

Pakistan: On the Way to be Failed State?

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Abstract

Vibrant political situation and unstable foreign policy has raised the question –whether Pakistan a “failed state” or not- more strongly. Its dependence on major powers for security and absence of specific sphere of nationalism has made Pakistan more exposed. Over the last few years Pakistan is going to be considered a “failed state” because the indicators of a “failed state” have harmonized with the real impasse of Pakistan. Pakistan’s failure as state would have an international and regional ramification. Pakistan backed “war on terrorism” and ‘balance in South Asia’ would be more inconsistent if Pakistan failed. International community always would like to solve crisis related to Pakistan to fix up a “men” not by implementing a “system”. Pakistan was used as spring board by big powers for their own interest. If Pakistan failed it would be the first state which is not ‘weak’ but ‘failed’. The paper will discuss the dubious position of Pakistan as failed state; of course, without denying its internal dynamics and imminent tribulations related to its malfunction. The paper at last will propose some guiding principles to solve the setback.

Key Words: *Failed State, Democracy, Intervention, Foreign Policy.*

1. Introduction

Internationally Pakistan’s position is always dubious, questionable and unpredictable. Absence of democracy, religious politics, separatist movement and dependent foreign policy has been the symbol of Pakistan since its independence. Geo-strategically important Pakistan in the middle of India, China and Iran usually used by every major powers as playground. Mutuality of interest got preference in Pakistan’s foreign policy in dealing with major big powers. Frequent disputes, absence of confidence building measures, uneven development and big power’s imbalance in assistance have made Pakistan more hostile to India. Building symmetry in power and getting international preference to India pushed Pakistan to change its allies that’s why its foreign policy was not stable and independent.

Internal dynamics and mutual mistrust has made the state 'a difficult country to govern'.¹ According to Newsweek it is the most dangerous nation.² However, Most of the indicators essential to be 'failed state' have found in Pakistan.

As strategically important de facto nuclear state and engaged in solving various common security problems of the world community, Pakistan's failure as state will be fur reaching and devastating. But still we notice a ray of hope at the end of the tunnel that cannot be overlooked. Many argue that both the 'failed state' theory (like many other analysts Stewart Patrick feels that 'failed states' concept is not analytically reliable)³ and Pakistan's position as 'failed states' are questionable. Last election in 2008 has opened a way to democracy after a bitter brutal autocratic background. Truly, every allies wanted to hold a titular men that serve well as their own interest as President of Pakistan. They never tried to nurture a stable and sound form of government. They never thought about the system which will be better suited in case of Pakistan. The US led 'war on terrorism' gave Pakistan an international presence but took away its acceptance. By the name of combating terrorism, frequent drone attack on Pakistan's territory without its approval compelled Pakistan to review its relations with the US. China can come forward to get to the bottom of political impasse that has risen from internal and external mistrust.

2. Failed state: Definition and Indicators

The word "Failed" does not mean 'weak' or unstable state. In the phrase "Failed State", the word 'State' is as important as 'Failed'. State is not similar to nation. A state can be described as a group of people who share a common territory, history, culture, ethnic origin and language. A state is a set of institutions that possess the authority to govern the people.⁴ It is the organization that has monopolistic power on the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. It thus includes such institutions as the armed forces, civil service or state bureaucracy, courts, and the police. State means a sum of institutions that works together for the welfare of the people. It is not necessary to include a territory or heritage. State includes its government, military, public services etc.

