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Conceptual Significance in Contemporary Political Environments and Pakistan's Security Dilemma*

Muhammad Tariq Javed¹

¹ International Relations Department, University of Peshawar, K. P., Pakistan. Tel: +923334227380. Email: tariqjavedup@gmail.com

Abstract

Concepts of Sovereignty, National Interest, and legitimacy have a new interpretive significance in International Relations. Strategic communication is impacting political perspectives. The paper discusses how the extended usage of these political concepts can cause a security dilemma. How it can entail expediency and skulduggery when it involves National Interest of powerful states and how the weaker state can suffer. Study find Pakistan, prone to such intrusive threats; that can pose security dilemma. Paper recommends caution to Pakistan policy makers; against strategic crafts that might provoke an international interventionist pretext based on secondary and insular interpretations of Sovereignty, National Interest, Legitimacy leading to new concept, 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) that allows military intervention. Communication play a vital role in the making of Nations perception of political environment. Strategic communication is an advance political tool to drive policies catalyst to effect interventionist foreign policy. The paper analysis that due to the preponderance of big powers in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC); this is comparatively possible to adopt and execute resolutions passed against a weaker state leading to a security dilemma. It is recommended that Pakistan will have to keep caution of such conceptual circumvention through the art of diplomacy. This would by default compensate Pakistan's National interest and survival.

Keywords: Sovereignty, Political concepts, R2P, National Interest, Strategic communication, Security dilemma

1. Introduction

This paper deliberate the purposive change in Political concepts. The epiphenomenal options will allow in future; the powerful states to intervene to stop an undesired state action or activity; deemed threatening global peace. Pakistan can face threats if it gaffes in steering her role in the world order. How International Relations concepts are interpreted in a different environments and impact Pakistan's security; forms the research question of the study. Mixed research method is used with more emphasis on ground realities and observations. The study finds that an expediently driven political interpretation of the major International Relations concepts can cause Pakistan security dilemma. The paper's finding caution Pakistan of such political crafts; provoking international

^{*} This paper has been developed from my Ph.D. dissertation.

intervention, consequent to security dilemma. It is recommended that Pakistan has to strike a balance her policy mechanism in International Relations.

2. Sovereignty

The old concepts of sovereignty, national interest and other intrusive political conceptual framework were defined with strictest possible interpretation in Westphalia by the European communities. The top among such concept that made the base of the treaty was 'Sovereignty'. A state was protected from outside intrusion by the sovereign rights. In contemporary global environments these and other connotations have been radically changed due to global power asymmetry. The powerful states are forwarding new interpretations as a world political controlling mechanism. Like France and UK intruded in Libya using R2P shield vide UNSC resolution 1973 authorizing the member states to take necessary action to act in Libya (UN, 2011).

This action when compared to Gaza bombing of Israel makes it dubious as people in Libya enjoyed far better welfare than how Gaza is bombed by Israel frequently destroying and smashing the whole infrastructure. Following discusses the major Political concept those are now interpreted in a different and in a way which will in future allow the powerful who hold sway on the forum that approves these intrusive provision to militarily attack other nations. Pakistan can face the same fate as of Libya if it slips in disagreement of the order under the powerful states making War on Terrorism a pretext.

In a landmark 'agenda for peace' report; forwarded by Boutros Boutros Ghali in 1992, the former UN Secretary General said, "The time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed; its theory was never matched by reality. It is the task of leaders of states today to understand this and to find a balance between the need of good internal governance and the requirements of an ever more interdependent world" (Ghali, 1992).

New interpretation of sovereignty suggests more intrusive and acceptability of interventionist policies. It expands the political securitizations to attack nations when they fail to align with US world order designs and political preponderance. "Sovereignty is being reduced in importance and belied in a kind of 'limited sovereignty' is developing...sovereignty has begun to erode. It is under attack from globalization forces, economic and trade liberalization, the changing nature of technology and American hegemony. In some cases these factors has caused state to collapse; in others they have given rise to transnational or trans-sovereign problems of refugees, disease, ethnic conflict, drug smuggling, terrorism, violence and civil war². (Robert J. Jackson, 2006).

