP member Mr. Sunget Some desired that Pakistan actors should be beaten with shoes and thrown out of India. Although Pakistani artists exclaim their sentiments saying that, "Art has no boundaries and are staunch exponent of similar culture". Indian ruthless behaviors with them has proved that Art may not be having boundaries but the land in which they belong, possess ideological and physical boundaries and the exponents of "Two Nations Theory" were absoluty right in their approach and conduct towards Hindus. According to Dr. Farrukh Saleem analysis of Indo-Pak relationship, "Premature blaming on Media, unabated jumping to conclusions without proper investigations, incompetence in handling military related issues and failed intelligence network have become dilemma for Indian government" (The NEWS daily, October 9, 2016). India has shown its diplomatic acumen by hiring

lobbyist in US and in the South Asian region to remain silent against Indian atrocities against minority community in India, may it be Muslims, Christians or Sikh but this silent for how much time period, one day their conscience will wake up and will call spade a spade. Certain Pakistani Print Media columnist like Hamid Mir, Cyril Almeida are trying to create rift between Civil and Military leadership on handling Security related issues while the Indian leadership is threatening to Pakistan for conducting surgical strike and infuriating unlawfulness and accentuating dissiparous and centrigugal tendencies. Are they providing services to RAW/Modi narratives for Pakistan or working for Richie riches media masters who have sold their properties and settled themselves in sheikhdoms of UAE. They have become pawns of chess through their newspapers and always try to salvge, not only their interests but to please cerrtain crook politicians (who believes on this urdu rhetoric, "*Raqam barhao hum tumharay sath hain*") ( Increase the amount, we are with you),at the cost of National interests of Pakistan.

Ajaring through the global events, Cold War ended with no conqour of geographical boundaries rather Ideological dominations but in Indo-Pak panorama, the War of allegations, accusations, counter allegations and involvement/intervention and cross border infiltration etc continous as it started seven decades ago. Moodi juggler and amateurishly inciliatory speech on Indian independence day on August15, 2016 claiming Gilgit- Baltistan areas as Pakistani Occupied areas and equated Kashmir issue with Indian occupied Kashmir not only jolted the patriotic Pakistani nations but manifested Indian hostile mentality towards Pakistani State. (Although moodi received tough time and huge flak from opposition with in his own country for delivering such poisious speech angyring Pakistani government friendly gestures despite the fact RAW involvement in latest Quetta incidence claiming precious 77

lives with majority of Lawyers community). Under such infuriating statements and rampant spying circumstances, how Peace mantra with India is possible. Nothing would be gained over squabbling over same matter over time and again. Indian unusual diplomatic maneuvering towards Pakistani province, Balochistan which is neither disputed nor occupied land by any foreign aggressor is quite astonishing, rather not digestive to the Pakistani Security quarters and to the people of Pakistan. It hurt Pakistani feelings more than anybody else. It closed down the eyes of Peace wishers and Peace pushers of Pakistan with India present inside and outside of its boundaries. It was a sufficient evidence for those writing narrative and presenting perceptions of Pakistan peace mantra with India , especially in the Print Media of Pakistan. Indian representative statement in UNGA on September session that “Pakistan is a Terrorist State. Pakistan hosts the “Ivy League of Terrorism” and carries out war crimes against the Indians through its long standing policy of sponsoring terrorism” (DAWN, September 23, 2016) .India sponsored petition was lauched to white house officials in Washington . D.C. to declare Pakistan a “Terrorist State” after urri incidence in IHK under the proactive campaign of Indian Media but it was turned down as it did not met the criteria of having signature of 100,000 within 30 days according to US laws while the existing signatures were found fake and less than the time and numerical strength requirement and US officials declared it invalid. This is the approach of Indian Media and their masters towards Pakistan.

It is also an eye opener for those who are running campaign of Peace rapprochement with India on Pakistani Print Media. They must rewind to siege vested Politics on Pakistani Print Media. Had they ever compared Quetta blasts casualty (More than 89 Civilian unguarded, unarmed persons) than Uri incidence in IHK (Only 17 and that too of Military soldiers on duty), basing on Indian Prime Minister openly and

unrealistically stated for Air Surgical Strike on Pakistani territory. Has they forgotten that similar response from Pakistan can put South Asia once again into war. World must take notice of Indian threat of war to Pakistan and unmasking Indian state terrorism in the region.

Indian government has still not replied to Pakistan that Kalbhoshan yadev (A serving Naval officer employed by RAW) and its unfouling of nexus with Brahamdagh Bugti( who deserted from Pakistan after disclosing of its links with RAW and now asked asylum from India while sitting in Europe) to create unrest in Balochistan and to bribe saboteurs to undo CPEC project in Pakistan. Funding the terrorist groups by RAW with in and outside is an integral part of Modi doctrine. In 2011,Chuk Hagel, the 24<sup>th</sup> US Secretary of defense, stated that, at Oklohama,s Cameron University;

“India has over the years financed problems for Pakistan”. Pakistan as per diplomatic cable sent from US consulate in Karachi and obtained through wiki –leaks, KGB along with RAW and KHAD, had supported insurgency in Balochistan. According to another diplomatic, UAE official believed India was secretly supporting the “Tehrik-e- Taliban insurgents and under operation “Chankia” Raw financed , trained and directed the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen militant group. Such are the Indian dispositions against Pakistani State. Indian resorting of war through other means are remindful of Indian has prepared many narratives with deceitful tactics to project Pakistan as a terrorist State and is committed to justify actions as she did in East Pakistan in 1971 to systematically mobilizing world opinion to its favour. Modi has threatened Pakistan to stir up trouble in GB and Balochistan to undermine CPEC, a project of future life line of economic boost and developments. Certain Media persons are making bizzar contentions and amply exposed ambitions to exploit Pakistani weak points or to influence China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), multi billion dollars trade and

development project in Pakistan. There are blanket attempts on Print Media to block the vision and to trap the readers by creating phobia of taking over of China on the name of trade and aid to Pakistan. Such propagandists do not want to see Pakistan on the pedestal of glory and progress. They easily digest rising India as an economic power and probe underbelly growth of Pakistan. They are not mindful of the fact that their absurd piece of information tends to go viral and sparks theory construction on an epic scale.

Some of the old facts and truth are needed here to reiterate before direct jumping to certain conclusions. The researcher recalls the words of old Indian politician during Indo-Pak Kargil crisis, Mr. Jaswant Singh “ New map making in the Subcontinent must come to an end. No country can now hope to expand for their territories by force.” Modi lead Indian hegemonic mantra will remain a dream to subjugate Pakistani Will and desire for autonomous State, (may it be fashioned as an attempt to fetch Hindu community vote for him or win-win mantra for India or something else). Arms control advocates and hawks of Nuclear race restrainers have been frequently suggesting demilitarization and de-nuclearization of the region since many years but no one has shown the capacity to stop Indian behavior and nuclear ambitions in the South Asian region. The world is totally unaware of enormity of the Indian actions, India is all set to increase the Nuclear stock pile exponentially in the next year to come. The rest of the world is a silent spectator to this Indian developments while Pakistan security concern has been increased in multiple folds. The Indian government is building a top secret Nuclear City in southern Karnataka to produce Hydrogen weapons. The developments of a huge nuclear complex in Challakere are among those to produce fuel for nuclear reactors to maintain a robust naval presence in the Indian ocean. They are likely to complete by year 2017 and once complete, once

