

CHANGING THE CONTOURS OF SECURITY PARADIGM IN PAKISTAN



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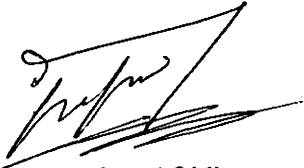
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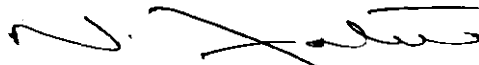
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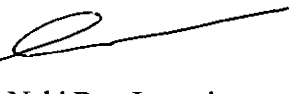
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to My Loving Parents and Sisters.

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First of all, from the core of my heart, I pay my deepest sincere gratitude to the Almighty Allah that He bestowed me with His blessings and kindness throughout my life.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
ESR	Education Sector Reforms
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HRCP	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IR	International Relations
IRS	Institute of Regional Studies
KPK	Khyber Pakhtoonkhwah
MAD	Mutual Assured Destruction
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PSLSM	Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SDPI	Sustainable Development Policy Institute
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organization

SU	Soviet Union
TTP	Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHDP	United Nations Human Development Program
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
US	United States
VNSA	Violent Non-State Actors

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ABSTRACT

This research evaluates the need for change in the security paradigm of Pakistan. The research is a case study of Pakistan conducted employing both qualitative and comprehensive methodology.

The security policy of Pakistan has been analyzed over a course of 65 years.

It also assesses how security concept revolves around traditional and nontraditional boundaries.

How and why Pakistan's geopolitical situation has compelled it to observe traditional security paradigm for many years now.

Throughout its history, Pakistan has suffered from many internal and external threats. To counter these threats, Pakistan's only option was to have a strong military security. Nonetheless, after formulation of UN Development Goals in 2000 and Pakistan being its signatory, Pakistan had to move on economic boundaries and take into account non-traditional security aspects of the country.

At present, Pakistan suffers from many internal and external threats, such as militant influence, recent drone attacks, suicide attacks, pressure from the external world, post Afghan withdrawal plan, nuclear safety issues and various environmental security concerns e.g. floods. Moreover, economic growth of Pakistan is negligible which adds a threat to deal with alongside other threats.

After a meticulous examination, the findings of the research suggest that Pakistan needs to adopt a midway approach in order to address both traditional as well as nontraditional aspects of its security and hence deal with the variegating threats.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter of the thesis creates the foundation for the remaining parts. The idea of introduction section is to basically bring to the notice of the reader what the research conducted is all about, the elements into which it will be looking into and lastly, why the research is focusing on that particular topic. This section also describes the research hypothesis, the research aims and objectives, research questions and finally the limitations encountered during researches which have in one way or another hampered the dissertation from providing conclusive information to the reader.

1.1 Research Background

The concept of security is very elastic and ambiguous in meaning¹. In general terms, the concept is taken as to be safe from threats. Broadly, the concept of security can be categorized into two terms. One is traditional security that stresses upon the security of states and the second is nontraditional security that refers to the social security². In the history of the world, these two concepts of security have great importance. There has been a notified shift in security concerns of states after various incidents which have taken place in the world. It will be interesting to explore such events and their resultant effects on the concepts of security.

The traditional concept of security is closely related to military security which prevailed in the 1940s and remained effective until the end of the Cold War. The traditional security concept was proposed by the realists who dominated International Relations in the 1940s. They believed that the States must accord importance to attaining military power in order to become politically

¹ Booth, Ken (Ed.), Critical Security Studies & World Politics, New Delhi: Viva Books Pvt. Ltd: 2005, P.2.

² ibid, P.2

empowered³. Throughout the Cold War, the traditional security concept prevailed and states believed that international relations were on verge of conflict and military power or war was the only way to resolve the issue. Security of the state was the main objective of traditional security paradigm⁴.

Post-Cold War era has brought significant shifts in the concept of security paradigm. The traditional security concept has been replaced by non-traditional security concept that gives more stress to political, economic and environmental protection⁵. In the recent years, globalization and other changing issues faced by states have made the concept of security more crucial.

The fast lick of globalization and increased interaction among the countries has demonstrated that security stakes of the countries are interdependent and interlinked to each other. Thus, contemporary states take action collectively for satisfying needs of human security. After Cold War, the incident of 9/11 brought a shift in understanding of the concept of security. These incidents led to the emergence of several approaches that viewed the concept of security in different ways⁶. These incidents also affected the security concerns of Pakistan on large scale.

Having grown up reading the ordinary books on Pakistan's geography and history and on its social studies as a part of the regular school curriculum, the importance of one aspect in the system of Pakistan is recognized to be highly important and that is the defense and security of Pakistan. Ever since Pakistan came into being as a separate, sovereign state, its sovereignty has remained at stake and vulnerable to several threats. One cannot recall a complete decade when the security of Pakistan was not left alone. The defense system of Pakistan, even amongst all the

³ Robert Jackson and George Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1999), P. 68.

⁴ *ibid*

⁵ *ibid*, P. 3.

⁶ Steve Smith, "The Contested Concept of Security" in, Ken Booth (ed.) *Critical Security Studies & World Politics*. (New Delhi: Viva Books Ltd. 2005), P. 23.

severe energy and economic crises is getting the largest chunk of Pakistan's budget (Finance Ministry of Pakistan, 2011)⁷. The second largest chunk of the budget is used for the purpose of paying debts, which again has mostly been taken to support or update the security system of the country.

An interesting question that comes to mind here, is whether the policy makers of the country need to give a second thought to revision of policies and dedication of more resources to human development sectors so as to make the country worth living for the people they claim to protect?

The main research focuses on above stated line of argument. The research is going to talk about the way Pakistan's security should be manipulated to provide a better living standard to the people of Pakistan, both in terms of military security and social welfare. The reason behind analyzing the security situation in Pakistan is the notion that current security strategies, and also the one that Pakistan has had for sixty years have not been working as well, as they should have.

Pakistan lost Bangladesh, Kashmir still does not have a defined fate, Baluchistan is facing an identity crisis and foreign infiltration, Karachi is going out of hands and still defense has the largest share in the money that people of Pakistan are generating. There exist loopholes in the policy making and implementing process. Speaking in the general context about all non-traditional and traditional security threats i.e. external and internal, what this research wants to find out is whether Pakistan's security strategies itself are one of the reasons for the security trouble in the country.

Through analysis of these security strategies and by looking at the expert opinion and views, a conclusion will be reached which will explain whether security strategies employed have been helping Pakistan to be able to survive in the face of serious security threats, or whether they are

⁷ Siddqui, Farrukh. Pakistan's Way Forward: An Integrated Strategy. Available at: <http://www.stateofpakistan.org/pakistans-way-forward-a-comprehensive-strategy>

the ones that have caused such a mess. Finally, whether there is actually a need to shift the contours of the security paradigm in the country.

1.2 Research Methodology

The methodology employed for the purpose of researching on the topic is the case study approach in which Pakistan's policy over the span of last 65 years has been specifically talked about, comparing it to the general security situation prevalent from time to time, and the reaction of other states to the security threats. The primary mode of data collection is secondary i.e. existing data, facts and figures of books, articles and websites has been utilized.

The methodology has helped to present an objective analysis and lead it to the discretion of the reader to give a second thought to the topic as to whether Pakistan needs to shift its security related priorities or not.

The analysis of the research is qualitative in nature and for comprehensive understanding of subject matter, it is important to study the depths of security problem in Pakistan.

1.3 Research Hypothesis

As per the objective of the thesis, what the research really wants to find out through analysis of Pakistan's traditional and non-traditional security trends is:

"Pertaining to Pakistan's increasing non-traditional security threats, there is a need to change the contours of security paradigm in Pakistan."

1.4 Research Scope and Significance

The significance of this research thesis, especially for the future generations of Pakistan is unparalleled. Security has always been one of the major problems in the country and one which has hampered growth and development of the country. The country that started off with its own problems at the same time as Pakistan i.e. India is now competing with the superpowers of the

world in international politics and trade. It would not be wrong to say that India is now no more a competitor of Pakistan⁸. It has crossed those lines both in terms of cultural and social development and in terms of political and economic growth. Comparatively, sad and tragic is the fact that a Muslim country championed as a pioneer of inventing and testing Islamic Bomb and envisioned to be the leader of the entire Islamic world is now facing a serious identity crisis and economic troubles. The population of the country is more likely going back to the Stone Age rather than meeting up to the marks of virtual and high tech world. The question thus is that, for all problems, can solely security policies and strategies of the country be blamed?

This is the basic point where significance of this research lies. This research has looked into the problems that are either being the cause of or are being caused by misapplied security paradigms and whether there is a need to shift.

Revolution today is definitely what Pakistan needs, from the current ways of country management, from the long existing problems and, from the existing and destructive ideologies. This research is significant because it will help readers understand how the security of Pakistan has caused the problems for the country and actually how they should have been managed.

Another important aspect of the significance of this research is that the current literature on the issue of security of Pakistan is highly lacking, which also is one of the basic reasons due to which the problems that have existed have not been solved by the policy makers as they have never been categorically identified in the past.

In this research by providing well researched and reliable information available from all kinds of primary and secondary sources on Pakistan's security lapses, it is hoped that it will help lessen the literature gap.

⁸ Saad Hafiz, Breaking the impasse in Indo-Pak relations, 2010. Available at: <http://pakteahouse.net/2012/05/02/breaking-the-impasse-in-indo-pak-relations/>

Finally, this research is important in its findings and its conclusions because it is taking Pakistan as a complete case study and uses a number of methods to analyze the situation of Pakistan. In addition, the basic concept of security has been explored in detail to help readers understand and analyze the shifts that have occurred in the security strategies on an international scale after several major incidents such as 9/11. The scope of the research is not limited to Pakistan only. In fact, the changes in security paradigms in Pakistan are studied specifically and changes in the security paradigms on international level generally.

1.4 Literature Review

The concept of security is not new to the modern world. From a long time, researchers and security analysts have been working for the development of this concept in relation to the changing conditions. In this section, existing literature regarding security paradigms is evaluated for giving a rich literature review to this project.

Security refers a thought that changes with respect to time, responding to general changes in human governance, priorities, technology, economy as well as social science. The foremost question is that analysts have discussed is what you would like to secure? For International Relations, security of state's sovereignty has remained the focal attention. Sovereignty refers to as an exclusive jurisdiction over a bit of territory.

There is no universal definition of the concept of security in the subject field of International Relations. Throughout the past, security has been a widely applied concept by realists to justify suspending civil liberties, making war, and massively reallocating resources. Walter Lippmann (1944) views security as the capability of a country to guard its core values, each in term that a state does not need to sacrifice core values in avoiding war and maintain them by winning wars. David Baldwin (1997) argues that security needs to be executed typically and needs sacrificing

alternative values, together with marginal values and prime values of a state. Richard Ullman (1983) has suggested that a decrease in vulnerability of an event is security⁹.

Realism has been considered as one of the most important and dominant theories in international relations. This theory has been studied from the military theories and articles on Greek and Chinese thinkers, Sun Tzu to Rousseau. Classical realism has been derived from the book of Edward Hallett Carr which is named as 'The Twenty Years Crisis'¹⁰. The views of realists became flawed and the absence of controlling powers between the communications of states also became disordered. This was because of the specific attributes of international politics. The international political system differed from the domestic system because of such state of antagonism. The realism theory has also been divided into three sum categories which are termed as groupism, egoism and power centrism. In alignment with classical realists, undesirable things happen in framing accurate security approach. This is because policy makers of the companies are not efficient.

The second theory presented by the literature is about Neo-realism. Since the inception of the 1960s, criticism on realism increased to a high level. Kenneth Waltz focused on reviving the traditional theory of realism by translating the main ideas of realism in the form of theoretical frameworks. This type of theory was named as neo-realism. Later on, the Theory of International Politics processed several concepts of realism which were criticized before. This theory discussed the way through which states interact with others. Morgan (2007) suggests that Neo-realism answers several questions related to security. It deals with the answer as to why the contemporary system of states persisted in the eyes of some dominant states. The theory also

⁹ Ullman, R. (1983). "Redefining Security." *International Security* 8(1): 129-153

¹⁰ Wohlforth, W. C. (2010). Realism and Security Studies. *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*. M. D. Cavalty.

discussed the reasons that lead to long lasting wars between countries. Moreover, the need for cooperation among the states was also discussed. In addition to this, this theory brought a new concept which referred that the war among the great states tends to highly frequent in the condition of multi-polarity instead of bipolarity¹¹. Neo-realism also brought many theories which are named as balance of power theory, balance of threat theory and power transition theory.

Traditional security centers in securing state's territorial exclusivity from any outside interference, the foremost necessary being from military threats from foreign states. National interest was outlined as national interest. The traditional security paradigm refers to a realist construct of security in which the referent object of security is the state. The prevalence of this paradigm was observed at high level during the Cold War era. It has been revealed by the study of existing literature that this concept of security prevailed for half century when major world powers entrusted the protection of their nation to a balance of power among states. In this perspective, international stability relied on the premise that if state security is maintained, then the protection of citizens can essentially be ensured. Traditional security relied on the political theory of balance of power, a military buildup between the United States and therefore the Soviet Union who was standing before one another, absolutely, for the sovereignty of the state. States were deemed to be rational entities, national interests and policy driven by the will to absolute power. Security was seen as protection from invasion; dead proxy conflicts by using technical and military capabilities. A very important contribution of existing literature regarding the security of states is about the classical approaches of security.

The third approach of security present in the existing literature is Liberalism which features a shorter history than realism. It's an inspiration with many meanings. Liberal thinking dates back

¹¹ Morgan, P. (2007). Security in International Politics: Traditional Approaches. Contemporary Security Studies. A. Collins. New York, Oxford University Press.

to philosophers such as Thomas Paine, who argued that republican constitutions develop peace. In the existing literature, Kant's concept of Perpetual Peace is arguably seen because the place to begin of up to date liberal thought¹².

This generation of security analysts i.e. Idealists have discussed the concept of security in different respects. Scholars of this concept suggest that security is required by the state to be safe through rational means to an accepted end. Arnold Wolfers (1952) argues that security is usually a normative term. He also views that concept of security as associated with moral, the best or least evil course of action. In relation to the international or national security, the concept of security has been described with threats, whether from traditional or nontraditional sources. Existing literature does not present a clear distinction between different concepts of security because in each state different environment (social, ecological, economic and technological) regarding security prevails¹³.

In the existing literature of liberal security paradigm, the contribution of Barry Buzan cannot be denied. He views the study of international security as over a study of threats, however additionally a study of that threat that may be tolerated and that need immediate action. He observes the concept of security as not either power or peace, however a middle way. The idea of a world security actor has extended altogether directions since the 1990s, from nations to teams, individuals, international systems, NGOs, and native governments.

Later in the 1970s, the term 'Comprehensive Security' came as an abstract response to the dynamical International System. This concept refers to broadening, which means inclusion of non-military problems, and deepening, bearing on inclusion of domestic considerations within the thought of security. Therefore, it can be suggested that this concept entails traditional as well

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Wolfers, A. (1952), "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol." *Political Science Quarterly* 67(4): 481-502.

as nontraditional features of security. Non-traditional security refers to securing a state from threats other than military threats. Many security analysts of new era have started to debate over 'human security' which refers to specializing in the person instead of the state, in geographic terms. Barry Buzan, a British academic, wrote of securitization as bearing on the broadening/expansion of the security through inclusion of governance, economy and socio-economic components¹⁴. This meant that within the calculus of state security, individuals should embrace rather more than tanks, fighter planes and bombs. The collapse of the Soviet Union established absolutely the misconception of relying solely on military sources of security. The collapse was among several aspects, incompatible with the growing economic process of society, its governance and overextension of resources.

The end of the Cold War, therefore, meant the height of statism. This process did not end rather extended to 9/11. Initially after 9/11, it appeared that it has brought back military security to center stage but, that was not the issue. 9/11 exposed several new threats to the states that they started thinking to reformulate their security paradigms. The main idea of 9/11 is that a non-state entity became the foremost serious violent competitor in the state¹⁵. The character of war has essentially modified so has that of security. The parties to war nowadays don't seem to be invariably states. In traditional conflicts, State A had to defend it for the most part renowned territory from a renowned State B. Comprehensive Security in democratic states deals with the action of decision-making by increasing the role of non-security segments on security problems, together with political management.

¹⁴ Buzan, B. and L. Hansen (2009). *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

¹⁵ Gartzke, E. (2005), 'Economic Freedom and Peace' in *Economic Freedom of the World, Annual Report*. pp. 29-44

Having discussed the concept of security in literature, a look at its practical application in Pakistan shows that the security policy in this country has strongly remained inclined towards military side. Many security analysts and researchers evaluate that security policy of Pakistan, because of its confrontation with India has increasingly been defined in military terms¹⁶. Some contend that such a security policy was almost necessary for Pakistan to create balance of power with India. This strategic policy of Pakistan has been clear to its leaders since inception. Superiority and balance of power over the enemy can only be sustained for a long time when Pakistan would have a strong position as militarily, economically and diplomatically¹⁷.

However, Pakistan's security specialists should rethink its security paradigm in line with modified and dynamical facts and theory. They think democratizing security policy can bring positive consequences for what the policy is.

The line of argument drawn by these scholars is that Pakistan needs to bring a paradigm shift in its security policy in order to deal with the regional, national and global security challenges¹⁸. They have argued that pure military stance on security policy has been impacting the ability of Pakistan to meet today's challenges. Some scholars also suggest applying the concept of comprehensive security that deals with both traditional as well as nontraditional threats to national security. This concept proposes that the security policy makers of Pakistan such as diplomats and military personnel need to show their high level commitment for ensuring

¹⁶Siddiqui, Shibbi. Pakistan's strategic dependence, 2011. Available at:
<http://tribune.com.pk/story/304698/pakistans-strategic-dependence/>

¹⁷ ibid

¹⁸Mansoor, Sajida. A Three-Week SASSI Workshop "National Security", 2011. Available at:
<http://www.sassi.org/?p=526>

security. Even though, 100% security cannot be assured but leaders need to make a 100% effort for implementing comprehensive security in Pakistan¹⁹.

1.5 Research Aims and Objectives

There are certain milestones that have been made in this research, the purpose of which is to know what the research really wants to achieve and therefore to help in the orientation of the research.

In this regards, the research aims to

"Explore and state all possible dimensions of security problems objectively that can help the reader get to conclusion that whether or not there is a need to change the contours of the security paradigm in Pakistan"

To achieve this aim, multiple objectives of this dissertation are designed that are stated as under:

- To explore the level of security threats in Pakistan
- To understand and analyze the security policies of the country
- To find out and understand the various critiques made on the security system of Pakistan and why they are made
- To understand the arguments in defense of the security system of Pakistan and why they say what they say
- To evaluate the level of political influence on the security system of Pakistan
- And finally to analyze whether there is a need for a shift paradigm shift in the country

¹⁹Akram, Munir. For comprehensive security, 13th May, 2012. Available at:<http://dawn.com/2012/05/13/for-comprehensive-security/>

1.6 Research Questions

In order to provide further direction to the research for the purpose of this research, a number of research questions have been crafted. These are basically the things that will be answered through the course of this research:

- What has been the security situation in Pakistan generally over the course of sixty five years?
- What have been the internal and external security threats necessitating the use of a security model in Pakistan?
- What has been the general model for the provision of security in Pakistan?
- What is the current security situation in Pakistan?
- What is the current security model that is being followed in Pakistan?
- How successful is the current security model in protecting the boundaries and people of Pakistan?

1.7 Research Time Frame

An in depth analysis of the security situations and strategies of Pakistan for a course of last sixty five years will be done is done research. The time period is not restricted so as to understand the contours of the security situations of the country in detail.

1.8 Limitations of Study

The study is limited to following aspects:

- The study has discussed the security policy of Pakistan through different paradigms. Because of huge data available, only most important aspects are discussed.
- The availability of huge data regarding security policy issues was challenging task to incorporate in this study because of limitations of word count.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter builds the conceptual framework of the present thesis project by defining the main essence of this research i.e. the concept of security in different respects. First, the concept of security will be defined generally then from the perspective of subject of International Relations. Second, the classification of concept of security and its evolution in history since the signing of the treaty of Westphalia in its present form will be elaborated.

In the next sections, the evolution of security studies are further being analyzed by examining approaches applied to this concept before, during and after the Cold War. Lastly, the concept of Security in different schools of thought of International Relations will be presented.

2.1 Definitions of Security

In general terms, Security is defined “as Freedom from risk or danger; safety; as Freedom from doubt, anxiety, or fear; confidence; as something that secures or makes safe, protection and defense; or as Measures taken by a military unit, activity, or installation to protect itself against all acts designed to, or which may, impair its effectiveness”²⁰.

As far as the definition of security in International Relations is concerned, it has been noticed that concepts in social science are not rigid and no one definition remains effective in the long run thus definitions’ keep changing over the period of time. Probably, it can be due to varying kinds of circumstances from one time to another or it can be an outcome of viewing the concept in narrower terms by theorists and analysts at a particular time i.e. theorist takes the concept to the extent it solves his problem.

²⁰ Security. Available at: <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/security>

In the history of International Relations, security has remained a contested concept. This concept is part of International Relations discipline since 1648, and over the centuries its dimensions have evolved that today's security holds too many things within its contours.

In its early years, security meant to increase the area of influence by occupying different areas and building huge empires. Emperors were thought to be secure if their empire covered a huge area compared to empires in their vicinity. Then the concept of saving the state within its borders from foreign powers by building arms and ammunitions kept security revolve around national security for many decades to come. The period also witnessed attaching great importance to building nuclear security which gave rise to nuclear warfare race in the world.

Later during the Cold War conception gradually shifted from "national security" to "international security" in the context of enhancing one's own security by enhancing allies in a particular region to deter the use of arms. The states which couldn't excel themselves in nuclear capability started making alliances hence the emergence of the concept of being secure by being an ally of big powerful states. This period also witnessed the growing importance of inter-regional and intra-regional organizations.

Contemporarily, after the incident of 9/11 the idea of being secure is not confined to the borders of states rather it is seen something as global and demands global efforts to eradicate the curse of terrorism. Furthermore, the birth of human security issues and many International Organizations working beyond borders to access and help humanity has led to a new debate by prioritizing human security over state security. Thus, the concept of security is intangible and can have many interpretations in IR. To understand the real essence of the debate, before moving forward it is necessary to look over how different IR theorists take up and define the Concept of Security, which is done hereafter.

In the eyes of Edward A. Kolodziej security is a “special form of politics, a species of the general genius of politics” and not all political issues are security issues whereas all security issues are political problems. The issue of security in politics comes into agenda when “an actor or actors of political dispute threaten or use force to get what they want”²¹.

Traditionally, in International Relations, ‘national security’ has remained one of the most noticeable characteristics of the security. Arnold Wolfers, a notable professor of International Relations, gave one of the most abstract and the broadest definitions of national security. He explained security in objective as well as subjective sense. In an objective sense, security is a measure of the absence of fear and threat to certain values. In a subjective sense, security is the absence of fear that the values will be attacked by a third party²².

Kenneth Waltz argues that in the framework of the Westphalian system of international relations, security is defined in narrow terms as a framework in which an independent state defends its territorial integrity, political independence, and its people²³. Therefore, the conventional meaning of security is very much related to state and government concerned with the maintenance and protection of political independence, safeguarding territory through military control or any other source and also protecting the people of the state from the outside enemies.

Walter Lippmann (1944) defines security as the ability of a country to safeguard its core values. His concept suggests that a state can protect its core values by safeguarding and by winning a war not by avoiding war²⁴.

²¹ Kolodziej, Edward A. “Security and International Relations”, (2004). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P. 21.

²² Wolfers, Arnold. *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962. P. 150.

²³ Waltz, Kenneth N. *Man, the State, and War*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

²⁴ Lippmann, W. *U.S. Foreign Policy*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1944.

Another definition of security was proposed by David Baldwin (1997). He argues that sometimes, sacrificing some values including marginal and prime values, are required for a state to pursue security²⁵.

Barry Buzan (2000) defines international security as the study of threats, and also studies through which threats can be tolerated by taking immediate measures. He considers the concept of security in between the power and peace²⁶.

It can be figured out from the above definitions that to affirm national security, security in international relations in the beginning led to the dominance of the concept of military security propounded by the realist scholars as security was something related to the protection of assets (infrastructure, values, and people) of the states from outside invaders. Consequently, the development of military technology such as offensive and defensive weapon systems has also been closely associated with the development of security studies.

On the other hand, idealists presented a different concept of security that is regarded as 'peace studies' rather than realism-oriented "security studies"²⁷. Wolfers was among scholars who identified the ambiguity of the concept of national security and warned the people of using the terms of national security and national interest while appearing to offer the basis for consensus and guidance²⁸.

In the early 1980s, Egon Bahr also discussed the term common security. This concept led to a partial formula of innovation that was given by the Palme Commission report 'Commission Security: A Blue Print of Survival' in 1982. The main idea behind this concept was that in case

²⁵Baldwin, D. "The concept of Security," Review of International Studies, (1997). 23: 5-26

²⁶Buzan, B. 'Change and Insecurity' reconsidered. Critical Reflection on Security and Change, S. Croft and Terriff. Xen, Frank Cass Publishers, 2000

²⁷Buzan, Barry. People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983. P. 7.