The ex-U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff, giving idea of reciprocal sovereignty is that, "...Each sovereign nation must respect the right of other nations, so that all nations are obliged to contain the external consequences of any security threat emerging within their borders" the author suggest further that, "...And when countries fail to live up to their responsibility, international law should recognize- and indeed authorize-mechanisms that would allow protective action on the part of the world community and if necessary the injured or threatened states" the writer then talks of a generational task of evolving a new concept of 'reciprocal sovereignty' with a sweeping disregard as to what constitutes the act of terrorism or to elaborate how people take different approaches to define resistance and terrorism. Chertoff draws principles to set a new security paradigm, "Implementing international order that advances U.S. security interest will require difficult decisions and sustained work for at least a generation. To begin, the United States and its partners must ground the reciprocal responsibility to contains on three core principles: no subordination, collaborative security, and reciprocal sovereignty." (Chertoff, 2009).

This premise has potential of setting a dangerous trend where chaos in a target state can be circumvented, by a powerful nation to intervene militarily. This would become a law of privileged and powerful international political players only. This interventionist mind-set is a critical fault line for the world peace as we see the

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¹Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya are a few examples

² The example of Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq Palestine are a few examples

military interventions in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya is lingering for over a decade with no end in sight. Such interventions have further provoked conflict and have proven as a war multiplier. With trillions of dollars budget, the whole NATO forces' resource and a huge combat and civilian' causality, the military interventions by international community have proven to be a failed concept. Our present internal and international political environments are prone with nationalists and secessionist and ethnic movements. Issues of nuclear proliferation and weapon of mass destruction have become the threatening elements of international power politick. The Security Dilemma asserts that both weakness and strength in national security can be provocative to other nations. Nations have politicized military interventions through UN resolutions as a legal shield. The assertiveness by the powerful alliances to attack a particular nation has been so much urging that their action bypassed approval even by UNSC.

The NATO authorization of supporting a proxy group in attacking Libya for a regime change with France and UK's use of force to enforce a no fly zone substantiates this argument. However, a loose reference to provisions of R2P was made to work in this regard:

'R2P is often described as an 'emerging norm' in international affairs. But as Noam Chomsky has noted, Japan's attack on Manchuria, Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia and Hitler's occupation of Czechoslovakia were 'all accompanied by lofty rhetoric about the solemn responsibility to protect the suffering populations...... A second version of R2P, proposed by the [Gareth] Evans Commission (2001), goes much further. It authorizes 'regional or sub-regional organizations' such as NATO to determine their 'area of jurisdiction' and to act in cases where 'the Security Council rejects a proposal or fails to deal with it in a reasonable time' (Evans, International Commissio on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 2001).

Pakistan is prone to all the danger and politick use of R2P and collective security provisions due to the internal political weakness and problems. It has a nationalist movement in the Southern Baluchistan province, a sectarian tension, and its nuclear capability pursuits are ingredients readily available to grind a Security Dilemma to escalate what it is already going through. Pakistan's alleged interventionist role in Indian occupied Kashmir through its alleged covertly support of Islamic organizations like Jaishe Muhammad (JeM), Lashkar-e-Taiba, (LeT) and Mujahedeen of mix groups notwithstanding the justification, prove to be a pain in the neck.

The unimaginative policy shortcuts can be a dangerous move in totally transformed modern international political environments. By resorting to such trendy security measures Pakistan will put its national security on peril, if crossed international community's tolerance threshold.' Britain and America shocked Pakistan and its allies at the 23rd regular session of the United Nations Human Rights Council's general debate in Geneva on 7 June, 2013 when the two countries clearly supported nationalist leader Mehran Marri, Baluchistan as Baloch representative to the UN, who spoke against the recent elections and alleged that Pakistan was committing rights abuses in Baluchistan. This is an indicator the way things can be construed or politicked in the present international political environment, leading to dire troubles for Pakistan security. The emerging doctrines and norms of collective security and responsibility to protect also compromise state sovereignty and defies a national government as a single agent to have a total writ over the geography and the its citizens. The nuclear program of Pakistan is under threat to be dismantled, as international powers are exerting to monitor it unusually and intrusively on generalized pretext that non-state actors might lay hands on it. (Washington post, 4 November, 2001, p. A27). A UN resolution 2325 (2016) was adopted to this effect, "calling for a framework to keep terrorists, other Non-State actors from acquiring Weapons of mass destruction" (UNSC, 2016). The concept like R2P can be 'worked out' by International game players to pose Pakistan Security Dilemma.