completed the project would appear largest complex of weapons and aircraft testing facilities, nuclear research laboratories and gas centrifuges. More-so, India covertly can use its uranium enrichment facility near Mysore, can convert it weapon grade uranium needed for its nuclear submarine project. Surprisingly, US has turned blind eye towards Indian nuclear developments with a view to reshaping balance of power through strengthening India against emerging China but ultimate sufferer in this game would be Pakistan in the region. The development of Thermo-Nuclear weapons also refer as Hydrogen Bomb, being considered most powerful nuclear weapons(as they derived explosive energy from combined power of fission and fusion with generation of high temperature in the process) in South Asia is such a dangerous step that it would off balance the rather destroy the strategic stability in the region. This is not a happy situation for the Peaceful world especially for the Pakistan to rebut this Indian military might spectre. What, so-ever the case may be; Pakistan has the capacity and capability to thwart out such Indians aims and ambitions and respond in a quid pro quo basis. It would continue to highlight Indian blatant humanitarian violations in Kashmir not as a back burner but in front of the regional and international forums as a first priority. Pakistani government unwilling stance to accept one sided nuclear restraints and restrictions would remain imminent in South Asian politics to have balance of Power approach. It is upto the global powers to ensure that Indo-Pak tension to remain in manageable limits and must not escalate to the point that convention war breaks out which could trigger Nuclear exchange. According to Michel Kugelman, A South Asian expert at Wood row Wilson Centre, Washington, reminds India that it is premature to point the finger at Pakistan on every happening inside India and warned Indian hawks seeking full throttles pleas for options to attack Pakistan would be a reprisal to Nuclear war start in South Asia. Similarly, Christine Fair, expert in Indo-

Pak relations from George town University opines that Pakistan would not exercise Nuclear Restraint once India crosses the International border and transgress towards border cities like Lahore or Sialkot. (Interviews to CNN correspondent on Indo-Pakistan tension reproduced by Daily DAWN, September 22, 2016). India which is a cauldron of multiple ethnocracies but vying for regional cum global power is unhesistatingly blames Pakistan for all ills happening inside and outside its geographical boundaries. India has been stepping up aggressively, not only with rhetorics rather gestures to exploit Pakistan weak areas and vulnerabilities through sponsoring insurgencies, aiding anti State agents and conducting proxy wars in Pakistan. India played a key role in fanning out insurgency in Balochistan and sponsoring anti state groups in Swat,NWFP which were brutally suppressed by the State of Pakistan. India being larger in size wants to have preponderance over its neighbouring countries which Pakistan always resist and desist being an independent and soverign nation. Pakistani State and its nation has always shown strong resolve and pledged to thwart out Indian sinister designs against integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan. Its State functionaries are required to take strict notice against those who are making wrong propaganda and spreading demoralizing material through inking down through press amd other Print Media literature. India should see towards own Security lapses and pay heed towards deplorable fronts and cowed down its follies instead of talking on military reprisals. Bilateral diplomacy of saaries, biryanies,sweets and shawls are only good enough in an environment of trust and friendliness. India has the advantages over Pakistan that its Media largely speak one voice for their National interests especially once it comes to foreign policy issues and State Security matters.The same cannot be said for Pakistani Media where the researcher finds JANG Group of Publishers and their paid Media persons working against Pakistani

interests to appear as liberal, free lancers and enlightened anchor persons. They propagate to an extent that Pakistani State is involved in exfiltration while Indian minister has to call a spade a spade that only Non State Actors(NSAs) are likely to involve but never the State of Pakistan. JANG Group produce anti Pakistan chorus and propagated that perpetrator was Pakistan and militant like Ajmal Qassab was a Pakistani while Pakistani government never accepted their false claim and hurling accusations/allegations and pledged for crack down on all NSAs involved into cross border terrorism. JANG Group whipping up frenzy accusations and introspections through its Media persons anti Pakistan brigade

It is a well established fact that nations which respect their nationalistic values and patriot zeal remain alive in the web of history for ever. Kashmir being the unfinished agenda of partition of Subcontinent is a permanent source of contention between India and Pakistan and is getting prolonged owing to obstinate attitude of India and ignorance of global powers from this conflictive issue. Pakistan unwavering support and resolve towards Kashmir issue put it into three major wars with India and continual process of skirmishes on Line of Control. In 1971, East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan by India through its massive military assault.

In addition to the physical scuffles and skirmishes, India senior military leadership accentuated by Israeli air force daring successful air strike flew more than 600 miles in skies of three enemy nations, given code named "Opera" (for Hebrew means- Babylon, on June 7, 1981 in which eight Israeli F-16 destroyed Iraqi peaceful Nuclear Facility at Osirak, Baghdad and returned unscathed)}, covertly wanted to Air Raid on Kahuta complex in March, 1982 but strong institutionalized civilian government of Indira Gandhi is said to reject the plan and vetoed the idea. (Rajgopalan, Dec 20, 1982, The Indian EXPRESS). US also warned General Zia for a potential Indian raid on



Pakistani Nuclear facility at Kahuta.(Redchenko, handing over of classified letter from US ambassador in Pakistan, Mr. Dean Hinton to General Zia-ul-Haq US State department declassified documents its top secret documents from 1984-85).Similarly Indian Strategist, Subrahmanyam also recollected memoir and cited for Indian covert Air Raid intentions on Kahuta Complex but not conducted due to loss of element of Surprise and strong Air Defense system of Pakistani around Kahuta desisted us from ambitious aim. ( India Nuclear Policy-1964-98, A personal recollection,54:1999), Indian large scale Brasstack exercise basing on Strong Armour manouvre on the international border in 1986-87 suspected Pakistan for Indian potential offensive manouvre towards Pakistan. According to Lt. Gen P.N.Hoon, Brasstack was not a military exercise but it was a plan to built a 4<sup>th</sup> war with Pakistan. Moreso US spy satellites confirmed Indian heavy tanks and artillery were being prepared to launch offensives in Rajasthan Sector. Zia cricket diplomacy also silenced the Indian leadership ambition for doing any misadventure towards Pakistan.e.g, Gandhi Baharnam, Special advisor to Rajev Gandhi, during Prdsident of Pakistan General M. ZiaulHaque to Jaipur, asked queriously as to why he(Rajev Gandhi) intends to attack on Pakistan, Rajev cunningly smiled and remained silent. Zia smiled at him and said, “ This time war will not only be conventional war with India, rather it will be converted into Nuclear exchange. People will forget the Haluka Khan and Gengiz Khan, they will will remember Zia and Rajev as most tyrant man of the world, At the end of the world there will be no Hindu in India while Muslims still be there on other parts of the world”. Kargil conflict was prevented by the risk of converting into full scale war due to Pakistani possession of Nuclear weapon and still Sstrategists opine to pursue security policy through Nuclear deterrence. December 13, 2001 terrorist attack on Indian parliament and Bombay incidence of september11, 2011 enhanced the

tension on the borders but was diffused through statesmanship. On Jan 2, 2016, Terrorist attack on Indian Air Force base, pathankot near Pakistan border also generated tension especially by the Indian Media for accusing Pakistan for supporting terrorist but Indian government later clarification for non-involvement by the Pakistani cool down the tensed scenario. It is suspected that any conflict between India and Pakistan may lead to Nuclear flash point. US provided Indians Civil Nuclear deal for its energy needs but it seems that India may be diverting certain material for military purposes. Indian Cold Start Doctrine and controversial vying ambitions to join Nuclear Supplier Group have serious observations not only in Pakistan but in the other regional States. After the 9/11 incidence, Indian made its best to portray Pakistan as a terrorist harbouring state and put its Media on this nefarious task. Indian Media unleashed fullscale campaign to malign Pakistan while its agency RAW involved its to use Pakistani territory for unending Proxy war either using Afghanistan or Iran as a launching pad. Arrest of Indian serving Naval officer Mr. Kalbhoshan Yadav is a sufficient evidence to unearth Indian hostility towards Pakistan. Indian premier approval for initiating of SAGAR (Security and Growth for All the Regions) in the Indian ocean region is not influencing the Pakistani neighborhood but is viewed with concern from Sri-Lanka to Seychelles and Mauritius islands. It is assumed that on the name of Blue Economy (cooperation in trade with smaller countries), India is making an encapsulating regional influence on smaller countries in the region. Australian Newspaper DCNS leaking of reports on August 23, 2016 that Indian Navy secretly involved in Purchase of six French submarines (scorpene) made a triggering concern putting into the off balanced State of Indian Ocean Balance of Power equilibrium. Pakistan that carries more than 70% trade through sea would badly be affected. It is not difficult to decipher Indian intentions and potential

