

Restructuring the Image of Pakistan: Internal Challenges and External Pressures

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Abstract

A constant debate regarding the image of the state of Pakistan is there in international media. The elements of perception and propaganda are involved in the debate. A dire need is required to understand the root cause and misperceptions related to this issue. An effort is made to answer some relevant questions through this paper like i) what are the main factors behind the image problems of Pakistan? ii) does the changing behavioral pattern of Pakistani society is responsible for the issue iii) does political instability or institutional imbalance responsible for the problem, iv) how does the external environment intensifying the issue? The said research paper concludes that internal and external factors pressurize Pakistan so heavily that it failed to response in a coherent way towards the emerging challenges. The outcome is the emergence of the debate regarding the image problem of Pakistan. A collective effort by the state and society can restore the image of Pakistan.

Keywords: Extremism, Jihad, Authoritarian, War on Terror, Taliban

In current global political scenario the thing that matters a lot is the image of a state in the comity of nations. Most trusted nation is treated as most honored and destined to achieve more economic and political goals than a nation with a shallow image. As far as Pakistan is concerned, the most serious problem it is facing is the image problem. Extremism and corruption have become synonym to Pakistan. There is utmost need to comprehend the root cause and misunderstandings related to this issue.

To begin with this discussion, it is important to know that 'politics is the process by which communities pursue collective goals and deal with their conflicts authoritatively by means of government.' The study of the political culture of Pakistan reflects that a game of power politics kept on going. But the mode of politics has remained authoritarian. The tools to resolve internal and external conflicts have

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always been authoritarian than democratic. Public representation and participation has remained almost absent in key decisions both on internal and external front. The upcoming debate on the image of Pakistan will have the same core. All issues have almost the same base. A sound political culture is the base of strong democracy and democracy of course is the panacea to the entire issues related to the image of any state on the globe.

The original draft of 1973 constitution allows nothing but democracy. It is an ideal document for the evolution and survival of a sound political system. There is no clause in the original document that allows any authoritarian and autocratic move. Before initiating discussion on the internal issue that affected the image of Pakistan, it is important to understand the difference between democratic and authoritarian system. In democracy people decide that who determines the right to govern them. They maintain accountability of their representers. While in authoritarian rule situation is quite opposite. In democratic regime people are above government whereas in dictatorship or authoritarian rule government is above people. Obviously in democracy people have said in all key matters while their participation is absent in authoritarian rule. In case of Pakistan, authoritarian rule will be discussed most of the time. Whether it was decision of wars or accession of pacts and treaties it was authoritarian government that took the decision. Consequently the society got divided and segmented. Underground activities and ethnic uprising annihilate the growth of a democratic political system.

The turbulent situation Pakistan is facing presently both on internal and external front has its roots in strategies Pakistan has adopted in 80s. Although there was not an ideal democratic system in Pakistan prior to this era yet extremism was absent from the system. It is important to denote that there is difference between political disagreement, ethnic conflicts and extremism. First two issue are almost present in all societies and their solution is available in one way or another while extremism is most intricate issue. In order to understand the core issues affecting the image of Pakistan we will start our debate from 80s which was General Zia era.

Internal Issues and Problems

Rest of the world might be the spectator of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan but for Pakistan it proved to be a turning point for its ethnic setting, political and social culture and of course its foreign policy. There were more than one reasons behind such a deep impact that we will discuss in Afghan refugees and society of Pakistan.¹

Afghan Refugee and Society of Pakistan

Soviet invasion in Afghanistan has been discussed in numerous books and research articles but its impact on Pakistan's social fabric is discussed by the few. This incident was crucial in many respects. Next to Afghanistan, Pakistan was natural host of Afghan Refugees. Beside this there was an ethnic affinity between them and the host community. Afghan refugees not only brought their poverty but their ideology along with them. That ideology proves the expensive exchange for Pakistan in future.