The principle of sovereign equality of states is enshrined in Article 2.1 of the UN Charter. "Article 2 (7) states that the United Nations has no authority to intervene in matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of any State." (UN, 2016). Westphalia model (1648) of sovereignty has been unhinged in recent times. Westphalia model was exclusive in nature that models a nation state as a single agent surpassing supranational influence. Sovereignty of nations now goes beyond a single state authority and territorial integrity. "The question of which body was ultimately responsible was increasingly separated from that of which body was allowed competence" (Dugard, 1996). Sovereignty is explained now as being ultimately responsible. Sovereignty is not taken as right

but responsibility according to the emerging literature that has culminated in an elaborate document, 'Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty', ICISS (December, 2001). This report expands beyond the Westphalia concept of sovereignty that ended supranational control in internal affairs of a nation state. This notion of sovereignty emits out of nationalism of post-world wars era. It establishes that, "Thinking of sovereignty as responsibility, in a way that is being increasingly recognized in state practice, has threefold significance. First, it implies that the state authorities are responsible for the functions of protecting the safety and lives of citizens and promotion of their welfare. Secondly, it suggests that national political authorities are responsible to the citizens internally and to the international community through the UN. And thirdly, it means that agents of state are responsible for their actions; that is to say, they are accountable for their acts of commission and omission. The case for thinking of sovereignty in these terms is strengthened by the ever increasing impact of international human rights norms, and the increasing impact in international discourse on the concept of human security." (Evans, 2001) This connotation of sovereignty implies that this is a changed world and every nation is responsible to the global community for their domestic acts. This articulation of sovereignty, though, is wrapped around the core themes of human security and rights but in fact has scope of its exploitation as human nature can't be trusted in all cases as interventions in Cambodia by Vietnam or in East Pakistan now Bangladesh, by India, in Libya by UK and France, in Iraq and by U.S.A., on the proven wrong pretext of possessing weapons of mass destruction which were never found by international regimes. Such acts of military interventions by powerful raised questions as these were based on not very sound presumptions and international law, but were carried out on the premise that these constituted humanitarian intervention aimed at preventing genocide, large-scale loss of life or ethnic cleansing.

On the contrary, following world war-II and the holocaust, the United Nations adopted a resolution on December 9, 1948, which stated that "The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish." (UNHR, 1948) Clearly, the massacres in Rwanda constituted genocide, so why didn't the world step in to stop it? These models create an ambiguity and a sense of Security Dilemma where nations feel threatened under emerging interventionist provisions.

These can jeopardize security of a nation on an invented pretext where a powerful nation creates such a chaos in a target state and use it to fit the provisions of military intervention that becomes an instrument of usurpation than a concern for human security. Like it is famously reported that in Libya it was Bernard Henry Levy who crafted such an intervention, perused French president Sarkozy to convince NATO members, UK and US for Libyan intervention to eliminate Libyan Col Muamar Kaddafi and degrade the whole Libyan state on the pretext of no so visible human rights there. "Qaddafi is the one who planned and waged war. I only supported the NATO intervention," he in the very next reply to Al Arabia television show said, "The Libyan issue was not a priority for the French people, but [French president] Sarkozy wanted to do it because it was a fair war... Obama was in the back seat and Cameron was hesitant, while Sarkozy was determined and led the initiative." (Arabiya, 2012). That show how such international interventions are planned on political expediency. Pakistan has the shades of same vulnerability owning to its international political and strategic stature that might engulf it in such political intriguing on the Libya, Afghanistan, and Iraq or even like Syria model.

Pakistan is a playground of great gamers owing to its strategic locations and approaches to rich market, mineral and energy regions of Central Asia to Middle East. Its position as ideological 'Time Square' compounds its predicaments. Pakistan's strategic position is a lure for the international power politics. Pakistan has a legacy of intriguing and foreign influences in its internal affairs which are ever increasing in present time. The tension between its interest and international demands and obligations are dichotomous thus prone to foreign pressures and security threats.