²⁸ibid, P. 147

of high disorders and armaments, security needs to have an appropriate appreciation of the theorists of realism and also of the nuclear age. Moreover, the concept also suggests that in the absence of such perspectives, the search for security can be very competitive and may lead to tension in political relations which in turn causes a reduction in overall security²⁹.

Criticizing the minimization of security to military security by contemporary states Robert S. McNamara also stated: "there is the direct and constant relationship between incidence of violence and economic status of countries afflicted. The rub comes in this: We do not always grasp the meaning of the word "security" in this context. In a modernizing society, security means development. Security is not military hardware, although it may include it. Security is not military force, although it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity, although it may encompass it. Security is development. Development means economic, social, and political progress. Without development, there can be no security. Developing nation that does not in fact develop simply cannot remain "secure." We have come to identify "security" with exclusively military phenomena, and most particularly with military hardware. But it just isn't so".³⁰

Whereas Baldwin stated: "in the short run, a high fence, a fierce dog, and a big gun might be useful ways of protecting oneself from neighbors but in the long run, it may be preferable to befriend them"³¹.

Supporting the same argument, Durkheim stated: "when people have not integrated this ultimately leads them to "abnormal" behavior, i.e. violence. This view can be very useful in terms of resolving the new phenomena of interstate violence. International violence is fuelled by

Palme Commission (Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues): Common Security. A reprint for Survival. With a Prologue by Cyrus Vance (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982), p. 138

"Security in the contemporary world" <www.oldcolo.com/McNamara/mcnamara> (30 August 2009)

Sofia Kouvelakis and Barbara Schumacher, "International Relations and Security Theories: Impact and Influences". Ceri Program for human Peace and Security (Paris), Conference Report, 31st May/ 1st June 2007.

repressions and inequalities. In view of the new violence market, the state has become powerless. This problem can only be tackled through international social integration. International social integration can be achieved firstly through a basic level of security, asserted i.e. by access to material goods. On a second level of security, respect and dignity have to be attained³².

Hence, a clear dichotomy can be perceived between the traditional concept of security and a broader, encompassing concept of human security. Traditional state centered security cannot by itself deal with asymmetrical threats. Yet, Human Rights, international law and non-state actors can actually compose the weaknesses of traditional security. In this sense, society can be understood as a battlefield, where crime, terrorism, and war, military force and civilians, blur into one and threaten civil society. Hence the private – public discussion must be reconsidered.³³

Sofia Kouvelakis and Barbara Schumacher in their Conference Report titled "*International Relations and Security Theories: Impact and Influences*" pointed out that, "Security is a puzzle where we always ask what we are afraid of. Moreover, it is an illusion; because securitizing will not actually make us more secure. International relations scholars should try to solve security's ethical problem; they should try to identify the underlying narratives of security systems and challenge political solutions to insecurity, which are presented as "necessities" or "lesser evils".³⁴

32 ibid

33 ibid

34 ibid

2.2 Evolution of Concept of Security and Security studies (from Treaty of Westphalia to Present)

2.2.1 Evolution of Concept of Security

The concept of security is not new to this world. Over the centuries as this concept has developed it has grown complex and contemporarily on the world stage, it's a topic of sheer importance and which is highly debated. Going back to discovering the roots of actual evolution of this concept, we discover that the Treaty of Westphalia holds the credit for the birth of this concept.

1648 was the year of the signing of this significant Treaty that accepted the existence of states on the earth by recognizing the right of sovereignty of states. The treaty of Westphalia was a series of treaties that were signed between Osnabruck and Münster. These treaties ended the Thirty Years of War that lasted from 1618 to 1648, in the Holy Roman Empire. Besides this, it also ended the eighty years of war between Spain and Dutch Republic.

For the first time this treaty was formulated as a result of diplomatic dialogue that initiated a new political system in the central Europe. Thus, Westphalian system is also referred as the Peace of Westphalia. In this system, major European countries agreed to respect the territorial integrity. It suggested that the goals of the states and national interests were beyond the interests and goals of citizens and rulers. In this system, the states became the primary agents in the interstate system of relations. Westphalia also encouraged the emergence of independent states, the creation of diplomacy and armies. The system developed in the Europe after the Peace of Westphalia was transferred to America, Asia and Africa through colonialism.

This traditional concept of the state is also attributed to Max Weber who required a condition for the use of licensing of violence in a specific territory. The security of the state was threatened by

any change that may cause a threat to the monopoly of violence through internal rebellion or by external invasion.

Today, the Westphalian system is studied by the academics as a system that founded the state system of the world. Prior to the Peace of Westphalia, the European system of political authority was based on the vague concepts of hierarchical religious order. The international relations scholars argue that the Treaty of Westphalia meant that the rulers of the states would recognize no internal equals in a specified territory and no external superiors.

Over the years, this system has also faced criticism by many analysts for confining the base of security to states. The state system of the Peace of Westphalia brought changes in the security dilemma and international conflicts. In 2000, Germany's Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer suggested that the European political system based on the Westphalia system was obsolete. He further said that after 1945, the core concept of the Europe was a rejection of the balance of power principal in Europe. He argues that the hegemonic ambitions of individual states had emerged after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 has resulted in the transfer of sovereign rights of the states to supranational European institutions³⁵.

In the context of Westphalian world, the states had less danger of conflicts internally and the international system was marked by fewer conflicts among the states. Over the last 250 years, changes in the nature of war have led to the need of the new concept of the security. During the 18th and 19th centuries, wars were held for short duration usually for two years or usually for the period of time between the declaration of war and the agreement of peace. Nonetheless, after the experience of two World Wars, the nature of conflicts among the states became a matter of concern.

Fischer, Joschka, From Confederacy to Federation - Thoughts on the Finality of European Integration, *Ständiges Amt*, archived from the original on 2002-05-02

Since 1945, many threats to the states tend to be more internal rather than external and this shift was having different consequences on the international relations. A different kind of security problems emerged and hence the thought of rethinking on the conceptual framework of state security as a result of development of the modern international system after decolonization at the time of the Cold War.

As in the past, the wars were conducted unofficially and no formal declaration or announcement was made at the start or end of the war leading to the conflicts for decades such as Ulster³⁶. At that time, the security strategy mainly focused on the external threats, specifically on external military threats³⁷.

But in the current scenario, the cross border wars are small and medium power activities and the focus of the great powers has been shifted to the type and nature of conflicts³⁸. Moreover, in the Third World, the security threats to the state are more often internal rather than external that can lead to the formation of many decolonized nations containing substantial cultural, linguistic, or ethnic minorities with a few associations with the state³⁹.

Many wars that have been conducted till now pose their concerns to the unification, liberalization, secession and about the nature of the communities present within a state⁴⁰. The people's wars do not make any distinction between the civilians and soldiers and result in a high death toll of civilians. These types of wars are not conducted by the states that have some specific goals and interests as an organized group, the ordinary cost benefits suggest that these wars are no longer in the application. In some cases, the breakdown in the order has been very

³⁶id, P. 20.

³⁷ Mohammed Ayoob, "The Security Problematic of the Third World," World Politics 43:2 (Jan. 1991), p. 261.

³⁸ Levi J. Holsti, The State, War, and the State of War (1996), p. 25.

³⁹id, P. 15.

⁴⁰ Levi J. Holsti, The State, War, and the State of War (1996), p. 26-27

severe that it led to warfare of thirty years. This was the time, when warfare was not in the political control. These conditions led to the generation of anarchic, universal, and self-perpetuating violence⁴¹. The changes in the nature of conflicts have forced the states to create new procedures and processes of protecting the monopoly on violence. For this purpose, states are making efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons in other states. States have certain mechanisms and resources in order to defend the delivery of mass destruction weapons through airplanes, advanced "reconnaissance strikes and ballistic missiles"⁴².

Moreover, after the incident of 9/11, increasing reach of the international terrorism has posed threats to the intrastate violence that cannot be controlled by the traditional military mechanism and organizations. This is the reason that many states are looking for different approaches in order to achieve security in real terms. The nature of the future conflicts forces the states which have concerns for preserving the monopoly of the state, to look beyond the traditional security measures such as materialistic capabilities and military controls⁴³.

Whereas at the start of 21st century, a new security paradigm emerged on the world stage as Holsti contends that, "In today's scenario, the planner must focus on the threats such as global warming, depletion of the ozone layer, environmental pollution and migration of unwanted refugees into the states at large scale"⁴⁴. These threats or issues can become the cause of conflicts among the states and can lead to wars. Wars for the scarce resources such as water are example of these conflicts. These issues can also produce conflicts through economic decline and instability in the political. Jessica Mathews suggests that the conflicts caused by the

P. 28.

E. Nolan et al., "The Imperatives for Cooperation," *Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century* (1994).

J. Katzenstein, "Introduction," *The Culture of National Security* (Katzenstein ed., 1996), P. 9.

J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War* (1996), P. 15

environmental deregulation are often ignored and states focus on addressing the outcomes of such conflicts such as poverty and instability⁴⁵.

J. Ann Tickner has discussed that the concept of security is not only related to the internal security of states but also relates to the secure system of health, food, trade and money. This is comprehensively a broad non-traditional definition of security that covers the military aspect as well as well-being of the society. Tickner focuses on the structural violence that is beyond the physical violence and includes indirect violence that is done to the people of the states through unjust political and economic structures leading to the reduction in life expectancy because of limited access to basic material needs of life. It is a fact that a secure society should promote a healthy, viable and suitable environment for the people. A secure society also works for the elimination of structural and physical violence. It is also very important to note that a modern system of security is a system that eliminates the traditional hierarchical separations between men and women, insider and outsider, rich and poor. This may also lead to an exclusive discordant aspect of security.

However, this concept of structural violence does not suit with the traditional concept of violence and force. This is because this definition of security raises possibility of treating all the unjust economic factors in terms of structural violence. For instance, quality healthcare facilities are expensive and any system or measure that reduces the access of a particular group to the healthcare facilities through unjust means, will lead to a reduction in the life expectancy of that group. Therefore, if all the social systems are violent inherently, society cannot be treated as a secure society. Tickner discusses that true security of a state cannot be attained until divisive

⁴⁵ Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs* 68:2 (1989), P. 166.

boundaries and hierarchical social systems are not identified and altered and to all the individuals do not participate in the provision of their own security

Ullman defines the threat to the national security as something that:

- Threatens to degrade the quality of life of people of the state
- Threatens to narrow down the range of choices available to the people of the state

These two perspectives are the reason behind the emergence of global emergency.

Many states have also included the emerging threats in the security framework such as 'defense against the communicable diseases'. Lawrence Freedman argues that this security concern is different from that of defense against the ballistic missile attack⁴⁶. The states that have concerns for preventing the conflicts also have the responsibility to address the new threats such as communicable diseases and environmental threats at higher scale as military threats⁴⁷.

In addition, in many states a new goal is to prevent the spread of biological weapons which is aimed at prevention of non-state sanctioned use of violence in a specific area. If the methods employed to deal with such threats are traditional, the ultimate goal is still to achieve objectives of national security. These security concerns employ non-traditional means to achieve the traditional outcomes.

Some scholars and analysts argue that the shift in the security concerns has to include some of the goals of security policy. The debate on the security planning has been changed after the inclusion of 'human security'. This concept goes beyond the thinking of non-traditional security concerns such as environmental deregulation that can encourage conflicts. In addition to this, non-traditional security threats can also create a threat to the quality of life of the people living in the states. But there is a theoretical difficulty in limiting the concept of the security to the

⁴⁶ Lawrence Freedman, "International Security: Changing Targets," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998), P. 53.

⁴⁷ *ibid*, P. 53

physical violence. The difficulty is that many political and economic relations of states are attributed to force whether followed by threats or actually employed. These emerging trends have been evolving the concept of security from traditional aspects (military) to the non-traditional aspects (environmental concerns etc.) and even beyond that.

2.2.2 EVOLUTION OF SECURITY STUDIES

2.2.2.1. Security Approaches before Cold War

Before Cold War, the interwar period was of significance to the development of security studies. During this period scholars stressed that democracy; international understanding and arbitration were the main ways to promote peace and security⁴⁸. The scholars emphasized the importance of international law and institutions rather than military force⁴⁹. The new international system was viewed as a 'community of power' in which all states would cooperate in the common cause of providing security and justice for all rather than engaging in competition and coercion⁵⁰. At that time, the scholars were aware of the military instruments regarding security studies. However, security studies were not preoccupied with the nuclear weapons as they were during the Cold War.

During the time period of 1945-1955, four recurrent themes prevailed in the security studies⁵¹. First, the security was not considered as the primary goal of the states. It was considered among several values having relative importance across space and time. Second, the national security was considered as an important goal by military and non-military approaches of statecraft. Third, the emphasis on carefulness and caution was common regarding military policy.

⁴⁸ Fox, W.T.R. 'Interwar International Relations Research: The American Experience', *World Politics*, 2, (1949), pp. 67-79.

⁴⁹ Baldwin, D.A. 'Security Studies and the End of the Cold War', *World Politics*, vol. 48, no. 1, (1995) pp. 117-41.

⁵⁰ Haftendorn, H. The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1, (1991), pp. 3-17

⁵¹ *ibid*, P.122

And fourth, most of the articles on security studies are dedicated to the relationship between domestic affairs and national security such as democratic political processes, the economy and civil liberties.

2.2.2.2. Security Approaches during Cold War

During the Cold War, the concept of security changed and several different approaches of security were developed. The concept of security was related to the conflict between East and West, at that time. The factor that altered the concept of international relations and security studies was the presence of nuclear weapons. During that time, weapons were produced by the states that were capable of creating destruction in the entire world. The discontinuity of weapons technology affected the academic policy discourse. The sheer destructiveness of the nuclear weapons has invalidated the difference between the winning and losing⁵². In this sense, the idea of military strategy was rendered as meaningless as the efficient use of force was made to achieve the objectives of the States.

During the Cold War, security approaches that predominated security studies were balance of power, bipolar world, containment and deterrence. In the following lines, these four concepts of security are elaborated.

Bipolar World

During the cold war, the United States and Soviet Union dominated as the opposing superpowers in the international Relations. The influence of both superpowers spread over several aspects of the international political climate and affected many countries that had strategic significance. This division resulted in the true polarization of the power in the world. Bipolarity has many meanings in the international relations.

⁵² Sigal, L., V. "Rethinking the Unthinkable," Foreign Policy, no. 34 (1979). P. 39.

The scholars and analysts who support the concept argue that the division of the world power between two states is most favorable step to the international security. Bipolarity resulted in the reduction of international violence and conflicts. Four reasons are given in support of bipolarity effectiveness in the international relations. The first reason is that the bipolarity results in the even distribution of the world. This even distribution makes the superpowers to take an interest in every part of the world politics. The commitment of the two powers on opposite sides leads to a determinate and solid balance. The second reason is that competition between the powers urges them to compete at their maximum level. The intensity of competition among the superpowers has increased drastically. Through this competition, economic growth, space race, military awareness and other domestic issues have attained importance in perspective of international relations.

The third reason is the reoccurrence of crises. It is a natural fact that conflict can occur and remerge. This concept keeps the international system quit, when there are two superpowers in the world. Bipolarity makes the major players to be moderate and careful with each other because both have the same level of strength. The fourth reason is that minor shifts in the balance of power between two major players do not affect the parties, involved in this polarity, at large scale.

The end of the Cold War caused the destruction of the bipolar structure of the world power and started the discussions on the probability of transition to a unipolar or multi-polar world power structure.

Balance of power

The concept of balance of power is multifaceted and complicated. Several analysts and scholars recognize that the balance of power theory is the only distinctive theory in the international

relations theory⁵³. The concept of balance of power in international relations occupied different meanings. One of the most common meanings is the factual narration of the equal distribution of political power in the international arena.

This concept suggests that there is relationship between several actors and stability of the system as a whole⁵⁴. Balance of power concept suggests a balance among different factors for creating stability in the states. Though after the Cold War, the emergence of new powers in the international arena led to the creation of a multi-polar world and weakened the dominance of US-Soviet Union bi-polar division but race to maintain balance of power in International Politics remained.

Containment

Containment was a United States policy using numerous strategies to prevent the spread of communism abroad. Basically, an outcome of the Cold War, this strategy was formulated by the United States as a reaction to Soviet Union's plan to expand communist influence in Eastern Europe, China, Korea, and Vietnam. Containment is a midway policy between détente and rollback. The concept of containment in International Relations was first discovered by the American diplomat George Kennan. In his article 'X-Article,' he disagreed with the policy of US on the basis that it did not align with the Russian nature.

From the 1950s onwards, containment became the common strategy of the US foreign policy and continued during the Cold War and Vietnam War⁵⁵.

⁵³ Waltz, K.N. Theory of International Politics, London: McGraw Hill Waltz, 1979

⁵⁴ Deutsch, K. W., D. Singer, "Multi-polar Power Systems and International Stability" World Politics, Vo. 16, No. 3, (April), 1964, pp. 390-406.

⁵⁵ Cumings, B. "Kennan Containment, Conciliation: The End of Cold War History" Current History, Vol. 94, No. 595, 1995, p. 359-363.

Deterrence

Deterrence seems to be the prominent concept of stability during and after the Cold War. This concept suggests that the parties do not dare to attack because of fear of retaliation from each other. In the case of the United States and Soviet Union, both parties resisted the attack on each other. The scholars who opposed the concept argued that the deterrence raised the unnecessary tension between the great powers of the world and created a race of arms in the history of the mankind. Scholars have identified further classes of deterrence such as finite deterrence, war-fighting deterrence and Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)⁵⁶.

In relation to engage security studies and understands deterrence theory, several criticisms were made. This concept emerged as a result of issues between the east and west. Deterrence theory pointed out at the unification of several frameworks for central issues of states but often at the cost of losing historical or political perspectives⁵⁷.

2.2.2.3. Security Approaches after Cold War

The end of the Cold War stunned the academics and policy makers in the same manner as the two World Wars before. For a long time, none of the security theories of International Relations and security studies had predicted the end of the bipolar world that kept the world in a tight grip. Since the early 1990s, many scholarly debates and analysts started reshaping the concept of security. The end of the Cold War offered an opportunity for the scholars and analysts of international relations to bring shift in notions of subject of security; due to this many contemporary issues got heightened importance and came within the folds of security threats.

⁵⁶ Claridge, D. 'Exploding the Myth of Superterrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1999, pp. 133-148.

⁵⁷ Nye, Jr., J.S., and S.M. Lynn-Jones, 'International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field', *International Security*, 1988, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 5-27

One of the important issues in this respect was that of globalization. The concept of globalization in the international relations gained importance on the concept that whether it was a continuation of the old concept of time space compression or a new issue emerged as a result of advancement in new technology in transportation and communication. The debate about globalization also focused on the mergers of markets and production techniques that could result in increasing inequalities or equal opportunities for all⁵⁸. Another issue that gained the focus of debate was the emergence of nongovernmental organizations i.e. NGOs and Intergovernmental organizations taking importance in international relations.

Globalization also resulted in the emergence of the concept of 'global crime'. Global crime covers several areas such as human trafficking, drug trafficking, internet based crimes and money laundering issues. Money laundering has gained widespread attention from policy makers and academics due to its connection with the terrorism. It is believed that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 on the World Trade Centre played an important role in changing the perception of people about money laundering. This is because the public discourse is gaining high focus on the techniques and approaches used by the terrorist for securing finance for their vile deeds⁵⁹. The connection of global crime and terrorism has taken a new debate between state and non-state actors in international relations. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 had shown that terrorists could use globalization for attacking on major powers in order to achieve their objectives⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ Wade, R. H., (2003) *The Disturbing Rise in Poverty and Inequality: Is It All a 'Big Lie'?* In D. Held, M. Koenig-Archibugi, *Taming Globalization: Frontiers of Governance*, Cambridge UK: Polity Press.

⁵⁹ Serio, J. D., (2004) "Fueling Global Crime: The Mechanics of Money Laundering" *International review of Law Computers and Technology*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 435-444.

⁶⁰ Vennesson, P. (2006) 'Globalization and Military Power: The Politics of Military Adaptation in the US and in Europe' in Epstein, R.A. and P. Vennesson (eds.) *Globalization and Transatlantic Security*, San Domenico di Fiesole: European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, pp. 125-158.

2.3 Classification of Concept of Security

Having discussed the evolution of the concept of security, one can broadly identify that the concept of security in International Relations is composed of two categories: traditional concept of security that emphasizes the importance of state security, and non- traditional or broadened concept of security that seeks social security. Both of these concepts are evaluated separately below.

Traditional Concept of Security

The traditional concept of security has dominated world politics dating back from 1648 to the end of the Cold War. This concept was carried by Realist scholars who attached importance to attainment of military power. In their view, power politics is the main force through which states can attain security from traditional threats. Throughout the Cold War, the traditional concept of security was considered as the most important security paradigm by the states. Policy makers and analysts strongly adhered to the concept that international relations can create conflicts between states and war is the solution to this situation. They believed that conflict among states example of the bitter reality that cannot be avoided or denied⁶¹. Traditionalists focused on the state security at highest priority. The state was considered as the most important player in the international relations and all other players such as individuals, institutions and relations with neighbors were either reckoned as unimportant or were of secondary importance. The core values set by them were state survival and national security. They limited foreign policy of states to these two building blocks. Gradually, changes in the world politics after three wars resulted in the evolution of the concept of non-traditional security.

⁶¹ Waever, O. (2004) 'Aberystwyth, Paris, Copenhagen: New 'Schools' in Security Theory and their Origins between Core and Periphery', Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, 17-20 March

Non-traditional Concept of Security

Nontraditional security addresses the threats that from several sources such as financial turmoil, environmental degradation, nuclear proliferation, internet hacking, drug trafficking, communicable diseases and terrorism. The sources of non-traditional threats can be national or international. Nontraditional threats as stated above have very strong and long lasting impact on the states as well as on their individuals. The nontraditional concept of security deals with a wide range of threats and it is very broad in nature as compared to the traditional concept of security. States have adopted this concept of security for addressing military as well as non-military threats that arise from national and international sources.

Non-traditional security issues are termed as the issues which are raised by factors other than political, military, and diplomatic. However, the factors conceding nontraditional security issues can be threatening for the development and survival of the sovereign state and human development. In this perspective of security, several characteristics of nontraditional security can be observed⁶². These characteristics are:

First, nontraditional security issues can impact both civil population as well as government institutions. These issues can originate from several natural factors as well as non-state human factors. These threats can be raised by certain social groups or individuals rather than from external states. Therefore, it can be observed that the occurrence of nontraditional security issues are unpredictable and have increased the possibility of expanding moves of individuals. On the whole, these security threats can spread and proliferate to other parts of the world quickly⁶³.

⁶² Collins, Alan, "Contemporary Security Studies", (2007), Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 2

⁶³ *ibid*, P.5

Second, nontraditional security can also have indirect effects which may lead to economic losses to the states. An important example of such effect is the financial crisis of late 2000s and spread of SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) during 2002 and 2003.

A Non-traditional security concept is defined by the Richard H. Ullman in 1983 in one of its most comprehensive parts. He suggests that national security should not be confused in the narrow sense which leads to protection of states from military attacks from external sources. He also suggests that such a perception of security may be misleading and dangerous because this definition of national security may lead the security makers away from the nontraditional threats⁶⁴. Moreover, this perspective also presupposes that the security threats that arise from factors outside the states are more threatening than the factors which arise from inside sources. In this perspective, Ullman defined the threats to national security as actions or events which pose drastic threats in a short time period to disgrace the quality of life of the people of a particular state. He also views that such security threats significantly narrow down the choices of policies that are available to states or nongovernmental bodies⁶⁵.

2.4 Security theories in IR

The study of security in International Relations can be viewed as a continuing competition between numbers of defined theoretical traditions. Three major IR theories can be identified in this regard i.e. realism, liberalism and constructivism.

Realism

Realism is coined as the most dominant theory in the traditional security studies. The philosophical foundations of this theory are attributed to Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and

⁶⁴ Ullman, R.H. (1983) 'Redefining Security', International Security, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 129-153.

⁶⁵ *ibid*, P. 136

Rousseau. Realism depicts that the states are independent and sovereign political units that have the main objective of their own survival or expansion. In this perspective, states have objective of national security of guaranteeing the survival of the state rather than having the objective of international security⁶⁶.

Realist's view of international relations was based on the struggle for power among self-interested and strategic states. This concept suggests that states can only be secured if they attain military power higher than the other states. Realists discount any argument in the international order other than that was based on military power. Realists have points of view that international society is subjected to international disorder as there is no central body to secure or protect states from traditional threats that arise from national and international sources.

Realism has been criticized by many scholars and analysts for the content of the theory as they do not believe in long term accommodation or cooperation of states. One of the biggest criticisms on realism is that it is unable to address changes in the international politics that can have an impact on security of states. For instance, the impact of the end of the Cold War on international politics cannot be explained through realism. Critics argue that realism focuses on structural constraints of states at higher degree and fails to anticipate the events in international politics such as the end of the Cold war.