In 2006 Noam Chomsky in his book 'Failed States: The abuse of Power and the assault on democracy' used the phrase and gave some indicators and elements essential to be considered "failed state". He has indicated failed state to those states have lost their physical control over their territory; their legitimate authority has increasingly minor; public services have lessen; totally unable to interact with other states with trust; internationally which position is dubious. State failure suggests that the government – if one exists – is completely unable to maintain public services, institutions, or authority, and that central control over territory does not exist. State failure implies that central state authority and control do not de facto exist. Failed States refers to states in which institutions and law and order have totally or partially collapsed. *Geographically*, failed states are essentially associated with internal problem that have cross-border impacts they may face disintegration movement from their underdeveloped and exploited areas. *Politically*, collapse of law and order may fragment state authority that leads to civil war among paramilitary groups; they are unable to protect their citizens from violence.⁵ *Internationally*, there will be no body representing the state to negotiate and enforce in world level without the outsiders influence. *Historically*, its history may rise in colonial regimes that destroyed its own local social traditions that's why unable to get an effective identity and nationalism. ⁶Some of them may face partiality in nation building process. *Sociologically*, in such states the police, judiciary and other bodies serving to maintain law and order may no longer able to operate. *Democratically*, they suffer from a serious 'democratic deficit' that causes gradual destroy of formal democratic institutions. Its writ of government is challenged by militant groups.⁷ Legally, the term 'failed states' is often used to describe a state can no longer perform its basic security and development functions and that has no effective control over its territory and border.

Since 2005, the USA based think tank 'Fund for Peace' and well-known magazine 'Foreign Policy' has been publishing 'Failed States Index'. The index shows five types of failed State in terms of their intensity-alert (if index is 90+), warning (if index is 60+), dependent territory, moderate (if index is 30+), sustainable. Ranking is based on the total scores of the 12 indicators. For each indicator, the ratings are placed on a scale of 0(low intensity) to 10(high intensity).

¹ Husain Haqqani, *The Role of Islam in Pakistan's Future*, *The Washington Quarterly*, 28:1 Winter 2004-05, p-87

² Nizar Diamond Ali, *Is Pakistan a failed state?* *Daily Dawn*, July 20, 2010. (The writer criticized *The Newsweek Magazine* in his writing for covering Pakistani nation negatively)

³ Stewart Patrick, *Weak States and Global Threats: Fact or Fiction?*, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol.29, No.2 (Spring 2006), pp. 27–53;

⁴ Ali Hashmi, *Is Pakistan a failed state?* *The Daily Times* Wednesday, August 04, 2010

⁵ Noam Chomsky, *Superpower and Failed States*, *Khaleej Times*, April 5, 2006

⁶ Daniel Thürer, *The "failed State" and international law* *International Review of the Red Cross*, No. 836, 31-12-1999.

⁷ Dr Shabir Choudhry, *Is Pakistan A Failed State?* *Countercurrents.org*

So, total scores will be 0 to 120. In 2011, 177 states were included in the list, of which 35 were classified as "alert", 88 as "warning", 40 as "moderate", and 11 as "sustainable".⁸

The Failed State Index consider some indicators essential for being 'failed state'- There are twelve indicators which demonstrate state's failure.⁹ Out of twelve indicators four are social, two economic and six political.

2.1 Social indicators

1. Demographic Pressures – high density in population in comparison to supply of food and other complementary resources, reserved ownership of land and transport; and religious and historical sites under strict national control etc;
2. Humanitarian and Social Security problems- massive movement of Refugees and Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs) by forced uprooting of large communities or ethnic groups
3. Social Identification-atrocities committed with impunity against communal groups or specific groups, institutionalized political and communal identity over nationality;
4. Continual Human Flight - both the 'brain drain' of professionals, intellectuals and political dissidents and intentional emigration of the middle class, ethnic populace to other places of the state or any other state.

2.2 Economic indicators

1. Imbalance in Economic Development– inequality and injustice against a group or a tribe in education, jobs, and economic status according to their communal or religious identity.
2. Stern Economic Decline –high rate in inflation, fall in foreign investment, debt payments, deflation of the national currency and a growth in drug trade, smuggling.