The Security Dilemma has already entered in its critical phase with drones having an implicit license to fly over Pakistani territories and bomb its people, killing few perceived terrorists and many innocent civilians. This is unprecedented in nations' history to have a covert understanding; that too under a military regime in Pakistan to allow foreign military intervention and creating a free bombing zone in a sovereign state. This kind of strategy can't be thought of; under normal circumstances as a tactical move even. This emerging interventionist model is

an indicator of a mounting Security Dilemma as it would encourage from consented to forced foreign intrusion. Pakistan will be seriously vulnerable to this changing security paradigm that will make its Security Dilemma increasingly critical. Intervention has been traditionally defined as a deliberate incursion into a state without its consent by some outside agency, in order to change functioning, policies and goals of its governments and achieve effects which favoured the intervening agency (Vincent, 1974). Pakistan's political and military state order should be read under this implication for most of intended international interventionist executions. Good cause of intervention was aimed at imposing conditions on new states after the First World War to guarantee the rights of minorities (Claude 1955). but state like U.S.A deem it an exceptional right to intervene militarily as expressed by U.S.A President Barak Obama on 10 September, 2013 in a statement on Syrian crisis (2013). President Barak Obama, in his speech to the American nation, made a case for military strikes on Syria in response to an alleged chemical attack on its Sunni populated area said, "United States' policy is 'what makes America different. It's what makes us exceptional." Russian President Vladimir Putin promptly rebutted him in an op-ed piece that was published in the New York Times on 12th September, 2013 saying, "It is extremely dangerous to encourage people to see them as exceptional, whatever the motivation." Putin continued, "There are big countries and small countries, rich and poor, those with long democratic traditions and those still finding their way to democracy. Their policies differ, too. We are all different, but when we ask for the Lord's blessings, we must not forget that God created us equal." (Putin, 2013).

This represents a tension between the theory of intervention and the dangers of its wrong implications. Russian response was in part to defend its interest that converged with wider interest of the Middle East particularly vital for Syrian civil war crisis. Pakistan lacks this kind of complimentary international or regional support that can ward off effects of any such interventionist approach and thus is prone to negative outfall of this kind of interventionist notion that has the potential of causing it a Security Dilemma like Libya and Syria.

3. National Interest

National interest is an ambition to achieve national goals and objectives that make raison d'état, a French expression for the reason of the state or national interest. Interest has an isolationist character and is exclusive to a particular nation's necessities. Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli, (1469-1527) is deemed to be the first proponent of national interest. Joseph S. Nye, Jr, a prominent American political scientist wrote in 'Foreign Affairs' that, "The national interest" is a slippery concept, used to describe as well as prescribe foreign policy." (Joseh S. Nye, 1999). Why we discuss this concept in this study is pertinent to its implication on Pakistan's national security. According to Kenneth Waltz, "The requirements of state action are imposed by circumstances in which all states exist" It drives us to analyse, can a comparatively smaller and weaker nation like Pakistan preserve its national interest while working in an international political system where powerful states with a bigger appetite seek their own national interest? This is what makes one of the elements of Security Dilemma for Pakistan as it is trapped between the NATO nations' regional national interest and the domestic idealist influences that are deemed an antithesis to NATO nations' interests. This has created internal conditions of civil war, insurgency, terrorism and external scepticism prompting fear of military threats and interventions aiming at controlling Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan's probable strategy to contain blow back and retaliation of estranged resisting Islamic groups with a calibrated role in war on terrorism has the potential of being viewed as deliberate reluctance, and can become a major cause of Security Dilemma.

4. Legitimacy

The Western strategic trending is based on dialectical legitimacy, where they need to act with force. What might be framed as legitimate, can be used as justification in international law. But in modern political world the powerful has always been able to craft legitimacy, manipulating through regimes, influenced or installed by foreign powers. One can draw a clear comparison in support of this argument as all issues relating to Middle East, Pakistan and Palestine fail to get priority i.e. Kashmir issue where NATO nations military actions are approved in shortest possible time and executed in days like the Gulf war and with regard to Iraq, where US got UN sanction under the pretext of wrongly proved theme of Weapons of Mass Destruction. This is because the NATO nations have a unified stance and wield enough power to prevail. The 'Weapon of Mass Destruction'

theme was a matter of crafting legitimacy for the Iraq war, Terrorism is used as a free card in case of Afghanistan and Libya was prey to R2P and new legitimacy tool for intervention what is deemed by the West a threat to their vital interest. Germany was the only country in Europe who did not approve interventions via R2P against Libya as it remained sceptical about the use of force for other than the humanitarian grounds. Germany's role in all other anti-terrorists and anti-piracy operations is an evidence to tell fairness from the maligned intentions of the rest of the NATO nations (Brockmeier, 2012).