As far as historical background is concerned it is a well known reality that Western borders of Pakistan have been under constant threat from Afghanistan. This issue has generated threat in Pakistan and it has affected the security policies of the country. Before migrating to Pakistan, Afghanistan has given a real tough time to Pakistan on the issue of Durand Line demarcation. This issue further deepens because of presence of Pushtuns on the both sides of borders. At the time of independence it was a big ethnic issue and it has remained a major issue of insecurity for the defense planners of Pakistan. When Afghan refugees migrated to Pakistan, this issue travelled with them. Such ethnicities create crisis of identity. While talking about the image of Pakistan, this issue will be further discussed. Soviet invasion in Afghanistan made Pakistan frontline state in the war of Super Powers. Geographically, culturally, religiously and strategically Pakistan was the only suitable state to combat on the behalf of USA. ISI and CIA prepared Mujahedeen, armed them and trained them for this war against Soviet Union. This project was in need of sound ideological reasons. Jihad was made the base against secular Soviets and the process of Talibanization started. It will be discussed in detail.²

Talibanization, process in formation

Taliban, regarded as the extremist terrorist identity, connected with Al-Qaeda. These Taliban are the ramification of the US policy against Soviet Union in 1980s. This organization is not only the big hindrance in building positive image of Pakistan but also it is big risk for Pakistan's nuclear security issue. Taliban never got power and strategy over night. They are prepared under a strategy and well thought out plan of ISI of Pakistan and CIA of USA. They have deep impact on the social fabric of Pakistan in 1980s and affiliation with them was regarded as jihad. They were pro-Pakistan at the time of emergence or it would be appropriate to say that Pakistan assisted them to be in power structure for the security of its own borders against Soviet aggression on Western borders. From last 25 years they are part of US and Pakistan's defense plans while

Taliban have remained at times pro Pakistan and at times anti Pakistan. Their emergence, rise and fall can be counted in three stages.

- i). In first stage they were regarded as a supporting and Pro-Pakistani group in Afghanistan. This stage extends from 1987 to 1992. Pakistan backed and supported their rule till 9/11 terrorist attacks. This was the time when they got a chance to establish their administration in Afghanistan. Till 2001 Pakistan had backed Taliban rule in Afghanistan. Pakistan was the second country to recognize them.
- ii). After 9/11 terrorist attack there usher a new era of regional and global politics. This also demarks the second phase of Talibanization. This phase extends from 2001- till 2007. In this phase the Afghan displaced individuals and families had taken refuge in FATA and Swat Valley and started their activities in Pakistan.
- iii). To get rid of their extremist policy Pakistan started a counter action and from this time onward third phase has started. In this phase they had actually started their actions against their targets in Pakistan.³

While talking about the image problem of Pakistan this study of Talibanization help us to understand the major factor that created an inflexible and negative image of Pakistan. Pakistan in fact struck in Afghan issue since 1980s. The public sentiment and intelligentsia have remained vocal against Zia era's policies. Again, in authoritarian rule people are not above government, it is government that is above people. Policies that were imposed on the people generated multiple reactions. There started transformation of society in the atmosphere of Jihad mania and fundamentalism. Liberal segments reacted in their own way. Underground activities got roots in the system. A society which could be developed and established easily under democratic values was dragged towards extremes. Jihad, Afghans and Taliban are the potent factors behind this transformation.

Taliban emerged as freedom fighter in the name of Islam under the banner of jihad. They got victory over USSR but this was not without the technical and financial help of Muslim world and USA. Disintegration of USSR had initiated the era of Taliban rule in Afghanistan. Considering Taliban as pro Pakistan element Pakistan supported their administration. Secondly it was rather a compulsion as Pakistan could not afford any confrontation on Western borders as its Eastern borders were under constant threat of India. This defensive policy rather tarnished the image of Pakistan because of the Taliban administration's activities in Afghanistan. In Pakistan there was a mix

reaction on this policy. Pro Taliban segments fully supported it while others hurled criticism. This shows for the first time the division of society in the name of Taliban. Anyhow Taliban had established their rule in Afghanistan with support of Pakistan. Taliban way of government has arisen different types of reactions. Some were against this way of government and some have different point of view. Pakistan sustained this policy till its last limit.