maritime blockade to Pakistani trade. US support for establishing a military industrial complex with a capability to develop F16 jets is also a quite alarming situation as it would escalate the arm race in the South Asian region. Presently in India, ruling government of People Democratic Party(PDP), in alliance with Hindu extremist right wing Bharti Janta Party BJP leaders like Moodi who is the champion of Gujrat anti Muslim riots of 2002 involved in massacre of more than 2000 Muslims and hundred of Christian community and was blacklisted as “ Persona non grata” by US and EU and awarded title by Rahul Gandhi of Indian Congress as ‘ *Khoon ka Dalal*(trader of Blood), Arun Jaitley whom status is of a finance minister but engaged in Anti Pakistan furious propaganda to use hard power against Pakistan and exponents of remilitarizing Kashmir with more forces with employing more ruthless means for the final blow to Kashmiri freedom struggle added more fuel to the already shackling poor Indo-Pak relationship rapprochement and battered peace process throwing into miserable quagmire of South Asian region. Now the cruel BJP leaders appearing as pro-totalitarian rulers are shaping the jingoistic narrative in terms that are extremely incendiary, outright racist and anti Islamic. PDP lead government has unleashed front attack with full Media support against innocent Kashmiri people to scratch out their Islamic faith and suppress political will and to drag out human rights from them. Pakistan being the Muslim brethren sitting in the neighbor, how can remain quite under such alarming circumstances. Even cool minded Pakistani premier Nawaz Sharif has to say that Pakistan cannot relent from the Kashmir cause and to resonate the world community to highlight Indian brutalities in the region and he has decided to sent twenty two special envoy to persuade the world to establish the relevance and to shake heads for collective consencious for not fulfilling promises in line with the UN resolutions on the issue. Why the silence of the global powers is likely to put the

neighbouring Nuclear powers which has reached many times on a Nuclear Flash point to lead towards thundering light to a Big Bang. The nuclear exchange would not cause only destruction but extinction.

Basing on the Ideological grounds, Pakistan finds itself to be strong enough to consider itself a bastion of Islam and Islamic ideology against Hindu physical, social and cultural assault. During visit of famous journalist Mr. Javed Chaudhary to Fiji in October 2006, he met with Indian BJP leader from Kerala who happens to be Indian State Minister and in political realm since 1991, disclosed that Indians have planned and would engage Pakistan in its province Balochistan through RAW to divert world attention of Indian maltreatment to Kashmiries in Indian held Kashmir (Urdu Express daily, Aug11:2011). Since than Indian involvement in Balochistan affairs and subversive activities is no more a secret. Indian sponsored campaign "*Aman-Ki – Asha*" became unpopular in Pakistan as the nation beleaguered itself, desisting from sugar coated doze because Pakistani understood the myth and brain behind this Peace *mantra*. JANG Group campaign on print and electronic media is tantamount to viewing the monsoonal rainbow presented with vivid romantic theme of Peace and curtain off drama of resuscitation of lost love with India lifeless cadaver. Pakistani, this Media group enduvre to remove the irritants of Pakistani fault line with an urge to rebuilt the originality of relationships of good neighbourhoods of Pakistan and India without catering the domestic configurations and politico-military consideration was a quite ironical in substance. Campaigning in a scenario, where the SAARC has become dysfunctional and captive to regional politics dominated by Indian cotrie and centrifugal tendencies of member countries. Indian continous ambitions to isolate Pakistan at regional and global level and its open threat to surgical strike insiden Pakistani territory behind the *urri* camp raid drama in IHK is sufficient enough for

those who urge Peace with India. Indian media frivolous and baseless propaganda of launching strike in Pakistani held Kashmir for hitting and raising to ground of four terrorist camp including Mandhold village at Smahani valley at district Bhimber, was proved a total pack of lies while it was visited by the Media persons as the normal pace of life was going on and there was no evidence of any Indian attack at any place except sporadic exchange of fire throughout the LOC which is a common practice in the area. UN military observers group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), Stephane Dujarric, disclosing to the Media persons that, “ He has not observed any incidence of surgical strike or any casualty by any one at LOC as claimed by India”. Pakistan Army has already vehemently rejected the Indian claims of surgical strike on Pakistani soil. Such a high level propaganda encompassing war of hot words with blood trenched routine of war mongering with Pakistan by estranged nuclear neighbor only could escalate tension which Pakistan never desires and in case of any Indian aggression towards its soil, Pakistani stance that any misadventure by India will be crushed with full force. Such a scenario could trigger the flames of war and must require “Military Stand off” to an end. Indian attempt to isolate Pakistan in the region and endeavour to postponement of SAARC conference in Islamabad would not diffuse the existing tension. India caucus with neighbouring countries to demonstrate its ability to desist Bangladesh, Bhutan and Afghanistan from attending SAARC moot at Islamabad has portrayed to Pakistan, its enemy as purely an evil harming Pakistan through other means as well. No war can be won through media bolstering rather it requires high moral ground and legitimate reasons to wage war, and in case of nuclear exchange only hell will appear with ultimate destruction in South Asia.

## **6.8 Pakistan's nuclear doctrine- a contribution to South Asian peace**

On 16<sup>th</sup> July 1945, at a desert outside Almagorda, NM ,USA, the scientists witnessed the horror of Nuclear devise named the “Gadget” to manifest practically to perfect “Manhattan project” This was the ushering of the Nuclear age in world history Since than the Nuclear weapons have become sort of a potential “Final Solution” to the political, social and military problems that ought to be resolved through dialogue, diplomacy and cooperation arrangements. It was Nuclear Deterrence, Second Strike Capability and Holocaust effects which prevented the world to wage 4<sup>th</sup> world war. May it be the scene of Cuban crises between the US and former USSR, Sino- Soviet crises of 1969 or super powers restrained policy in Middle Eastern crises of 1973, all remained limited to conventional wars. Coming over to the Indo-Pak scenario of warfare, it was a Nuclear deterrence of Pakistan which prevented India to launch hostilities all along border during the Kargil war(remain limited to prescribed sectors along Line of Control) and during the military Stand off 2001-2002 which involved heavy concentration of troops deployed all along the border on either sides of India and Pakistan. It was a fine brinkmanship of diplomats which averted the clouds of another war between India and Pakistan and credible nuclear deterrence of Pakistan which ensured Peace in the South Asian panorama.

Deterrence is kept by a state or states or alliances of a group of nations to prevent hostile action and to impose fear of dire circumstances in case of being attacked. The fear is instilled into the enemy which discourages to act violently and vehemently. Since Pakistan security quarters perceive imminent threat from Indian sides and they devised “Security Model” to remove their “Insecurity Syndrome” which is based on

its asymmetries with his neighbor India in terms of strength of troops ratio, unmatched stock of weapons, equipment and to counter her nuclear capabilities. Pakistan's desire to have minimum nuclear credible deterrence against any aggression which makes its survival untenable. It is developed to ensure the country's sovereignty at all costs. It has a strong pledge that its nuclear capability is not to use nuclear weapons, or to threaten to employ them against any Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS). Pakistan adopted the Realists approach closer to Hobbesian model of Defensive Offensive strategy and rejected in totality any Appeasement policy towards India. Realists assert that strategic balance creates harmony which accelerates economic activity under cooperative arrangements and through Peace milieu. Global powers which claim themselves civilized world attained sufficient military strength to reach this climax stage. All veto powers of UN have preponderance military forces equipped with Nuclear arsenal to ensure their policy objectives. Japan is one of the economic giant but its Security parameters are to scrutinized by the US. Therefore, Japan remains in anxiety in its growing defense and security concern. Pakistan requires to talk on equal terms with big neighbor India and not to receive any dictates from her. Pakistan possession of nuclear capability is in line of global thinking that any exchange of Nuclear weapons will bring total destructions thus threat to use of Nuclear weapons and fear of devastating effects will any conflict to the limited in terms of time, area and magnitude. Both the opposing sides will avoid any major war through necessary precautions and display of careful attitude. Peeping through the Indo-Pak scenario, both the sides has adopted the careful and conscious approach, not only taking any responsibility to launch hostilities but to avoid holocaustic effect, thereby; per force maintaining an environment of Peace in the region. Nuclear weapons has produced contemporary useful utility and provided strategic balance

creating a new soberity of equity and efficacy in strategic thought for Peace in South Asian political arena.