Another criticism on realism is its failure to recognize the importance of evolution of norms and domestic changes occurring in the states. Moreover, this theory fails to explain the changes in the structure of states. Another failure of realism is to explain the development of the interstate system of feudalism. Thus, realism does not fit in the contemporary international political system that is characterized by frequent changes among the states.

66Haftendorn, H. (1991) 'The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 3-17

Liberalism

Criticism on the realism's ability to deal with the security threats led to evolution of liberalism. Liberalism has a short history as compared to the realism and is dominant since World War I. Liberalism has different meanings in security studies. The history of liberalism is tracked back to the thinking of scholars such as Thomas Paine and Immanuel Kant, who argued that peace, can be produced through republican constitutions. Kant's concept of Perpetual Peace is considered as the starting point of contemporary liberal theory of security⁶⁷.

Liberal states can exist under international anarchy, but they have different form of anarchy as depicted by the realists. Liberalists believe that they can understand the objectives of foreign liberal states. Liberals play positive or negative sum game rather than playing a zero sum game. For liberals, the cost and danger of war are fundamental in order to discard war. They have viewed that war can only occur as a result of well-being and self-preservation⁶⁸.

Liberalism predicts a slow but inexorable journey far away from the concept presented by realists, as a result of spread of democratic norms and widening of economic independence. In addition to this, many liberals have viewed that the limited power of states, rule of the law, transparency of the governments and democratic processes aid in sustaining international cooperation, particularly when military institutions enshrine these practices⁶⁹.

Liberalism has very strong and powerful presence in the security studies. The political system of the western states assumes it as self-evident. It has been considered by the neoconservative as well as advocates of human rights. Thus, liberalism can be considered as an outcome of

⁶⁷ Navari, C. (2008). *Liberalism. Security Studies: An Introduction*. P. D. William. New York, Routledge

⁶⁸ Doyle, M. (1983a) 'Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 205-235.

⁶⁹ Snyder, G.H. (2002) 'Mearsheimer's World - Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security', *International Security*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 149-17

contemporary security dilemmas. In the past decades, liberal thoughts have undergone fierce criticism.

Constructivism

Realists believed in the creation of national security while liberalists portrayed the picture of the ideal world. Both these concepts did not address all the security issues faced by the states in the modern era. This gave birth to a new theory in security studies named as Constructivism. Since its origin in the 1980s, it has been one of the influential approaches in the international security studies. Constructivism is a broader social theory that studies the concept of security according to the contemporary issues faced by the states⁷⁰. Constructivism believes that security is a social concept. This theory highlights the importance of historical, social and cultural factors that can lead to different issues related to the security of states.

Constructivism pays high level attention to the existing discourses in the society as discourse shapes and reflects the interests and beliefs that can lead to the establishment of new norms in the society. In international relations, discussions about perceptions and ideas are considered as building blocks. Individuals and states can become dominant in the international perspective if they succeed to convince others to adopt their ideas.

Constructivism is highly responsive to changes in the international system. This theory believes that international change is the result of the thoughts of the intellectual entrepreneurs who originate new ideas and deals with new actors that can deviate from the traditional standards. In this perspective, constructivism studies the transitional activities promoting change in the international arena⁷¹. This theory was legitimized by the end of the Cold War as previous

⁷⁰ McDonald, M. (2008). *Constructivism, Security Studies: an Introduction*. P. D. William. New York, Routledge.

⁷¹ Snyder, G.H. (2002) 'Mearsheimer's World - Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security', *International Security*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 60

theories i.e. realism and liberalism failed to anticipate changes in the international arena. From a constructivist perspective, the most important issue in the post-Cold War era is the study of ideas and identities of different groups. This theory is also very important for studying terrorism, which is considered as the biggest challenge faced by the states in contemporary international relations.

CHAPTER 3

DEBATING THE SHIFT IN

SECURITY PARADIGM

CHAPTER 3: DEBATING THE SHIFT IN SECURITY PARADIGM

3.1 What is Paradigm and Paradigm Shift?

The paradigm is derived from a Greek word "παράδειγμα" (paradeigma) that means example, patterns or sample. The word is derived from the verb "παράδεικνυμι" (paradeiknumi), that means to expose or represent something and from "παρά" (para) that means beyond or beside and also from "δείκνυμι" (deiknumi) that means to point out or to show. This suggests that paradigm is a state of representing and showing an example or pattern of something.

The term 'Paradigm' has different meanings in different contexts and disciplines. Generally, it can be defined as a theoretical and philosophical framework of a scientific discipline or school that makes appropriate conditions and environment within which experiments, theories, laws, and generalizations are constructed⁷². This definition of paradigm suggests that it is a set of frames and suitable conditions for the development of theories and laws in any discipline either natural science, political science or social science. The paradigm is a collection of assumptions on which solution of different problems is found.

In the discipline of International Relations, paradigms relate to the frameworks in which policies of the states are developed and implemented. Thomas Kuhn defined the term paradigm as "universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of researchers"⁷³. Kuhn explained the concept of changing paradigms over the period of time. He focused on the social factors that influence an existing paradigm to change or shift. He also addressed the important factors and mechanism including education that led to shifts in the existing paradigms. Thomas Kuhn had defined the paradigm shift as a change

⁷² The Merriam-Webster Online dictionary. Available at: < <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/paradigm> >

⁷³ Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 3rd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. P. 10.

or shift in a particular pattern, thought, personal behavior or belief, and complex systems that leads to the replacement of a former way of organizing and thinking with a new way of organizing and thinking. International paradigms on global relations are changing day by day with a great pace. The term paradigm can be effectively applied and understood in case of evolving situations.

Political scientists also relate the concept of a paradigm shift to the ethos of war. Judith Hand suggests that a paradigm shift is possible from global customs and ethos that focus on the assumption that war is a predictable aspect of societies⁷⁴. For them, the period of crisis situation is very important as it uncovers the problems and issues in the traditional rules and frameworks of doing things and allows the individuals to ask fundamental questions about the existing paradigm. Crisis situation also allows the individuals to propose new solutions, assumptions or beliefs contrary to the traditional ones for resolving the problems⁷⁵. The crisis situation can result in any of three conclusions: 1) the existing paradigm cannot handle it effectively with its specific tools and techniques, 2) the variations result in the 'out of the box' approaches and its kept aside from using in the future situations, 3) or a new paradigm emerges as a viable solution of problems and crisis and results in a battle for its acceptance⁷⁶. A new paradigm emerges as a brainchild of an individual that has more potential of resolving the situation.

The whole discussion about the paradigm shift proves an important and interesting insight about the existing political situation in international relations. States face different times over the period of time that can pose them new threats and situations. New situations can discard the old modes of making policies and strategies of the states. Contemporarily, new trends of

⁷⁴ Hand, Judith L. (2010). "To Abolish War", *Journal of Aggression, Conflict, and Peace Research* 2 (4): 44-56.

⁷⁵ *ibid*, P.80

⁷⁶ Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970 ed.): P. 84.

globalization and its outcomes have posed threats to the security of states. The modes and strategies, previously valid for the security of states, have become obsolete in the new era of globalization. Hence, a new paradigm for security of states is needed to secure the states from the newest threats. This chapter is going to elaborate the factors that sprang up the need to create shifts in security paradigms in international relations.

3.2 Problems with Traditional Security

The traditional concept of security is purely referred to as the security of states. For traditionalists, the state is the most prominent actor in the politics of the world and all the other actors such as international organizations, the people of the state, and NGOs have either secondary importance or are unimportant. In the previous chapter, some theories have been presented regarding the concept of security. Among these, realist theorists were the traditionalists who pursued the concept of traditional security. For realists, states face the dilemma of security. They also believed that national security is achieved by using power and military means. In this sense, the traditional security emphasized the vital importance of states in the political life.

The traditional concept of security was the result of Internationalization in the political arena. In the eighteen and nineteen century, the balance of power was the dominant concept in the foreign policy of countries. Balance of power concept was considered very effective for stabilizing the international society applying which states pursued national security with super state authority. In such situations, the use of military power i.e. war is predictable for ensuring state security and stability in the international politics⁷⁷, was the top priority. Under this concept, the concept of security was dependent rather than independent. Major states of the world used to bargain for getting more territorial gains while small states are bargained for achieving a balance of power in

⁷⁷ Rajesh M. Basrur, (ed.) South Asian Security, Security in the New Millennium: Views from South Asia, (Colombo: Regional Center for Strategic Studies, 2001), P. 1.

the society by making alliance with big powers. For many years, states believed only on the balance of power in ensuring the security of their values, assets and people. The states believed that if the security of state was maintained, the security of citizens would also be achieved⁷⁸. The balance of the world relied on two super powers i.e. the Soviet Union and United States and also on the sovereignty of the states. In this perspective traditional security is criticized for not ensuring the national security of states on an international scale.

Historically, two major phenomena have exposed the problems in the traditional concept of security. One is the end of the Cold War and the other is the acceleration of globalization. Both these events resulted in the emergence of nontraditional security threats that could not be handled by traditional approach of security in an effective manner.

The fall of the Soviet Union resulted in division of the Republic into many small states. The presence of internal conflicts and civil wars also exposed the inability of USSR to confront problems with the application of the traditional security concept, to deal with the intra states conflicts that are prominent in the modern world⁷⁹. Traditional security was seen as a protection of the states from invasion of enemies and potential conflicts only. As the Cold War ended, it became clear that the states also face certain difficulties and threats from the internal side of the states rather than from external sources. Specifically, the citizens of the states were threatened by the hardships offered by the internal instability of the system. Civil wars in the states became increasingly common and increasing poverty, violence, hunger, communicable diseases, and human rights abuses in the countries were not handled by the countries in the Post-Cold War era. Traditional security concepts had masked the basic needs of the human beings in the face of the

⁷⁸ Bajpai, K. 2000, Human Security: Concept and Measurement, University of Notre Dame, Kroc Institute Occasional Paper no. 19 Accessed from: www.nd.edu/~krocinst/ocpapers/op_19_1.PDF

⁷⁹ Mack, A. 2005, Human Security Report, Vancouver, Human Security Centre: University of British Columbia Press.

security of states. By neglecting all these issues, states failed to achieve their objectives in an effective manner.

The other major weakness of traditional security paradigm is its inability to deal with the human security concept. Large number of people migrating towards other countries, transnational crimes, fluctuations in the capital markets, environmental disasters, and spread of communicable diseases are out of control of traditional security approach⁸⁰. All these factors came forth as a serious threat to the people of the contemporary world.

Political and criminal violence resulted in the death of hundreds of people around the globe. In many countries, communicable diseases are keyed out as one of the major causes of the death of hundreds of people every year. Gradually, it became evident that Traditional security approach fails to deal with such issues related to the human security of people in the world⁸¹ that built a strong need to address human security.

But providing a theory against the relevance of policy and practical experience was a critical challenge for the security theorists. Reliance on the spillover in order to deal with the human security by implementing new theory creates disjunction between the practice and theory. It also offers a challenge to the traditional security paradigm to deal with the merging nontraditional security threats⁸².

Many scholars have challenged the traditional approach of security in the modern world⁸³. The approaches that have challenged the traditional security and have acknowledged the basic needs

⁸⁰ Bain, William. 2001. The Tyranny of Benevolence: National Security, Human Security, and the Practice of Statecraft. *Global Society* 15(3)

⁸¹ Mack, A. 2005, Human Security Repor, Vancouver, Human Security Centre: University of British Columbia Press. P. 9

⁸² Owen, Taylor. 2004. Human Security: Conflict, Critique and Consensus, Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold Based Definition. *Security Dialogue* 35(3):373-387.

⁸³ *ibid.*

of the citizens of states include collective, cooperative and comprehensive measures aimed at achieving the security of individuals that results in the security of states.

It became apparent to most of the states that personal security and food security are the core formulation notions of national security. It became clear that, for people, nothing is important other than the personal security. They look for security from violence, food and health security. In several countries, global, economical, and political trends have raised the issues of food and personal security. In 1994, United Nations Human Development Report noted that in the US, there were 14 million crimes. In Germany, there was 10% increase in crimes. In Canada, 225 people in every 100,000 were criminal. In Australia, each year 400 people suffered drug related crimes. In Kenya, 3300 car thefts were reported⁸⁴. All these events coerced scholars to incorporate these serious threats into the bounds of security. Traditional concept of security was neither identifying these threats nor was considering them important enough to be addressed. Summing it up, problems with traditional security paradigm that led to the evolution of non-traditional security paradigm are pointed out as follows:

- Concept of traditional security is dependent rather than independent
- Traditional security does not ensure the national security of states on international scale
- Internal conflicts and civil wars are not addressed by traditional security
- Traditional security is unable to deal with the human security concept
- Traditional security creates disjunction between the practice and theory

⁸⁴ Hideaki Shinoda, *The Concept of Human Security: Historical and Theoretical Implications, Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace-building* (2004) , IPSHU English Research Report Series No.19

3.3 Changing Definition of Security from Cost to Magnitude

In the literature of security studies, the traditional or conventional definition of security has been challenged, specifically in perspective of its effects on International Relations. The very first sign of change in security definition or expansion in security definition can be traced back to 1960s. At that time, many scholars in international relations suggested that security implied the freedom of countries for improving their position in the future. Some of the scholars regarded security as a development without which there could be no security⁸⁵. In this context, development refers to social, economic and political progress. It also means a reasonable standard of living. It has been argued that reasonable standard of living needs redefinition because at earlier stage, what is being reasonable becomes unreasonable at the later stage⁸⁶.

Richard Ullman criticized the definition of traditional security for the first time for its absolute focus on military threats. He argued that defining the national security only on the basis of military threats presents a false image of real situation⁸⁷. He further argues that emphasizing on the military threats that arise from across the borders can mislead the concept of security. For this, two reasons were given by him. First, this concept can draw attention of states away from non-military threats that can weaken the stability of states. Second, this concept reassumes that the threats that arise from the external environment of a country are more dangerous and damaging to its security than the threats that emerge from its internal environment⁸⁸. In a broader context of security, Ullman explains that threat to the national security of states is the result of events that threaten radically and over the period of time degrades the standard of living of the citizens of the state. He further explains that the series of events also threaten the range of

⁸⁵ McNamara, R.S. (1968) *The Essence of Security*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

⁸⁶ *ibid*, P. 149, 150

⁸⁷ Ullman, R.H. (1983) 'Redefining Security', *International Security*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 129

⁸⁸ *ibid*, pp 138

choices of policy available to the states or to non-governmental institutions in the states⁸⁹. The detailed analytical review of Ullman gives an appropriate description of the security concerns in the conventional form. These concerns also give an insight into the importance of finding and adding new dimensions of security.

In the same manner, Joseph Nye analyzed the security issues of the societies. He states that in modern societies, most of the security policies are designed in order to ensure social independence of a group, to show the degree of political status, and also to ensure the survival of individuals in the physical boundaries of nations. In addition to these factors, he further adds the good status of economic welfare to the concept of security of states⁹⁰. It suggests that security is not merely confined to the secure borders of the states; rather it is more than this concept. The security explanations of Nye and Ullman not only have presented several contingencies but also have raised the questions regarding their application in international relations.

Haftendorn argued that definition of security of states must be seen in the cultural perspectives of highly industrialized democratic structure of the West. On the other hand, other countries of the world may have different definitions of the security. He analyzed that many developing countries of the world stress the domestic security structure with the economic and social dimensions of security⁹¹. Many scholars agree that for a long time, security studies have neglected the security situation in the Third World countries. In the Third World, most of the

⁸⁹ Ullman, R.H. (1983) 'Redefining Security', *International Security*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 133

⁹⁰ Nye, Jr., J.S., and S.M. Lynn-Jones (1988) 'International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field', *International Security*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 6

⁹¹ Haftendorn, H. (1991) 'The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 3-17.

international systems are concentrated along and majority of conflicts also arises from this part of the World⁹².

In order to overcome the ethnocentric behavior of the traditional security approaches, international relations scholars pointed out at the search of a new security paradigm that can deal with the global security issues⁹³. Global security encompasses a program of common security that can have a positive impact on the mankind all over the world. Global security can refer to many dimensions such as environment, people, and organization. With the increasing trends of globalization, this concept has become very important. International relations analysts have added the dimensions of environmental security, economic security, drug threats and human rights in order to redesign the policies of security in order to include new items in global politics⁹⁴.

In order to add all these factors in the concept of security, different adjectives have been added to the concept of security. While adopting a different definition of security, many theoretical and practical hazards are attached with the contours of security paradigm. Many scholars have made it confusing issue by associating social and environmental concepts the security for making it a global management problem linked with national and international security⁹⁵.

In this sense, some scholars have warned the risk creating conceptual disorder in the definition of security. They argue that the disorder will be in the world view of definition of the security rather than in the redefinition of security. They further discussed that if all the forces, factors and events that can threaten the life, assets and property are included as threats to the national security, all

⁹² Ayoob, M. (1997) 'Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective', in K. Krause and M.C. Williams (eds.) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, London: UCL Press, pp. 123.

⁹³ Haftendorn, H. (1991) 'The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 3-17

⁹⁴ Dalby, S. (1997) 'Contesting an Essential Concept: Reading the Dilemmas in Contemporary Security Discourses', in K. Krause and M.C. Williams (eds.) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, London: UCL Press, pp. 3-31.

⁹⁵ *ibid*, pp. 125.

these will be drained of any particular meaning. This will lead to the situation in which all kinds of large scale evils will be regarded as threats to the national security⁹⁶.

These scholars contend that through the expansion in the definition of security, the concept of security has not been clarified rather has been made problematic. Instead of redefining the concept of security, that can confuse the concept of security, they have de-defined the concept of security⁹⁷. The agenda of expanding the concept of security had been criticized by some scholars not only in terms of practical implication but also in its theoretical coherence. The scholars and analysts that have criticized the concept of widening the definition of security have argued that this will destroy the intellectual coherence of security and will make it problematic to propose new solutions for the problems⁹⁸. On the other hand, some scholars have emphasized that the reconstruction of the concept of security needs to revise the theory of security. Many scholars have provided useful insights into the concepts of security that have been traditionally ignored. They have incorporated the new challenges into the security definition in order to expand the security definition⁹⁹.

Dr. Barry Buzan said in an interview that the concept of security in modern society is not necessary to be objective. He looks at the security concept in two ways. One is a more traditional way which can be military and the other can be military, societal or environmental depending on the person who designates it as societal or environmental. He also discusses that the concept of threat does not necessarily remain static. It can change with the changes in the external

⁹⁶ Deudney, D. (1990) 'The Case against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security', *Millennium*, vol. 19, no. 3

⁹⁷ Ayoob, M. (1997) 'Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective', in K. Krause and M.C. Williams (eds.) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, London: UCL Press, pp. 129

⁹⁸ Walt, S.M. (1991) 'The Renaissance of Security Studies', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 213

⁹⁹ Krause, K., and M.C. Williams (eds.) (1997) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, London: UCL Press. P. 35.

environment. He quotes the example of the Cold War that was considered as a threat by most of the people but disappeared as the war ended¹⁰⁰.

Regarding changes in the security agenda, Barry Buzan says:

"Since the ending of the Cold War, there have been a lot of changes. The military agenda, the traditional security agenda, dropped down in salience vary greatly and various other sorts of things emerged and got more prominence. There was a lot of talk about societal security, identity, nationalism, religion and all of those kinds of things. There were more talks about economic and environmental security. So during the 90s, there was a considerable broadening out of the agenda - which had been visible before - a move away from security as being principally about military things, and a move towards accepting a wider range of things as being part of what the security discourse was about."¹⁰¹

It suggests that security definition changed over the period of time. Changing political, environmental, military and social conditions bring a range of threats that can be considered in the definition of security. There are some people who do not consider security other than the military threats. According to this thought of school, security and military threats define each other. However, Barry Buzan is against such explanation of security that only incorporates military threats. He explains that if the Danes sent peacekeepers to Bosnia, or wherever, it is not security issue for Denmark. It is normal politics for states and part of their foreign policy. He suggests that there is need to break the link between the military and the security agenda, and to look at it instead in terms of the military plus environmental and social security¹⁰².

¹⁰⁰ Concept of Security. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqdzRjSlz34>

¹⁰¹ Concept of Security. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1MTuzqgaook>

¹⁰² *ibid.*

This discussion suggests that the international relations analysts have different opinions regarding the definition of security. Some of them support while others criticize the concept on the basis of variable arguments.

3.4 UN Declaration on Human Security- A Shift to Nontraditional Security

For years, scholars incessantly kept demanding formulation of a new definition of security and addition of human security in it as a vital part which was at last finalized in 1948 when the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights. This was the remarkable achievement in the history of the world regarding development of the human rights as it was the first time that international community developed the standards regarding the human rights and allowed freedom to everyone, everywhere.

The Universal Declaration states that the foundation of freedom, peace and justice in the world is the respect for the human rights. The Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights present the vision that everything done in the governance of human affairs must be for the protection and promotion of basic human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was the remarkable advancement that aimed at providing guarantee regarding food, health, housing, education, democracy, protection of family, participation in society, protection against addiction, cruel behavior, inhuman treatment of prisoners, and rule of law¹⁰³. These determining provisions of human rights were further extended by the subsequent conventions of human rights. The Human Right declaration has a simple rationale that human rights and basic sense of freedom of human beings must be respected and protected. This declaration ensures human security that is a feeling of being safe and protected. The international human rights define the human security in perspective of giving

¹⁰³ Bertrand Ramcharan (Acting United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights), Human rights and human security, 2004, P. 40

freedom to human beings and ensuring their protection. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is meant for making the human beings protected and for securing their dignity, freedom and quality of life. The article 28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is very important regarding ensuring human security¹⁰⁴. This article states that everyone is permitted to social and international order that organize human rights.

On the whole, the declaration of the United Nations regarding human rights has given a strong support to the concept of human security. This advancement is also incorporated by many scholars in the definition of human security.

3.5 Application of Non-traditional Security by States and its Implications

Non-traditional security is beyond the concept of military threats to a state. As discussed earlier, global world presents many nontraditional threats to the states and states are in a move to widen contours of security paradigm.

After Cold War, 9/11 is seen as major incident that renewed debate between traditional and non-traditional security concept. Many states attach more importance to nontraditional security issues on account of their effect on the wider parts of society domestically and globally. Thus, presently Non-traditional security is being addressed by research agendas of governments, policies, academic circles, nongovernmental organizations, general public and the media because in the past, the traditional concept of security held policies confined to the bonds of relationships of states that raced to achieve balance of power, deterrence, and military strategy.

The traditional concept of security is increasingly criticized in terms of explanation of security and non-security and in the wake of different kinds of nontraditional security threats such as financial disorder, environmental degradation, internet hacking, drug-trafficking, terrorism,

¹⁰⁴ ibid, P. 42

nuclear proliferation, and communication of communicable diseases such as SARS. All these threats have serious impacts on a country and its citizens¹⁰⁵, which were never been addressed by the traditional security concept.

Presently states put emphasis on the implications of human security in the international community¹⁰⁶ that refers to the idea that every individual must have access to the resources and also refers to the needs and benefits gained by human beings. The issues such as rights of “weak groups” (women, immigrants, child labor, and ethnic minorities) have been increasingly addressed by the academic circles.

Contrastingly, the worse thing about the implication of nontraditional concepts is that research agencies and governments do not know about the definition and implications of the nontraditional threats. In China, the academic circles and government agencies are interested as well as confused about the nontraditional security issues. China has incorporated natural and human resources for dealing the nontraditional security issues in an appropriate manner. In China, government agencies find it very difficult to prioritize the nontraditional issues that lead to difficulty in the solution of nontraditional problems faced by the country. It also leads to difficulty in the allocation of resources for dealing with the threats posed by nontraditional factors.

Moreover, different countries have different nontraditional issues depending on the economic and cultural background¹⁰⁷. States use to treat the nontraditional issues on the basis of priorities and urgency. For instance, the government of United States gives high level importance to

¹⁰⁵ Yizhou Wang, *Defining Non-Traditional Security and Its Implications for China*, 2007, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

¹⁰⁶ Evans, Paul, 2004. *Human security & East Asia: a mid-term review*, World Economics and Politics (Shijiejingjiyuzhengzhi), Vol.6

¹⁰⁷ Acharya Amitav and Arabinda Acharya, 2000. *Human security in the Asia Pacific: puzzle, panacea or peril?* *Cancaps Bulletin* (Canadian Consortium for Asia Pacific Security), December.

international terrorism and proliferation of nuclear weapons among all the nontraditional security issues. On the other hand, the government of the Palestinians prioritizes the lack of fixed income and scarcity of food and water resources or to the return of their land. In these countries, there are many other nontraditional issues at different stage of priority¹⁰⁸.

Today's problems that considered very important might not be tomorrow's issues and vice versa. China is the country that is characterized by fast urbanizing and industrializing with a large percentage of the housing population. In current scenario, the country does not have problems such as food scarcity and ecological issues. Non-traditional security implementation in China is related to the economic security (including financial security, food security, and energy security), environmental security, population security and information security. In addition, it also deals with the issues such as separatism, terrorism and religious extremism¹⁰⁹.