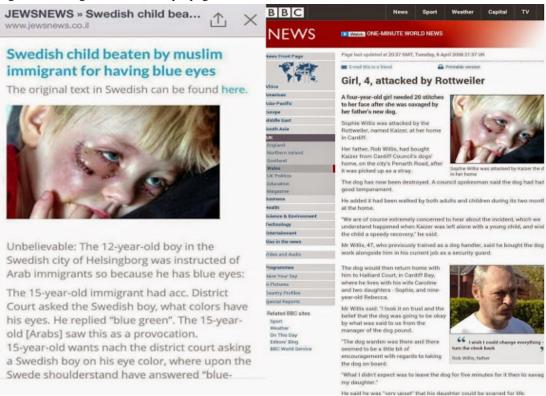
Pakistan can in the same way learn from these vivid episodes to secure her from an aggravated Security Dilemma. Pakistan Army fought terrorism to micromanaging the internal law and order i.e. in Karachi and desirous to be doing the same in Punjab. Pakistan military was not successful to find headway for law and order operations as stipulated in national action plan. The federal government and their affiliates in Punjab government remain reluctant to approve, in case of Punjab, for the army to operate there. In a statement prime minister Nawaz Sharif said, "There is no room for any [military] operation in Punjab as there are neither any safe havens of terrorists here nor a territory is controlled by militants" (Manan, 2016). Pakistan will face rise in its Security threats with the changing strategic priorities where Indian has come to the centre stage in the region and Pakistan has drifted to security quagmire as it has now lesser relevance to Western strategic interest after the end of cold war. India will exploit any weakling in Pakistan security system and will try to make its strategic assets as illegitimate to put Pakistan under international pressure that can be catalyst for Pakistan Security Dilemma.

5. Strategic Communication

"In international relations, the news media are considered to be an external, yet critical factor in shaping foreign policy decisions to achieve broader national interest goals. (Graham.T. Allison, 2000)". According to a report that appeared in a Pakistani daily it was noted that US paid salaries to the correspondents stationed at Washington through an NGO, American Abroad Media (AAM). It is enough to understand how US can control the media. In the same report it quotes Aaron Lobel, President of AAM, "I haven't encountered any Pakistani channel that doesn't want to work with us," (The Express Tribune, September, 2011).

Shumaila Farooq work finds that the, "The results show that journalists tend to cover conflicting events and tensions rather than positive ones in foreign affairs analysis, highlighted through keywords which appeared with high frequency in each newspaper. This reveals the editorial policy of U.S. elite media in particular" (Farooq, 2015). According to an investigative report by the Bureao of investigative journalism US paid half a billion dollar for secret propaganda during Iraq war for making fake Al-Qaeda videos. (Fielding-Smith, 2016). West played Communist mantra against U.S.S.R. to keep it hyped and by keeping it on front burner now the West wanted to deal with the next perceived threat that was against Muslim states who possessed comparative military power were deemed threat to US interest like Iraq, Libya, Iran, Syria and some infer from this that all the resource rich Muslim states and the only nuclear power capable Pakistan is also West's war and occupation hit list. Very vital information confirms this analytical and manifested fact. A former US general who were privy to information which was disclosed to him said, the US electronic and print media unleashed all sort of propaganda against communist Russia to form and design certain perceptions against a country where they planned to impose war.

Figure: The Dog attack faked as propaganda.



Source: (GlobalElitetv, 2015)

This picture shows how themes are made against Muslims. The referred link entails full details from where this news was picked to concoct. (GlobalElitety, 2015). Muslim identity is different than Christians who are first identified with their regions and Muslims are taken as one whole community living anywhere due to their strong pan Islamism character. It is not so in the case of Christians living anywhere. The Western identify them as German, English, American and French etc.; their Christians sub-identity remains secondary due to their political system. However, they insert religion expediently to the political narratives to juxtapose it with Islam or any other religion with who they are in conflict. This makes it evident that Muslim image anywhere matters and counts for the security narratives as a whole. This picture is intended to blame all Muslims that include Pakistan as well.

Everything about communists used to be characterized as villainous by the West and specially U.S. This kind of political propaganda and projection is peculiar to Western strategic culture. If we see the movies made in USA and their themes we would know dozens of such movies. "The Woman on Pier 13 (1949), The Red Menace (1949), Arctic Flight (1952), Atomic City (1952), Diplomatic Courier (1952), The Steel Fist (1952), My Son John (1953), Man on a Tightrope (1953), Savage Mutiny (1953), and Prisoner of War (1954) - to name just a few of many." (blog, nd). North Korea, China, U.S.S.R, and even Arab and others have been subject of such characterization. The military industrial complex called USA is the biggest war launcher on this earth. This video would show you how a retired US General Wesley Clark was told by George W. Bush that they are going to attack seven countries in next five years. General Clark was shocked and asked why? The answer was even shocking, 'I don't know about terrorists but we have got a good military and we can take down governments' (youtube, 2012).