The second phase is marked with the dramatic change. 9/11 incident of terrorist attack was the reason behind this change of policy. Pakistan joined US war on terrorism. US led NATO attacks in Afghanistan and Swat Valley had made fugitives to take refuge in FATA. FATA (Federal Administered Tribal Area) has different political and administrative system from rest of Pakistan. Its political and administrative system is based on the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FRC). Local Pakhtuns have provided space and security to the afghan Pakhtuns. They collectively demanded the implementation of pre- colonial *Nizam-e-Adal* (system of justice). These activities have rather ethnic linkage. Pakhtuns on Pakistan's side gave refuge to the Afghan Pakhtuns. Their activities and demands again affected the image of Pakistan and they become the source of great concern for the government. The situation was so delicate that only a unanimous policy with full public support could tackle the situation but again it was military government that took the matters in hand and dealt them with military means. This made the situation worse for Pakistan both on internal and external front.

Third phase of Taliban started from 2007 with help of Pro-Taliban groups within Pakistan. These groups are the off shoots of Zia era's and policies and pro Taliban elements within state and outside of it. As they reside in Pakistan, their activities have direct impact on the image and standing of Pakistan in the world. No state is without such challenges and problems but the difference lies in their handling. These organizations are the proof of mishandling of the ethnic, religious and regional political issues particularly Afghanistan. These organizations and groups include Lashkar-e-Taiba, Tehrik-e- Taliban Pakistan, Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. They have started various terrorist activities and contributed enormously in the internal unrest in Pakistan. Pakistan currently is facing worst type of militancy on domestic front. Northern areas are the strongholds of Taliban. Now this issue is having multiple implications. Internally it is source of an enormous insecurity and on global front it is source of great embarrassment for Pakistan.⁴

Islamic Jihadi or Militant Groups

The emergence of these groups and their transformation into militant groups have its origin in the decade of 80s. They turned their religious services into political agenda. Most of these organizations are serving in further divisions and segmentation of society. Their services are militant and their programs are based on anti state sentiments. These trends are creating crisis of identity and seriously affecting our efforts of unification into one nation. On the other hand their activities are enhancing problems of Pakistan on global front. Islamic groups and militancy has deeply affected the internal pattern of power struggle in Pakistan. In the early phase of independence religious intellectuals have offered great scholarly services in the conceptualization and operationalization of Islamic values. Their role was effective and productive. They worked to diminish differences between sects and segments. They took up the position of an affective political actor in making constitution and defining the policies of the state. It was in somewhere in 80s when these groups and parties alter their agenda with the extreme political goals rather than intellectual one.⁵

It is not just a surprise that these religious groups have strong way of communication and propagation through mosques. Their link with people is closer than the politicians. They have more chance and power to transform the views of public. In a society where democratic ways of expression are absent and there is no root of a democratic political culture, mosques and *mualanas* have filled up this vacuum. Unfortunately these religious actors had no ‘ecclesiastical system for the training of their leaders’. There emerged three distinctive types of authority in Pakistan; local *Molvis*, the learned *Maulanas* (Ullema) and the *Pirs*. All three categories have operated through their mosques, political organization and groups of followers in different parts of the state⁶ Till 1970, this religious lobby had considerable political influence ‘through ballot’⁷ Some religious parties like *Jamaat-e-Islami* (JI) on the other hand, have started their efforts regarding Islamism through educational activities. In recent times some groups have shifted from education to militancy. They have more trust on militancy considering it the only tool of pressurizing authorities and meeting their goals.