In the global Nuclear strategic studies, it is assumed that a country having nuclear capability may resort nuclear option in war with one of the following objectives under various prevailant contingencies of special concern ;

- a. Possession of “Strategic Sufficiency” through using Second Strike Capability to deter or thwart out any surprise offensive manouvre threatening its sensitive areas of vital strategic importance.
- b. Rights to Strike First incase adversay convential attack may endanger its survival as a Sovergn state.
- c. Nation,s Will to exercise Nuclear option in case of critical damages in the prolonged war but final decision to be made by the Chief Exective of the State through the connaiance of political and military elites.

Pakistan has not officially announced any nuclear doctrine except that its strategy remained premised on basic security-considerations – to construct a credible nuclear deterrence, preserve its strategic forces, and to ensure its sovereign existence. In an interview given to two Italian scholars of Strategic studies, the first director general of Pakistan Strategic Plans Division, Lt General ® Khalid Kidwai, outlined these benchmarks;

Use of nuclear weapons by Pakistan would only be contemplated,

If India attacks and occupies a large part of Pakistan.

If India manages to destroy a large part of Pakistani forces.

If India economically strangulates Pakistan.

If India foments political and internal unrest in Pakistan.



These outlines clearly indicate that Pakistan Nuclear Programme is Security rationale based on equivocation with a view to deter Indian aggressive designs and to put India into perplex and anxiety state in decision making of taking any misadventure towards Pakistan. In case of Indian hostilities, Pakistan reserves the legitimate rights to use any one of the options like 'first Strike' or 'Quid- pro- Quo' etc. It was nuclear deterrence of Pakistan which kept kargil war into limited war and ensure Peace in Military Stand off (2001-2002) between India and Pakistan. Therefore Pakistan possession of nuclear capability not only averted a major war but ensured continuity of Peace process in South Asia.

## **6.9 Pakistan nuclear deterrence and its impact on regional politics**

Realist scholar define the international structure in terms of observable attributes of states as primary actors. The powerful states follow norms and obligations about their outlook and for their global prestige. They donot beg for their security arrangements rather web their own network for safeguarding their interests. They acquire military strength and possess Nuclear status, not only for their own safety but exert influence through this capability. The motif of strategic pattern and outcome of certain issues remained in those favour which used forceful military trumpcard as an instrument in ensuring their policies. War experiences of the devoped and developing world tought the world that military power will continue to contribute significant role in regional and global politics with hegemony and influence on the smaller nations, all world powerful countries possess military power accompanied by nuclear deterrence. To most of the Strategists and Realists, War as an instrument to gain political power and to subjugate adversary. It was extensively seen in politics of Thirld world countries as exhibited in Indo-Pak scenario. As testimony, creation of Bangladesh movement was

politically and militarily supported by India to weaken Pakistan and to magnify Indian nations's morale. They steadily crystalized their policies according to their military capacities and war fighting potentials. To maintain credible deterrence they added Strategic weapons in their arsenals in addition to tactical weapons and equipment. Nuclear weapons were added to influence forceful effects and to have more public support in their policy formation and extension outside their premises. It had profound impact into the developing or third world country like India to acquire the Nuclear capability to celebrate their technological prowess to its utmost political utility, to elevate its regional status and exclaimed prestigious stature into the eyes of the world.<sup>0</sup>

Cold War rivals were involved into deep rooted ideological rivalry but not held any geographical dispute with them but in Indo-Pak spectrum, it is present, making the bloody history showing that South Asian region is a tinderbox filled with tensions and dangers. The world owe a gratitude to Dr. Kenneth T Brainbridge, the Nuclear Physicist and who directed first atomic bomb test and Trinity was the code name given to the world first nuclear explosion by Dr. J Oppenheimer, known as father of atomic bomb for leading the Manhattan project that produced the first atomic bomb. Although Manhattan project of 1940 paved way for never ending global nuclear arm race that devoured Europe and Asia for over seven decades but it was India that introduced Nuclear weapons into the panorama of South Asia region. Although it was China which took lead in acquisition of Nuclear capability in 1964 but in South Asian politics it was Indra Gandhi ambitions which were converted into Nuclear power reality into 1974. This insecure position into the region forced Pakistan to adopt Nuclear capability to ensure its security and to balance the asymmetrical imbalances found into the conventional forces and wartime equipment with India. This was aimed

to prevent India using any offensive manouvre towards its heartland through credible deterrence and use of “ Second Strike Capability.” Traditional rivalry and war experience of the past with India makes Pakistan threat perception from the Eastern neighbor, a reality, with out any doubt , curey or question. More-so, conventional imbalance in the strength of armed forces, weaponry and war related equipment justifies Pakistan military strength and to counter Indian aggression, through use of Nuclear option for survival as an autonomous State in the region. According to Strategist, Nuclear power is gained for,

1. Military security and to counter off balances and asymmetry innumerical superiority in military strength and weaponry system and equipment,e.g, Israel covert status against the numerical superiority of Arab Muslim world, Pakistan against India and so on.
2. General grandeur, National prestige and to exert pressure on smaller nations or Non Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS).
3. National morale uplift to feel confident on scientic advancements and military technological achievements.
4. Psychological ascendancy over adversry.

National feeling in-secure and lacking requisite resources to match their major adversaries tend to argue that possession of a limited deterrence could dissuade the enemies from committing aggression e.g, Soviet Union (USSR) in 1994, UK in 1952, France in 1960 and China in 1964, all acquired nuclear capability in pursuit of the objectives of being able to deter their nuclear adversaries. Pakistan nuclear capability is not an exception against Nuclear Indian neighbor. Similarly quest for international recognition by that nation confronted with recognition problem and political milage e.g, North Korea, Iran etc can be cited in this nexus. Pakistan domestic and regional

scene manifests to exercise nuclear option in case its survivability is put on stake. Although Pakistan managed to gain Nuclear capability under the supervision of scientists like Abdusalam, Munir A Khan and A.Q.Khan in 1984 but it was diplomatically disclosed during Zia cricket diplomacy to thwart out Indian ambitions set for Brasstack exercise on Indo-Pak border. In a recent interview to Defence Journal Karachi, Air Marshal Asghar Khan commenting on BJP leader's furious statement against Pakistan and threat to use of nuclear bomb remarked "I don't know if they would use nuclear weapons against Pakistan. It is easy to issue threats to use nuclear weapons, but it is very difficult to actually drop them. Pakistan must however take note of such rash Indian statements, and should remain fully prepared to take (nuclear) deterrent action." (The News 4:15). Nuclear detonations of 28 May 1998, were also conducted to clear the doubt which were bread into minds of Indian political leaders and its Media scepticism which created boggy hyped about vagueness of Pakistan Nuclear capacity and crude potentials to deliver. More-so it was also necessary to give a signal to rest of the world and to nullify their leaders esoteric remarks so that anti Pakistan forces must not remain in great illusion that Pakistan will come under global coercion and diplomatic pressure to forego its aims and intention to go for Nuclear blasts and will not compromise on its plausible Security concerns. It was meant to dispel the venal impression that Pakistan is neither a weak nor a banana state and its Nuclear scientists and engineers are technologically competent at par excellence with the developed world. display made Pakistan has to keep sufficient parity in all the sphere of military and security related issues to deny enemy to use of force to impose its will in the political, diplomatic and military discourses on all important issues in contemporary politics. No doubt, the political land scape and political trends of South Asia are gradually changing but threat and

Security related contours have not changed rather increased in many folds. Indo-Pak relations are taking many ups and downs, between good and bad omen under high state of suspicion and insecure environment and still are subject to convergence-divergence views and vicissitudes, injustices and fake pledges. Pakistan like any other responsible state will never like to put Survival and Security at stake and at the mercy of any belligerent power. It will never go to the techniques of wait and watch during the hours of crises rather would prefer to adopt matching response against any aggressor in any future conflict.

