

Evolution of Pakistan's Strategic Culture: From Jihad in Afghanistan to Paigham-e-Pakistan



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Abstract: *The present study explores the complex development of Pakistan's strategic culture, following its path from the "Jihad" phase of the Soviet-Afghan War to the modern values embodied in the "Paigham-e-Pakistan" philosophy. It analyzes the historical background and consequences of the Afghan Jihad critically, explaining how Pakistan's participation unintentionally increased regional instability and promoted the emergence of extremism. Seeing the need for a paradigm change, the study examines Pakistan's strategic realignment in the direction of the Paigham-e-Pakistan ideology, which emphasizes the value of inclusivity, ideological resilience, and counter-narratives in thwarting extremism and promoting regional peace. The article highlights the difficulties in this transformation, acknowledging the inherent complications of juggling geopolitics, ideology, and security imperatives. In order to fulfill Pakistan's ongoing responsibility to play a responsible global role in thwarting extremism and advancing regional stability, it ends by arguing for persistent efforts to address socioeconomic grievances, fortify governance structures, and promote regional collaboration.*

Keywords: *Strategic Culture, Jihad, Paigham, Geopolitics, Regional Stability*

Introduction

Since from her birth in 14th August 1947 Pakistan faced a number of changes in the different fields of her statehood due to different events took place in the international and domestic political configurations. The socio-political culture of Pakistan is still evolving at different levels. So the strategic culture is one of the expression or the identification of a sovereign state to shaping its national preferences and priorities is still evolving. (Feroz, 2005) culture in general sense meant a collective identity based on values, norms, beliefs, food, language, dress and unique events of any community of people in the world. So strategic culture of any sovereign nation has also the same type of elements. Like according to J.

Snyder an American political scientist “strategic culture is the total sum of ideals, common beliefs and responses a particular threat” (Tehsin, 2014) like culture, strategic culture is also constructed on specific elements, the meaning and interpretation of those elements may change over the period of time and circumstances. Pakistan’s strategic culture also faces the transformation due to changes in the international strategic environment and domestic environment throughout past seven decades. The strategic preferences and options of Pakistan varies over the past geo-strategic history of Pakistan. The most dominant element of strategic culture of Pakistan is the incorporation of Islamic concepts and attachment to the Islam. The Islamic element

interpreted and reinterpreted by the dominant military and religious-political elite of the country which transformed the overall strategic culture as well. This is uncontested reality that due to particular institutional and individual interests the defense strategies were constructed on the Islamic Ideals from the very initial faces of Pakistan's inception.(Zaman, 2016) the rapid and huge transformation occurred in the Zia era due international and national political developments. Zia regime institutionalized the different Islamic concepts of warfare into military of Pakistan and also took concrete steps to Islamize the whole country of Pakistan (Feroz, 2005). So jihad became the permanent element of strategic culture of Pakistan which continued for more than one and half of decade after Zia regime. The major shifts occurred in the first decade of 2000 in the Islamic construct of the warfare strategies and state of Pakistan due to a liberal dictator Musharraf and American led war against terrorism. The most important shift occurred in the declaration of the Paigham-e-Pakistan by the state of Pakistan in 2016, which reshaped the Islamic component of the strategic culture of Pakistan. We will try to explain and analyze the two peak periods of transformation in strategic culture of Pakistan with regarding the Islam under the constructivist theory in this research paper.

Main Argument:

Strategic culture of Pakistan is constructed on the basis of Pakistan's Islamic identity along with many other components. The interpretation of Islamic component of strategic culture of Pakistan has been transformed over the couple of decades from jihad-e-Afghanistan to onward the decade of 2010.

Main Questions:

1. How the strategic culture of Pakistan is constructed and who constructed on what basis?
2. How the different components from Islam incorporated into the strategic culture of Pakistan and how these components shapes and reshapes the strategic culture of Pakistan?

3. How internal and external political environment is inter linked with the interpretation of the Islamic identity in strategic circles of Pakistan?