Coming over to Bangladesh, it is the largest deltaic region of the world. The security concept implemented by the Bangladesh is in tune with the concept of the Buzan according to which domestic threats to a weak country can never be separated from the outside influence. Thus, it enhances the domestic security problem with the external relations of the country. In Buzan's view, the tyranny of geography contributes towards the defense vulnerability of small countries. Bangladesh faces a number of security problems, that are not only traditional but also of non-traditional nature. Nontraditional security issues of the country are in the state of constant evolution¹¹⁰. Bangladesh focuses on four aspects on non-traditional security. These are economic, environmental, political and territorial threats. For Bangladesh, the most important

¹⁰⁸ Alagappa, Muthiah, 1988. Comprehensive security: Interpretations in ASEAN countries, in Robert A. Scalapino et al. eds, *Asian Security Issues: Regional and Global*. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, pp.56-58.

¹⁰⁹ Yizhou Wang, *Defining Non-Traditional Security and Its Implications for China*, 2007, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

¹¹⁰ Rehman Sobhan, Ed. 'From Aid Dependence to Self-Reliance: Development Options for Bangladesh', Dhaka: BIDS/UPL, 1990.

non-traditional security aspect is to reduce the vicious cycle of foreign aid and debt servicing. It also needs to explore the ways to fulfill its oil and gas resources. Moreover, it also needs to explore the ways for securing its sea resources. Thus, the concept of security in Bangladesh is related to minimize non-traditional threats.

The examples of different countries regarding implementation of nontraditional security suggest that different countries implement it in different contexts. The intensity of nontraditional threat makes it prioritized and countries put their efforts for its solution, at first priority.

3.6 Problems with Non-Traditional security

Nontraditional threats range from economic threats to environmental threats. They have several types such as economic issues, environmental issues, information issues, population problems, and many others as Xu Jian mentions that states have to deal with the money trafficking, refugees and immigrants, piracy, and communicable diseases¹¹¹.

All these issues arise from different resources and have different extents of their impact on the states and on their citizens. Incorporating all these issues in nontraditional concept can lead to problems in its theoretical framework¹¹². Moreover, all the states do not have enough resources for dealing with all nontraditional security issues.

Prioritizing a particular nontraditional issue can create problems in the appropriate implementation of the other issues. Facing new non-traditional security issues require the security analysts and scholars to design new theories and approaches for dealing with emerging issues.

¹¹¹ Xu Jian, 2003. Non-traditional Security issues and international security cooperation, Contemporary Asia-Pac@c, Vol.3.

¹¹² Deudney, D. (1990) The Case against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security', Millennium, vol. 19, no. 3

Nontraditional security faces a range of challenges. In the context of individual countries, specific issues and diverse challenges of non-traditional security is observed. Numbers of primary and secondary factors contribute challenge to the non-traditional security of states. The challenge is not just the impact on key natural resources of the states but they also face challenges from the consequences of climate change adding the stress that already exists in the world. Fuel and water shortages, rising temperature levels, rising sea levels are examples of such challenges. Often the states do not have an enough recourse pool to deal with such challenges¹¹³. In addition to this, most of the states operate in the form of different departments that are obliged to deal with particular security issues separately. In such a situation, there can be contradictions of interests among different departments and the goal of non-traditional security is not achieved appropriately.

The nontraditional security concept is a tricky concept. In brief, shortcomings of non-traditional security can be summarized as:

- The nontraditional security concept creates problems in its theoretical framework
- All the states do not have enough resources for dealing with a wider range of non-traditional security issues
- Prioritization of particular issue can create issues in addressing other non-traditional security threats

3.7 Finding the way out

For states, both traditional as well as non-traditional security concepts are of high importance. But as noticed, the traditional security concept deals with the military threats only; it does not incorporate emerging security threats such as environmental degradation, cyber-crimes and

¹¹³ Asian Security Conference (ASC) organized by Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA), February 13-15, 2012

spread of communicable diseases. On the other hand, non-traditional security concept deals with all such issues in detail. States have implemented non-traditional concept of security for securing against environmental, economical, and social threats. However, non-traditional security concept is not backed by appropriate theories and frameworks. Moreover, there is a range of non-traditional security threats that have different levels of priority for different states. In such a situation, implementing non-traditional security can create contradictions in the theoretical framework of security.

Analysts have different views regarding the implementation of traditional and non-traditional security. There are some analysts, for whom, the concept of security is purely military. They think that the concept of security has nothing to do with environmental degradation and economic safety. For such security analysts, military and security are complimentary of each other¹¹⁴. However, there are analysts such as Buzan, who do not think in the same pattern. For Buzan, the concept of security is beyond the military threats. He suggests that the concept of security is a broad concept including environmental, social and economic interests of the states. Both schools of thoughts have certain positives and negatives that have been highlighted in the previous discussion. What can be done and what's the way out to address both the traditional and non-traditional field of security in a balanced way so as to avoid confrontation on theory and rather start addressing the real issues practically. For this, a concept of 'comprehensive security' can be brought to the fore. Though this concept is neither been echoed nor has it gained attention but it rightly figures out that states face challenges from inside as well as outside players. In globalized and ever changing conditions, states need to think about national as well as international agendas as one side focus is not an affordable strategy in contemporary world.

¹¹⁴ Asian Security Conference (ASC) organized by Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA), February 13-15, 2012

States need to think strategically with planning beyond normal horizons. For the long term prosperity and stability of the states, this approach is critical¹¹⁵. States also need to implement the policies for the reservation and security of natural resources.

In order to achieve these agendas, the policies of states need to be coherent. It is challenging when states face many other challenges that have high priority and require immediate response. States need to recognize the military as well as non-traditional threats to achieving long term stability and prosperity. It is tempting to look at the past for analyzing the nature and behavior of a particular threat, but states also need to look at the future.

States need to adopt traditional and non-traditional tools for addressing threats in order to maintain national security comprehensively. States can develop appropriate planning and strategies for addressing challenges by prioritizing them. By understanding the issues of national, regional and international level, states can develop appropriate tools for addressing traditional as well as non-traditional threats in a balanced way.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

CHAPTER 4

PAKISTAN'S SECURITY POLICY

(1947-2012)

CHAPTER 4: PAKISTAN'S SECURITY POLICY (1947-2012)

4.1 Introduction

The policy of any country is defined and designed by a number of internal and external influencing factors. The security policy of Pakistan is not an exception to this. However, security policies always go through transitions. From the inception of a country till its attainment of sovereignty, democracy and economic progress, security policies always play an important role in the overall development of the country. Pakistan as a separate state was marked on the map of the world after the partition of British India on August 14, 1947 into India and Pakistan. Multiple ethnic groups specifically Hindus and Muslims of the subcontinent fought for independence from British rule for many years, but Hindu leaders were not in favor of the creation of two states¹¹⁶. Pakistan emerged primarily as a Muslim state out of the Indian subcontinent after the British parted but always remained a sore point in the history of the two countries¹¹⁷. Thus, since independence, Pakistan's security came at stake from its Eastern neighbor as Pakistan's sovereignty wasn't accepted and the entire world was viewing it as a test nation that would soon be merged with India.

The security policy of Pakistan has been much influenced by the developments within its neighboring countries and most importantly it has been the relationship with India that has developed the security policies of Pakistan. Though Pakistan has since its creation resisted against becoming a part of United India, but in the past both the neighbors have given a tough time to each other by engaging in four wars, blame- games, accords and disagreements. In addition, since last decade both the states are accused of planning terrorist activities against each

¹¹⁶ <http://www.stanford.edu/class/e297a/India,%20Pakistan,%20and%20the%20Kashmirk.pdf>

¹¹⁷ Stephens. I. "Pakistan". Harmondsworth: Benn, 1964

other. This has resulted in paradigm shifts in security policies for both the countries but the effects have always been felt more by Pakistan.

As far as Pakistan's relationship with other neighboring countries from a security perspective is concerned, Afghanistan has always remained a buffer state for the Superpowers that have tied their horns on Afghan land several times. During war times, the porous Afghan border has been a source of many security issues in Pakistan ranging from migration of terrorist insurgents in human and drug trafficking¹¹⁸. Subsequently, issues within Afghanistan have often affected the security policies of Pakistan and influenced the political leaders to consider their actions before taking any decision.

Talking about Pakistan's relations with Iran, diplomatically they have remained on good note for most of the time but on and off some issues specifically Pakistan's support of the US and Taliban Regime have affected coordination between the two states. On the other hand, Pakistan's relations with China have strengthened to an extent that China is echoed as Pakistan's all weather-friend. Except the non-intervention policy of China on the issues of conflict and cooperation between Pakistan and the other states, China has always supported Pakistan at each political forum and has often acted as a source of relief during Pakistan's hard times.

As will be discussed later in this Chapter, external factors that have contributed to Pakistan's security concerns mainly resulted from US-Soviet competition in this region. In an effort to retain power because of divergent interests, both the states have kept shifting their alliances with the states situated in South Asian region thus disturbing the security scenario.

Apart from external factors, the history of Pakistan has gone through many internal terrible situations varying from political instability, lack of resources, separation of Bangladesh,

118 Chandran, D. Suba. "The Crisis State: Pakistan's Security Dilemma", IPCS Issue Brief, No. 192 (May 2012)

provincial disparity, corruption, economic fragility, religious differences, ethnic chaos, insurgency, and illiteracy etc. which have all played a major impact on the security policy changes within Pakistan.

The security policy of Pakistan has been the outcome of all the above mentioned factors and there has been a constant alteration in the security policy of Pakistan to cope with volatility within and outside the boundaries of the country. In this chapter, Pakistan's security strategy since the beginning to its present form has been discussed. To create better understanding, timeline of last 65 years has been divided into 4 eras i.e. 1947-1960, 1960-1980, 1980-2000 and 2000-2012. Now let us first have a look at the security policy of Pakistan for the time period 1947-1960:

4.2 Security Policy of Pakistan (1947-1960)

The security policy of Pakistan during the time period 1947-1960 saw widespread developments as the nation was in its initial building process and required several important alterations in its economic, social as well as political policies to ensure that the safety of the country is not jeopardized. Throughout this time period, the country underwent turbulent relationships with its neighboring states and several ensuing wars that broke off East Pakistan and created Bangladesh in 1970 and also established the Kashmir issue with India that would continue to haunt Pakistan for several years to come.

On 2nd June 1947, a plan was announced by the British Government to divide British India into India and Pakistan in order to transform the ultimate power to both countries. The British Indian Army was thus divided between the two states in an unjustified proportion; in which Pakistan received 6 armored, 8 infantry and 8 artillery regiments in comparison with 40 armored, 40

infantry and 40 artillery regiments that were given to India as its share¹¹⁹. Moreover, the Partition Council chaired by Viceroy of India, Rear Admiral Lord Mountbatten also divided the British Indian Army of 500,000 personnel and 11,800 officers in a ratio of 36% for Pakistan and 64% in India. Though the estimated requirement of security officers in Pakistan was 4000 but it only received 2300 as its part. The gap was filled by appointing neutral British officers and nearly 500 Polish and Hungarian officers volunteered¹²⁰.

Moreover, major parts of military assets such as military bases and weapons depots also went to the new Union of India whereas those who were in the new Pakistan were mostly obsolete. In sum, Pakistan had an ammunition reserve of only one week.

Following division of military assets, the next task was to transfer to Pakistan around 150,000 men of the security forces that were scattered in different areas of India. But large scale communal violence created halts in the procedure. Different militant groups detained and attacked the trains; massacring huge number of personnel of the Army.

Security crisis following independence led Pakistan to focus on strengthening of military security in order to safeguard its independence as Mountbatten and Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander in Chief of India, clarified to Pakistan that in case of war, none of member of the Commonwealth would come to help Pakistan¹²¹.

The circumstances in which Pakistan was created to force Pakistan to accept an unfairly small share of armed forces and face harsh difficulties to build the security force of the country. Thus for policy makers, the foremost challenge was to ensure security of the country while putting the

119 Arnett, Eric. "Military Capacity and the Risk of War: China, India, Pakistan and Iran", Oxford University Press, United States, 1997

120ibid

121ibid

development of all other sectors of state on the second priority to ensure that the country did not face any outside threat.

This was the main reason why even constitution making in Pakistan didn't materialize for many years to come, but by October 1947, Pakistan's military sectors saw the addition of 4 security divisions in West Pakistan and one in East Pakistan which enhanced Pakistan's strength by adding 10 infantry brigades and 1 armored brigade with 13 tanks¹²². Yet due to limited resources many battalions and brigades in these divisions were below standard strength and lacked the force that was necessary for the security of any country.

Pakistan during its initial phase couldn't manage to have enough financial resources to maintain security balance in order to achieve and sustain physical advantage of its geography. In addition to these worries, over the years many disputes with India emerged that created real time threats for Pakistan such as killing of people during independence, communal riots, and disposal of evacuee property, water disputes, bilateral trade issues coupled with some serious incursions such as accession of states of Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh, and Rann of Kutch, etc. that always forced Pakistan into the back foot and forced the country to reconsider its international policies.

In 1948, Indian military intervened in Kashmir that led to the initiation of war between the two countries. India took the matter to the United Nations Security Council requesting the intervention of the international community to resolve the issue. Resultantly, in 1949 Pakistan and India signed an agreement for cease fire with Pakistan maintaining a consistent security policy on the issue of Kashmir stating that Kashmir is a disputed territory¹²³.

¹²²ibid

¹²³ Quinlan, Michael. "How Robust is India-Pakistan Deterrence," *Survival* 42, no. 4 (Winter 2000-2001)

Next hostile development occurred in 1950-51 when India deployed troops on border adjoining Punjab¹²⁴. The building of pressure from Indian side was perceived as a reaction from Indian leaders regretting the establishment of Pakistan. This shows that the security of Pakistan and the sovereignty of the country were never safe. Pakistan was always threatened by attacks and this forced the country to implement defensive security policies while at the same time preparing to build the infrastructure and economic growth of the country.

As far as situation on the Western side of the border is concerned, Afghanistan shared historical, cultural, religious, ethnic and linguistic ties with Pakistan due to which they were considered as inseparable states. But soon serious security issues emerged as Afghanistan started making irredentist claims on Pakistan's territory. Afghanistan's Government refused to recognize the sovereignty of Pakistan over North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan on account of its claims on these regions. The claims ranged from demands to provide independence to the Pathans living in Pakistan to the establishment of severing states of Baluchistan and NWFP. Backing Afghanistan, India endorsed these claims creating an uneasy situation for Pakistan.

Seeing the deteriorating regional situation, policy makers became more conscious of the reorganization of the armed forces of Pakistan. Their plans were soon practically applied when in 1951; Ayub Khan took the lead in Pakistan's military with a vision that Pakistan had to establish its strength with bits and pieces similar to the gigantic jigsaw puzzle that has some of the bits missing¹²⁵. The emergence of Ayub Khan created a shift in the security policies of Pakistan that aimed at reorganization of the armed forces of Pakistan and ensuring that all kinds of threats from neighboring countries could be easily handled.

124 Dixit, J.N. "India-Pakistan in War and Peace", Routledge, London, 2002

125Gauhar, Altaf. "Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler", Oxford, Karachi, 1996

In order to get assistance, Pakistan started to make alliance with the United States, and also develop good relations with the Soviet Union and China. However, although Pakistan's relations with the US and China developed on a good note, relations with Soviet Union went on the wrong path for Pakistan. In June 1949, Soviet Union invited Pakistan's Prime Minister to visit the country on an official basis. Though, Pakistan's Government accepted this invitation but for several reasons the visit did not materialize and instead, Pakistan's first Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan paid his first visit to the United States in 1950.

Analysts are of the view that due to security threats Pakistan was seeking to adopt the policy of alliance as at that time in the international political system, since the concept of being secure was associated with being polarized with one of the superpowers¹²⁶.

Contrary to Pakistan needs, the policy of the Soviet Union was not to supply the military equipment to non-Communist states whereas; Pakistan was interested to regroup almost all units of its armed forces to create a new organizational and administrative network for them. Thus, the only option left for Pakistan was getting aid from the United States. Accomplishing Pakistan's needs United States were ready to aid Pakistan militarily on the condition that Pakistan will join defense pacts.

During 1950's, the emerging China and Soviet Union Communist Bloc was a continual threat to the United States who wanted to retain power in the regions of Central, South Asia and Middle East. Pakistan's proximity to the China and Soviet Union and the natural resources of the Middle East placed it at a critical position on the security map of the world¹²⁷. The tug of war for

126Pakistan- Introduction. Available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/intro.htm>

127Michael Beckley. "China and Pakistan: Fair-Weather Friends", Yale Journal of International Affairs, Vol. VII (1), pp. 9-22, 2012

retaining power led Pakistan to sign Mutual Defense Assistance Agreements with the United States on the part of her alliance-ship.

The main objective of these pacts was to build a defense foundation in Pakistan by blocking the Soviet Union's thrust into the Middle East. This Pact also aimed to provide a valuable military base to the United States against the Soviet Union. Defense pacts i.e. SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) became effective in 1955, joining which made Pakistan the first ally of the United States against communism.

Jawaharlal Nehru raised his concerns regarding Pakistan's decision to join military alliance with the west as he thought that Pakistan's new security strategy was going to impact the Kashmir problem¹²⁸. However, the true import of such pacts to ensure security within the Pakistan borders instead of expanding such offensive against Kashmir. Baghdad Pact/ Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) of which Pakistan became part in 1955, was formed by Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran. The Commander in Chief, Mohammad Ayub Khan explains the reason for joining the Baghdad Pact said that it was very important to deal with the hostile attitude of India towards Pakistan. He further said that Pakistan also needed to look at the alliances for securing its position in the world. Another reason for joining the Baghdad Pact was the vulnerability of Middle East due to abundant natural resources which could become the reason of conflict between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. If the conflict started, it could cause serious damage to the Pakistan's security. Thus, it was imperative for Pakistan to engage in arrangements for the defense and security of the Middle East for its own ultimate security¹²⁹. As a byproduct of this Pact, Pakistan came close to the Middle Eastern states, especially to Iran and Turkey.

128Gauhar, Altaf. "Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler", Oxford, Karachi, 1996

129ibid

Whilst on the other hand, Pakistan's security situation and budgetary allocation were also changing towards better. In comparison to 1950, when security threats and pursuance of traditional security policy led Pakistan to allocate 60% of budget for defense sector, after building alliance with the US in 1951 the defense expenditure of Pakistan amounted to 52% of the total national budget. This was quite low as compared to the previous year's military budget¹³⁰. In 1953, the defense budget of Pakistan further lowered down to 38% of the total national budget¹³¹. Over the years, defense budget of Pakistan kept decreasing because of its dependence on Western aid for getting military equipment. The alliance with US also made it possible for Pakistan to purchase modern technological warfare.

But over the next coming years, multiple issues circled SEATO and CENTO, as they only focused on consultations and the internal threats faced by the member countries were not dealt in practical terms¹³². SEATO and CENTO had no mechanism for deploying military action or for collecting military intelligence. Thus both these pacts failed to achieve their goals and came to an end in 1977 and 1979 respectively.

As far as Pakistan's position in SEATO and CENTO is concerned, Pakistan's apprehension for joining the pact was the threat from the India whereas SEATO was concerned with the containment of communism. Pakistan was thus not comfortable because the major powers were dominated in the pact with their own interests and Pakistan's interests were continually ignored. Pakistan did not gain any military help from SEATO¹³³. Thus, the pact proved useless for resolving security problems of Pakistan.

¹³⁰ Chronicle of Pakistan. Available at: <http://pakistanspace.tripod.com/chronicle/1952.html>

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Eric H. Arnett, Military Capacity and the risk of war: China, India, Pakistan and Iran, 1997, pp. 220-260

¹³³ Ibid

It became clear that United States and other Western countries only wanted to use Pakistan for its geo-political position for fighting against communism and were not interested to resolve its security problems¹³⁴. Moreover, the signing of these pacts initiated an era of Cold War among Pakistan and its friendly states due to its decision to be an ally of the US. In retaliation to participation of Pakistan in US backed defense pacts, who was aiming to win over the region beating communism at any cost, India succeeded to force Soviet Union to extend its support to Afghanistan to prevent the Muslim consensus from establishing in that region.

Policy makers of Pakistan were threatened by the moves of Soviet sponsored Indo-Afghan military ally. The security against such potential threats emerged as the strategic concern of Pakistan over the next few decades.

The security policy of Pakistan during 1947-1960 saw the establishment of friendly relations with U.S. and conflicts with the Soviet Bloc as well as India. This was the time when Pakistan decided to ensure that its internal security is not jeopardized and several strategic moves were taken with its neighboring states so that Pakistan's sovereignty remained intact.

4.3 Security Policy of Pakistan (1960-1980)

The era of 1960 to 1980 brought new challenges to Pakistan which could not even be matched up with the security threats in the previous era. 1960 to 1980 was the era of turbulence in the geopolitical situation of Pakistan. Geographical scenarios were also changing and external powers were thinking of the importance of Pakistan's geography to satisfy their own interests. Moreover, Indian border also persisted as a constant threat for Pakistan. Although several international pacts were entered into by Pakistan with their international counterparts but threats

¹³⁴Christopher Jaffrelot, A History of Pakistan and its Origin, Anthem Press, 2004

of attack always loomed large over the country. Within the bounds of these perspectives, the security policy of Pakistan during the era of 1960-1980 has been discussed.

In 1959, Ayub Khan took over the power declaring himself as President of the state, on excuse of fragile internal political conditions of the country. In the initial phase of his era, he reduced the funding of military forces. He pursued a policy of strengthening national interests and maintained a friendly attitude towards India with a very little interest in the advancement of the military.

During the early 1960s, Ayub tried to build gulf with the Indians. Six rounds of talks were conducted between the Foreign Ministers of two states during 1962 and 1963 in the UK and USA. These talks proved to be futile as both of the states refused to show any flexibility on the Kashmir issue.

In 1962, China and India got engaged in a war in which United States provided military aid to India enhancing serious threat to the security of Pakistan. United States 'assistance to India anguished Pakistan on the apprehensions that India would use these military equipment's against Pakistan. In November 1962, General Ayub Khan wrote to the President of United States regarding the concerns of Pakistan over the military aid given to India. Apparently it was seen that the military aid would be used against China¹³⁵. On the contrary, in 1965 India attacked Pakistan and heavy military weapons were used by both the states to gain superiority over one another. The United States and the Soviet Union interfered in the matter and used significant diplomatic tools to prevent any further escalation in the conflict between the two South Asian nations. United States stopped military aid to both countries making no distinction between aligned Pakistan and non-aligned India. This was the point when Pakistan's policy makers

¹³⁵ Chronicle of Pakistan. Available at: <http://pakistanspace.tripod.com/chronicle/1952.html>

needed to think over the interests of United States over Pakistan. At the time of need, turning face of United States was an indication that in future, sole dependence of United States could prove useless for Pakistan.

In 1965 war, Military strength of India in sea, air and land was more than that of Pakistan. Despite this edge, Pakistani forces destroyed the Indian military design and compelled her to move towards Security Council for cease fire. Pakistan was amazed by the reaction of United States during the whole situation as it refused to assist Pakistan during war time. Iran, China and Indonesia were the source of political support to Pakistan.

The war of 1965 was a great blow to the national security and economic development of Pakistan that raised new concerns over assurance of security to the state. Heavy budget was then allocated for the defense projects that instigated the people of the Western Pakistan to think that security of the Western Pakistan was more important for the government than that of Eastern Pakistan. The war with India established that the assurances given by the U.S. were not to be relied upon and it was necessary for Pakistan to devote more resources to develop its security within the country so that it would be able to face outside threats without relying upon any country's support.

On the other hand, rounds of talks with India were again started on 10th January 1966, when Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan met in Tashkent for discussing the security issues¹³⁶. The two leaders signed Tashkent Declaration to end the state of war.

In 1967, Pakistan conducted long debates with the United States for reducing the military aid being provided to India that proved to be the source of 1965 war. The President of United States Johnson decided that United States would only sell the spare parts of the military devices to India. It was also agreed that United States would not provide financial assistance or any other

136K. Subrahmanyam, National Herald (Delhi), 5 April 1971 quoted in Dennis Kux, United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, 2001)

military assistance to India¹³⁷. This advancement assisted Pakistan to get relieved from the security threats faced by the Indian side. However, such steps were not just taken against India but were also imposed upon Pakistan. The alteration in U.S. assistance aid policies to India and Pakistan ensured that Pakistan develop its own security infrastructure so that the country could safeguard its interests.

At that time, Pakistan required other types of military support on urgent basis because of its war time losses. Furthermore, in 1966, Pakistan received the permission from United States to purchase lethal equipment such as tanks, fighter and bomber aircrafts, artillery and arsenal, but the new agreement made it limited to the repairmen of such equipment¹³⁸. After the war of 1965, China became the major military supplier of Pakistan and provided military assistance to Pakistan in all three services of military at attractive prices.