“ Today the danger of some sort of nuclear catastrophe is greater than it was in the cold war- and most people are blissfully unaware of the danger”

-William J Perry

It is up to the world that they want to see a change through developments in favour of humanity or through exchange of nuclear arsenals which will totally change the face of the planet. It is equally applicable to South Asian political spectrum where Nuclear threat looms at large and their leadership is desired to wake up before it is too late.

### **6.10 Kashmir tragedy posing a contentious source of sourness in Indo-Pak relations**

Kashmir tragedy keeps on boiling the relationship of Pakistan with India despite of the fact that India always tried to camouflage and wanted to cage up and confine the issue but this painful saga of Indian subjugations of Kashmiri through oppressions and human right violations always seeks Pakistan attention in particular and the world in general. Pakistan desires to refer the Kashmir issue to UN resolutions while India either seeks to talk on under the lense of Simla agreement for some face-saving or avoids it during bilateral talks being its internal matter. Indian media boasts Gandhi

jee philosophy of Non Violence and Anti-Racism but in reality his followers are ruining all these under the military boots and silencing the political protestors through the use of guns. Indian media is engaged in labeling the freedom fighters to the as a militants and terrorists but ironically to say which terrorist of the world had the honour on his burial ritual to have participated by the million of people as is the case of Afzal Guru and Burhan Wani funerals ceremonies attended by the masses being their Idealists and rated as Youth Icons According to Indian journalist Shekhar Gupta,"Kashmir is frying us,it is frying our conscious.Boys who nursed dreams and ambitions for azadi from Indian oppression set out with stones every morning to confront armed soldiers" (Daily Times, july26, 2016). It is a known gact that no tricks or tactics of oppresser can succeed through baseless propaganda and changing the facts and figures. Pakistan not only considers the Kashmir as a political issue rather takes it as a humanitarian issue, of granting people their basic rights of self determination and other fundamental rights. The world body is not only a guaranter of fundamental human rights of people according to article 1(2) of UN charter any where in the world but it is also responsible for taking both pro-active and counter measures to ensure peace in those regions prone to conficts. Kashmir being a linger issue although claimed by both parties to be solved through Non military solutions but bears tendency to lead towards Nuclear flash point.Both the countries are signatory to International Covnant to Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and International Covnant to Economic, Social and Cultral Rights (ICESCR). Moreso International law strengthen Pakistani positions on Kashmir with concrete legal evidences. Pakistan proposes of taking the issue to International Court of Justace (ICJ) while India always tries to either avoid it or negate it. Indian premier Mr. Modi is found of zealously beating the drums abroad of Indian democratic achievement,somewhat reminding of

5<sup>th</sup> Roman emperor, Nero who had been playing flute while Rome was burning. Ironically to say, boosters of biggest democracy and human values is absolutely reluctant to extend this provision to Kashmiris peoples. Inline with the Israel controversial policy of creating settlements in the occupied territories, Modi government also intends to rehabilitate thousands of Hindu families in the three new townships in Kashmir to change the demographic ratio which is also violation of article 370 of the Indian constitution, rather announced to even abrogate it. In nutshell, Pakistani stance on Kashmir is in accordance with International law and established diplomatic ethics and foreign norms. It is urged from Pakistani Media especially from the JANG Group that instead of propagating baseless and concocted stories on Indo-Pak confrontation with Kashmir as a key conflictive point, they should pay homage to Kashmir freedom Struggle and project on Media, a true stance of Pakistan to the rest of the world.

### **6.11 Water terror by India threatening the food security of Pakistan**

Pakistan realized this historical fact of Indian hostility and biased attitude towards Pakistan when on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1948, almost immediately after creation of Pakistan, India after taking the advantage of possession over headwork at Madhupur (District Gurdaspur) on the river Ravi and Ferozepur on river Sutlej, cut off canal water supplies that entered from India to Pakistan which created drought like situation in the then West Pakistan. The issues was resolved through the courtesy and good offices of World Bank which forced India to sign “Indus Waterbasin Treaty (IWT)” giving three western downstream rivers i.e, Jhelum, Chenab and Indus to Pakistan and eastern streams rivers i.e, Sutlej, Ravi and Bias to India. The treaty is neither a unilateral or bilateral rather it is trilateral with World Bank as a guarantor. According

to IWT. Unlike the United Nations Water-courses Convention (UNWC) 1997, which associates only with the laws of Non Navigational uses of International Watercourses, Article 12(4), of IWT provides framework for water cooperation and benefit sharing, hence treaty mirrors bindings on both states through bilateral mechanism for solving controversial issues and in case of non-compliance, approach to the guarantor for solutions acceptable to both sides under Article 1X (Settlement of Differences) (Annexures F and G for Neutral experts and Court of Arbitration). World Bank also sanctioned huge amount of loan to build dams, barrages and link canal system to provide canal fed irrigation system as it is considered the agricultural life line of the then West Pakistan. Both countries also agreed to appoint a permanent Indus Commissioner by each country to cooperate in matters related to each country.

In contrary to Indus Basin Treaty, India has started construction of Wullar barrage (over river Jhelum) and Baghlihar dam (over river Chenab) dams on western streams of waters whose legitimate rights for water usage are only dedicated to Pakistan. Indian plans to construct three Dams i.e, Nimoo Bazgo, Dumkahar and Chutak over Indus River and its tributaries, would cause flash floods submerging of Skardu airport that is just 17 meters high from Indus river bed and would be posing a constant threat to Diamir-Bhasha dam of Pakistan. On the western frontier of Pakistan, India has planned hydroelectric projects on Kabul River in Afghanistan, which would pose adverse effects on agriculture out-put of river fed areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). India sans approach to build damn dams on river Jhelum and Indus in violation of Indus Basin Treaty is not only gruesome for food security of Pakistan but she is also lobbying against Pakistan for release of Monetary loans to Pakistan for proposed hydroelectric power projects like Diamir-Bhasha dam being built in Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) as it India claims it as a part of IOK held with Pakistan.



It is a common maxim that, "More water to share means less dispute and less concern". India in order to sabotage Pakistan economically and often shrewdly violated the IWT through construction of Wullar Barrage on River Jhelum in 1984 in IHK and constructed Bhagliar dam in 2005 on River Chenab and now India has started construction of Kishanganga on River Neelum in IOK which is continuous source of concern for Pakistan. Pakistan has requested to interfere WB many a times for proper management of river water and its tributaries but to no vain. Indian Prime Minister, Modi statement on September 22, 2016 to scrap out Indus Basin Treaty unilaterally to beg Pakistan for water with a view to deprive Pakistan from its legitimate river water share, just with intent to punish it which will entail disastrous consequences for Pakistan. BJP leaders are yelling that (*Rakhat aur Paani*) blood and water cannot flow at a same time together and it is necessary to tell Pakistan that we are the Boss in South Asia. Indian political leader maximum exploitation to their Pakistani neighbor is a slap on the faces of those who are continuously singing the Peace *Mantra* with India. Indians are blatantly violating the IWT-190 and are declaring illegal possession of water resources as a "Filial to India". Indian leadership publically announcement of unilaterally putting into ICT 1960 into garbage dustbin for gawky political point scoring and practically breaching the treaty by building dams through diverting Pakistani rivers in IOK puts concern and crisis to the Food security and Energy crisis torn Pakistani state.