Literature review:

Strategists and political scientists defined the strategic culture in many ways, according to Hasan Askari Rizvi strategic culture means “a collectivity of beliefs, norms, values and historical experiences of the dominant elite in a polity that influences their understanding and interpretation of security issues and environment, and shapes their responses to these” (Feroz, 2005). As per definition the general concept which can be applied to any country in the club of sovereign states throughout the world. In fact, the element, which gave the different position to the strategic culture of Pakistan, is its evolution within a particular circumstances and ideals over a period of years. Now the question arises how much older are the foundations of current strategic culture of Pakistan is? To find the answer to the question we should refer ourselves towards creation of the Pakistan as a starting point. Pakistan had to face several types of issues, which actually compelled Pakistan into a survival struggle (Feroz, 2005). (Donnelly, 2005)Pakistan faced ill-treatments by British colonial Masters during the distribution of financial, land and military assets. This led Pakistan towards as a weak state in terms of its defense needs and requirements. (Fair, 2016). Indian expansionist behavior. E.g. Indian role in the disintegration of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh from East Pakistan during civil war in East Pakistan in 1971 so Pakistan has to defend its territorial integrity at any cost in any kind of Indian aggression; this is a belief of strategic community of Pakistan which rooted in the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 due to Indian military involvement. How to defend Pakistan in any kind of Indian intervention was a question which developed the concept of strategic depth in the strategic circles of Pakistan for this purpose, Pakistan should maintain semi-domination or influential ties with Afghanistan. The nuclearization of South Asia which became a sensitive security issue due to a permanent

conflict among the two atomic powers of the region was actually started due to India's nuclearization in 1974 so Pakistan also started its nuclear program. (Eating Grass, 2012). The other determinant of Pakistan's strategic culture is aligning itself with Muslim empires of Muslim political past in different regions of the world specifically South Asia because Pakistan has lacking the element of glorious past due its short history. The historical pride is one of ingredients of strategic culture of any country, particularly in the case of Pakistan, which is fully surrounded by the historical great nations like Iran and China with having civilizational and imperial pride. So Pakistan's strategic community allied herself with Muslim past by justifying herself as a Muslim Nation state. (Rizvi, 2015)

Who defines strategic culture of Pakistan?

By analyzing the civil-military relations in Pakistan one can easily finds the dominance of military elite (High Command) in this sphere of defense. If we look into warrant of precedence in Pakistan, then, military chiefs of Pakistan came on the 6th position, which meant that their collective role should not cross the civilian higher authorities but it is not followed even in the ceremonial terms. For example, Army chief is given more protocol as compare to other high profiles in state affairs of Pakistan. The dominancy of army in Pakistan is justified in the form of four martial laws and occupancy of foreign relations domain of the country in all types of political and strategic circumstances in the region and the world. So the other elite (scholars, politicians and civil bureaucracy) have minimal or negligible role to define this domain despite being mandated by the country's constitutional and organizational structure. The secret intelligence agencies of Pakistan Army like MI and ISI were created for this purposes. These agencies, with their secret and deterring role in the region and in the country, sustain the dominancy of military elite of Pakistan. (Askari, 2015).

Islamization of military in Zia era:

C.C. Fair mentioned in his work on strategic culture of Pakistan, that the concept of Jihad in

Islam was incorporated by Zia regime in military and whole Muslim society of Pakistan. So that the defense of not only Pakistan but whole of the Muslim world is a religious duty of the every Muslim of the Pakistan. C.C Fair coined the terms "defensive jihad and offensive jihad" to defend Pakistan from India and liberate Kashmir through jihad. C.C Fair traced the history of jihad as State policy of Pakistan and found use of jihadist concept since Pakistan, s inception but Fair did not explained the division over interpretation and implementation of jihad by the different religious-political figures in Pakistan at that time. (Fair, 2016) when Zia supported the jihad against the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan the political heirs of Moudodi played the front role. The uniqueness of the Afghan jihad was that Western world particularly America, the Saudi Arabia and the larger sentiments of Pakistani society was on the same position. While Touqir Hasan explains the Zia led jihad was transformation from defensive jihad to offensive jihad. The offensive jihad occupied the very dominant position in the strategic sphere of Pakistan in the decade of 1990s. (Islamization, 2010)