2.3 Political indicators

1. Lack of Transparency–widespread corruption and political elites use their positions to oppose transparency, accountability.
2. Lack in Public Services –state become useless and fail to defend citizens from terrorism and violence; and fail to provide crucial services, such as health, education, sanitation, public transportation and essential commodities.
3. Violation of Human Rights through Politicization- widespread abuse of legal, political and social rights, including those of individuals, politicization of the judiciary, internal use of military for political ends
4. 'State within a State'- State-sponsored or state-supported private or religious militias will increase terrorism and religious riot. This 'army within an army' will protect and promote the interests of the dominant military, religious or political elite.
5. Rise of Political Elites – continuous conflict between the ruling elites and state institutions, national decision will be taken in lines with religious, tribal or nationalistic or sub nationalistic identity
6. Foreign Intervention – receive free interference in internal affairs through military and economic assistance in accordance with foreign interest.

3. Questionable Position of Pakistan

According to the latest (2011) index scores, Pakistan ranks 12th out of 177 countries examined.¹⁰ In both 2009 and 2010, Pakistan took the number 10 spot on this index, whereas in 2008 it was ranked number nine. Looking at the indicators used for the ranking, Pakistan's worst scoring categories were: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (9.2), Group Grievance (9.3), Security Apparatus (9.4), External Interventions (9.3), Legitimacy of the State (8.6), and Uneven Economic Development (8.5).¹¹ In line with the above mentioned indicators of Failed States we have no other to defy Pakistan from the Failed States list:

⁸ See for details-*Failed State Index-2011*.

⁹ *Shabir Choudhry, Op,cit*.

¹⁰ *Charles Bara, Pakistan: A Failed State? ISN Special Feature, on Thursday, 14 July 2011*

¹¹ *ibid*

- With a population exceeding 170 million people, it is the sixth most populous country in the world and as the second largest Muslim population after Indonesia. Its demographic pressure is increasing at large extent. At 2.03% it has the highest population growth rate among the SAARC countries, resulting in an annual addition of 3.6 million people. The population is projected to reach 210.13 million by the year 2020 and would double in next 34 years.¹²
- Diversity in unity in communal affairs is an ever emerging crisis in Pakistan. Communal identities get preference in nation matters. Panjabi, Pashto, and Mohajir identities are considered superior than others. So belonging to any high profiled community is recognized as compulsory in Pakistan. The major threat to Pakistan is that the populace of periphery area considers the law and regulations ordered by their communal leader are more legal and social oriented than state proposed laws. Religious identity is critical in Pakistan. Muslim of Pakistan believes them as real Muslim and different from other South Asian semi-Muslims, they think them more similar to Arabian Muslim. Mainly identity in Pakistan is socially constructed from upward. Institutionalizing the communal political identity creates atrocities in different area.
- For various reasons, Pakistani skilled professionals are gradually crossing the national border for better and secure life. Political impasse and insecure future is largely contributed to the skilled human flight to other states from Pakistan. According to official estimates of Pakistan's Overseas Employment Corporation, near about 36000 professionals, including doctors, engineers and teachers, have migrated to other countries in last 30 years.¹³
- Uneven development and imbalance in national social services causes mistrust to state authority. In 2011, 57.7% of adult Pakistanis were literate. While female literacy was 45.2% but in tribal areas this rate was 3% (Human Development Report, 2011). Pakistan hosts more refugees than any other country in the world including 1.7 million Afghan refugees from neighboring Afghanistan (UNHCR). Refugees and IDPs in major times take part in separatist and religious movement and causes insurgency to draw attention of the world community for their survival. Displacement is a key problem, by mid-July 2009; Pakistan's National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) put the total of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) at just over 2m, while unofficial figures are as high as 3.5m.
- Economic situation is not well solving. Dependency on foreign debt and investment is the major setback of Pakistan's economy. Necessary commodities are not available for all. The inflation rate for the fiscal year 2010-11 was 14.1% Approximately 19% of the population and 30% of children under age of five are malnourished. About 20% of the population lives below the international poverty line of US\$1.25 a day.¹⁴
- Economic status of Pakistan is not in first-rate. The rate of unemployment is 25% in 2011.¹⁵ According to Finance Ministry of Pakistan, the foreign exchange reserves had declined by \$10 billion. Devaluation of currency is daily news now in Pakistan. In 2006, Pakistani Rupees per dollar was 60.35 and in 2010 it soar up to 85.27. The volume of external debt in December 2010 is around \$56 billion which consumes 50.6% of GDP (Ministry of Finance, Pakistan).
- Lack of democracy within Party and the state give the social acceptance to wide spread corruption by political elites. Public services are useless. Political rights in Pakistan are very narrow, for example, The 2009 Freedom in the World report by Freedom House gave Pakistan a political rights rating of 4 (1 representing free and 7 representing not free), and a civil liberties rating of 5, earning it the designation of partly free.¹⁶
- Throughout the country, there is an almost complete absence of *legitimate authority* and institutional mechanisms for decision-making. Most decisions are made by the President himself who also tends to personally conduct Pakistani diplomacy. Coordination between different branches of government is also virtually non-existent.
- Pakistan does not provide reasonable public services to all or at least most of its citizens (which flows directly from its lack of territorial control). Even in Karachi, the country's biggest city, the authorities are unable to provide even a minimum of personal security, with an average of 4.7 murders in the city every night– most of