It is pertinent to mention that Pakistan is one of the most arid countries with an average rainfall of 240mm a year. The balance between population and available water takes Pakistan water stress country of the world and with rapid population growth it will soon enter in conditions of Absolute water scarcity. There is possibility that water could plunge to 800 cubic meters per capita annually by 2020 from current

1200 cubic meters which used to be 60 years ago, 5000 cubic meters available to every citizen of Pakistan. BJP leaders are yelling that *Rakhat aur Paani* (blood and water) cannot flow at a same time together and it is necessary to tell Pakistan that we are the Boss in South Asia. Indian political leader maximum exploitation to their Pakistani neighbor is a slap on the faces of those who are continuously singing the Peace *Mantra* with India.

The staunch analyst finds the Indian violation of ICT saga, a story for Pakistan scarcity of water, a real world tragedy and betrayal by India as Pakistan fears to become another *Sahara* desert due to acute food and energy shortage in the panorama of South Asian Region (SAR). In-fact, India is working on an obnoxious strategy with *malafide* intentions to render Pakistan's link canal system redundant, destroy Pakistan's agriculture- the life line and backbone of Pakistan's economy and turn Pakistan's into barren land with sandy storms overhead. The future dire need and importance of water for each Pakistani can be easily comprehend on the world waterday on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2018 in Balvihar Magazine which is not only interesting but thought provoking ,

“Grand Father saw it in the river

Father saw it in the well

We saw in the tap

Our children see in the bottle

Where will our grandchildren see it

In the CAPSULE

If we still neglect

It will only be seen in the TEARS”.

## **6.12 Pakistan's enhanced security concern in post 9/11, GWOT scenario and Indians no peace jugallo with Pakistan and its wicked attempt to declare it as a terrorism harbouring state**

In present geo-political and geo-strategic order, Pakistan is no more any US or its Western cotrie ally in security related alliances except it is a formal ally to US on its Global War On Terror (GWOT). Pakistan has learnt a lot through its bitter lessons from dependence on military alliances with US and its European cotrie. They only proved themselves afair weather friends for pakistan inits wars with India. They only resorted to diplomatic support at the time of odd hours. Pakistani leadership and its nation in particular are convinced that their Survival lies on standing their own feet and fighting the battle for the sacred cause of defence of their motherland. It is possible only through self reliance and having credible deterrence on its adversaries. According to researcher naïve understanding and historic facts and figures while keeping into considerations, it is assumed that the clouds of Indian hostilities will never wither away till the core conflictive issues with the India remain unresolved. India will continue to exert pressure on Pakistan not from Pakistan's eastern frontiers but from the north west frontiers as well. Indian stubbornness on settlement of Kashmir and water issue with Pakistan is likely to be un-ending in the current and future scenarios. Indians mischievious play in the internal affairs of Pakistan and deceitful tactics to isolate Pakistan regionally and globally will continue under the sweet chorous of *Raam –Raam and Aman ki Aasha* while the ground realities will remain unchanged. Indian at present are in a paranoid state that despite of fair US clout on them. They are unable to declare Pakistan as a terrorist State or successful to enforce stringent military and economic sanctions against Pakistan. Pakistan,s political

leadership has only been giving the “Pied Piper,s Frenzied Speeches” on Pakistani media on conflictive issues with india without any practical steps as a time passing tactics. No solution is possible while laying or squatting or swinging in comfortable hammock, one has to pursue with painstaking effortsto achieve the objective goals. We need to isolate those elements which fanning up the flames of violence and offer solutions acceptable to both sides through legend scholars,intelligent reasoning through coming over electronic media and writing in print and writing in print media so that it should be fairly imbibed inside the society for cordial regional milieu and lasting peace. There is no end to Peace desires but festivity only possible if heart, soul and judgement permit. India is very lucky ducky enough in its Media growth and receives laurels and bravo from government as it immediately show tilt and bends in support of government stance on vital issues. Indian Media rattling and Pakistani JANG group Peace process jugglers and Print Media misogynistic men,s pen peace mantra and pseudo-peace rhetorics can only bring juggalo of peace, only practical steps at Indian State level can pave the way to Peace and prosperity in the region.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

### **Recapitulation of purpose and main findings**

The fast fading Geopolitical scenario has manifested that war ambitions and arms race are futile elements while Peace has also never proved itself to be a pristine virgin. The failure of secular ideology in the form of Neo- colonialism and Neo-imperialism through iniquitous aid and trade, multinational corporations and mushrooming NGOs and regional based economic blocks have changed the paradigm in favour of Peace. Although, it is very difficult to forget the past and forgive the past follies but sane persons always pay heed for present and cater for future. Charging allegations and blame game tactics vitiate the peace prospects and spoil the chances for normalization of relations necessary for existence of Peace process in the region. Modalities for discussions/negotiations at a State level require deliberate thinking and stipulated time frame for conclusive ends otherwise the whole effort will go futile.

It was only a JANG Group of Pakistan only wishful thinking that India will soften its traditional stand of rigidity, human rights violations through presenting its soft image. Contrarily, Indian hate preachers against Pakistan not only in India but even in Bangladesh are winning the awards for supporting the Indian cause in the Indo-Pak conflictive realm. Recently in Bangladesh awarding of Pakistani journalist Mr Hamid Mir from JANG Group of Newspapers and Asma Jhangir the human rights especially women activist(famous in Pakistan for making mockery of Islamic laws) can be cited in this regard. Present India premier and BJP leader Mr. Narendra Modi vehemently confession in Bangladesh that India had a major role in cutting Pakistan into two

halves in 1971 and their National Security Advisor Mr. Ajeet Doval, many a times disclosure during various seminars that Indian agencies are patronizing miscreants to create law and order situation in Pakistan. A serving officer of Indian Navy, Commander Kalbhoshan Yadev, now working for RAW, caught red handed from Pakistani province Balochistan for spying and involvement in sponsoring terrorists activities is a sufficient evidence of Indian active involvement into Pakistan affairs. Pakistan print media mayhem and exclusivistic approach towards peace under these circumstances and bitter experiences is unrealistic and is considered tantamounting to covert invitation of accepting Indian supremacy over Pakistani State. Indian overt good-will approach towards Pakistani State and civil society be assessed consciously and Pakistani people are required to remain watchful on the Media attractive rhetoric of Peace rapproachments between India and Pakistan. The popular Pakistan intoxicated narrative that security and sovereignty of Pakistan will remain prime than others interests.

The purpose of the research work was to explore and to see the impact of Media especially the print Media role towards rapproachment process between India and Pakistan. It was found bogey as the campaign was orchestrated with nefarious designs and ulterior motives, hence could not found any worthwhile impact on target audience, readers, viewers and civil society. India and Indian lobbies while taking advantage of to-days significant and vibrant factor. JANG Group media complacency and appeasement towards India in Print Media was a part of conspiracy hatched against Pakistan on the name of Peace. This explicit Media approach made only a nuanced debate without any impact on intellectuals, literate and social circles in Pakistan.

Peace is a do-able phenomena and not an insurmountable process, not in the world and so in the South Asian politics converging around India and Pakistan tussel and impadiments.