It was realized that Pakistan needed to seek alternatives for maintaining its stable security. Pakistan acknowledged the mediation of the Soviet Union and on her demand engaged with India for peace talks in Tashkent once again in 1966.

At that time, Pakistan was also coming closer to China that could help it in resolving its security issues. Pakistan started getting aid from China for re-equipping its military strength. Mirage Rebuild Factory at Kamra and the Heavy Mechanical Complex at Taxila were established with the technical and monitory assistance of China. These two military units have played vital role in the security of Pakistan. Friendly policy of Pakistan with China was not appreciated by the United States while Pakistan was against the dictator policy of United States. The policy of Pakistan towards United States can be best expressed by the Ayub Khan in his book 'Friends Not Masters'. He wrote that in developing countries, people seek for assistance but on the basis of

¹³⁷ Susan Epstein and K. Alan Kronstadt. "Pakistan: U.S. Foreign Assistance", Congressional Research Service, 2011

¹³⁸ Chronicle of Pakistan. Available at: <http://pakistanspace.tripod.com/chronicle/1952.html>

mutual cooperation and respect. He further said that people in developing countries want friends not masters¹³⁹.

In the late, 1960's political situation of Pakistan became turbulent as army again intervened in the system to overcome the situation of the state. In March 1969, Ayub Khan transferred the powers to Army Commander in Chief General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan who declared himself as the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) as well as President of Pakistan. He announced that Pakistan would conduct elections for the first time since independence. The elections of 1970 though claimed to be conducted on fair terms, led to breakup of West and East Pakistan¹⁴⁰. During the whole process, security conditions of Pakistan deteriorated. In East Pakistan, Awami League won the election which was not acceptable to the leaders of West Pakistan and compromise between East and West Pakistan seemed to be very difficult as both sides were rigid in their opinions. Meanwhile, Yahya Khan decided to postpone the convening of the National Assembly which would have been dominated by the Bengalis i.e. representatives of East Pakistan. The situation became severe when Bengalis went on strikes and stopped to pay taxes and became separatists. In 1971, Army was strengthened to suppress the separatists. Whole situation became terrible when Army started to engage in activities like killing, looting, rape and brutality in East Pakistan¹⁴¹. As a result, 10 million people entered in India as refugees over a period of six months. International outrage grew over Pakistan and United States also refused to reopen its military supplies to Pakistan. In East Pakistan, a Bengali guerrilla force known as the Mukti Bahini (Liberation Force) was formed which later on started gaining support from India. In 1971, Indian troops directly intervened in East Pakistan. On December 16, Pakistani forces, in

¹³⁹ Khan, Mohammad Ayub. London: Oxford University Press (1967).

¹⁴⁰ <http://pr.hec.gov.pk/Chapters/1944-2.pdf>

¹⁴¹ *ibid*.

East Pakistan, surrendered to the Indian army. There was no choice left for Pakistan, except to let go of its Eastern Wing. The role of India in this war cannot be neglected which proved to be the midwife of Bangladesh that came into being after the war of 1971. Indian analyst K. Subrahmanyam said, Pakistan was severely traumatized by the loss of its eastern wing, so it signed Simla Agreement with India in 1972¹⁴². However, the agreement did not mean end of security threats to Pakistan from Indian side. Moreover, both countries disagreed to interpret the agreement as far as the issue of Kashmir was concerned.

After the breakup of country, Bhutto refocused the attention towards West Pakistan. In 1973, Bhutto's constitution narrowly outlined the role of the military as defensive, Pakistan against external aggression and "subject to law" acting in aid-to-the-civil power. Any act to get rid of the constitution was deemed law-breaking. In 1972 Bhutto established the Federal Security Force of 18,000 men to produce help to the civil administration and police and to try and do national action work. Not under control of military, the Federal Security Force was, in fact a kind of private political army. The military, crushed and discouraged, had no alternative however to just accept this additional black eye in the post Bangladesh break-up period, when it harbored deep issues and questions were raised on the integrity of the military and its ability to defend country. In 1974, Pakistan faced another severe security threat from India when a seismic jolt was recorded in parts of Sindh as a mark of India's first successful nuclear test¹⁴³. This nuclear test made Pakistan to speed up its efforts for acquiring nuclear power. The Indian sources declared that they were trying to remove the difference of balance of power between India and China, but the policy makers of Pakistan were very much sure about the security threat for Pakistan from

¹⁴²Text of the Tashkent Declaration in Crisis Prevention, Confidence-Building and Reconciliation in South Asia, Michael Krepon and AmitSevak, eds. (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996)

¹⁴³Chronicle of Pakistan. Available at: <http://pakistanspace.tripod.com/chronicle/1952.html>

this nuclear test. The nuclear program started by India compelled Pakistan to initiate its own nuclear program that started another era of arms race. During the mid of 1970s, Bhutto approached North Korea in order to obtain warfare facilities for Pakistan. An agreement was signed between both countries for military cooperation. With the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, military assistance continued during 1970s as Korea provided a wide range of spare parts, rocket launchers, and artillery.

From 1973 to 1977, insurgency started in Baluchistan which additionally raised the demand for strengthening security measures because it needed the involvement of 80,000 army troops¹⁴⁴. New military production facilities and a navy air wing were established. Bhutto's diplomacy resulted in a partial lifting of the US embargo on military sales to Pakistan in 1973 and an entire removal of the embargo in 1977. He additionally used diplomacy to faucet into the burgeoning oil revenues of the Middle East which Pakistan couldn't afford to purchase. However, the army's self-assurance once again began to grow and by 1974, expenditures on defense re-attained their 1969 level. The defense budget continued to extend over consecutive many years, supporting a somewhat distended strength 428,000 personnel in 1976.

Bhutto's domestic position, however, worn apace within the mid-1970's, and as his attractiveness waned, he turned to the military to control domestic unrest. The rigged elections of March 1977 resulted in mass demonstrations and consequently to Bhutto's resignation. General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, Chief of the Military Staff saw that the military was unwilling to play their part in civil-government violence. In the striking move, Zia arrested Bhutto and other political leaders in July 1977 declaring 3rd Martial Law.

¹⁴⁴Shaikh, Riaz Ahmed. "A State of Transition: Authoritarianism and Democratization in Pakistan", Asia Journal of Global Studies, Vol. 3(1), pp. 4-21, 2009

Two years later two major shifts led to redefining of Pakistan's security policy i.e. Iranian revolution and Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan. Soviet Union's intervention directly affected Pakistan as it led to heightening of security threats on western border. It was a continuous threat for Pakistan that Soviet Union could attack Pakistan in order to approach to hot waters. Pakistan had to play an active part in Cold War as the guardian of marches in order to ensure its own security. It had to fight a Proxy war in Afghanistan for the next 9 years.

This was the time when Pakistan decided to assist Mujahedeen to support against the attack of Soviet Union in Afghanistan. There were two options for Pakistan for maintaining its security, either to face Soviet Union directly in the next years or to fight a proxy war in Afghanistan. Pakistan opted to fight a proxy war in Afghanistan with the help of Mujahedeen. This was the time when Pakistan came into the good books of United States. Jimmy Carter, the President of United States, declared four points to Pakistan for assisting United States against Soviet Union. These points were¹⁴⁵:

- To make the cost of Afghan quest unbearably high to the Soviet Union
- To maintain the 1959 defense agreement between Pakistan and United States
- To offer military and economic aid to Pakistan worth \$400 million over the next two years. In this aid, advanced F-16 aircrafts were not included which were requested by Pakistan
- To address the concerns of the United States about Pakistan's nuclear program

The President of Pakistan Zia-ul-Haq rejected the offer by calling the offer 'peanuts'. This rejection annoyed United States. On the whole, during the era of 1970s and 1980's Pakistan witnessed a major shift in the security policy affected by internal state structure and external

¹⁴⁵ Chronicle of Pakistan. Available at: pakistanspace.tripod.com/chronicle/1952.html

events. The inception of the Cold War directly affected Pakistan and the side effects of the security policy measures adopted by Pakistan are still harming the present security of Pakistan, as will be discussed in coming sections of the Chapter.

4.4 Security Policy of Pakistan (1980-2000)

Since 1980, the military intervention of Soviet Union in Afghanistan brought long term geopolitical changes within the South Asian region. On Pakistan's end, intervention in Afghanistan was the violation of the sovereignty and independence of a non-aligned Muslim state. Security policies of Pakistan were once again breached as Pakistan not only supported the Afghan groups i.e. Mujahedeen who were struggling to expel Soviet Union from their territory and allowed them to pursue their activities from Pakistan's territory as well. Meanwhile, Pakistan also accommodated more than 3 million Afghan refugees that migrated to Pakistan within one year after Soviet intervention. Allowing insurgent groups and refugees to freely travel within the state was a serious security flaw as would be seen in the later years of Pakistan's security developments.

As relations of Pakistan with the Soviet Union historically were spoiled by strains and it was a threat to have pressurized relations with a superpower fighting in the neighborhood. On the other hand, Afghanistan war proved to be a turning point in Pak-US relations which shifted from lowest point of 1979 to close economic, political, and security alliance in 1980s¹⁴⁶. The United States offered 2 packages of economic support and military assistance to facilitate Pakistan's contribution in the war against Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

The first assistance package extended over a period of six years from 1981-1987 which amounted at \$3.2 billion. This amount was equally divided between economic and military

¹⁴⁶ Available at: <http://tacstrat.com/content/index.php/2012/09/11/spearhead-analysis-us-russia-china-india-pakistan/>

sectors. In addition, United States also provided 40 F-16 aircraft to Pakistan from 1983-87 at the cost of \$1.2 billion¹⁴⁷. This was larger than any assistance package provided earlier to Pakistan. The payment for these aircrafts was provided by Pakistan partly in cash and partly from assistance gained from friendly Arab States.

The second assistance package extended for six years from 1987-93 and amounted to \$4.2 billion. 2.28 billion dollars from this package were reserved for economic cause in the form of loan and grants at the interest rate of 2-3%. The remaining amount i.e. 1.74 billion was allocated to military sales¹⁴⁸.

Despite providing favors on many developmental grounds, US government did not support Pakistan's stance on nuclear program. United States downplayed with the issue and ignored Pakistan's position in the nuclear field for keeping up Pakistan on board for Afghan War. Contrary to this, Pakistan's 'all-weather friend' China always extended support to Pakistan during hard times, providing technological, military and diplomatic support for many years. Relationship with China enabled Pakistan to attain equipment and technology for maintaining nuclear and conventional security against India and prevented creation of India-centric position on the issue of Kashmir at international level.

As far as relations of Pakistan with India are concerned, during this time period, they experienced various ups and downs. Contrary to the past, both countries interacted at high level meetings during 1980's.

¹⁴⁷ Available at: <http://www.viewpointonline.net/who-benefits-from-us-aid-to-pakistan.html>

¹⁴⁸ Available at: <http://www.ips.org.pk/security-and-foreign-policy/1080-us-aid-to-pakistan-and-democracy.html>

In 1987, nuclear scientist of Pakistan i.e. Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan gave an interview in which he announced that Pakistan had developed a nuclear bomb. This was a shocking declaration for the whole world and international community labeled it as an 'Islamic Bomb'¹⁴⁹.

In the preceding year, security situation started to grow worse when in 1988, Afghanistan crisis was finally settled by the signing of Geneva Accords by Soviet Union, US, Afghanistan and Pakistan. In February 1989, after Soviet Union exit, Intra-Afghan settlement troubled the Afghans who migrated to Pakistan as refugees. Shifting US interest from Afghanistan also left Pakistan alone to deal with the post Afghanistan crisis. United States also decreased its assistance to Pakistan for dealing with the Afghan refugees. In October 1990, the President of United States, George Bush denied to make clarification about the non-nuclear status of Pakistan. this statement forced the government of United States to impose more economic sanctions on Pakistan in the presence of Pressler Amendment (1985) in the Foreign Assistance Act¹⁵⁰. This move of United States Government for Pakistan impacted on the financial assistance packaged which was offered in 1987. U.S. discontinued the financial and military assistance to Pakistan. As a result of this step, training programs and military sales given to Pakistan were badly impacted. Moreover, the Pakistani officers who were in the process of training in the United States were sent back to Pakistan without completing the training process.

The beginning of insurgency in Indian administered Kashmir in 1989 added a new security issue to the Kashmir problem. These congenital strains in India-Pakistan relations and the two countries exchanged accusations and rebuttal accusations on the developments in Kashmir. But at Pakistan's end, things happened rather extraordinarily not allowing the states to about-face abroad from military based acceptable security. U.S. no longer was accommodating support to

¹⁴⁹ Chronicle of Pakistan. Available at: <http://pakistanspace.tripod.com/chronicle/1952.html>

¹⁵⁰ Mishra, Jita. The NPT and the Developing Countries, Concept Publishing Company, 2008

Pakistan's economic development and addition of its military. Due to host of factors like the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan (1989), the end of Cold War (1990), and the breakdown of the Soviet Union (1991), Pakistan lost its cardinal presence in the eyes of U.S.

During the next decade (1990-2000), national and other international issues mentioned above continued to bedevil Pakistan's security action, these were: drift in Pakistan-U.S. relations, the Afghanistan problem, the Kashmir affront having impact on Indo-Pakistan relations, and the continuation of nuclear program.

This was the time when Pakistan faced harder security choices, when after the end of bipolar war majority of the countries were shifting towards non-traditional security policy. The world was annoyed of power competition; appropriately the articulation to accompany peace echoed and the states advantaged transformation of world into global village i.e. states started to make affiliations with other states on the basis of economic assets rather than on arms trade and power of the affiliated state.

The priorities of United States in South Asia made shifts in the security perspectives of Pakistan. The United States was seeking cooperation of Pakistan to support nonproliferation and the damage to Pakistan's relations with India because of the Afghan War in the era of 1980s. In this decade, United States imposed four types of economic sanction on Pakistan for maintaining its relations with India on good note. This shows that United States was playing dual policy to safeguard its interests. First sanction was imposed in October 1990 under Pressler Amendment that demanded nuclear nonproliferation. Second round of sanctions was announced on 28th May 1998, when India conducted nuclear tests and in retaliation, Pakistan conducted its nuclear tests on 28th May 1998. Pakistan's position that the initiative was very important for the state to maintain balance of power in the region wasn't acknowledged by US. Apart from maintaining

balance of power, Pakistan had many other reasons to go nuclear that included reluctance of the Western countries to appoint tough sanctions against India; non-availability of aboveboard security guarantees to Pakistan; Pakistani perception was that the U.S. Government would not be able to deliver an adorable package of economic and military assistance, the advancing and anti-Pakistan statements of India's Union ministers and the chief associates of the ruling party creating the consequence in Pakistan that India might use its nuclear weapons to extend its military power across the Line of Control in Kashmir; and the growing calm burden for testing. But as the initiative led to start of an arms race between the two rivals, Pakistan had to face some hard economic sanctions.

Third round of limited sanctions was imposed on some Pakistani institutions and organizations on the charges that Pakistan accustomed missile technology from China or Korea¹⁵¹.

What added to the woes was U.S attempt to declare Pakistan a terrorist country during the 1990s, on the basis of allowing its area to be acclimated by militant 'Islamic groups' in the Afghan War. Moreover, it was also said that Pakistan was also committing terrorist activities in the Indian Administered Kashmir. Adding to this, support of Pakistan to Taliban in the Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001 also raised conflicts with United States in relation to the Pressler Amendment.

Later, in 1996-97 under Brown Amendment US also returned money Pakistan paid for the acquirement of new F-16 aircrafts.

The Afghanistan problem continued to haunt Pakistan during these years. It had two aspects: the refugee problem and accession of a government in Kabul that could ensure accord and adherence in Afghanistan. The civilian strife in Afghanistan adversely afflicted Pakistan's image as it raised security alarms for some Central Asian states that complained about the efforts of the Taliban

¹⁵¹Daniel Morrow and Michael Carriere, The Economic Impacts Of The 1998 Sanctions On India And Pakistan, The Nonproliferation Review/Fall 1999

and Pakistan-based militant Islamic groups aggravating to breed linkages with the Islamic dissident aspect in Central Asian states. Security policies were strengthened to ensure that insurgents did not take control over Pakistan. At the same time, relations with India were taking a worst turn. To ease heightening regional tensions, in February 1999, Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee visited Lahore to settle the issues between two states. Leaders of both the countries agreed on a framework for peaceful interaction. But soon the spirit of this acknowledgment was destroyed when Pakistan and India engaged in a limited war in the Kargil area of Kashmir during May-July 1999. The Kargil war was a sore point in the history of Pakistan's security abilities as India took control over Kargil. The friendly relations between India and Pakistan was at its lowest during this time period and Pakistan took the initiative to alter its security policies once again to ensure that safety within its territories is maintained.

At national level, political insecurity continued to prevail and again on October, 1999 General Pervez Musharraf imposed 4th Martial Law in the country overthrowing civilian government of Nawaz Sharif. This military act consequently led to economic insecurity as the US imposed 4th round of Sanctions. After taking powers of the state and responding to rising economic insecurity, President General Pervez Musharraf adopted four-pronged security policy. The security policy adopted by President Musharraf was dedicated to developing friendly relations with neighboring states without going into the offensive mode¹⁵². The economic recovery of Pakistan took the lead and was prioritized as a challenge that needs utmost attention to be addressed first. General Musharraf ruled the state for next 10 years, the ups and downs in the security situation during his decade along with his policy and the policy of next preceding Government will be elaborated in next section.

¹⁵² Kronstadt, K. Alan. "Pakistan's Political Crisis and State of Emergency", Congressional Research Service, RL34240, 2007.

This era proved to be of extreme turbulence in the security policy of Pakistan. Support of Pakistan's government to Mujahedeen, nuclear attacks and economic sanctions were the main events in the era. These events led Pakistan to think over the new security paradigm in the next era which was itself bringing new threats to Pakistan both in traditional and nontraditional perspectives.

4.5 Security Policy of Pakistan (2000- 2012)

In the previous sections, the security policy of Pakistan in different eras has been explained since independence to 2000. A number of events occurred in these eras in terms of geopolitical scenario that compelled Pakistan to enhance its military security. Post 2000 era was the most turbulent era because it begins with the 9/11 attacks whose aftershocks are still felt in Pakistan. Besides 9/11 attacks, Pakistan's internal situation also suffered from political disturbance and natural disasters which raised the concerns for changing the paradigm of the security policy of Pakistan. In this section, the security policy of Pakistan from 2000 to 2012 has been critically reviewed.

In the previous decade, Pakistan's political scenario was again hit by the intervention of the military in the form of President General Pervez Musharraf. The economic recovery of Pakistan had been the main commitment of President General Pervez Musharraf from his start of duties in 1999¹⁵³. To carry on this objective, he appointed Shaukat Aziz as Prime Minister of Pakistan who was also the Finance Minister of Pakistan. Besides economic recovery, the other component of Pakistan's security policy was to maintain the law and order in the country. In order to achieve these objectives, President General Pervez Musharraf emphasized on the importance of security threats to Pakistan by maintaining the appropriate nuclear and conventional capabilities. For the

¹⁵³ President Pervez Musharraf, Address to the Nation, 17 October 1999.

regional security, President General Pervez Musharraf sought the conflict resolution with India which was a hope for resolving other major issues especially the issue of Kashmir with India. Resolving disputes with India meant unlocking of the relationship between India and Pakistan. This was the time when Pakistan was also hoping to maintain friendly relations with Afghanistan and to provide positive assistance to Afghanistan for its restructuring. Pakistan also hoped that Central Asia trade and resources could easily transit from Kazakhstan through Afghanistan to its ports at Gwadar and Karachi. Reorientation of Pakistan's policy towards Afghanistan and Kashmir issues had made domestic security and economic recovery as most important components of its national security. At that time, President General Pervez Musharraf emphasized several times that internal security was the most important challenge for Pakistan. Thus, for the first time Pakistan was seen as focusing on both aspects of security i.e. traditional and nontraditional.

4.5.1 September 11 Attacks and its Aftermath

The September 11 attacks in 2001 remodeled the world with states once more rethinking to shift to their traditional security paradigm to guarantee security. Beginning of the global War on terrorist activities will best be delineated as an offshoot of this shift in thinking. US Government redoubled military operations, economic measures and political pressure on teams it's suspect of being terrorists, still as on governments and countries suspect of sheltering them. Pakistan has been chosen by the United States for achieving its aims of war against terror. Pakistan served the support of logistics, base for operations against Afghanistan and intelligence support. In October 2001, the first military operation of the United States started in Afghanistan. Under this policy, the U.S. invaded Afghanistan so as to get rid of the oppressive al-Qaeda forces.

This brought Pakistan to the center of the world stage again as US demanded Pakistan to become its strategic ally in the war. Decision to side with U.S in this war again stopped Pakistan from thinking to shift from traditional military security policy to non-traditional human welfare based security paradigm. Multiple range of views although brought an amendment in Pakistan's security framework creating a reversion from its earlier pro-Taliban policy of the present anti-terrorism posture. One reasonable argument is that Pakistan's call to go against the Taliban resulted from the internal, regional, and international calculations/understanding of the country's security surroundings.

On the foreign and security policy front, the Musharraf regime felt an urgency to re-examine and rethink Pakistan's national security imperatives given the modified circumstances. President Musharraf's views on threats were different, as once addressing armed forces, President Musharraf said, "only threat is sectarian and religious terrorism, which is eating us like termites, and it is Islam and the Muslim Ummah (community) which is paying the high cost"¹⁵⁴.

In the international front, Musharraf regime felt the need to rethink and re-examine the national security blocks of Pakistan to accommodate the changes in the external environment. Explaining the reasons for opting to provide 'unstinted co-operation' to the United States in 'War against Terror', President Musharraf in his address to the nation gave five reasons. Those were¹⁵⁵:

- To secure strategic assets of Pakistan
- To safeguard the cause of the Kashmir
- To prevent Pakistan from being declared a terrorist nation in the international community
- To prevent the establishment of anti-Pakistan government in Afghanistan

¹⁵⁴ President Musharraf, Address to Armed Forces, Navy Dockyards, Karachi, December 2003.

For details, see "Pakistan: Threat is Internal" (March 2004).

¹⁵⁵ Ahmed Farruqui, Ahmed. *Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan*, (UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003), pp.xviii-xix.

- To re-emerge Pakistan as a responsible and dignified nation on the international level

This decision marked a U-turn in the history of Pakistan regarding its security policy with respect to Afghanistan. It also brought immense challenges on the home front. An argument can be made that decision of government to be an ally with the United States was rational because of prevailing economic, social and sectarian threats. The decision was also taken because of increasing pressure on Pakistan for securing its nuclear assets.

After 9/11, security imperatives of Pakistan changed drastically because of geo-political situations. Against the public opinion, Pakistan's government provided logistics support to the United States and also captured many foreigners who were banded as terrorists and handed them to UN agencies. In a war against terror, Pakistan used more than eighty thousand troops on its Afghan border in order to prevent the infiltration across the border. This act of Pakistani government was criticized by any internal and external bodies as they perceived it as a proxy war¹⁵⁶.

Despite protests, the Pakistan's government managed to face the negative domestic fallout, which showed the restrictions of providing domestic support to the non-secular parties, particularly the extremist teams. Pakistan's government also begun to confine on armed extremist teams among the country because of which, Pakistan has been encircled by national insecurity, chaos, interpersonal and military violence, since then.

But apart from atrocities that the war against terror brought, only after a month of beginning of this war, the United States reciprocated sanctions against Pakistan. It also took steps to revive the bilateral relations in several aspects such as socioeconomic development, trade and investment,

¹⁵⁶ Kukreja, Veena. Pakistan: Democracy, Development and Security Issues, SAGE, 2005

economy and modernization of military. The US government also provided several types of military equipment's.

Direct U.S. help to Pakistan has centered on fiscal support, technical and product help, increased trade, monetary and technical support for many sectors like health, education, food, democracy promotion, child labor elimination, and anti-narcotics. The US government also enhanced economic and technological help to strengthen border security (mainly in Pakistan-Afghanistan border), capability building for addressing law and order situation and particularly terrorism and improvement of communication and road building.

The economic help of the United State during 2002-2003 included US\$ 600 million. This amount was allocated as fiscal support to Pakistan. In addition to this, US\$ 455 million were provided for several development programs in the country. Likewise the US government also gave substantial compensation to Pakistan for use of its territory to conduct operations against Afghanistan.

Pakistan additionally received liberal economic help from the World Bank, UN agency and Asian Development Bank for numerous social development sectors, for poverty reduction, and human development for various establishments of state. In June 2004, President Bush designated Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally, making it eligible, among other things, to purchase advanced American military technology. He offered a five-year economic help package amounting to US\$ three billion starting in 2004-05¹⁵⁷. This amount was equally divided between economic and military assistance.

In 2008, with coming into the office of President Obama and President Zardari, US tripled non-military aid to Pakistan to \$1.5 billion per year over 10 years. The purpose of the aid is to help

¹⁵⁷ Economist Publications, Pakistan & Gulf economist, Volume 24, the University of Michigan, 2005.

strengthen the democratic government and to help strengthen civil institutions and the general economy in Pakistan, and to put in place an aid program that is broader in scope than just supporting Pakistan's military.