¹² Lecture delivered to the participants of the Command and Staff Course at Command and Staff College Quetta on September 4, 2009, available at: http://www.iba.edu.pk/News/speechesarticles_drishrat/Pakistan_Economy_Challenges_Prospects.pdf

¹³ Info available at :http://www.yespakistan.com/education/brain_drain.asp

¹⁴ *Economic Watch*, 29th May, 2010, available at http://www.economywatch.com/world_economy/pakistan/

¹⁵ *ibid*

¹⁶ *Economic Watch*, 29th May, 2010, available at: http://www.economywatch.com/world_economy/pakistan/

which are politically motivated.¹⁷ And due to ongoing military operations and militant activities in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in north-west Pakistan, there has been enormous internal displacement of persons.

- Violation of Human rights in every sector is common and legally accepted. Communal leaders are countered by using state force. Even, Political and military interests have been prioritized over humanitarian considerations in their offensives against the Taliban. Some popular, legal and recognized culture is not globally accepted like Blasphemies law.
- Pakistan is unable to control its territory physically. In the North-west, along the border with Afghanistan, tribal militants and the Taliban are actively challenging the government's physical control. In the south-west, Pakistan is close to losing one of its biggest provinces Baluchistan – to a bloody insurgency that openly seeks independence under separatist movement. And while one tends to think of Pakistan's *military* as a more professional, secular organization, the evidence now clearly shows that it has been infiltrated by violent Islamist, insurgent and terrorist groups at basically all levels.
- Pakistan faces many challenges. Since 9/11, 35,000 Pakistanis have died in suicide bombings, with an average of more than one such bombing a week (BBC News, 7th May, 2011). Since 9/11 the US led NATO forces ran drone operation over 120 times, without approval from authority, which is clearly a threat to Pakistani sovereignty. Interference in internal affairs has increased.

4. A State without an Independent Foreign Policy

Under the flag of friendliness and goodwill towards the nations of the world Pakistan distinguished herself as moderate Muslim country. Security problem with India and Afghanistan pushed Pakistan towards alignments with the USA. Continuing developed relations between the USA and India pressurized Pakistan to ally with Socialist world namely the USSR and China. Pakistan withdrew from the SEATO, CENTO and joined in NAM to secure its interest. To deter secret enrichment of uranium by Pakistan the USA cut all security assistance. The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan allowed Pakistan and the US to get involved in a marriage of convenience. The USA opened again its all assistance after 9/11. The US led war on terrorism made Pakistan more vulnerable it found itself in the middle of cross-fire. The US nuclear deal with India and mistrust in case of terrorism has posed Pakistan to get ally with China. From its independence, Pakistan had no stable foreign policy. It took alignment, non-alignment, bilateralism, anti-indianism, isolationist foreign policy in the phase of history.