Feroz Hasan elaborated well the transformations took place in the institution of military in Zia regime. The Islamization of a soldier started from recruitment to until the retirement in the forms of memorizations of different verses of Holy Quran and became punctual in performing of religious obligations like Namaz and Fasting. The Islamic slogans, ideals and warriors made more glorified for the Army personals to fought war with Islamic passion. Zia gave new motto to the Army in the form of Faith, Piety and Struggle in the way of God. According to Dr. Nasim Ashraf islamization of education took place in the forms of new text books with a large number of lessons from the Islamic concepts of warfare to promote the jihadist culture in the society for the achievement of strategic goals of Pakistan. Even the University of Nebraska, Omaha contributed to the promotion of jihadist element in the different text books in the Pakistan. (Islamization, 2010) The state patronage of madrasas, the Muktab Schools and recruitment of Fundamentalist Muslims in the

schools and universities were also carried to achieve the strategic goals of the Pakistani State. (Akthar, 2018)

Jihad-e-Kashmir in 1990s

After the Afghan war the different Islamic jihadist became the strategic asset for Pakistani military and strategist to liberate Kashmir or attract the international community towards the Kashmir issue. Pakistan supported the militant uprising against the Indian occupation by reconstructing the jihadist organizations. Ahmad missing the role of Mujahid Force of Pakistan which was established in 1963 but raised in 1992. This Force became the domain actor in the jihad-e- Kashmir after the 1990. Hamid discussed the causes and consequences of kargil war of 1999, the kargil war was the one of most important episode in the strategic policy towards Kashmir in 1990s to compel India on the terms and negotiations on the Kashmir Issue. Pakistan utilized the jihadist element in her offensive strategy by internationally saying that actually kargil is occupied by the Kashmiri mujahidin while in reality Pakistan mobilized her NLI regiment(at that time NLI was non-regular regiment of Army) in the winter season. The kargil adventure changed into a limited war with India and Pakistan went into internal political crisis after kargil war. While Istiaq Ahmad explained in his article “towards a Kashmiri settlement beyond the jihad” the radical shift towards jihad policy on Kashmir after the military stand up of 2002 by the Pakistani State. After the overthrown of Taliban government in Kabul by US led military collation in the name of Global war against terrorism Pakistan was turnout her support for the Taliban. Pakistan became the frontline State in the war against terrorism in Afghanistan after the episode of 9/11.pakistan what did in 1990s in related to its Kashmir policy, it was only for the sake of internationalization of Kashmir issue again. Pakistan did not achieve that object through jihad but Kashmir issue became international once again during the military stand up between India and Pakistan in 2002-2003. Now the question arise like in this way that Pakistan became able to involve the third party (UN, US or China) in the discussion of Kashmir issue are

not? Istiaq only mentioned the bilateral talks between Pakistan and India on the settlement of the issue. He did not talked much about the international and regional changes occurred, which actually compelled the State of Pakistan to reconstruct her strategies towards the solution of Kashmir issue. Although Istiaq explained well the official stance of Pakistan related to its pro-Kashmir jihad policy. (Astiaq, 2007)