Table. 1: Militant Groups in Pakistan

Domestic organization	Transnational organization	Extremist Groups
Lashkar-e-Omar LoE	Hizb-ul-Mjahideen (HM)	Al-Rashid Trust
Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan. (SSP)	Harkat-ul-Ansaar	Al-Akhtar Trust

Tehreek-E- Jafria Pakistan. (TJP)	Lashkar-e-Toiba	Rabita Trust
Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e- Muhammadi	Jesh-e-Muhammad (JeM)	Ummah Tamir-e-Nau
Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ)	Harkat-ul-Mujahideen	
Sipah-e-Muhammad Pakistan (SMP)	Al Badr	
Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM)	Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen (JuM)	
Haqiqi Muhajir Quami Movement (MQM-H)	Lashkar-e-Jabbar (LeJ)	
Baluch People's Libration Front (BPLF)	Harkat-ul-Jehadi-i-Islami	
Baluch Students' Organization (BSO)	Muttahida Jihad Council (MJC)	
Jamaat-ul-Fuqra	Al Barq	
Nadeem Commando	Tehrik-ul-Mujahideen	
Popular Front of Armed Resistance	Al Barq	
Muslim United Army	Tehrik-ul-Mujahideen	
Harkat-ul-Mujahideen Ai-alamii	Al Jihad	
Baluch Students' Orgnasation- Awami (BSO-A)	Jammu & Kashmir National Liberation Army	
	People's League	
	Muslim Janbaz Force	
	Kashmir Jihad Force	
	Al Jihad Force	
	Al Umar Mujahideen	
	Mahaz-e-Azadi	
	Islami Jamaat-i-Tulba	
	J&K Students	
	Liberation Front	
	Ikhwan-ul-Mujahideen	
	Islamic Student League	
	Tehrik-e-Hurriat-e-Kashmir	

Source: www.satp.org/satporngtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/index.html

Initially there was a proliferation of madrasahs especially in Punjab, Karachi and Pukhtun areas. They had no militant agenda against military and the state. With the invasion of Soviet Union in Afghanistan and pouring of thousands of refugees the political geography of the region

changed entirely. These madrasahs were charged with the zeal of jihad by the agencies. This is the point where from their militant role started in the region and in the state in later part of the decade. The afghan refugees brought not only their extremist ideology with them but also they brought poppy business in Pakistan. They kept on with the same source of income and soon Pakistan had become a major pipeline for heroin smuggling to the West. The image of Pakistan was deeply tarnished first by drug smuggling and then by militant extremist elements. In core of these problems are the external elements that are involved.

Government of Pakistan adopted many policies to control drug trafficking and growth of militant organization but nothing was sufficient to halt the growth of these elements. Drug smuggling was effectively checked by the anti narcotics board and the forces but the growth of militant groups is still at large. This is the element that has become a stigma for the image of Pakistan. The reason behind this high handedness of these militant groups and organization is that they were equipped with arms and currency through multiple sources. In past the major supplier included USA and the Middle Eastern states. But now they have other suppliers who are anti state both inside and outside the state. On the other hand, Taliban have got a strong hold in Afghanistan. Strategically Pakistan was bound to maintain good relationship with the Taliban administration. Long borders with Afghanistan had compelled Pakistan to arrange for security on the Western borders as the border with India was under constant threat. All religious organization and parties operating in the state kept on their activities without a serious governmental check. These Jihadi organizations kept on their activities to promote Jihadism. The roots of these organizations are quite strong in Pakistani system and society. To up root them is not an easy task. It requires a long term policy with multiple tools for their eradication.

This issue had a deep impact on the standing of Pakistan on all issues including Kashmir. India constantly propagates against the Pakistani militant groups in Kashmir. Although it is a known fact that Kashmir issue has political base. It has nothing to do with religious militancy. These militant groups are entirely different from the freedom fighters of Kashmir and Palestine. These groups have a fundamentalist ideology. They maintain their own training system and financial links. They have mosque and Madrasahs support system. Their strong position had made it difficult for Pakistan to alienate them. And tough handed tackling would immobilize them for the time being or sent them into an extended period of hibernation without affecting their radical temper or their fighting ability⁸.