Main Findings of the study discloses following salients points,

- a. Unfinnished agenda of Peace is unlikely to complete unless both States make concrete steps to achieve it. Every State has the soverign rights to preserve its National interests and to adhere its Security concern. Pakistan Security concern are genuine in nature and based on bitter past experiences with India. Status quo and brutalities of Indian law enforcement agencies in Indian Held Kashmir has created a constant suffocation and bitterness in the relationships of India and Pakistan. India is eager enough to flex its military muscles and enhances its economic influence over Pakistan and its bordering Afghanistan which has interrelated many aspects with Pakistan. Therefore; Pakistan security scenario and its capabilities to counter nefarious Indian designs are reactionary cum retaliatory measures towards providing Security and Stability equilibrium in the South Asian region.
- b. Pakistan and the Muslim community of India in particular possess harsh historical experiences and conflictive suspecions from India. When ever some rapproachment process starts, hard core elements and fanatics biased Non State Actors derail the whole process, may it was Aagra or Lahore declarations.
- c. India avoids talking on Kashmir which is conflictive issue because of its weak political and moral stand as resorts delay tactics to hide the facts and prolong its rule over Kashmiri people. Both parties must agrees to take

Kashmir is primary issue in the conflictive relationships as a first step while rest of the remaining issues are of secondary nature.

- d. India is avoiding Kashmir issue as it may accentuate to other independence movements in the North East and Sikhdom state of Khalistan in East Punjab. Indian think tanks want to extend their domestic economic ambitions across the borders in the form of regional trade to transform India into economic giant after attaining military might power. India feels that in the present market economy, India feels risks to remain behind in the regional and international trade race.
- e. Pakistan was gained on the name of Islam and concept of Two Nation theory. Both are being practiced at a State level during any conflict/ war with India to ensure the sovereignty of bastion of Islam and security of the State. During General Zia both the concepts were promoted at State level to achieve politico-military objectives. Zia and his comrades were exponents of this viewpoint that if Turkey or Egypt stop becoming aggressive Muslim nations, they will remain in same status as Turkey and Egypt but if Pakistani Muslims do not adopt Islamic and separate two nations identity, there are chances that Pakistan may become India once again. Pakistani security quarters and champions of Kashmir cause consider that amity and resonance with India under existing Geo-political environment and Geo-graphic arrangements will mean that getting swamped all efforts of Kashmiri people and putting into dust all sacrifices of their predecessors and soldiers of Pakistan for the sacred cause.
- f. It was General Musharraf military regime which sincerely took stand on Kashmir with India. Once both parties were nearer to some honourable solution (Tantalizing Close) acceptable to both parties in Agra summit, it



was India which withdrew itself and left the issue pending to persist as it was before to see the curbing of future generations of South Asia.

- g. Musharraf military regime has the credit of giving Media a complete liberty, free from the clamps of government. That, is why JANG group was able to launch programme like "*Aman-ki -Asha*".
- h. India must avoid pseudo intellectual talks on Media for only photoshoot out strategy, if she wants to have normalization in relations with Pakistan.
- i. The researcher finds partially correct that political realism provides a convincing model to analyze rapprochement, détente and cordiality even between the arch rivals. For instance, France and the UK once had a bloody enmity but now have a united deterrence against any perceived threat under the flag of NATO. Likewise, France and Germany fought brutal wars but now enjoy deep friendly relations under the shadow of EU. These European states integrated and formed EU only because they thought regional integration could better serve the national interests of EU states. Arguably, regional integration stabilized and strengthened peace in Europe; however, all the EU states maintain their sovereignty and foreign policies as separate states. One can argue that the formation of EU and NATO are purely based on realist approach enhancing security both in traditional and non-traditional perspectives through cooperation. One may wonder on the point that it would be unfair to draw lessons from EU for suggesting peace in South Asia. However, the researcher would humbly argue that the European models such as France and UK/Germany more fits into the 18th century German political philosophy of liberal school of thought introduced by Immanuel Kant. Political Realism has flaws and imperfection when it is

applied to South Asian arch rivals, India and Pakistan. In terms of Political Realism, both India and Pakistan will seek to preserve their political autonomy and their territorial integrity while competing for power.

- j. The problem of peace fragility in Indo-Pak realm is due to existence of unresolved issues with them. India once again shown hegemonic designs through initiation of Nuclear race in south Asia and also proved its irresponsibility for demonstration stubborn attitude while saying “Big No” to NPT to CTBT and even to FMCT. How peace is possible with such hostile attitude.
- k. India needs to declare boldly that it intends to place new markers in place for ‘normalisation of relations” with Pakistan altering the hackneyed and unproductive negotiation mechanisms currently in place, namely the Composite Dialogue, Track II diplomacy centred on intractable issues like Kashmir, Siachin, Sir Creek , back-channel diplomacy by Special Envoys. The political and security environments in both countries and the political uncertainties that hover on both sides of the border do not lend themselves to go the peace process smoothly.
- l. Mutual security concerns are the main point of contention between India and Pakistan? Definitely, the Security is a problematic issue, but it has never an independent issue. The political and security environments in both countries and the political uncertainties that hover on both sides of the border do not lend themselves to maintain relations substantial and politically viable for better solutions.
- m. Idealism started in Indo Pak context, especially when they propagated this ideology but at later stage they shifted to Realism after attaining power and

testified on her neighbours. Respondingly, Pakistan adopted realists policies for maintain its sovereignty and security of the state.

- n. Media involvement especially by the Print Media in rapprochement between India and Pakistan is just a foreloke and misadventure without any practical sense and advantage to the Pakistani nationals and State. Pakistan, s founding father and leaders have created this nation state on the world map; their incompetent successors disintegrated the Quaid, s Pakistan. It is now upto us to ensure safe, secure and stabilize Pakistan for perennial, peace, progress and prosperity in the region. Peace and progress always go together. Proxy wars and Terrorism cannot be exonerated of the partial blame games and covert actions disturb the peace process and prevent progress. These gennies and curses are required to be watched constantly. Showing over dozers of involvement into each other infront of media would subvert the chances of sustainable peace and rapprochement process. Use of Media, aid and trade tools need to be humanized to facilitate the safety, security and trade in the region. If the super powers can ensure détente through creating an example for rest of the states, why can, t India and Pakistan follow it.
- o. People are sane enough in understanding that rapprochement process on Media is just a commercial venture of JANG group; it is covertly supported by rogue groups or secretly financed by Indian intelligence agencies. It has nothing to do with the promotion of Peace and stability in the region. Pakistan has a painful history and bitter relationships with India, only solid steps towards approachment be fruitful. Michievousness of rogue groups, Non State actors and other secret agencies sponsored organisations of India who propogate communal violence and anti Pakistan rheutarics be

condemned openly in all forums of media by the State representatives for earnest desire of peace and harmony in the region. Both the States should pledge that they do not have any direct or indirect linkage with any terrorists organization or any rogue group. They openly reject all forms and manifestations of religious militancy and pledge to oust the terrorism from the South Asian region.

### **Implications of findings**

The study offers suggestive evidence of Media persons personal and their sponsor commercial interests are prime to them than their own state national interests. It reveals certain blatant angles of media persons, their sponsoring media tycoons that they can go to any extent in subservient to their personal gains. The study does not support to JANG group of newspapers bogey campaign on the the names of peace and rapprochement towards India as it was launched with covert motives to camouflage the real issues and ground realities of Indo-Pak relations which make it perplexed and bewilderingly hostile. The study also suggests that Pakistani security concern from India are genuine and Pakistan's counter measures are a source of perennial peace and stability in the South Asian Region.

### **Recommendations**

Allah, s Messenger, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said,

“Oh Allah! I beg of Thee righteousness and adhering to the straight path.”