Apart from being strategic allies co-operating on foreign front i.e. Afghanistan against one enemy i.e. Taliban, there is a widespread concern among the Pakistani community regarding the past and current relations with US. Most Pakistanis are of the view that Pak-US relations will not continue for a long time period as US will again shift its policy towards Pakistan after getting its strategic interests. These apprehensions are based on valid issues that remain unresolved between the two countries and compromise on them isn't made from either side.

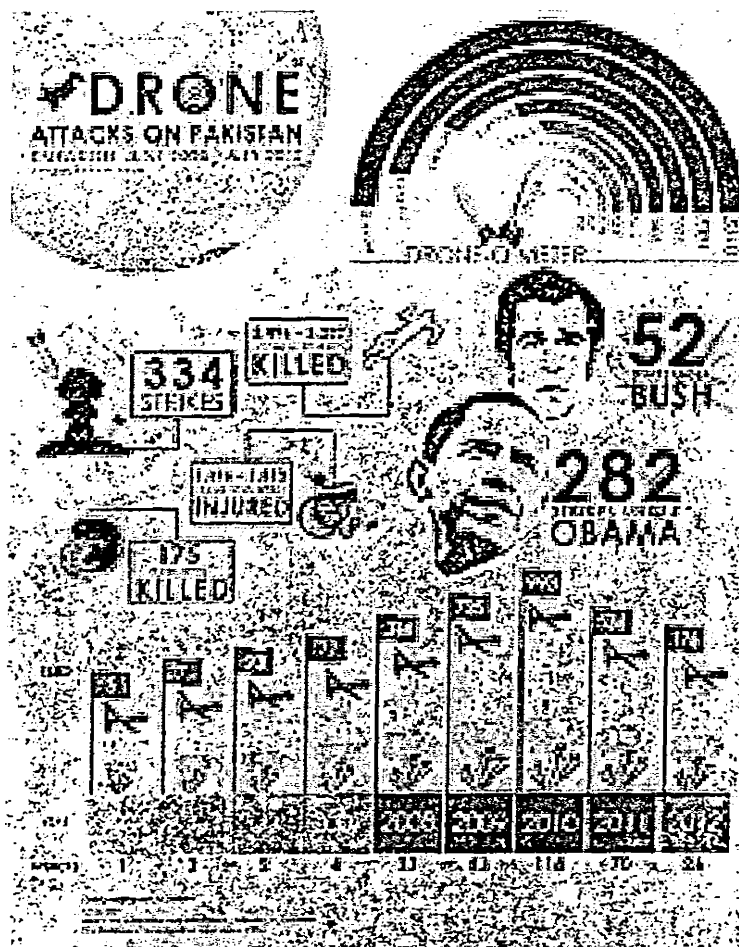
4.5.2 Drone Attacks

The very first issue of disagreements between U.S and Pakistan is of drone strikes. Pakistan claims that these strikes breach the sovereignty of the states whereas from U.S perspective, they have the right of pre-emptive strike and they have to kill their enemy via any source they can.

Since 2001, United State has tried all means to target militant groups in FATA and Afghanistan.

Use of drones against militants started in 2004 under Musharraf era. According to the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, 337 drone strikes have taken place in Pakistan in which more than 2,524-3,247 people were killed and more than 1,330 injured¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁸ Khattak, Masood.Ur.Rehman. Peace still elusive in Afghanistan, FATA after 11 years of 9/11. Available at: <http://www.weeklypulse.org/details.aspx?contentID=2722&storylist=2>



Drone Attacks in Pakistan (June, 2004 – July, 2012)¹⁵⁹

Despite few gains against Al-Qaeda, TTP, Haqqani Network and other militant groups, drone strikes are not only unpopular in Pakistan but are unacceptable to U.S. citizens and other countries around the globe. The Amnesty International, in its statement, said the drone attacks “disregard human rights law”. In response the US asserts that it is defending itself and is “conducting such operations with extraordinary care and in accordance with all applicable law, including the law of war”¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁹ Available at: https://fbcdn-sphotos-a-a.akamaihd.net/hphotos-ak-ash3/37785_10151446589174966_2054290894_n.jpg

¹⁶⁰ Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/aug/02/drone-strikes-thorny-legal-questions>

Drones have proved to be counterproductive. They have led to increase in violence and anti US emotions.

4.5.3 Osama Raid 2011

On 2nd May 2011, Osama Bin Laden, former head of Al Qaeda, was killed in Pakistan by an operation conducted by the Navy SEALs of the United States Naval Special Warfare Development Group. The operation named as the Operation Neptune Spear was carried out by the Central Intelligence Agency on the orders and directives of President Barack Obama¹⁶¹.

The raid brought Pakistan under intense international pressure. Several allegations were made that the government of Pakistan was involved in providing a shield to Osama Bin Laden. The critics justified their allegation on the basis that Laden's present at a proximate location with the Pakistan Military Academy. There were also concerns that why did not US government select to notify Pakistani government before the operation as CIA Chief Leon Panetta said that the CIA had not considered Pakistan because of fear that any information sharing activity with Pakistan could harm the mission. He also said that Pakistani officials could alert the target groups before taking place of the operation¹⁶². On the other hand, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton had a different opinion. She said that cooperation with Pakistan helped the United States to approach to Osama Bin Laden. While Obama's chief counterterrorism advisor said that it was difficult to believe that Laden did not have the support of Pakistani officials. He further said that the denial of Pakistan regarding this issue was just like hiding Laden in a plain sight.

¹⁶¹ Greg Miller (May 5, 2011). "CIA spied on bin Laden from safe house". The Washington Post

¹⁶² Calabresi, Massimo. CIA Chief: Pakistan Would Have Jeopardized bin Laden Operation. Available at: <http://swampland.time.com/2011/05/03/cia-chief-breaks-silence-u-s-ruled-out-involving-pakistan-in-bin-laden-raid-early-on/>

In addition to this, information leaked by the Wikileaks revealed that the Pakistani security agencies were tipping Bin Laden every time, whenever US government approached him¹⁶³. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) was also blamed to help smuggling of Al Qaeda groups in Afghanistan for fighting against NATO forces. The files leaked by Wikileaks revealed that in 2009, the government of Tajikistan informed the US government that many Pakistani officials were aware of the location of Osama Bin Laden.

Putting oil to the issue, Indian Minister for Home Affairs P. Chidambaram said that hiding of Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan was a matter of great concern for the India and also showed his concerns by saying that many of the propagators and controllers involved in the Mumbai attacks were still sheltered in Pakistan. He also pressurized Pakistan to take measures for arresting them.

4.5.4 Border Clashes

Over the decade of war against terrorism, U.S and Pakistan have experienced several military confrontations between American forces deployed in Afghanistan and Pakistani troops guarding the border on the Durand Line. The incident that had serious repercussions occurred on Nov 26, 2011 that killed 24 Pakistani soldiers in an aerial attack on Pakistani positions near the border. The attack further damaged US-Pakistani relations for months with many in Pakistan calling for a more hardline stance against US.

4.5.5 Uneasy relationship with India

Relations of Pakistan with India during the era of 2000-2012 witnessed several ups and downs throughout the history. The terrorist attacks on Indian parliament in 2001 brought down phase of relations between both countries. India blamed that Pakistan was involved in the terrorist attacks and to make things worse, India directed its troops to Pak-India border. At that time, Pakistan

¹⁶³ Allegations of support system in Pakistan for Osama bin Laden. Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allegations_of_support_system_in_Pakistan_for_Osama_bin_Laden

responded to the Indian action by mobilizing its troops on Indian border due to which situation became very critical. India was of the view that Pakistan could not be its partner for counter terrorism on the accusations that Pakistan would have been supporting Taliban and other militant Islamic groups conducting terror activities in Indian administered Kashmir.

In 2001, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf turned up to meet Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee at Agra Summit. The talks fell through.

On 20 June 2004, with a new government in place in India, both countries agreed to extend cooperation. Some measures were taken by the two states for enhancing confidence. In 2003, ceasefire agreement was a chain of such measures. In addition to this, Lahore-Delhi Bus service was also a successful measure to release the tension between two states. However, these efforts were obstructed by the terrorist attacks in India which were accused on Pakistan. In 2001, terrorist attack on Indian Parliament brought the two nations on the verge of war. Moreover, in 2007, terrorist attacks on Samjhauta Express led to killing of 68 civilians. This was the most crucial time in the bilateral relations of India and Pakistan. Later on, in 2008, the Mumbai Attacks were again proved to be obstructing for the peace talks between India and Pakistan. These talks were only resumed on 10 February 2011 on the condition that Pakistan will act against the accused of the Mumbai attacks.

Following a thaw in relations, in April 2012 India gave MFN status to Pakistan announcing the removal of restrictions on FDI investment from Pakistan to India.

Recently in September 2012, Indian External Affairs Minister paid 3 day visit to Pakistan to review the progress of bilateral dialogue with his Pakistani counterpart. The visit not only received international attention and coverage by media groups but opened multiple prospects

with analysts viewing the positive and negative aspects of the growing economic relations between two states keeping apart political conflicts and mutual differences intact.

4.5.6 Pak-China brotherly relations

During the same time frame, Pakistan's relations with China expanded rapidly. China has always extended assistance and providence of technological knowhow to carry out several projects for economic development. Major developments of this era are the initiation of Gwadar deep sea port project which is the major economic development project of Pakistan. China supported Pakistan's policy of dealing with terrorism¹⁶⁴ whereas; Pakistan supported China for the containment of dissident activities in the Muslim majority province of Xinjiang.

4.5.7 Pakistan and the Regional Players

In the recent past, dating from 2002 to present, Russia, China and US have developed strategic connections with Central and South Asian states, which can and largely influence not only security policies of Pakistan but its current foreign relationships as well. Getting a regional solution to many of the challenges being faced by the region within which Pakistan lies, especially in relation to instability, insecurity in Afghanistan as well as improvement of socioeconomic environment has largely driven the major players such as the U.S, China and Russia to advance their interests, formulations and structures to nations such as Pakistan. Nonetheless, the competing strategies of the major players in this arena have largely added to the sophistication of the regional issues.

In general, Pakistan over the last decade aimed to find new partners in the power play within the region. Russia and China are amongst regional players whom Pakistan warmed up to over the last decade. As part of its quest to forge a comfortable relationship, various personalities from

¹⁶⁴ Tom Wright, Jeremy Page (Sept 30, 2011). "China Pullout Deals Blow to Pakistan". The Wall Street Journal
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both nations have consistently met in the recent past, the objective being to solve the regional issues as well as internal Pakistan challenges.

4.5.8 Pakistan's Internal Challenges

Military-Civil Turnover

President Musharraf started to lose his grip on power due to his seeming support of the unpopular Afghanistan war as well as his strategic miscalculation of the public opinion of Pakistan. The strategic miscalculation accompanied with an attack on judiciary of Pakistan sparked protest by judges as well as lawyers all over the country.

2008 saw a number of challenges that perhaps put to question its own internal ability to marshal security. There was lots of civil unrest, rioting and anti-government protests. Additionally, attacks on American as well as other Western interests occurred with larger frequency, along with attempts on President Musharraf's life. Razing of the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) located in the heart of Islamabad was the final blow that marked a clear turning point of security challenges facing the military regime.

Elections were finally announced and the decade of military rule came to an end, with eventually the civilian government taking over the reign of the state.

Transfer of Nuclear Technology

In addition to political turmoil, security concerns related to safety of Pakistan's nuclear programs were also raised. In 2001-2002, the concerns were raised regarding the possibility of a terrorist attack of some militant groups on the nuclear installations of Pakistan. Pakistani government denied the allegations and assured to the external world that its nuclear weapons and installations were sufficiently secured against any terror attack.

Another issue relating to nuclear safety was raised in 2003 that Pakistan's nuclear scientist was thinking of transferring the nuclear material to Iran, North Korea and Libya. The government of Pakistan disassociated itself from any such activity. At that time, the leaders of Pakistan assured the international community that it has been strictly following the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and technical knowhow.

But this claim wasn't verified due to the refusal of the government of Pakistan to allow IAEA to interview the alleged head of the nuclear black market i.e. Abdul Qadeer Khan. In Feb 2004, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan confessed on the National Television that he was responsible for promoting nuclear proliferation to North Korea and Iran. In this way, he bailed out the government from this attempt in front of the World.¹⁶⁵ Later on, he was given status of presidential immunity. However, the exact involvement of the government in this proliferation act is still not clear. The way, through which the government acted on this aspect cause doubts regarding its sincerity with Pakistan because the person who was considered national hero in Pakistan was imposed to claim an offensive act.

Crackdowns on Militants

U.S and the states globally were constantly pressurizing Pakistan to launch military operations against militant groups on account of the accusation that militants are hiding in their safe heavens located in North of Pakistan. Accordingly, Pakistan launched several operations with cooperation of local tribes against militant groups.

All peace deals with the local tribes and groups ended in disaster and at the end of the day, Pakistan military had to take action against the militant groups in several areas of Pakistan which included Bajaur, Mohmand, Kurram, Orakzai, Swat, Malakand Division, South Waziristan, and

¹⁶⁵ Khan, A.Q. Weapons of Mass Destruction. Available at:
<http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/pakistan/khan.htm>

North Waziristan agency. At present, more than 160,000 regular Pakistan army troops have been fighting along with Levies, Frontier Corps and Khassadaran against militant groups in these areas¹⁶⁶. During these operations, Pakistani military suffered a great damage to itself and its image also got affected in these areas. Over the next few months, police and military were specifically targeted in revenge attacks by these groups.

Attacks on Pakistan's Military Bases

Since 2007, Pakistan's military air bases have been attacked three times. The recent one was at high-security Pakistan Aeronautical Complex base at Kamra on Aug 16, 2012.

On May 2011, Mehran Base, which is the headquarters of Pakistan's naval forces, was attacked by the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan.

Although the attacks were combated and made completely fail but they left some serious question marks for the policy makers of Pakistan. Pakistan was again criticized by the world for not maintaining control of its extremely important assets. They pointed out the reach of terrorists to the highly sensitive areas of Pakistan. This attack showed lapses in the attainment of military security and in the capability of Pakistan's military to secure its own assets.

Human Security Threats

In the above discussion, traditional security threats faced by Pakistan have been highlighted. But there also exists a second side of a picture of the story of a country that is its human welfare development sector. Pakistan isn't facing threats only because of its strategic position. There are many human related security threats faced by Pakistan because of its socioeconomic conditions. The era of 2000 to 2012 has seen several environmental threats posing worse challenges to Pakistan such as earthquakes and floods. In 2005, a severe earthquake hit Pakistan's northern

¹⁶⁶ Khattak, Masood.Ur.Rehman. Peace still elusive in Afghanistan, FATA after 11 years of 9/11. Available at: <http://www.weeklypulse.org/details.aspx?contentID=2722&storylist=2>

areas which resulted in more than 80000 casualties and complete destruction of infrastructure in Pakistan administered Kashmir. This earthquake uncovered several holes in the human development security policy of Pakistan.

In addition to this, floods in 2010 and 2011 also revealed that Pakistan has not been dealing with such security threats which are equally important as military threats.

A View on Defense Budget of Pakistan from 2000 to 2012

The table drafted out below shows the defense budget of Pakistan for the last 12 years. Evaluation of the budget reveals that the defense budget has dropped gradually in the era of 2000 to 2012. The reason for this drop is the US assistance and the increasing demand from multiple sections of society to also cater to other needs of the citizens. The role of independent media is accounted for enhancing awareness and maintaining a check on the budget policies published every year.

Serial	Financial Year	National Budget (Rs in Billion)	Defense Budget (% of GDP) (% of Budget)
1.	2000/01	700	3.9 19.00
2.	2001/02	751	4.6 17.44
3.	2002/03	742	4.6 19.68
4.	2003/04	828	3.9 21.14
5.	2004/05	903	3.5 21.48

6.	2005/06	1099	3.4 20.38
7.	2006/07	1315	3.4 19.01
8.	2007/08	1874	3.0 14.67
9.	2008/09	2009	2.8 14.73
10.	2009/10	2403	2.5 14.27
11.	2010/11	2764	2.7 15.99
12.	2011/12	2767	2.4 17.89

Resource: Various Issues of Pakistan Economic Surveys, Ministry of Finance Government of Pakistan, Brookings & Asia Foundation.¹⁶⁷

Different analysts present different reasons behind this decline in the security budget of Pakistan despite of increasing threats from internal and external forces. Some analysts view that as the country is coped with alarming threats from outside and at home thus financial resources are deployed with the division.

But assertive individuals criticize that the budget isn't crumbling, the budget maxim is created by the government's muddled behavior because it has limited options to allocate extra money to assorted sectors including defense¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁷ Study- DEFENSE AND EDUCATION BUDGET OF PAKISTAN. Available at: <http://www.mediapoint.pk/study-defence-and-education-budget-of-pakistan/>

¹⁶⁸ Defence expenditure declining. Available at: <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=158769>

Several security analysts argue that the financial constraints and conditions will keep limited Pakistan's options except to allocate the bulk for modernizing its army. Former Advisor to the Finance Ministry Saqib Sherani said that the government disability to deal problems in the energy area and no efforts to increase revenues as well as cut in foreign assistance has limited the financial adequacy of the country¹⁶⁹. The analysts said that extra-ordinary defense budget would be required when Pakistan would adjudge for modernization of its forces.

Whereas Ayesha Siddiqua, defense security analyst acclaims that though billions have been spent on name of military yet the Pakistani forces had not been modernized after 1980's¹⁷⁰. She adds that, "If one focuses into the claim of the defense and security "I think the defense budget is not low"¹⁷¹.

Making comparative with defense spending and development of the Indian military, the security analysts stress that though, Pakistan is far behind India in its conventional weapon strengths, but the country has credible nuclear deterrence. Whereas, Lt. Gen. Talat Masood argues that though the budget that was allocated for security is barely fulfilling the requirements of defense area but it should also be considered that at present the country has no military tension with India and militancy is not absolutely out of control. But Pakistan would absolutely need helicopters, surveillance accessories and technology for fighting militants in the situations when the absolute regional situations are not satisfactory¹⁷².

Amidst all debate, the question of concern remains the same, it's because of US needs in this region that we are getting aid projected to the military sector, but we will again fall victim to economic constraints once the US abandoned this region and left us alone to bear the

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷² Masood, Talat. The denuclearization threat, The Express Tribune, August 15th, 2012

consequences. What will then be done to accommodate defense budget with other needs of building state welfare.

Conclusion

Detailed preview of the security policy of Pakistan unveils the fact that there are nonetheless, important lessons of profound validity for preservation of Pakistan's independence, national sovereignty as well as territorial integrity to be learnt from the way in which Pakistan was dragged into wars, as well as from their outcome.

Security cannot be drafted on one pattern following the pressures from immediate neighbors or powerful allies rather it's a mix of threats that exists nationally and internationally compelling states to answer to them depending upon their preferences to issues.

It is the time for Pakistan to think over the new security paradigm different from the military perspective of security. Since independence, Pakistan has faced several traditional and nontraditional security threats. Internal and external situation of Pakistan has remained turbulent. Intervention of the military in the political system did not give a chance to political system of Pakistan to be stabilized. As throughout the history, military was at the forefront running the state thus, the policies were designed on same configuration i.e. traditional military security lens. Apart from military rule, Pakistan had constantly faced several external pressures because of its geographical position to maintain high military security.

But during the last decade, many new non-traditional security threats have emerged. As the world is keenly observing the development of non-traditional sectors and as the world now is a global information connected world, it's not easier for Pakistan to oversee these threats as it has been doing in the past.

CHAPTER 5

NEED OF TRANSFORMING

NATIONAL SECURITY TO SOCIAL WELFARE

CHAPTER 5: NEED OF TRANSFORMING NATIONAL SECURITY TO SOCIAL WELFARE

5.1 What has been ignored?

In the previous chapter, national security policy of Pakistan has been appraised in detail that shows for us, national security over the years has remained nothing more than military security. For us, national security is uni-dimensional. For us, national security is uni-organizational. For us, national security's only dimension is the military one¹⁷³.

Pakistan has been focusing on the military security concept for many years. This inexplicable peculiarity of Pakistan's policy is disseminated across its self-assumed religio-ideological commitment and geographical boundaries next to irredentist Afghanistan and India. Due to historic enmity between Pakistan and India, Pakistan was compelled to take a defensive perspective on military security more than the economic prosperity¹⁷⁴.

In the past, it was hardly realized that protecting the misguided principle of national military security based solely on saving territorial integrity wouldn't work and can lead to the disintegration of the nation from within. The detachment of the Eastern Wing of Pakistan at the end of military disaster in 1971 has remained a painful experience of erosion from within which gave an invitation to foreign invasion in Pakistan.

Even after 40 years of that incident we haven't learnt from the history and are continually ignoring the revision of policy. Resultantly today, from one corner of the country to the other, from KPK (Khyber Pakhtoonkhwah) to Baluchistan, Pakistan is choked with horrific spectacles of targeted killings, mounting disorder, a place worse for living, load shedding, and brazen

¹⁷³ Why I won't write about Pakistani politics. Available at: <http://dawn.com/2012/01/23/why-i-wont-write-about-pakistani-politics/>

¹⁷⁴ Syed Farooq Hasnat, Global Security Watch – Pakistan. Praeger, 2011

involvement of the leaders in their own affairs rather than a lucid concern and prompt action in providing relief to the people. Baluchistan stays kind of a tinderbox ready to explode anytime even through an indiscriminately thrown odd stick. It's all due to misbegotten policies and priorities of the government.

These all problems constitute sectors that have been ignored at the cost of military security. There are some seven security dimensions apart from military security that have been categorized by UNDP i.e. economic security, health security, food security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security¹⁷⁵. However, if we look into history of Pakistan it seems as while specializing in the field of military security, Pakistan has built a tendency to neglect other components of security.

The following section will discuss factors which have been ignored in the Pakistan's security perspectives due to dominance of military aspect of security. Moreover, the consequences of this uni-dimensional security perspective are also researched.

5.1.1 Declining graph of Pakistan's Economic Security:

For first five decades after independence, Pakistan's average economic growth rate was higher than the average growth rate of the global economy. Average annual real GDP growth rates were 6.8% within the 60s, 4.8% within the 70s, and 6.5% within the 80s. Average annual growth fell to 4.6% within the 90's with considerably lower growth within the half of that decade¹⁷⁶. This shows that with time, the growth rate of Pakistan has been constantly decreasing.

During the 1960s, Pakistan was observed as a model of economic development across the world, and there was a lot of praise for its economic development. Karachi was seen as a model round

¹⁷⁵ The Human Security Center, 2005. The Human Security Report: War and Peace in the 21st Century- Part II. University of British Colombia, Canada

¹⁷⁶ http://www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/fbs/statistics/national_accounts/table2.pdf

the world because of economic development of the country¹⁷⁷. Several countries wanted to imitate Pakistan's economic strategy. South Korea went a step ahead tracing the city's second "Five-Year Plan" whereas, World Financial Center in Seoul was also designed and modeled on Karachi's strategy.

Later, economic direction in general and above all the imprudent economic policies in fiscal matters caused an oversized increase within the country's debt and led to slower growth. Because of the deregulation policy in 1980s, foreign aid and an increase in remittances from expatriate workers the economy recovered a bit.

Historically, Pakistan's GDP has been recorded to have grown up per annum, since the 1951 recession. Despite this record of sustained growth, Pakistan's economy had, from a couple of the last decades, been characterized as unstable and extremely susceptible to external and internal shocks, mentioned as follows:

- The Asian financial crisis (1997)
- Economic sanctions (imposed because of nuclear attacks in 1998)
- The global recession of 2001–2002
- The severe drought of 1998-2002, which was the worst drought in Pakistan's history
- Heightened perceptions of risk as a result of military tensions with India
- The post-9/11 military action in Afghanistan, which resulted in a massive influx of refugees in Pakistan

Due to inflation and global financial crisis, since 2008 Pakistan's economy has taken a view of a stagnant economy. The International Monetary Fund bailed out Pakistan in November 2008 to

¹⁷⁷ Abbas, Qaisar. James Foreman-Peck, Human Capital and Economic Growth: Pakistan, 1960-2003, The Lahore Journal of Economics, 13 : 1, 2008.

avert a balance of payments crisis. In July 2011, it increased the loan to \$11.3 billion from an initial of \$7.6 billion¹⁷⁸. Recently, in October, 2012 the IMF warned that Pakistan's economy is deteriorating and faces a return to double-digit inflation as the government prints money to finance its deficit¹⁷⁹.

Amidst the situation of the declining graph of economic growth rate, the task now is to implement appropriate public policies that can influence the rate of economic growth. This can be done by creating a stable macro-economic environment that constitutes monetary, fiscal, and exchange rate policies, a stable and sustainable fiscal balance, appropriate real interest rates, a competitive and predictable exchange rate, and a viable balance of payments.