After 9/11 terrorist attacks Pakistan had no choice but to take U-turn against these elements. Again as a frontline state Pakistan had to

take the responsibility to eradicate the elements of terror. This decision made situation worse for Pakistan both within the state and the Western borders. Pakistan made many effective policies like Madrasah Act of 2002. This act was adopted for reforming the madrasahs. This project was to be accomplished with US help and support. According to this act registration of Madrasahs was made compulsory but this act has not performed as was expected. Although government threatened to stop the funds for Madaris but this was of no use, as these Madaris were not operating with government funding. Another effort was made in 2004 by changing the Islamiyat syllabus in schools. It was suggested the verses on jihad should be substituted with the some other verses but this was also not done practically.

Some madrasahs were registered but it was impossible to register all of them. These elements are not as simple as were considered by the authorities. The detail of these organizations and madrasahs is the following;

Table. 2: Registered and Unregistered Madrassahs in Pakistan

Provinces	Total No. of Madaris	Registered	unregistered	Total Students Enrolled
Punjab	5,468	3,293	2,175	490,120
Sindh	2,100	1,030	1,070	277,805
NWFP	1,724	777	947	19,275
Baluchistan	621	296	325	-
FATA	367	30	337	54,690
Northern Areas	860	322	538	33,429
AJK	665	385	280	50,000

Source; M.R. Klasra, Interior and Religious Ministries Wrangle Over Madrassahs. Friday Times. January 2005.

Till 2006 these elements remained silent against Pakistan. In 2007 they unleashed an attack on Pakistan in retaliation. These attacks not only enhanced terror in the state but also made the position of government more awkward. These attacks have further deteriorated the security situation in the country. It has added concerns for the policy makers of the state.

Implications of Afghan Issue and Image Building Efforts by Pakistan

Pakistan was under authoritarian rule when afghan issue emerged. Handling of this issue was under the military authorities entirely. They

handled it in their own way. The focus remained on aid collection rather than implications of these acts on the future implications of the policies. Consequently Pakistan inherits drug trafficking and extremist organization. Which are almost impossible to eliminate from the system and society? The situation for the next governments was rather intricate but unfortunately no government made futuristic policies regarding these issues and the society got fragmented more and more. Now there is a worst kind of unrest in the country. Whether it is Sindh or North Waziristan, no one is safe from the high handedness of these anomic and terrorist groups that have their limited and myopic agenda of pressure building and self interest. From top to bottom there is no stage that is handling the situation wisely. There are three big areas that are vulnerable and that are under lime light. Those are nuclear security issue, Pakistan military and Taliban with these terrorist and extremist organizations. How they are affecting the image of Pakistan and what efforts are being made will be discussed further.

Element of Extremism and its Implications

When we discuss the image of Pakistan, first and foremost thing is the element of extremism. This element is the off shoot of Afghanistan issue. Dictatorial regime of 1980 dealt it in its own way and put the seeds of extreme and fundamentalism in the society and system. These seeds have grown into a maligned image of Pakistan and deterioration of social fabric. Amid this situation 9/11 incident put a state of urgency and hasty policy on the part of Pakistan. Pakistan was left with no choice but participate in the war on terror. The military administration of that time made this decision in the broader interest of the state. Ramifications of this decision are prominent even today. U-turn policy towards Taliban had its own cost that Pakistan is paying through its blood and money. Situation could be handled in far batter way but again democratic government is keener to accumulate aid than national honor dignity and image. There is a complete mishandling of the situation. Taliban and these extremist elements are coherent and well organized groups. Their ties and network is sound and well administered. That is why it has become hard for the government to grip them with mediocre and ordinary schemes.⁹

Taliban that are regarded as the terrorist element, are divided into four groups; First: they are domestic sectarian groups like *Sepah-e-Sahaba* and *Sipah-e-Muhammed*. Both are respectively off shoots of *Lashkar-e- Jhagvi* and Shia *Tehreek-e- Jafria*. Second: they are terrorist outfits that operate with Pakistan army and ISID support in Afghan war. Third: they are Pushtun oriented Taliban residing in the areas of Pakistan. Fourth: there are Al-Qaeda elements. All these groups have

generally taken sanctuary in FATA and in North Waziristan¹⁰. Since the initiation of war on terror they have become a major challenge for the security of Pakistan. They have serious implications on security of Pakistan's strategic assets and general image of Pakistan.