Religion based social and political tradition has made Pakistan compelled to take Anti-Indian foreign policy. Then to present two nations have fought four wars between them. To counter India searching security allies was the foremost policy of Pakistan. Immediate aftermath of independence, Pakistan faced territorial boundary disputes from two sides with India and Afghanistan. First Kashmir war (1947-48) made Pakistan bound to explore allies. On the other side Afghanistan claimed its sovereignty over North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan.¹⁸ India and the USSR gave support to Afghanistan. In May 1954, Pakistan signed a Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with the US. In September 1954, Pakistan joined the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) though it was not East Asian states. In September 1955, Pakistan joined the CENTO that helps Pakistan to get ally with Muslim states. A Bilateral Agreement of Cooperation was signed in March 1959. Though all treaties have signed but Pakistan's security ambition (to counter India) was not fulfilled because the US agreed to use its assistance against Communism. On the other hand most of the Middle Eastern states responded negatively to Pakistan's security ties with the West. The USSR extended its support to India. Pakistan has lost its ground in NAM. Without any security commitments in return for arms transfer the US rushed military equipments to India in October 1962 to counter China. Pakistan began to review their alignment with the US. Pakistan decided to improve its relations with the USSR and China. The USSR adopted a balanced approach towards Indo-Pak disputes in 1965 and maintained neutrality in signing Tashkent Declaration in January 1966. Pakistan began to plead for the seating for China in the UNSC. China stood by Pakistan during 2nd Indo-Pak war. China was its the most important source of supply of weapons when the US imposed an arms embargo on the South Asia in the post 1965 war period. At the time of a widen rift between China and the USSR in 1969, Pakistan did not endorse Asian Collective Security System advocated by the USSR. The Soviets were disappointed by Pakistan's role in Sino-American rapprochement. Concrete Soviet support (military support and action in UNSC) to India through Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation strengthened India's interfering policies in East Pakistan. As a result of American limited help and arms embargos, Pakistan withdrew from the Commonwealth (returned in 1989) the SEATO, and the CENTO. After the

¹⁷ *ibid*

¹⁸ Dr.Hasan-Askari Rizvi, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Overview 1947-2004, Pildat Briefing Paper*, p-10

independence of Bangladesh, Pakistan took independent approach to world affairs that helped to normalize its relations with India by signing Simla Peace Agreement in 1972. In 1974, when India exploded (peaceful) its first nuclear bomb, Pakistan was secretly working on setting up uranium experiment.

The Soviet military intervention in December 1979 was a turning point for the US-Pak relations. Mutuality of interest has fulfilled. The US gave \$ 7.4 billion assistance package between 1981 and 1993.¹⁹ After the completion of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, Pakistan made various attempts to install to new government in Kabul comprising pro-Pakistani mujahedeen groups. The US shifted its interest and imposed sanctions against Pakistan for its secret nuclear project under the Pressler Amendment in the Foreign Assistance Act. Pakistan had lost its strategic relevance for the US after Soviet collapse. Pakistan gave support to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan (1996-2001). It adversely affected Pakistan's reputation at the international level. India took the chance and suspected that Pakistan armies and intelligences sponsored Islamic militant groups in Indian administered Kashmir. The two states engaged in a limited war in Kargil region of Kashmir in 1999. To overthrow nuclear imbalance and show 'minimum credible deterrence', Pakistan exploded its first nuclear bomb in 1998. After the ground breaking event of 9/11 Pakistan got focus because the US identified the Al-Qaeda movement of Osama bin laden based in Afghanistan was the main culprit of the event. As Pakistan supported the Taliban regime and shared a long border with Afghanistan, its support to the US led war on terrorism was important. Both states gave immense strategic support. Pakistan was concerned like the past after the overthrow of Taliban government from Afghanistan Pak- US relations might not continue for a long time; the US would abandon Pakistan when its strategic interest shift away from in or around Pakistan. It happened. After the death of Osama bin laden, Pakistan has lost its significance for the US interest. So, foreign policy of Pakistan is not independent. It varies if foreign policy of others changes. There is no basic foundation of Pakistan's foreign policy.