War on Terror

Arish khan in his work on the “Terrorist Threat and Policy Responsive in Pakistan” briefly elaborated the threats raised by the different militant groups to the national socio-political and strategic interests of the Pakistan. Target killings in Karachi, sectarian killings and terrorist attacks against the civil and security personals of Pakistan by different domestic, transnational and international terrorist organizations. Pakistan initially started the operations against the Global terrorist organization of Al Qadia and captured its leaderships and dismantled the operational centers in different parts of the country. Interestingly the most notorious Al Qadia leader Osama bin laden was killed by the Americans in a military operation in Abbottabad Pakistan without formal permission from Pakistan in 2011 while Arish khan talks about the total cleansing policy Al-Qadia by the Pakistani State in 2004-05. The limiting of political activities of the domestic militant organizations which were involving in the sectarian killing and infiltrations into the Indian and Afghan soil were the one major policy measures in 1st half of decade of 2000s. The most major policy shift in Pakistan was the lunching of full scale military operations in FATA to clean the region from the transnational terrorist organizations like Taliban and jundullah etc. Arish did not mentioned the perspectives of the military –political and religious elite at that time we know that at that time military and religious based political leadership were not on one on different anti-terrorist policies. (Arish, 2004)Zahid Ali Khan covered all the military operations took placed in FATA from 2001 to 2011 in the name of encountering terrorism and defending the country from the infidels or khawarij by the

State of Pakistan. Zahid talks about the implications of some of those military operations in the forms of IDPS and sympathies for the terrorists groups by the different political or religious sentiments in the Pakistani society. (Khan, 2011)

Paigham-e-Pakistan

By examining the different portions of State issued collective view point of all of the different religious scholars and jurists then we can easily understand, the shifts in the interpretation of jihad. The religious clergy and political elite of the state after huge humanitarian and infrastructural damage to the state by the terrorists groups in the name of jihad during the ongoing two decades redefined the jihad. According to paigham –e- Pakistan in normal circumstances jihad could be launched by the state and the declaring war on any group or any other state is the sole responsibility and prerogative of the state. The declaration of non-state war or armed activities as un-Islamic by that segment of society which previously supported the non-state actor armed activities. The differentiation between jihad and war in the forms of “Qital and Harb” distinguished the modern war fare from the Islamic concepts of warfare. The state by using religious clergy encountered the non-state jihadist ideology. (IIU, 2018) Paigham-e-Pakistan is strongly interlinked with the “National Action Plan” of Pakistan. Which talked about the total ban on the formation of militant organizations, regulation of the madrasas, and adaptation of strict anti- extremism policies, not giving space to the all kinds of militants in print and electronic media and elimination of all sorts of militant organizations from the soil of Pakistan through military muscles. So both of the state led initiatives limits any kind of activity to defend the country and Islam beyond the military and political norms of the country. (Asad, 2019)

Theoretical Framework of the Study

The international political system was dominated by the theories like realism, liberalism and critical theory for a long time. The state to state political, diplomatic, strategic and economic relations were mostly looked

under the lenses of the realist or liberalist paradigms by the political and social theorists and scholars. When the cold war ended then there was a transformation occurred in the political system of the world at a larger level. For example the world from bipolar to unipolar. The young scholars of 1990s decade felt a need to redefined theoretically the role of different actors either state or non-state actors, the actors within a polity and the ideational or normative foundations of the different states. So redefining the international political system gave birth to the theory of constructivism. According to constructivist theory the ideas, norms, values, ideology and shared or collective beliefs shaped the whole identity and actions of the actor (state) along with the material conditions prevailing in the state. According to A. Wendt “identities are the basis of the interest”. Why identity matters? Identities matter because the collective identity of a nation, the personal identity of the dominant figure in the governing elite of the state matters a lot, how the state should act in the international system. For example being an Islamic country creates a perception of the closeness to the other Islamic country in the world while being an Islamist president (Zia) differentiates being a liberal Head of the state (Musharraf) in state policies and actions in the international system. Constructivism also talks about the relationship between the agency and the structure that there is a dependent relation among them. Sometimes the structure shapes the identity of the actor while sometimes actor shapes the identity of the structure. For example international institutions like UNO compels the different states to shape or reshape their policies or laws while sometimes State like USA compels UNO to formulate policies which peruses US interest in the different regions of the world. Constructivism utilizes three level approaches which are systemic-level, unit –level and holistic- level approach. Systemic constructivism focus only on the international institutions, organizations and norms as the shaping factors behind the behavior or actions of the different actors in the international system while unit-level constructivists’ emphasis on the domestic norms, values and legal factors to shape the action or behavior of the state in the