Nuclear Security Issue

Pakistan is nuclear weapon state. This status is a source of honor and pride for the entire nation. All nuclear weapon states are required to be the responsible state. A responsible state means a state that has all tools and measure to secure its strategic assets and these assets are fully supported by the system, administration and trained personnel. As Pakistan is facing a serious internal insecurity, that is why it is not considered as a responsible state in the groups of nuclear weapon states. It is big blow on the image of Pakistan.¹¹

Pakistan's strategic assets are not easy to reach and assemble by any militant group operating inside and outside the state. In US war on terror one of the major concerns is nuclear security in Pakistan. The reason behind this concern is mainly internal security situation and the presence of these militant groups. Developed nuclear weapon states do not regard Pakistan as a responsible state, although Pakistan has done all possible and available measures for nuclear safety and security like detaining nuclear weapons technicians with links to Islamic extremist groups and redeploying its nuclear explosive devices (nuclear weapons) to new locations¹². In 2003 President Musharraf had made clear, 'This is not a Warsaw Pact vs. NATO situation where warheads and missiles are ready to fire with a button in hand. There is no button in our case. The missiles and warheads are not permitted together. There is a geographical separation between them'¹³. US Defense Department has reported that "Islamabad's nuclear weapons are probably stored in component form, and that, Pakistan probably could assemble a weapon fairly quickly..."¹⁴

This merely image problem that has made Pakistan doubtful in the realm of nuclear security. If afghan issue level the aid flow to Pakistan in 80s that helped to build nuclear weapons, presently it the same issue that has made nuclear Pakistan doubtful in the sight of comity of nations. The fault is not on the side of world deficiency is on the side of Pakistan. The policy makers have always preferred aid over issues and principles. The image of Pakistan on all issues including nuclear security can only be improved by gradual policies based on principles and national honor.

Pakistan Military, Taliban and War on Terror

Pakistan military, Taliban and CIA nexus was created to win war against USSR. These madrasahs and religious organizations had no militant

agenda prior to 80s. They were involved in militancy by the agencies for military services in 80s. Consequently they had no differences with each other. There was no dichotomy in their agendas. The situation dramatically changed after 9/11 tragedy. There are multiple reasons behind that. It is not just world order but the Taliban's way of government is also responsible for that treatment.

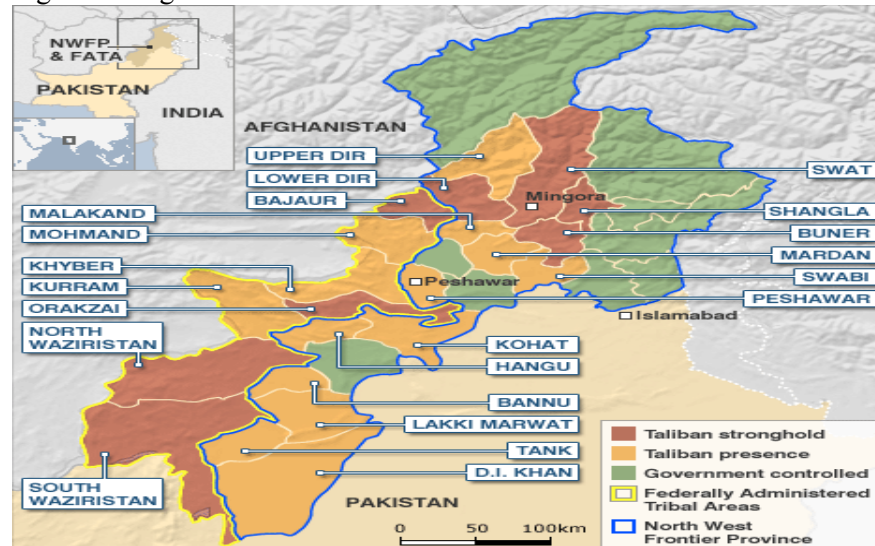
Historically speaking, Taliban were once nurtured by both ISI and CIA. But 9/11 put them on the wrong side and US has chosen to attack Taliban and Al-Qaeda through Pakistan military. This has made some serious implications on the internal situation of Pakistan¹⁵. Now action against Taliban brought grim consequences for Pakistan. The situation which was once mishandled by the military administration in 80s was now standing before Pakistan to be handled. Same Taliban were now to be faced as foes, who once were called buddies. Such policies and planning is a big blow for any nation. Although Pakistan had chosen to leave Taliban side in the broader interest of nation but the consequences are being faced by the entire nation even today. The worse thing about entire scenario is that now the militancy once stick to the Taliban only is now immersed in the entire social fabric. All factions and ethnicities have adopted the same militant and extremist measures. There is no political and democratic culture exists in the country and more. Institution like military and police are now being attacked by these groups. There is total lack of confidence in the government department and situation of chaos is prevalent in the country.