A study carried out by Shumaila Farooq from International Relations Department, University of Peshawar has investigated that the US print media was unfavourable to Pakistan. (Farooq, 2015). Pakistan is portrayed negatively in the Western and US media. That should be something alarming as it always has proven a precursor of a coming threat. A serial propaganda campaign about Pakistan's nuclear plan on the theme of the command and control and creating doubts about is safety is done to make a case for its role up. US has a law 'Passed as part of the National Defence Authorization Act (H.R. 4310), signed by Obama on 12/29/2012. Pages 326-328' it

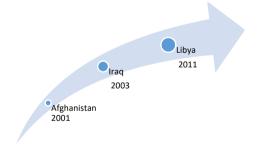
is meant to "...Unbound the legal regulations against using propaganda against foreign audiences and American citizens. The intention is to influence public opinion by using television, radio, newspapers, and social media targeting the American and foreign people in controlled psy-ops³." (GETV, 2013)

Prominent Journalist Naomi Wolf explains it in a lecture, how and why fake news are created and published. The fake news and stories are run in mainstream media like CNN without verification and to advance a particular agenda. (GETV, 2015).

6. International Interventionist Concept and Pakistan's Security Dilemma

According to a new study that appears in the 'Journal of Conflict Resolution' August, 2016, the American interventionist designs are going beyond the containment of the sort during cold war. It further says that Washington's capacity exist to act beyond a purely national interest. A military intervention in Bosnia, Kosovo, Libya and Somalia indicates that appetite. (Seug-Whan Choi, 2016). The NATO experience in Afghanistan, Libya, and Iraq and now in Syria has made US and its allies unscrupulous and unhesitant if they have to intervene to get the less powerful state under their quasi-imperial order. Pakistan's strategic position warrants caution in this regard owing to its high political and representative stature in the Muslim world and being a nuclear state. Any unwarranted proactive move can provoke international military threat and can cause Pakistan's Security Dilemma. It is easier to assimilate this fact in present times, than it was possible a decade ago when foreign intervention was not that alarming a term and did not make sense beyond the theoretical realm. The recent interventions and its successful execution by the NATO nations in Middle East and Russia in Syria is a case to confirm this argument. The historical prejudices would be formed into justification for such actions. The use of coercive strategies by the powerful states like USA will have an aim to change the state behaviour. Human rights, terrorism and political issue like democracy and governance would be circumvented offensively and will be part of strategic communication to legitimize foreign interventions. Western media is already projecting themes about Pakistan nuclear programme, human rights violations, anti-military themes and lack of democracy. Responsibility to Protect (R2P) has already been unleashed in case of Libya with partial human rights justifications which are presumed as not the exact cause but how it threatened the national interest of the NATO nations. Libya proved in practice a welfare state with some tribal grudges peculiar to the Middle East which were projected to put Libya on international politicking anvil and eliminate it, which was done swiftly and successfully leaving the ravaged country in doldrums'. Any potent state in any region threatening US interests can face the same consequences. This would cause Pakistan more than what Security Dilemma it faces presently.

Figure 1: Major Interventions in Muslim Countries by Projection Terrorism as Justification



7. Conclusion

The world is becoming more unscrupulous in the application of theoretical concepts. Sovereignty, National Interest, legitimacy are applied offensively in real politics by the powers that be. This offensive usage of political concepts has increased security threats to weaker state. The powerful Nations and their alliance have consequential influence over the international regimes like United Nations and Security Council and rather

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³ Psychological Operations

superimpose their authority; wielding veto power. This helps them move and get any desired resolution passed expeditiously that might create a security dilemma being lope sided deliberated, ignoring reservation of the states at the receiving. Pakistan is prone to this advance political implication in contemporary real politics environments. It needs an appropriate focus and caution in the wake of Pakistan's entanglement in tricky strategic game plans of the powers that be. While making alliances Pakistan must first ensure her own National Interest and should not become a target of one sided interpretation of strategic designs. Pakistan needs to evolve a balancing mechanism in her foreign policy to avoid being ditched into a political dilemma.

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