international system. The holistic –level constructivist talks about the role of both domestic and international domains as the shaping or reshaping factors behind the construction of the state behavior, action and policies in the world order. We shall apply the holistic – level constructivist approach to our study for the better logical understanding and explanation of the transformation in the strategic culture of Pakistan. (Scott Burchill, Andrew Linklater and Richard Devetak, 2005) As we know that Pakistan is based the Islamic Ideology, to transform the Islamic identity into practice different regimes throughout the political history of Pakistan brought a lot of changes in the socio-political and strategic domains of the country. Zia era was the peak era of the transformations in the national level, military level and political level in the country. For example in modern warfare military is responsible to defend the country not whole of nation in normal wars but Zia regime did so much to create the jihadist element in the whole Muslim of the Pakistan in the form of legal and social(educational) measures.(Islamization ,2010)

Discussion and Analysis:

The transformation in strategic culture of Pakistan has different aspects and historical stages with regarding to the Islamic component of the strategic culture of Pakistan. So here we will analysis all those main events and aspects from 1979 to 2017 by also discussing the pre-Zia era very briefly.

Islamization of Strategic Culture during Pre-Zia Political Era of Pakistan:

This is uncontested reality that the Muslims of British India struggled for a separate homeland and seceded by the formation of Pakistan as an independent Muslim Nation State. Although the political and temporal role of Islam as a religion has always been debatable in the religious and political circles of Pakistan since from the 11th August 1947 with the first speech of founding Father of the nation. (Zaman, 2018) If we look at the political history of Islam with in truly guided Caliphs era then it seems clear to us that Muslim warriors fought for the glory of Islam

not for the protection of worldly objectives and self-interests. Islam was the primary motivation behind their struggle by sword. (Nomani, 1898) With the passage of time the occupation of resources and wealth for glorifying themselves became the primary motivation behind the Muslim warriors during the Caliphates of Umayyad and Abbasids. Defense requirements and relationships with the other nation states mostly neighbor states determines the different strategies and mechanisms to defend a country or adopt the necessary conditions to make sure the survival of the country in the world. Pakistan has to face the survival issue from hands of her external and internal enemies since her inception. E.g. promoting regionalism by different politicians from different provinces of Pakistan and Indian behavior during Pakistan's initial independence years. So to encounter the internal and external threats Pakistani political and religious elite looked into Islam. The Islamic identity was the only hope to unite the different segments of the society and encounter the Indian offensive behavior. So Pakistani State started to construct its Army and other defensive/offensive mechanisms on the basis of Islamic identity. E.g. launching the jihad to liberate Kashmir from the Dogra Maharaja in 1947 with the approval of informal Sheikh ul Islam of Pakistan (moulana Shahbir Ahmad Usmani) at that time. (Zaman, 2016) The another example is the incorporation of religious slogans for military and creation of awards/ symbols like Nishan-e- Haider based on religious ideals and provisions related towards war. Releasing of religiously motivated songs to increase the morale and confidence of Pakistani soldiers during the war of 1965 by the Radio Pakistan. The creation of Alshams and Albader militant wings of jamat-e-Islami during dismemberment of East Pakistan 1971. By hosting the conferences of Islamic countries during 1974 and trying to create and lead an Islamic block to defend the religious and political interest of Islamic world. Z.A Bhutto's decision to go into nuclearization and declared *the future Atomic Bomb of Pakistan as an Islamic Bomb*. All those efforts were based on the country's Islamic identity.

What was New in Zia's Era?