This culture is the ramification of Talibanization and military participation in this process. War on terror has added dimension in this grim scenario. Neither US is satisfied nor public is happy with the situation. Taliban are already standing on the opposite side. Now country is standing between devil and the deep sea. As a matter of fact Pakistan decided in the larger interests of the state to curb the activities of these groups. Pakistan provided USA with military and intelligence facilities in order to combat terrorism. In the initial years Pakistan showed greater commitment. Pakistani public in general and intelligence services in particular have remained suspicious about US intention in the region. In 2005 US expressed that it is prospecting to divest full command of Afghan combat operation to NATO. Such prospects made Pakistan's involvement a little slow.¹⁶

It is well realized by the Pakistani policy makers that their combat with Taliban and local militant would not last with the end of US regional interest fulfillment. This militancy and enmity will go on and on. The slowdown of operation against militants is the outcome of this rationale. These things should be perceived prior to the policies but that foresight has been missing at most of crucial occasions. If we see the

strongholds of Taliban we come to know that it covers a larger part of Pakistan.

Fig: 1. Stronghold of Taliban- South Waziristan- FATA



Source: <http://defense-technologynews.blogspot.com/2009/05/pakistan-map-shows-taliban-extending.htm>

Before going further Pakistan must keep in mind that any military operation against its own people will bring nothing but chaos. Such activities seriously damage the political culture of any nation. Political socialization has always been weak in Pakistan, consequently interest articulation and interest aggregation has also been absent. In such a situation this kind of operation can bring only chaos. In this way the image of Pakistan is deteriorated not only within state but also outside of it.

Pakistan has paid a high price of this US war on terror. Pakistan has taken serious steps against jihadi groups. As a result Pakistan faced not only economic down fall but a number of terrorist activities as well, at the hands of terrorists. Pakistan's meaningful steps include curbing extremism. Madrasah reforms are introduced. Many Jihadi groups are banned like *Jaish-e-Muhammad* and *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi* etc. Government also declared that no group or organization will use the titles of *jaish* (army), *lashkar* (volunteer force), and *sipah* (soldier) in future. Religion constitutes the basis of Pakistani state and it is not easy to transform society on the secular lines¹⁷.

These Jehadi groups, in reaction have started to target Pakistan army since 2007. This counter attack strategy of these groups has made

things more intricate for Pakistan. Segmentation and division within society is growing day by day. There is confusion in society. On one hand there is a progressive and moderate segment of society on the other hand there are extremist elements that are using religion politically. All these factors have exerted ideological stress on society. This stress has created identity crisis in the country. Amid this turmoil there happened another serious episode which has put Pakistan in further realms of doubt regarding nuclear safety and nuclear proliferation. It was nuclear proliferation network of Dr. A. Q. Khan, a leading nuclear scientist of Pakistan. The image of Pakistan has gone further down and situation has become more difficult for Pakistan¹⁸.