Aside from formulating significant economic policies, most economists look at defense spending as a percentage of a country's GDP and if it is above 3% it is not supposed to be good because it begins to bite into the welfare of the common man. In case Pakistan, defense spending recorded in March, 2012 stood at 3.7 per cent of the GDP, or nearly 20 percent of the national budget¹⁸⁰.

But some analysts argue that Pakistan's defense budget is not responsible for the poor state of the economy. According to Dr. Robert E. Looney at Naval Postgraduate School in California, who conducted a study titled 'Pakistani defense expenditures and the macro economy: Alternative strategies' concluded that "rapid reduction in the defense budget is likely to impair the country's situation even further."¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Shahbaz Rana, Looking for IMF help, Pakistan approaches US, The Express Tribune, Available at:

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/285909/pakistans-imf-programme-looking-for-imf-help-pakistan-approaches-us/>

¹⁷⁹ IMF warns Pakistan economy deteriorating. Available at: <http://dawn.com/2012/10/05/imf-warns-pakistan-economy-deteriorating/>

¹⁸⁰ How many weapons does a country need? Available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/353107/how-many-weapons-does-a-country-need/>

¹⁸¹ PAKISTAN: IN DEFENSE OF DEFENSE SPENDING. Available at: <http://www.opinion-maker.org/2011/03/pakistan-in-defense-of-defense-spending/>

5.1.2 Pakistan on Human Development Index:

The standard of living in Pakistan completely differentiates and varies across different classes of society. Pakistan is accounted as developing country of the third world and on the Human Development Index; out of 170 nations Pakistan ranks at 145th position¹⁸², close to the lower finish off "medium human development."

The facts and figures accessed from UNDP Human Development Report 2011 are provided as below:

Human Development Index	Rank 145
Health	Life expectancy at birth (years) 65.4
Education	Education index (expected and mean years of schooling) 0.386
Income	GNI per capita in PPP terms (constant 2005 international \$) 2,550
Inequality	Inequality-adjusted HDI 0.346
Poverty	Multidimensional Poverty Index (%) 0.264
Gender	Gender Inequality Index 0.573
Sustainability	Adjusted net savings (% of GNI) 10.7
Demography	Population, total both sexes (thousands) 176,745.4

Source: UNDP International Human Development Indicators 2011¹⁸³

Despite having a growing class list of over 35 million; an oversized portion of the country's population remains poor. The population is recorded to be growing at the rate of 1.80% and as many as 45.7% of the entire population is found living under the poverty line, according to a

¹⁸² Nadeem, Azhar. Pakistan Slips to 145th place in HDI | Opinion Studio. Available at:

<http://www.allvoices.com/contributed-news/11214184-pakistan-slips-to-145th-place-in-hdi-opinion-studio>

¹⁸³ Pakistan Country Profile: Human Development. Available at:

Indicators<http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/pak.html>

door-to-door survey carried out by Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) in March, 2012. The results sharply negate the outcome of official survey that calculated incidence of poverty at 12%.¹⁸⁴

Talking about the health sector in general and the public health care system in particular, Pakistan has failed to respond credibly to epidemiological changes. While the Primary Health Care system is still trying to resolve basic maternal and child health problems, the vertical health care programs are all encircled with communicable diseases. Even common non-communicable diseases like hypertension and diabetes, have been found outside the purview of public health policy from long.

Education is considered very crucial for meeting the needs of this competitive and ever changing era. But Pakistan's education sector tells a different story. According to the latest Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement (PSLM) Survey 2008-09, the overall literacy rate is 57%.¹⁸⁵ Politically explaining the situation of human security, MNA Bushra Gohar said Pakistan has self-destruction policies since its creation and citizens are victims of those old policies. The country has human security problems at the highest level and claimed that the country is unable to achieve the MDGs goals. The donors invested a lot of money in Pakistan but the desired results were not achieved.¹⁸⁶

Atle Hetland in an article 'knowing better' writes, "It is sad that a quarter of the budget goes to the military (and then there are pension expenses hidden somewhere else). Miniscule amounts go

¹⁸⁴ Rana, Shahbaz. Scraping through: 45% population living below the poverty line, reports BISP. Available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/380503/scraping-through-45-population-living-below-the-poverty-line-reports-bisp/>

¹⁸⁵ Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/annual%20plans/2011-12/chapter-14_poverty_reduction.pdf

¹⁸⁶ Human Development Report 2011. Available at:

http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2011%5C11%5C30%5Cstory_30-11-2011_pg5_14

to health and education, the two areas that in most developed countries take most of the government's expenditures".¹⁸⁷

5.1.3 Lost right to take independent decisions:

To meet its needs Pakistan has always needed assistance in terms of resources. The crux of the Pakistan's problem lies in its economic enslavement. The question that arouse here is whether or not the state can be run independently while having 'dependency' on foreign military assistance and armaments.

From the history, it has been proved that Pakistan's policy decisions have been directed, designed and projected more towards the demands of all state then by its national interests and thus has resulted in negative repercussions and fallouts. For Pakistan, the 1965 war remains its one classical example.

Professor Hasnat views that when a 'dependency' war begins, it turns into donor's war in terms of meeting serious, continuing shortfalls in important equipment's at the donor's own discretion. With the passage of time and increasing dependency on others, donor countries tend to accumulate problems by their 'infiltration' into national, political, economic, tutorial and different important 'infrastructural institutions' to form security and dependency reciprocally incompatible¹⁸⁸. The same has been the case of Pakistan, when it started to depend on others, problems in terms of nontraditional security started to accumulate.

¹⁸⁷ Hetland, Atle. Knowing better. Available at: <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/columns/07-Jun-2012/knowning-better>

¹⁸⁸ Available at: <http://www.saglobalaffairs.com/back-issues/1238-a-requiem-for-pakistan.html>

5.1.4 Impact of support to Taliban:

Pakistani support of the Afghan Taliban continues to price Pakistan internally, by means of the increasing cost of the war on terror, whereas externally Pakistan is speculated as a threat to world peace.

Moreover, dual dealing with these terrorist groups i.e. first giving them guns in hand and using them to wage war of a foreign state in a neighboring country and then taking guns against them, has led Pakistan pay a heavy price. Pakistan has been exploded with suicide attacks and increasing damaging acts that have destroyed the economy and peace of the country.

One look at the number of attacks and the resulting casualties mentioned in the table below makes us realize that the monster unleashed in the name of various geopolitical agendas has turned on us in the worst way.

Suicide Attacks Since 2001					
Year	2001 to 2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Total attacks	130	86	52	12	280
Total death	1883	1217	1224	82*	4324
Total wounded	3819	2305	2157	341	8622

*Suicide attacks and the resulting deaths since 2001 in Pakistan*¹⁸⁹

Besides the human loss, terrorist attacks caused material damage to the Pakistani economy totaling US\$67 billion as found out by the IMF and the World Bank. The persistent and on-going militancy is quickly assuming the contours of warfare. It forced Pakistan to be away from its foundational concepts to change into a democratic and welfare state.

¹⁸⁹ Absar. A Brief Analysis of Suicide Bombings in Pakistan. Available at: <http://insider.pk/national/politics/analysis-of-suicide-bombings-in-pakistan/>

5.1.5 What we attained in Afghan war of 1979-89:

In the previous chapter, Pakistan's view and concerns over Afghan war have been described in detail. That war proved to be disastrous for Pakistan in several perspectives. Aitzaz Ahsan, former Interior Minister, said that when the process of creation of national security starts, then it became obvious for the states to be involved in the adventures that were attempted in the past such as Afghan Jihad where Pakistan was used as an instrument. In that Jihad against the Soviet Union, Pakistan emerged as the militarized, Jihadi and a state equipped with weapons¹⁹⁰.

5.1.6 Caught up with Fourth Generation Warfare:

Pakistan is within the midst of 'fourth generation warfare', a philosophy initially outlined by William Swedish Nightingale the author of the Maneuver Warfare Handbook¹⁹¹. Fourth Generation Warfare has been often warfare's coming back to a 'decentralized forum' whereby a "nation-state has lost its near-monopoly on combat forces." In this context, Pakistan has been going through a serious conflict which is characterized by ambiguous lines between war and politics, soldier and civilian. Violent Non-State Actors are performing in informal alliances in Pakistan with 2 common objectives. These are to de-legitimize the state and to form the state expend work force. Pakistan's Fourth Generation Warfare is happening at 3 totally different levels i.e. Physical, mental and ethical combat¹⁹². In this multi-dimensional warfare, Pakistan needs to consider a new paradigm of security, different from sole military security paradigm.

¹⁹⁰ Ahsan, Aitzaz. The national-security state. Available at:

<http://www.himalmag.com/component/content/article/1493-The-national-security-state.html>

¹⁹¹ William S. Lind, Maneuver Warfare Handbook, Westview Press, 1985

¹⁹² Ahmed, Samina. "The United States and Terrorism in Southwest Asia: September 11 and Beyond." International Security 26.3 (2002): 79-93.

5.1.7 Stuck with a post-9/11 Mindset:

In a post-9/11 world, Pakistan has suffered greatly in several terms, over the past decade. Understanding the seriousness of the issue, Economic Survey of Pakistan in 2010 contained a special section named as the war against terror'. The survey suggested that the so called war on terror has cost the country over 35,000 citizens, 3,500 security personnel, destruction of infrastructure, internal migration of uncountable people from the elements of northwestern Pakistan, attrition of investment climate, and growing unemployment¹⁹³.

Anyone who has lived in Pakistan can agree upon that 9/11 has turned Pakistan's present and future towards poorer during the last decade. For an average Pakistani, what is less clear is the cause and the solution of all such problems. Driven by psychosis and concern, people of Pakistan hold external powers responsible for their deteriorated condition whereas, the world has become more and more suspicious and petrified of Pakistan leaving Pakistan in a catch-22 situation.

5.1.8 Climate Change and the Resultant Damage:

It is a fact that the non-traditional security threats faced by the third world are more severe than traditional security threats. In case of Pakistan nontraditional security threats have not only accumulated but rather have remained unaddressed unfortunately for long.

Climate change is one such nontraditional security threat because of increasing temperature, shift in precipitation pattern and flash flooding. Because of ignorance of warning related to global climate change, Pakistan has faced worst weather-related disasters in the previous decade. Simultaneous floods in the previous couple of years have caused serious losses to the economy and has badly broken agriculture infrastructure of the Pakistan. In 2011, floods destroyed billions

¹⁹³ Pakistan after 9/11. Available at: <http://dawn.com/2011/09/11/pakistan-after-911/>

worth standing crops, road and communication infrastructure. Millions have become unemployed and handicapped looking forward to government help.

Whereas, Flash floods in 2010 caused by serious rains in Northern and Southern regions of Pakistan affected a minimum of a 20 million people directly. Nearly 1,000,000 homes were destroyed whereas quite 2,000 people lost their lives.¹⁹⁴

The country that had not yet recovered from the devastating flooding damage of 2010 and 2011 faced up another flood in 2012 after heavy monsoon rains. This year, floods have affected some 8 million people, left 350 people dead and rendered 1.3 million people homeless¹⁹⁵.

Environmentalists say that Pakistan faces economic constraints in implementing its climate strategy. It additionally lacks experience in global climate change mitigation ways and public awareness of the climate crisis. Pakistan has the world's second highest rate of deforestation, resulting in the disappearance of trees, shrubs and ground flora beside the vertebrate and invertebrate fauna supported by them¹⁹⁶.

The non-traditional security threats resulting from global climate change are perceived to be more deteriorating in the future. The joint efforts of the government through effective ways are the sole remedy to turn aside this risk.

5.1.9 A Look at Food Security:

Food security has also appeared to be a serious challenge to Pakistan. According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, more than 60% people in Pakistan are experiencing

¹⁹⁴ Zahoor, Musharaf. Lurking Non-Traditional Security Threats. Available at: http://diplomaticcircle.com/November11_Articles/lurking_threats.php

¹⁹⁵ Deforestation rate alarming: Report. Available at: <http://greenactivist.wordpress.com/2012/05/12/deforestation-rate-alarming-report/>

¹⁹⁶ FOREST AREA (% OF LAND AREA) IN PAKISTAN. Available at: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/forest-area-percent-of-land-area-wb-data.html>

food insecurity because of inaccessibility of food due to high food inflation being faced by the poor society¹⁹⁷.

Floods of the last few years have affected crop production and expected to result in shortage of wheat production which will in turn lead to inflating food prices. The strengthening of the country's agriculture sector is important to alleviate the dangers displayed by food insecurity.

5.1.10 Political Transitions and Instability:

The politics of Pakistan have perpetually been in a state of flux since independence. 65 years political history is marred with intrigues, intolerance, illegitimate use of power, and chronic interference in politics by each civil and military institution. The political establishment has been weakened by perpetual disruption of democratic rule, overthrowing of electoral governments, marginalized the effectiveness of civil government in turn estranging the public from the political method.

The convenience, with which military and illegitimate power has been successfully exercised in Pakistan again and again, against democratic forces, has considerably contributed to the formation of corrupt attitudes that think interventions are promptly acceptable here. Adding to worse, such illegitimate actions are justified by examples of reservoir of historic precedents, are sanctioned legitimate by bureaucracy, suppressed judiciary, and different corrupt and unsuitable political entities.

To get a better idea of the volatility of the political system in Pakistan, comparison of military and civilian set up is shown below that highlights the number of years of military rule and its interference in the current affairs of Pakistan and also demonstrates the restricted leverage faced

¹⁹⁷ Over 60 percent Pakistanis experiencing food insecurity: FAO official. Available at: <http://www.defence.pk/forums/current-events-social-issues/135706-over-60-percent-pakistanis-experiencing-food-insecurity-fao-official.html>

by civil governments. Democratic governments have seldom been allowed to finish their constitutional tenure and haven't gone through transition from one democratic government to other normally.

Type of Rule	No. of Regimes	Tenure of Regimes in Years				
		Total	Min	Max	Avg	%age
Military Rule	4	32.4	2.7	11.1	8.1	53.8%
Democratic Rule	19	27.9	0.1	5.5	1.5	46.2%

Comparative Summary of Democratic and Military Rule in Pakistan¹⁹⁸

The above statistics suggest that, since independence, 53.8% tenure of regimes was taken by the military rule and only 46.2% tenure was in the hands of democratic rule. This is a big issue behind the political mess because of which Pakistan's ability to grow its political system as a base for effective and strong policies has remained underdeveloped. It should be addressed so as to own any hope of a mature and healthy political and social order.

5.1.10 Summary:

The above section has discussed the important issues ignored in the security policy of Pakistan. Multiple facts and figures have been thoroughly presented laying out the loopholes in other security sectors of the state. Though we stand proud for having a third strongest army in the world without having that many resources available to make us stand at that position, yet on the other hand our UNDP Human Development Index ranking and the lagging far behind the race to achieve MDG Goals tells a different reality.

¹⁹⁸ Political Transitions and Instability in Pakistan. Available at: <http://www.letsstartthinking.org/history/political-transitions-and-instability.asp>

Giving heightened importance to one sector that you make it reach sky, on accounts of excerpting money of and damaging other sectors is a sheer issue that needs to be discussed on urgent basis.

But on national matters we stand divided too that's a beauty of diversified society, but we have to find out a solution out of that disagreement so that our positive may not affect us otherwise. The next section is going to present arguments and counter arguments by analysts and policy makers that are debating on the topic i.e. whether Pakistan really needs to change its security paradigm or not.

5.2 IS THERE A REAL NEED TO CHANGE THE CONTOURS OF SECURITY PARADIGM IN PAKISTAN?

The above section has revealed that Pakistan has paid a great cost for focusing on military perspective of security. At one angle, many contend that it is important for Pakistan to concentrate on its traditional security because of its difficult geographical position. On the other hand, nontraditional security issues such as human development, environmental disasters and health issues have also been taken up Pakistan to disastrous experiences. In the last decade, several researchers and security analysts have emphasized on the nontraditional perspective of Pakistan's security policy. Some scholars and analysts emphasize only on military aspect of security while others suggest having a mix of traditional and nontraditional security. In the following section, a debate on the changing paradigm of security through the opinions of analysts has been created.

While discussing security situation, it cannot be neglected that the growing aggressiveness of the United States in Asia and the enhanced cooperation of India and China had changed the security environment and strategic ambience of the region. This attempt changed the security perspective

of the entire region and also impacted on the strategic culture of the region which was very complicated because of the presence of two nuclear states in its limited territory. Back in the history, the separation of two states from a common subcontinent gave an image to the outer worlds that the two states are enemies. In fact, this impression is also supposed to exist in the people of both countries. This thinking also emerged several other issues like Rann of Kutch, Kashmir, Water issues, Siachen, and Sir Creek which enhanced the security issues. Due to this historical conflict, security setup has remained an issue that can flare-up at any time with the attractions of policy makers diverted towards military security development. This uni-addressed sector of security builds a need to security paradigm.

As we have taken the lead in addressing Pak-India enmity, analytical discussions of its effects on security has to be gauged. An aggregate history over a thousand years, wherein the minority Muslims ruled the Hindu dominated subcontinent. After separation due to its huge size and antagonistic behavior with Muslims, India had leverage over Pakistan. Due to problems that Pakistan got in its inherence, Pakistan entered into the folds of a persistent security dilemma. Despite of being very small in size as compared to India in geographical, economic and demographic perspectives, Pakistan tried to equate its military capability with that of India inciting itself into a self-imposed disaster.

Several security analysts argue that financial constraints and vulnerable security conditions have bound Pakistan's options to allocate the bulk for modernizing its army. The analysts said that extra-ordinary defense budget would be required when Pakistan would adjudge for modernization of its forces.

Whereas Ayesha Siddiqua, acclaims that Militants in the country have been disconnected and divided and they are not in a position to present a big and immediate threat that would crave

some extraordinary military measure. Talks with the traditional rival, India is going on and the two countries have acquired exceptional confidence for each other. If one focuses into the claim of the defense and security "I think, the defense budget should be kept low"¹⁹⁹. The security analysts say that though, Pakistan is far behind India in its conventional weapon strengths, but the country has credible nuclear deterrence.

Contrastingly, Lt. Gen. Talat Masood has argued that though the budget that was allocated for security is barely fulfilling the requirements of defense area but it should also be considered that at present the country has no military tension with India and militancy is not absolutely out of control. But Pakistan would absolutely need helicopters, surveillance accessories and technology for fighting militants in the situations when the absolute regional situations are not satisfactory²⁰⁰.

Criticizing Pakistan's adherence to India-centric assurance of security analysts say, "Pakistan declared its nuclear weapons and missile programs as part of its action to maintain 'minimum credible deterrence' against the security threat from India. Given the advanced imbalance in conventional ammunition to the advantage of India, Pakistan attaches high importance to nuclear and missile programs for ensuring security. Pakistan forgets that unlinking India, Pakistan's accessible economic assets are low and Pakistan's allocation of the military budget equaling and sometimes rather increasing Indian Defense budget harms many of its human development sectors"²⁰¹.

In recent years, Pakistan has declined its defense expenditure, and in the annual budget of 2012-2013, only Rs. 545 billion has been allocated for meeting defense requirements of the country.

199 ibid

200 Talat Masood, The denuclearization threat, The Express Tribune, August 15th, 2012

201 The developmental impact of military budgeting and procurement – implications for an arms trade treaty. Available at: http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/publications/unpubl_milex/mili_budget

Appreciating the move, security analysts' state that the country is not facing alarming threats from outside and at home so it would not need the deployment of extraordinary financial resources and deducing defense expenditure is a good move.

But supporting Pakistan traditional security orientation, analysts say that such policy direction is not Pakistan's mistake. Pakistan's national security apropos relates to its conflictual history, changing bound disputes with India, centralized problems such as insurgencies, and the modern actualization of trans-border issues, such as terrorism.

Putting all blame on history and situation is not acceptable to advocates of human security. They profess that Pakistan cannot achieve its security on the cost of human security. Many authors and scholars have agreed that for the last sixty years, the dream of human security and national security has not been achieved in an effective manner. Against this backdrop, the prevailing state of diplomacy in Pakistan suggests that the challenges to security of Pakistan and sovereignty are increasing as well as becoming adverse with the passage of time. These views were bidden by different speakers at a two-day all-embracing seminar entitled "Securing a Frontline State: Alternative view on Peace and Conflict in Pakistan"²⁰².

Dr. Yunas Samad woefully expressed that national security in Pakistan had become abject to the abstraction of military security, at the price of other domains of security. Traditionally, Pakistan's security has focused on the military. This military focus on security is because of Indian influence on Pakistan's security. Alluding to a souring fact, he underlined: "Pakistan rapidly isolates itself in the world due to its assurance over militant action to accomplish its national interests. The roots of acceptance of militant as an apparatus of state action lie in the Russian aggression in Afghanistan in 1980s". He said the US was "getting alert of Pakistan due

²⁰² Staff Report, No national security at the cost of human security, December 8, 2011.

to latter's links with militants" and it would be difficult for Pakistan to be at loggerhead with a world power²⁰³. Therefore, adoption of military security was the only solution at that time.

On the other hand, Farzana Bari adopted a very strict vision on the human security of Pakistan and criticized the over reliance on traditional security. Today nuclear Pakistan is unable to accommodate claimed security to its citizens from the increasing influence of extremisms and Talibanisation, sectarian killing, suicide bombing, kidnapping and killing, crushing poverty and health issues. In her views, Farzana Bari pointed at the sectarian violence in Pakistan which is increasing day by day. In the recent months, sectarian killing in Pakistan has increased to a threatening level that foreign countries and institutions are also pointing at the inability of the state to control violence in the name of religion. Pakistan has become the 6th most dangerous state of minorities live in²⁰⁴.

All these incidents invoke the need to change the paradigm of external security to human security in Pakistan. On these incidents, even the Secretary General of United Nations, Ban ki Moon expressed his anger saying that people in Pakistan should not be attacked on the basis of their religious beliefs. This is very critical situation for building the soft image of Pakistan²⁰⁵.

Explaining different kinds of causes of crisis in Pakistan, Dr. Abid Suleri, the SDPI (Sustainable Development Policy Institute) controlling director, said the emergent challenges in Pakistan were abiding and endemic. He regretted that Pakistan in its history never approved people-centric paradigm; rather security archetype consistently overtook the former. Throughout the history, Pakistan has always been focusing on military perspective of security and human security

²⁰³ *ibid.*

²⁰⁴ Address our minorities' concerns. Available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/451478/address-our-minorities-concerns/>

²⁰⁵ Dawn Pakistan, UN chief 'appalled' by Pakistan sectarian killings, Available at: <http://dawn.com/2012/08/17/un-chief-appalled-by-pakistan-sectarian-killing/>

emerging from nontraditional threats has been ignored. He observed: "State security cannot be accomplished without addressing human security." He said that decades' continued apathy in agreement of human security is playing out today in our streets and cities in the anatomy of allover violence: urban violence in Karachi and ethno-nationalist movement in Baluchistan is case in point²⁰⁶.

Against these accomplishments of perceived military security priorities by the Pakistan, the security analysts and theorists of the world criticize Pakistan for security miscalculation i.e. for not addressing security issues properly.

Dr. Yunas Samad warned that with the Pakistani position in the Islamic world is problematic. He was of the view that the need for re-evaluation and re-orientation of Pakistan's security was great and there must be more influence of civilian power.²⁰⁷

Answering the allegations and defending the military capability of Pakistan, Gen. Retd. Karamat iterated that Pakistan's policy is defense-oriented, abiding to its national security paradigm²⁰⁸.

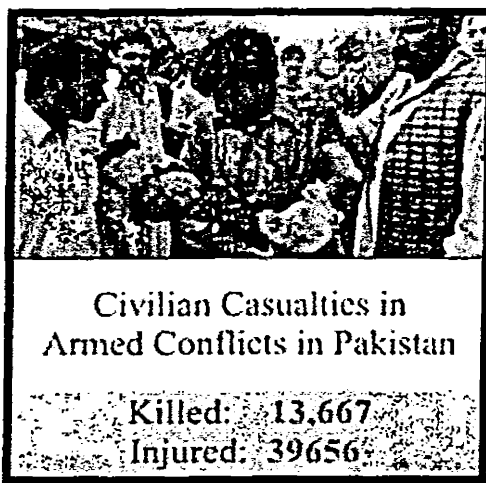
Even spending heavily on military security, Pakistan has remained unable to provide security to its nationals. Whether its security personnel loss in attacks like Kamra base attack, Mehran base attack or whether its human loss of life as a consequence of armed conflicts, the life of an ordinary or a popular person is not considered safe. Figures of killed and injured people as a result of armed conflicts in the picture below shows how grim the situation is.