As everyone know that Zia overthrew Mr. Bhutto's elected government and enacted martial law in the country in 1977. As holistic constructivists focuses on both domestic and international factors behind the construction of any kind of thought, ideology and perception. The new things behind Zia led Islamization of country were *the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan (1978), Islamic revolution in Iran (1979), Nizam-e-Mustafa movement by Bhutto's opposition and Zia himself being a religiously motivated person*. Afghanistan remained a trouble country from a long time to its neighbors and citizens. In short USSR invaded Afghanistan to defend the socialist government of Barak karmal and Hafiz ull Ameen. The opposition forces started armed resistance against the Soviet invasion. With the help of opposition forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudia and USA lunched the Jihad -e- Afghanistan. By giving Islamic meaning to armed struggle against USSR broaden the scope of the resistance in the form of involvement of different religiously motivated groups/people from different regions of the country of Pakistan. Recruitment centers were established in the different regions like AJK, GB and FATA to recruit the young boys to fight against the communist/Atheist USSR in Muslim country of Afghanistan. Whole discourse was created by the State of Pakistan that those fight in Afghanistan were actually fighting for the protection of Pakistan. As Zia said in one of his speeches in 1980. *"Those who are fighting a jihad in Afghanistan are fighting for the people of Pakistan"* Pakistani State intelligence agencies like ISI provide technical and intelligence support to the Afghan Mujahedeen in Afghanistan. General Hameed Gul, Major Amir and Colonel Imam like characters were emerged during Afghan Jihad. Pakistan welcomed Afghan refugees by opening its borders to them. The Islamic terminology of Mahajireen was used for the Afghan refugees and Ansaar was used to the hosting Pakistani people. As constructivist theory says that norms and beliefs play vital role in the shaping any

collective action or perception. So according to Islamic norms all Muslims are brothers of each other and the Muslim brotherhood should be exercised during the arrival of refugees. If we look at Zia's speech in Chitral in an Afghan refugee camp than He said that *"Islamic brotherhood is the strong relationship among yourselves and ourselves so the hosting people of that area shall once establish the example of Ansars-e-Medina"* (Islam ka sipahi, 1988) a top down approach was developed to cope with issues arose due to Afghan war. Politically and strategically Pakistan aligned herself with the Western countries like USA since very initial years of independence on basis of the famous argument that people USA are the followers of Holy Books. The jihad -e- Afghanistan made more closed Pakistan with USA due to common Atheist enemy the Soviet Union. As one of the American strategist said while addressing to the Mujahidin in KPK. *"God is with you, America is with you and Muslim world is with you so fight against the invaders in Afghanistan"* Usama Bin laden like people were glorified international by declaring him as a Mujahid -e- Azam. According to Bushra Gohar only Bacha Khan Condom the State policy during Soviet invasion in Afghanistan by declaring Afghan jihad as *"Fassad and said that the fire which you lighted in Afghanistan would burnt you as well in future"* but the Mosque, Military, Mullah and the West were together in promotion of the jihadist narrative. Constructivists also talks about the agency and structure as well in the construction of State or societal behavior. If examine the personality of the General Zia then it became clear to us that, Zia was the firm believer of Islam and a practicing Muslim. E.g. Zia hold a referendum for himself on the basis of implementation of Sharia in Pakistan. Mostly Zia codes the Quranic verses, Hadiths Sharif and advises of early Four Caliphs of Muslims during his speeches in different platforms and occasions. E.g. starting speech with the recitation of holy Quran in UN general Assembly session while representing the whole Islamic world in 1980 in New York.(documentary on Zia) Zia prefers the term Solider of Islam himself instead of President of Pakistan. Zia always perform prayers and did not

proceed the meetings during the prayer timings. Zia's supporters coined the famous term *Murde-Momin Murd-e-Haq Zia ul Haq*. The military parades and demonstrations are also part of strategic culture of every nation in the world. If we examine the military parades during Zia era then the Famous Pakistan Day parades on 23rd March every year were full of Islamic slogans, historical achievements in the name of Islam and commentators always talked and talked about the Islamic defense guidelines. Due to his inclement towards Islam. Iranian revolution impacted the religious environment of Pakistan at some extent in the form of increasing the intensity of the struggle for the better position of Shia faith in Pakistan by the Shia religious clerical groups and other associations like All Pakistan Shia Alliance and TNFJ etc. to minimize the Shia pressure, Zia regime showed silence over the Shia killings by Sunni sectarian militant groups (Stober, 2007) e.g. Chitral massacre in 1985 and Gilgit massacre in 1988 by the Sunni militants. Those sectarian groups which emerged in Zia era were also used as strategic assets by the establishment of Pakistan during 1990s in Kashmir.