State Efforts and Image Building of Pakistan

It is not easy to achieve high status among the comity of nations. It requires a strong leadership, democratic culture and sincerity on both public and government level. As far as Pakistan is concerned it has always experienced lack of trust between the institutions. Earlier in our discussion it is made clear that it is public participation that makes a sound political culture and strong political culture can only nurture democracy. In case of Pakistan the key issues were decided by the authorities and the role of public and intelligentsia was almost absent. One of these issues was Afghan problem that came to surface in 1979. The military authorities solve it with their own rationale while their decision has changed the mode of politics of the entire region. Consequently Pakistan has earned a bad name and a bundle of issue and problem on domestic front. Now the state is struggling to save its face and build its image as tolerant and responsible state. There are some efforts and policies of the government that will be analyzed that how far these policies are profitable and viable in current scenario.

It is an obvious fact that civilian government has got minimum chance to operate in Pakistan since inception. Internal stability is also shattered while in the global political and strategic setting, there is need a considerable internal stability to cope with the challenges and responsibilities. As far as Pakistan's foreign policy is concerned, four fundamental pillars of Pakistan's security and foreign policy are important. They are Pakistan's principle stand on Kashmir, Afghanistan, Pakistan's independent nuclear program the integrity of the state. The image of Pakistani nation and state can be improved by the firm and collective effort. The developed democratic world knows that without political socialization, interest articulation and interest aggregation there can be no sound political culture and the decisions of such state could not secure enough legitimacy where public is kept under strict measure of army or police. This is also a known fact that under such condition

underground organizations and groups emerge and sought revolts against governments.

Pakistani society being conservative is under the influence of norms and customs. In Pakistan each region and province has its own power base, ethnicities and political trends. Coherence is absolutely absent from the system. In such a situation no decision can be received and analyzed in a rational way. Afghan issue was received under the same conditions. Society bore the divergent views regarding the issue. At the end of the entire episode when country was left with fundamentalism and extremism. At the same place there are hostiles and sympathizers of the militant organizations. This situation had made it difficult for the government to bring people on a unanimously agreed policy.

Beside this there are many strategic and external factors involved in the situation. Government is trying to deal with the situation but somehow these efforts are not enough. In spite of all these factors state establishment has shown greater capacity to accommodate all serious factors. The task before the civilian government was huge and rather difficult. Some sincere and effective measures have been taken to enhance performance and effectiveness of the state institution. The example is nuclear policy management and safety and security of nuclear assets. The state has taken this challenge with great courage. Pakistan had adopted the measures that made its intentions and plans obvious regarding security. A clear command and control system is developed and executed. A nuclear doctrine was developed with great rationality. Pakistan has adopted the posture of credible minimum deterrence against India. It was clearly declared that the object of Pakistan's nuclear program was security oriented to deal with the threat from Indian aggression. No global objectives of Pakistan's nuclear program were either devised or adopted. Now the propaganda against Pakistan's nuclear weapons and their irresponsible use got an effective answer. This is positive to note that there is no public concern over nuclear weapon decision of the country. Although this task was accomplished by the military authorities still there is full backing of masses with the doctrine of command and control system of nuclear assets.

Yet again, if a government possesses a democratic constitution and the will of people is considered with an active participation then there should be no room for authoritarian rule. The image of Pakistan is tarnished mainly due to these reasons. Presently there is a serious imbalance between state and institutions. Extremism has got roots in the system. Both Pakistani public and armed forces has become victim of these elements. It is quite disappointing to note that the government is still not taking serious action against these factors. Some serious and highly urgent policies are yet not made. The authorities that are

responsible to make and save the image of Pakistan are needed to opt more practical and rational measures to reconstruct the image of Pakistan. The civil government has to deliver, because now legitimacy is dependent on performance. If people are satisfied then there will be no gap for external interventions.

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