²⁰⁶ Staff Report, No national security at the cost of human security, December 8, 2011

²⁰⁷ Pakistan can't achieve national security at the cost of human security: Experts. Available at:

<http://pakistan.onepakistan.com/news/city/islamabad/24213-pakistan-cant-achieve-national-security-at-the-cost-of-human-security-experts.html>

²⁰⁸ Staff Report, No national security at the cost of human security, December 8, 2011



Next in line, if we look to rising questions on providence of security to journalists and high profile persons the concerns of Hamid Mir, a renowned journalist is an addressable problem. Unfortunate enough, Hamid Mir woes that journalists in Pakistan are threatened to remain silent on big issues. He said that religiously extremist groups have been threatening the journalists for covering important issues related to Pakistan's security. This concern of Hamid Mir lead to a new debate that how can an ordinary person be secured in Pakistan, when there is no security to high officials such as Governor Punjab Salmaan Taseer, who had been killed by his own guard, how can we assure that a life of normal human being is safe?

Such attacks exposed the low effectiveness of security measures of Pakistan for its nuclear assets and safety of human life.

On nuclear grounds, a debate has been initiated in the world media that whether Pakistan's nuclear assets are secure from militants or not. On this concern, different security analysts have expressed deviant views. Lieutenant Abdul Qayyum analyzed the question on nuclear safety and the similar kind of attacks on Mehran and Kamran base are a planned guerilla war against Pakistan. He views attack on strategic weapons of Pakistan as planned by the forces that do not want to see Pakistan as a sovereign and nuclear nation. He criticized the dual policy of United

States and India who do not want to see Pakistan's military strength. He also criticized that western media has started a propaganda against Pakistan by portraying weaknesses of Pakistan to secure her nuclear weapons²⁰⁹.

Some security analysts also point out that the external forces want to keep maintaining their influence on the security policies of Pakistan. Zafar Halali, a renowned security analyst, said that United States has strong influence on the Pakistan's policies regarding nuclear assets. He criticized that western countries have an effective propaganda against Pakistan's nuclear forces. He emphasized that in order to declare Pakistan a secure nation, Pakistan needs to make amendments to its security and foreign policy. He emphasizes that Pakistan's internal situation is not very satisfactory which limits its hold on the external threats. He was of the view that Pakistan needs to take advantage of its alliance with the United States²¹⁰. His view is quite effective in the prevailing situation when Pakistan is not in a position to stand against the big powers of the world; it has to gain advantage out of this relationship.

Farzana Bari, a professor of Gender Studies at Quaid-e-Azam University, held the past Governments accountable for non-traditional threats existing today. While talking about human insecurity resulting from military threats, she criticized the era of Zia-ul-Haq that supported the Islamist militants to fight against Soviet Union. This was done by the support of United States. These groups were provided extraordinary political and financial support in order to give authority to madrasas for training of militants so that they can take part in Afghan Jihad. However, in the era of post 9/11, when United States did not have its interest from these militant groups, they were criticized by the United States. Pakistan also reacted against these militant groups who turned against Pakistan and started to commit terrorist activities in Pakistan. She was

²⁰⁹ Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xwngtr13-HE&feature=player_detailpage

²¹⁰ *ibid.*

afraid that the activities of these militant groups in the form of Tehreek-e-Taliban (TTP) are a continuous threat for the security of Pakistan²¹¹.

Hassan Nisar, a renowned analyst holds the same view that the government is responsible for prevalence of human insecurity in Pakistan today. He was of the opinion that whole system of Pakistan needs to change not a single dimension in order to ensure human security. He thinks that soul of Pakistan is badly affected by the prevailing corruption in the entire system. Hassan Nisar thinks that Pakistan lacked a visionary leader who can amend policies for the long term benefit of the state rather than focusing on short term personal concerns.

In his opinion, Hassan Nisar focused on the education needs of Pakistan. He views that the population and its growth are the greatest problem of Pakistan. He was very afraid that a country that has limited resources and a corrupt system in which only 2% people pay tax cannot feed or educate its huge population and run with the rest of the world. He thinks that when basic needs of people are not met satisfactorily then what to say about providing jobs and healthcare facilities to the people. Hassan Nisar said that Pakistan is a country composing half of its population with youngsters where jobs are not available. Now, in such situations, economic well-being of a common man is at stake in Pakistan. Finally, he concluded that the whole system of the state is so corrupted that it cannot be clean unless washed with acid!²¹²

Farzana Bari has elicited same concerns on increasing poverty; health issues and illiteracy on the security of the state. In the name of territorial security, the state provided a large amount of its financial sources for strengthening its defense and the development of nuclear capability. Investment on education, health and creating employment opportunities have lagged far behind

²¹¹ Farzana Bari, Threats to State, International The News, 2009

²¹² Hassan Nisar, 30 Minutes at Samaa TV, Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c88gZ6Wmh-g&feature=player_embedded

the ever-rising defense budget. The state compromised human security and failed to shift from state axial to people-centric security paradigm.

Additionally, like many other Asian countries Pakistan is vulnerable to natural disasters and conflict. In the past six years the country has seen two huge disasters; the 2005 Kashmir earthquake and massive floods in 2010, which afflicted the whole country. These factors reinforce the need to proactively accede building resilience in countries like Pakistan as an allotment of the sustainable development agenda. Spending on social security and on building resilience from disasters is not a cost; it is an investment for nations. Though, Asia has done a lot to assure its humans from such vulnerabilities, but in Pakistan there is still a lot to be done²¹³.

The non-traditional security activists that support the transition to human security have not only brought forth their concerns on multiple forums, but have also made recommendations on what should be done to make this shift in paradigm possible. They have serious fears about the neglect of human security most apropos and lack of investment in human capital by the egoistic aristocratic state structure that is not external problem but appearing from internal borders.

Proposing some solutions, Farzana Bari utters that to save the country from traditional and non-traditional security threat; the new social arrangement is the need of the day. The key aspect of this new arrangement has to cover the separation of religion from state, complete autonomy of the provinces, balance amid the security needs of the individual, association and state, massive investment in human capital, admittance of citizens in governance, gender equality and adoption of independent foreign policy²¹⁴.

213 International Conference on "Framework for Economic Growth, Pakistan", International conference on "Framework for Economic Growth, Pakistan" Hosted by Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan in collaboration with UNDP, July, 2011

²¹⁴ Farzana Bari, Threats to State, International The News, 2009

In addition to this, educated and healthy people are considered as the rich capital not only for the purpose of economic activities but also to compose a healthy and educated society. A Pakistani economist Mahbub-ul-Haq was of the view that, for Pakistan, the most valuable assets are its people. He also emphasized that if a considerable amount of investment is made in the human development, Pakistan can change its fate radically in the 21st century²¹⁵. Pakistan has been falling in all sectors behind the other parts of the world in terms of its spending on education and health issues but leads the world in its military expenses as a share of GDP²¹⁶. In this stance, Pakistan has always concentrated on attaining military security rather and ignored that security on a common man in social and economic perspectives. Here, some of the figures are stated which describe the state of human development in Pakistan. The statistics show that the maternal mortality rate in Pakistan depicts that 276 out of 100,000 live births, women die while giving birth. Moreover, only 22% women participate in labor force. This is the lowest ratios in the whole world²¹⁷. In relation to the literacy rate, 45% individuals in Pakistan are illiterate. In addition, the share of literate women is very small. Youngsters are the major source of every nation and providing them education should be highly considered. Moreover, the children in the rural areas need to be given equal opportunities of getting education. In Pakistan, the condition is quite opposite because its health and education sectors are developed with slow growth. In addition to this, people are not given equal opportunities to get education and avail health facilities.

²¹⁵ Mahbubul Haq, Challenges for South Asia on the eve of the 21st century, : Oxford University Press, 23 June 1999.

²¹⁶ International Conference on "Framework for Economic Growth, Pakistan", International conference on "Framework for Economic Growth, Pakistan" Hosted by Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan in collaboration with UNDP, July, 2011

²¹⁷ *ibid.*

Currently, many human rights activists have been working in Pakistan for the promotion of education and protection of basic human rights. But alas! These activists have also been targeted for working against the wishes of Taliban. One of such recent incident has been the case of Malala Yousufzai who is Peace Award winner for her great contribution for the promotion of education in militant's areas. She was gun shot by Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan on October 9, 2012²¹⁸. On this move of TTP, many scholars and security analysts have raised their concerns. Adding to the despairs, just after one day of this attack, a drone attack hits Waziristan that killed almost 17 people. Nadeem Malik, a renowned Journalist, has raised high apprehensions over this drone attack and criticized that Americans need to take a step back for some time in such situations when an ordinary individual in Pakistan is hurt by attack on the attack. He also argued that Pakistan has ability to deal with its own problems so there is no need of foreign forces to help Pakistan²¹⁹.

In this internal and external security scenario, Pakistan's security analysts and experts need to bring changes in the security policy in association with the changes in the security theories. In this perspective, democratizing the security perspective will bring positive results on the security action. In order to achieve this objective, the security concept can be discussed in public forums. Moreover, in the current scenario, political parties also need to think and promote positive approaches regarding security action rather than just giving public statements. The security policy also needs to be discussed on different strategic levels. At the general level, it is highly needed that the concept of security must be discussed on the expert opinions as well as in

²¹⁸ Owais Tohid (11 October 2012). "My conversations with Malala Yousafzai, The girl who stood up to the Taliban". The Christian Science Monitor: p. 3.

²¹⁹ Available at: <http://www.pakistanherald.com/Program/Malalai-Yousaf-Zai-incident-Who-should-be-held-responsible-October-12-2012-Nadeem-Malik-12140>

academic researches. At the same time, the practitioners such as retired bureaucrats can also be regarded as a good source of opinion in the description and acts of security policy.

The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) warned the government that no corrective action in the security behavior would resolve the crisis of militancy, and that efforts in a new dimension would be bare to accomplish that end. The HRCP suggested accompanying activity against all active networks in the country, decidedly in areas where militants operated with impunity.²²⁰

A discussion was conducted on a similar topic on how to shift the security paradigm from national security to human security in Pakistan. During the discussion, Gen. Jehangir Karamat, former Chief of Army Staff (COAS) of the Pakistan army, said that to transform from a national security state to a social welfare state, Pakistan will have to access the amount of stakeholders in the ability administration adjustment by devolving admiral to the lower levels as well as an allotment of institutions.

On the other hand, Lt. Gen (Retd) Mahmud Durrani, former National Security Advisor, emphasized that the threat to Pakistan was centralized rather than external and that it bare to advance its governance, economy, and amends arrangement . Taking his point forward, Gen. (Retd) Karamat opined that only an aboveboard and actively autonomous government could bring about counterbalanced institutional relations including an antithesis in the relations between the noncombatant and aggressive leaderships.²²¹

Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Talat Masood stressed that we should work not only with the abstraction of absolute security but also on accommodating security in the region. Prof. Zhou Rong of the

²²⁰ Available at: http://www.irs.org.pk/reports/Report_021512.pdf

²²¹ *ibid.*

Chinese Guang Ming Daily added that being a primarily South Asian state, Pakistan bare to take up an exchange with India to advance its centralized security.

Ambassador B.A. Malik supposed for captivation free, fair, and cellphone elections in Pakistan to adverse the status quo and, thus, national security tendencies of the establishment. Khalid Mahmood was of the view that Pakistan's security should have charismatically bargain afterwards the enhancement of nuclear capability, which has not happened. He questioned the account of nuclear weapons on this premise.

General (Retd.) Karamat said, "Gone are the days of integration through force or false slogans, so when other countries compose authoritative risk affairs in Pakistan, it should put itself in their shoes and anticipate why they are accomplishing that".²²²

Conclusion

The chapter explores the extent of ignorance of human security paradigm in Pakistan and its implications over the eras. In the contemporary world, when countries are moving towards better, where least developed countries are putting in their efforts to come into the list of less developed countries, where less developed countries are looking up to be in the list of developing countries, in same world Pakistan is still facing serious and basic human related non-traditional security threats that reaffirms the stance that there is a need to shift current flawed military security paradigm.

Attainment of national military security at the cost of human life is of no use. The discussion has revealed that Pakistan has been paying its heavy cost. However, it also remains an inarguable fact that Pakistan cannot survive without ignoring its national security perspective. In the last

²²² Devolving powers must to transform Pakistan into a social welfare state. Available at: <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-6-92947-Devolving-powers-must-to-transform--Pakistan-into-a-social-welfare-state>

decade, if non-traditional threats have intensified, the traditional threats do not also present any different picture.

The chapter has tried to present a balanced view on the changing paradigm of security of Pakistan in the light of opinions of security analysts. It is on the discretion of the readers themselves to decide that which approach of security will be more valuable for Pakistan.

Basically, to turn face from a national security archetype to an effective paradigm we will have to change internally as we exercise zero control on the outside world. We assert for greater administration not only between the federating units and the governments but also between the governments and the people of the state. Security is a collective and individual responsibility, no one can withdraw from.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

In the thesis, theoretical framework of the concept of security with different aspects of security paradigm and the implications on the states who have shifted from traditional to non-traditional security paradigm have been evaluated, with an intent to bring forth the case of loopholes in security policy of Pakistan that many researchers and analysts related to the field believe needs to be worked out. A debate has also been created in the last part of thesis; to present the counter arguments of those traditional security theorists who on the basis of facts claim that change will be more disastrous. This research tried to do justice to deliver every aspect that has been raised regarding security situation of Pakistan and throughout it has been tried to focus on the basic aim of the study i.e. whether or not there is real need to change the contours of security paradigm in Pakistan.

In this chapter, conclusion of the thesis has been derived from the findings and analysis conducted in the above sections. Basically, this chapter is going to answer research questions which were raised in the first chapter of thesis. The chapter will review that whether the objectives of thesis have been achieved or not.

6.2 Findings

Security policy of a country is determined by bearing in mind number of factors that are perceived to be crucial for it. Same is the case for Pakistan, whose security policy has been formulated by analyzing several aspects. Since inception, Pakistan has gone through several ups and downs but external influences have persuaded its security policy more than its internal hitches.

Throughout the sixty five years, Pakistan has gone through many phases that have impacted the devising of its security policy. In this research, security policy of Pakistan has been analyzed over the eras.

Having done with the task, hereafter the answers to the research questions will be extracted from findings of the study, in order to grasp the idea that how much this dissertation is effective in its essence:

- The first question was about the security situation in Pakistan over the course of sixty five years. For this purpose, security policy of Pakistan has been analyzed in four parts. The division has been done for the reason that; Pakistan has faced different kinds of situations in different eras.

From 1947 to 1960, Pakistan was a new born country with scared resources and numerous problems. Pakistan was at its crucial time in terms of security being confronted with several internal and external challenges.

Getting deprived of the presence of effective leadership in initial years, its capability to form a long lasting and strong security policy was reduced whereas the security threats from Indian side were touching its peak. This persuasion brought tilts in Pakistan's security policy making it a necessity to focus on the establishment of military power. To create a balance of power, Pakistan needed to enhance its military security

The era also witnesses Pakistan's efforts to seek and establish relations with the outer world especially with United States. To counter effect and counter balance the threats from Indian side, Pakistan was in an awful need to make alliance mainly for accomplishment of its economic needs.

Furthermore, in geographic horizon, Soviet Union interests in Afghanistan backed by Indian designs to build and maintain influence in the region, were ringing threatening alarms for Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan's security policy in that era was almost concentrated on external threats.

In the next era i.e. 1960 to 1980, challenges multiplied not only on external but on internal front also. In this era, relations of Pakistan and India went through severe difficulty as two wars, one in 1965 and the other 1971, brought the relations between two states on stand still position. In addition, the war of 1971 brought the atrocity of breaking of Eastern wing of Pakistan which shocked the security policy makers of Pakistan.

Internal leadership of Pakistan failed to handle internal disparity and external pressure which brought this major shift in geopolitical situation. In terms of political security and stability of the state, military intervention damaged the sowing of seeds of democracy in Pakistan and the state is still bearing the brunt of that mistake.

Comparatively, India was strengthening not only its military power but democratic institutions too, which compelled Pakistan to look to its security and make it possible through every mean it can. Due to this uni-direction stress on strengthening military security, nontraditional security aspects such as economic security, human security and environmental security were consistently ignored. Due to the intervention of Soviet Union in Afghanistan and Iranian revolution in the year of 1979, regional instability kept Pakistan in a security imbroglio.

In the next era i.e. 1980 to 2000, Pakistan's support to Mujahedeen during the Cold War on the demands of United States, proved to be the most long lasting disastrous decision of the history till date. Though it opened the door for Pakistan to make as many alliances in the

external world as it want to, but the external world especially, United States was only interested in using Pakistan to achieve their benefits.

Pakistan's sole dependence on United States made it handicapped. Although United States provided several kinds of financial and military assistance to Pakistan, but they all were packed with condition unfavorable to its security.

On the other hand, India tested its first nuclear weapon in 1974 that created imbalance of power in South Asia. Consequently, in 1998, Pakistan also tested its nuclear bomb successfully after the second nuclear weapon testing by Indian side.

This move enhanced the military power of Pakistan but left it alone in economic world as many economic sanctions were imposed on it. Though it was perceived that the countries would understand the need of Pakistan to attain nuclear security that would benefit Pakistan, but the perception did not come true.

In the next era i.e. 2000 to present, Pakistan has faced highly sophisticated security challenges. Ignorance of nontraditional security in the previous decades resulted in huge loss which showed their destructive strength in this era. Couple of disastrous floods and 2005 earthquake that hit Pakistan exposed its incapability to dealing with such challenges.

On the other hand, 9/11 incident and intervention of United States in Afghanistan also brought big challenges for Pakistan. Many refugees from Afghanistan migrated to Pakistan that has impacted internal security situation of the country to terrible levels. 9/11 is a black incident for the history of Pakistan as it kept the long-lasting traditional security paradigm working in Pakistan to be defined and designed again on the same lines.

Moreover, the decision to side with a U.S in this war as a front-line ally bring to front many traditional plus non-traditional threats that it seems that Pakistan has gone back to stone age

specially at a time when every state is getting chance to flourish economically in the contemporary global world.

Over the years, militant groups have targeted multiple cities of the country. In addition, shifting of US war from Afghanistan to Pakistan's Northern areas via drones has raised the concerns of breaching of sovereignty of an independent state. Multiple other security issues have shown their presence as is discussed earlier in the chapter and mentioning them here again will make it too long. Hence, for the most part, this era is the most terrible era in terms of security challenges for Pakistan.

- Next question was asking about the internal and external security threats that Pakistan has gone through. In terms of external security threats, the biggest threat to its security is from Indian stance over military power which compelled it to enhance its military power. In addition to India, Afghanistan has also remained a high threat to its western border. Moreover, geopolitical position of Pakistan is itself threatening for its security because the major world powers used it for achieving their own interests.

In terms of internal security threats, it can be said many of them were self-created because of remaining unaddressed all through the various eras. With regards to today, Pakistan's support to mujahedeen is proving costly as it has destabilized internal security situation. Increasing power of militant groups and drone attacks on them are also constant high threat to Pakistan's security.

As far as history is concerned, all through it Pakistan has overruled the nonmilitary stance of security which made it economically handicapped to world powers. Many nontraditional threats i.e. environmental shocks like earthquake and floods, low rate of education, low levels of human development, poverty, unemployment, lack of access to safe drinking water

even water, load shedding both electric and gas, in addition to target and sectarian killing, threats to lives of minorities etc., all these issues have left serious question marks on preservation of human security in Pakistan.

- Next question is about the implications of ignoring non-traditional security threats? As security situation has changed over the time, with Pakistan now possessing considerable amount of army but contrastingly, it fails to fulfill basic necessities of its citizens. In this grim scenario, many scholars and analysts have started to put question and lead number of debates on need to provide nontraditional security along with traditional security measures. At present, Pakistan has been facing many internal threats despite of being proud of termed as first Islamic country that owes nuclear bomb.

But on the dark side of the picture, the excessive spending on production of that bomb has given us increasing influence of militants in Waziristan, suicide attacks, drone attacks, political imbalance, earthquake, floods, increasing pressure of external world, threats from Afghan and Indian borders and lack of effective leadership. These are few extracted challenges with which Pakistan is unable to deal with, with its limited resources.

- Last question is the main subject matter of this whole study and discussion i.e. is there need to change the contours of security paradigm of Pakistan? Different Security analysts and scholars have diverse views regarding adoption of traditional and nontraditional model of security.

At present, facts and figures reveal that Pakistan follows a traditional security model, despite of declining its military budget in the past decade. At one side, traditional security model is fair on the grounds that Pakistan not only has to deal with the militant powers inside its own

territory in Waziristan and other areas, but has to overcome the burgeoning influence of other powers i.e. India, US, Russia.

But on the other hand, to justify one-sided spending of the budget isn't justifying seeing to the atrocities that are being unveiled due to ignorance of non-traditional human security sector development. The uni-dimensional military security is a source of rising threats for Pakistan. There has not been devised any effective mechanism to deal with the nontraditional threats.

Protagonists of human security model contend that such military security seems to be useless when the people within the state are not secure within the territory of their won state. The current security policy of Pakistan is not bearing any positive outcomes. Despite of heavy use of military against militants, suicide attacks are not controlled. Although Pakistan has been the front line ally of United States in official terms, but practically when it comes to achieving interests, drone attacks are not being stopped even on continual demands from Pakistani side.

Financial assistance packages received from the alliances and World Bank in the name of human development are not used transparently used, which has raised multiple doubts in the minds of donor states.

Summing it up, an overview tells that present security policy is one-sided i.e. military security based and seeing the intensity of rising threats Pakistan policy makers need to bring a shift towards better, i.e. towards non-traditional human security. But again it should not be uni-dimensional in nature leaving behind traditional needs of the state. What is the need of the time is to formulate a comprehensive security strategy that incorporates both traditional

and non-traditional security paradigms and treat them on the basis of multiple number of set preference levels.

6.3 Recommendations

Several drawbacks and blank spaces have been brought out during the study of security policy of Pakistan which brings to the tables of policy makers the missing points that needs to be given attention to instead of opening the pages of historical chapters that this research has done for them. What they need in point is to realize shortcomings and get filled the gaps with effective policies. With all data in hand, in this section, some suggestions have been proposed that what can now be done to improve security policy of Pakistan?

In the light of present destabilized security situation, it is important to keep military and civilian government on same page of thinking as far as the formulation, implementation and then outcome of security policy is concerned. As without the assistance of each other, none of the institution either civilian or military can make possible the attainment of security in real terms.

It is necessary to address the incidents that are breaching the security on daily basis and are putting questions on ability of the state to protect its citizens. These include suicide attacks, attacks on renowned personalities, suicide attacks and target killings in Karachi and some areas of Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtoonkhwah.

In order to deal with such issues, keeping intact of military security is very important. Moreover, Pakistan needs to protect its nuclear assets from militant groups. Although, at present, there is no big threat from Indian side, however, because of historic enmity between the two actions, a constant threat is always there. Therefore, Pakistan needs to maintain military security to an extent that maintains balance of power in the region and secures the citizens within the bounds of territory from several internal threats.

Several nontraditional threats that have almost jolted the security of an individual within the state are almost getting unpredictable for the state to cater to them. Earthquake of 2005 and flash floods of 2010, 2011 and 2012 have uncovered the incompetence of Pakistan to deal with such threats. Effective non-traditional security policing can minimize the consequences of such threats.

Literacy rate and visionary leader are the two main assets that need proper attention. Proper education leads to the development of healthy minds, if we focus on our educational discrepancies we can get bring decrease in many of the teething troubles. Therefore, it is suggested that a substantial budget be allocated to education policy for enlightening the future.

One of the shortcomings of security policy also high dependency on US aid, and throughout from past and present we have learnt that US just satisfies its own interests and answer only those concerns that can harm implementation of its policies. The dependency has given US leverage to dictate to its Pakistan the lines on which it should draw its security policy. But that's highly unappreciable.

The only close and trustworthy friend we have in our vicinity is China. In order to ensure and maintain its sovereignty, Pakistan needs to reduce its dependence on US. It is suggested that Pakistan's security policy makers should see out of this closed box, and build goodwill relations with countries other than US. Strong alliances with more than one powerful country can facilitate security makers design an independent security policy which will more be directed towards national security then towards assuring the security of other state by fighting its wars within our homeland.

Seeing the necessity to attach considerable amount of importance to both the aspects of security i.e. traditional and non-traditional, it is suggested that we need to sort a middle way out. This is

also important because Pakistan can neither achieve national security by ignoring human security perspective nor can accomplish national security by ignoring military security.

Besides adopting appropriate stance over security, Pakistan also needs to follow it appropriately.

In addition to practically following what has been theoretically promised, the policy makers need to issue yearly reports on national level showing the transparent facts and figures of the work done on both the sectors of security.

Furthermore, what instigated me to work on this topic was the unavailability of the data i.e. the lack of research on one of the crucial matters of the present time. The literature gap was so immense that the limitation of submission of thesis time didn't allow me to wait long enough to get sufficient data on the topic for discussing it with more detail.

Thus, the work doesn't stop here. I have tried to be the first drop of the rain, though many other organizations have taken up this issue in recent years but they haven't discussed it on research lines to present a reader with minute details telling the necessity of this debate that why this is needed now not later. Analytical discussions are a healthy exercise that has started but we have to move to next level, to make and prove us different from the followers of footprints of our policy makers. Thus in end, it is highly suggestible to carry this topic forward, at national, regional and international forums and turn over the stones of difficulties to make change possible for a better future.

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