(Narrated by Asim Bin Kulab, (Sahi Muslim, 6:35:6574)

Once should keep on seeking guidance from Quran and Sunna in the daily practice of life. The teachings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) guide us in solving many riddles and imbroglio drafted and propagated by their enemies in multi farious

role. Pakistani Media projection of Peace process fantasy with India can be over rule through the remarks of Indian Home Minister, Mr. Rajnath Singh at Jaisalmir,

*"India would completely seal border with Pakistan by December 2018".* The NEWS, (October16,2016)

It is positive and significant step and same is expected from neighbor India for rapprochements. There is history of understanding and settlement of minor disputes in South Asian scenario and must be repeated at big canvass with bold steps like,

The Indus basin river water distribution dispute in 1960 was resolved amicably and successfully between India and Pakistan. The less serious territorial dispute over the Rann of Kutch (Border area between India and Pakistan) was successfully settled between the two sides of the borders. The Tashkent and Simla Agreements, which ended the 1965 and 1971 wars respectively, were expected to provide stability and the basis for a long lasting peace in South Asia, but proved fragile and became a piece of document with the passage of time. No major breakthrough is possible unless core issue is tackled and settled. India has resolved its dispute with Bangladesh of its 300 border villages by giving the choice of its residents to either opt for India or Bangladesh, ironically the same right of choice is denied to the Kashmiries people by Indian government. SAARC forum can be used to solve this imbroglio. India and Pakistan should go for all possible options to resolve their issues like China has improved its relationships with Taiwan by creating a lobby there through improving trade, cultural and social relations with the people of Taiwan. India being the biggest beneficiary of 21<sup>st</sup> century after China should realize the extension of economic benefits to its neighbors considering the regional interests. It will enhance prosperity among under- privileged class living in South Asia. Following recommendations will

further provide avenues of approaches in the relevant field and future course of action for the rest of researcher and media related persons/media outlets.

1. Both sides Media to create such a congenial environment across its borders favorable for Peace and economic progress in the region.
2. Media must not involve into those issues which are highly sensitive in nature and promote programs based on reality and put into lime light of actors to the masses which are involved into undesirable activities.
3. Media literacy in security related issues is essential. Military and Media should be at the same page and work side by side to protect and project national interests. Although both have certain limitations on Modus operandi as Media wants freedom and Military desires restraints on discussing certain issues of vital interests of State. Hook or by crook tactics and diplomatic hitches and use of phony use of Media to camouflage the facts would not solve the purpose.
4. Peace cannot be achieved merely be wishful thinking of Media and through unilaterally conciliatory moves/efforts rather achieved through working on two way traffic principle and commitment to noble cause. The quest for Peace is judged through bilateral gestures and attitudinal levels of demonstrations.
5. Academia and research scholars on both sides provide active support Peace campaign and provide persuasively argument to continue the Peace process with firm conviction and steadfastness.
6. Media must not involve into those issues which are highly sensitive in nature and promote programs based on reality and put into lime light of actors to the masses which are involved into undesirable activities.

7. Since the print media was used as alternate model for rapprochement process between India and Pakistan by JANG Group, other Media groups must represent Pakistan case for better simulation by the readers on the basis of historic facts and true figures. JANG Group mediatization of Peace campaign was a pre-emption in media history of Pakistan where Media never pointed out facts like Pakistan always permits UN observer to visit LOC while India never permits the same. Peace mongering is a good thing but hiding the facts is cacophony and camouflaging the hatefilled figures will not be able to ascend the cliff and solve the purpose of getting Peaceniks in Indo- Pak relationships. Print Media should provide level playing fields for better public discourse and must not astray from its main stream.

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said,

“Do you know what is better than charity and fasting? It is keeping the Peace and Good relations between people, as quarrels and bad feelings destroy mankind.”

(Sahi Bukhari and Muslim)

The whole world acknowledges that bloodshed creates problems and makes issues more perplexing and complex in nature. You need power only when you want to do something harmful; otherwise, love is enough to get every thing done. Soft approach through use of Non violent means are the best tools to solve them sitting across the table and others common forum acceptable to either sides. UN charter firmly appeals to its members states, “All members shall refrain in their international relations from threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistency with the purposes of the United Nations” (Article 2(4), United Nations Charter).

On 14 August 1947 during inaugural speech of legislative assembly in Karachi, when Mountbatten cited for Mughal emperor moderation policies that Muslims to follow in context of Hindu Muslim relationship, Quaid-i-Azam rejected the views by saying that We have already set example of our prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who equally and moderately treated all non Muslim communities and taught us to have proper respect for their religious norms and practices. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) way was persuasion and not the coercion. Islam State provides equal rights and guarantee to practice personal law to the non Muslims communities. It is very strange to find the remarks of Pakistani Punjab Chief Minister Mr. Shahbaz Sharif during his last visit to Indian Punjab that we have same culture, language and identity which is against the very concept of “Two Nations Theory” urging for a separate Muslim identity as a nation in the sub-continent. Media propagation of such themes and concepts requires proper checks and judicial proceeding under apex courts in Pakistan. Academicians and Media scholars must suggest government to formulate policies in line with Ideological and National interests of Pakistan as visualized by Pakistan founding fathers and Muslim league leaders. Media persons must remember Quaid-e-Azam remarks about Indo-Pak relations spectrum while being interviewed by Duncan Hooper, quoted by (Afzal 1948) “We are always ready to come to an understanding or enter an agreement with Hindustan as two independent, equal, sovereign states just as we have alliances, friendships and agreements with any other foreign nation. India must be treated on equal footing with Pakistan in the maintenance of normalcy in relationship without compromising principal stand on vital issues. Print Media must focus on this aspect and highlight Sovereignty and Security related issues of Pakistan making sour Indo-Pak relations for public discourses. It is a known fact that the



pioneers of Pakistan always desired to have good relations with India like good neighbours, in this regard one can cite the example of US and Canada which enjoy cordial relationship through respecting each others autonomy and sovereignty. Indian National Security Advisor Mr. Ajit Doval, former IB chief, in an interview with ABP News disclosing remarks that Indian agencies buy Pakistani clerics and anti State elements to carryout subversive acts on heavy payments to create Law and Order situation in Balochistan and FATA areas of Pakistan. More-so his address security challenges faced by India in leadership summit for Reshaping India held under arrangements of English daily Hindustan Times (HT) on Nov 22, 2014, where he stated that, "Pakistan is using terrorism as an instrument to State policy" and suggested India to use hard power means and other modern means like cyber technology and strong economic clout across the border to maximize Indian interests in the region. He strongly advocated for exercising of power as a deterrence action through giving a punch to adversary with not with a heavy weight. This pseudo-intellectualness is exactly against the Indian founding father, Mr. Gandhi Peace and Non-Violence philosophy. This is the height of negative mindset and hegemonic attitude of Indian security advisor towards Pakistan. Under such circumstances, propagation for good neighbor can only be mirage.

According to researcher naïve understanding four realities co-exist in seven decades of vicissitudes in Indo-Pak fragile and hostile relationships which India cannot escape;

1. Indian mindset of accepting Pakistan as an autonomous State. Its centuries old 'Mahabharat' desire which can only be fulfilled through undowing Pakistan.

2. Territorial disputes like Kashmir, Siachin to Hydal disputes (Occasional border skirmishes and clashes making sealed/frozen borders to soft to hot borders which turn into war culminating into Nuclear exchange).
3. Global War On Terror (GWOT) and active involvement of militant groups and proxy war.
4. Indian existential military threat- a constant concern for the security of Pakistani state.

It is a universal truth that , “once bitten, shy twice” and Pakistan is not an exception which has experienced this Indian onslaught towards Pakistan many a times. Media is endeavouring to dispel the centuries old hostility and that too with the lipservice and averting the facts with the hand fan. JANG Group campaign for peace and rapprochement towards India began with deceitful intentions and bogey tactics and ended as a waste product. I close my thesis with a English proverb that the “Evil beginning has a bad ending.” JANG group of Pakistan Peace ecstasy campaign on Print and Electronic Media for Rapprochement towards India started with evil intentions to conceal the realities and to hide the bitter facts of Indo-Pak relations. It camouflaged the Security concern of Pakistan on military and economic issues making reverberations and oscillations in relationships with India. It also ignored heinous Indian troops atrocities and systematic massacre of defenseless civilian Kashmiries in IHK and RAW subversive acts in FATA and sabotage activities in Balochistan. To conclude, JANG Group crafted decapitate spectre could neither reached to the ripple mark nor produced any trickle down effect down to masses and died its own death.

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