Main Events during 1990s in Pakistan:

We will not here go into the details of tag of war between the Nawaz Sharif, Benazir and establishment for the capturing of the political power. We will only discuss here those events which contributed to the strategic culture of Pakistan. When Afghan episode was ended then Pakistan supported to the armed resistance movements in Kashmir like Hizbul mujahedeen etc. Pakistani State agencies also recruited the foreign mujahedeen as well to increase the intensity of resistance in Kashmir against Indian occupation. Pakistan also learned the lesson from the sidelining of Kashmir issue during 1980s in the forms of Indian encroachment in Siachan glaciers in 1984. (Rid, 2017) Pakistan also increased the strength of its mujahid Force stationed in AJK during 1990s. due to extraordinary success in Afghan jihad the minds of strategists in Pakistan was filled with the hopes to brought down the Indians on knees on Kashmir issue by the help of jihadists groups. The weak democratic governments of that

decade did not tried to change the jihadist policy related to Kashmir. Interestingly Benazir like liberal democratic Prime Minister recognized the Taliban government in Afghanistan in September 1996 in the best strategic interest of Pakistan. Now question arises why Benazir recognized Taliban government? The answers was that strategic community of Pakistan wants Afghanistan and utilized Afghanistan as a *strategic depth* in case of any Indian unbearable aggression into Pakistan. Taliban were pro-Pakistan who would facilitate any kind of Pakistani strategy against India. E.g. the Indian plan hijacked by the Masood Azhar landed into Kandahar Afghanistan in 1999. *Up gradation of missile technology* in Pakistan was carried by the Benazir with the help of North Korea and China in mid of 1990s to encounter with the Indian missile defense system. Our point here is that to examine the names of different missiles of Pakistan like Abadali, Ghuari, Shaheen, Hatf and Babur etc. so what does this mean? It has very simple meaning that we are the successors of our Muslim heroes in past and we are the defenders of our faith and legacy in South Asia. The other important event was the nuclear explosions by Pakistan in 28th May 1998 to answer the Indian nuclear explosions. Interestingly Pakistani State declared the 28th May as Yum-e-Takbir, which meant that Pakistan's defense system is only for the destruction of enemies of Islam and Pakistan. The last strategic war which collectively fought by the Mujahedeen and paramilitary forces of Pakistan was the Kargil war of 1998-9. The limited war of Kargil became starting point to rethink Pakistan's Kashmir policy and the also provided ways to a successful military in 12th October 1999 as well (Nasim, 2018)

Musharraf Era:

Musharraf as a military dictator ruled the country by establishing the Quasi-democracy type of government nearly for a decade. The main events which became the changing factors behind the strategic thinking of Pakistan were 9/11 incident and start of global war on terror under American leadership. Due to conditional support of Pakistan to USA in that war, the different factions of Mujahedeen became

opponent to Pakistan. Pakistan has once again to host the Afghan refugees with due to international moral obligations not due to religious motivations in her state. Unfortunately, Pakistan has started a full flash war against terrorist groups US pressure who operates from Pakistani soil. Then unstoppable boom of suicide attacks were launched by those terrorist groups onto military and civil people of Pakistan. So Pakistan started detaching herself from the religious based militant groups, who were previously considered as strategic assets for Pakistan. Pakistani State faced issues like opposition from religious based political organizations like Jamat –e-Islami etc. in launching war on terror. The Mullah and Military alliance became weakened due to Lal Masjid operation and US drone attacks on Pakistani border regions like FATA. To encounter anti-state jihadist narrative Pakistani state tried to build state based jihadist narrative by through media and religious scholars. “The another major transformation in that era took place in the shifts in Kashmir policy, Pakistani strategist withdrawn their support to jihadist groups in Kashmir due to unfruitful results of jihadist struggle to Pakistan and Kashmir”.(Rid, 2017) So Pakistani authorities started sincere peaceful talks with India to resolve the Kashmir issue.

Events up to Paigham-e-Pakistan:

The major event were installation of democracy in the country after a long time in 2008. Pakistani military lunched more vibrant and destructive military operations against different type of terrorist groups in different regions of country. Sufi Muhammad’s sharia rule in Malakand division in 2009 and Nizam-e-Adal regulations ordinance by then president Mr. Asif Ali Zardari and destruction of girl schools by the terrorist groups in Sawat and FATA created serious implications for the progressive liberal future of the Pakistani state.(Daily Dawn, 15th April 2009) The brutal and non- humanistic attacks like Peshawer Army public school attacks in 2014 and international voices on the protection capability of State institutions of their nuclear arsenals increased the anxieties of Pakistan. So all main stake holders in Pakistan

unanimously formulated the National Action plan to encounter all kinds of terrorism and extremism in their country. Interestingly Pakistani state did encounter terrorist creating a discourse on Islamic values and statehood norms through popular media, academicians, religious scholars and international institutions. E.g. if we compare the military parade of 2017 with 1997 and 1987 then there are clear differences with regarding to the glorifications of Islamic warfare values. The role of paramilitary forces like Police, Rangers and Frontier Corps were much glorified in 2017 as compare to the past two parades. The landmark occurred in this regard was the announcement of Paigham-e- Pakistan by the state of Pakistan in 2016. The whole struggle against the non –state actors with regarding to the interpretation of jihad and use of force by the state of Pakistan came into practical and acceptable form with in Paigham-e-Pakistan declaration. As constructivism talks about the collectivity of norms in regarding to any action so once again in Pakistan Mullah, Military, Mosque, Madrasa, Jamiy (university) and political leadership became on one page with regarding to terrorists and role of state.

Conclusion:

Pakistan's strategic culture has evolved from the Jihad era in Afghanistan to the modern Paigham-e-Pakistan philosophy, reflecting a significant shift in the nation's perspective on regional and international affairs. Due to geopolitical pressures and strategic partnerships, the 1980s Afghan Jihad was principally waged to oppose the Soviet occupation. Pakistan encouraged a culture of militancy and proxy warfare by working with the United States and Saudi Arabia, among other international allies, to support the Afghan Mujahideen. The unintended effects of this approach, however, destabilized the region and posed serious problems to Pakistan's security. These consequences included the spread of extremist ideology and terrorist groups, which had an impact beyond the Afghan conflict. Pakistan initiated a strategic realignment process in reaction to the evolving global political landscape and the increasing danger of extremism, which resulted in the development of the Paigham-e-Pakistan

doctrine. With an emphasis on inclusive tactics, counter-narratives, and ideological resilience, Paigham-e-Pakistan, also known as the National Narrative Counter Extremism policy, signifies a paradigm shift in Pakistan's strategic vision. It aims to maintain Pakistan's commitment to peace and stability, foster religious harmony, and address the underlying causes of radicalization. The trek from Paigham-e-Pakistan to Jihad in Afghanistan highlights the difficulties and complexities involved in negotiating the confluence of geopolitics, ideology, and security requirements. As a frontline state in the Cold War to a more responsible player in the fight against terrorism and the advancement of regional peace, it represents Pakistan's changing position in the international arena. Although the Afghan Jihad's legacy still influences Pakistan's security environment, the implementation of Paigham-e-Pakistan represents a fresh dedication to battling extremism via comprehensive and multidimensional approaches. Pakistan has to keep building on its successes in fighting extremism in the future while resolving the socioeconomic issues at the root of radicalization. Pakistan's developing strategic culture must prioritize advancing religious tolerance, bolstering governance, and encouraging regional collaboration. Pakistan may become a responsible global actor in the fight against terrorism and extremism and positively impact regional stability by adopting a proactive and forward-thinking strategy.

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