5. Pakistan's Failure: Regional and International Ramification

At present 'failed states' are the single most security threat to liberal democratic states. According to Jack Straw, 'Terrorists are strongest where states are weakest', and weak or failed states provide a 'breeding ground' or 'sanctuary' for terrorism.²⁰ According to Fukuyama, 'weak and failing states have arguably become the single most important problem for international order'.²¹ If Pakistan fails, it will be a safe haven for Islamic militants. The state may misplace its nuclear project and clue to the militants. Weak and failing states are vulnerable to all forms of smuggling, including trafficking in small arms and light weapons.²² It will create security concern in regional and international arena. Whole South Asia will lose its balance of power. Imbalance in power and uneven development in a region may raise security mistrust among neighboring states. Regional organization likewise SAARC will mislay a state that has leading power. Refugee flow from the failed states may create insurgency in neighboring states. Major Powers will start their great game to increase their sphere of influence in the region. Common security threat like- terrorism, drug trafficking, arms trade, nuclear proliferation will be difficult to tackle without the assistance from Pakistan.

6. Ever present Challenges ahead of Pakistan

Since independence to 1956, Pakistan has been a dominion in the Commonwealth of Nations and it became a notable Islamic Parliamentary Republic in 1956. The civilian rule was caught up by a coup d'état by Army Commander-in-Chief General Ayub Khan, who was the first Chief Martial Law Administrator and also the President during 1958–69. Ayub Khan's descendant, General Yahya Khan (1969–71), also an Army Commander, General Yahya Khan surrendered his authority to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who became the first and to-date the only civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator. Civilian rule resumed in Pakistan from 1972 to 1977. Bhutto was removed by a coup d'état and in 1979, General Zia-ul-Haq became the third military president and fourth Chief Martial Law Administrator. Military government lasted until 1988. When Zia died in a plane crash in 1988, Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was elected as the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan. She was followed by Nawaz Sharif and over the next ten years the two leaders fought for power and alternated as the country's situation worsened. Military tension in the Kargil with India was followed by Kargil War, after which General Pervez Musharraf took over through a Bloodless coup d'état and captured vast executive powers.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p-19

²⁰ Jack Straw, *Reordering the World: The Long-Term Implications of September 11* (London: Foreign Policy Research Centre, 2002).

²¹ Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 92.

²² Edward Newman, *Failed State and International Order, Contemporary Security Policy, Vol.30, No.3* (December 2009), pp.429.

General Musharraf ruled Pakistan as head of state from 1999–2001 and as President from 2001–08. On 15 November 2007, Pakistan's National Assembly completed tenure for the first time in its history when a new election was called. In the 2008 elections, Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) obtained the largest number of seats and its member Yousaf Raza Gillani was sworn in as Prime Minister. Musharraf resigned from the presidency when threatened with *impeachment* on 18 August 2008, and was succeeded by current president; Asif Ali Zardari. The first Constitution of Pakistan was adopted in 1956, but was suspended in 1958 by General *Ayub Khan*. The Constitution of 1973 – suspended in 1977, by Zia-ul-Haq, but re-instated in 1985 – is the country's most important document, laying the foundations of the current government.

The Pakistani military establishment has played an influential role in mainstream politics throughout Pakistan's political history, with military presidents ruling from 1958–1971, 1977–1988 and 1999–2008. The election of 2008, despite a difficult start with voter registration and manipulation of electoral rules, was reasonably air and peaceful, despite Taliban threats to disrupt the process. That election saw the peaceful and democratic transfer of power which brought President Asif Ali Zardari and Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani into office. Despite the problems with President Zardari, who is widely viewed as corrupt, an important shift has taken place politically. Perhaps under Army pressure, Zardari began relinquishing the sweeping presidential powers he inherited from Musharraf. In April 2010, Zardari signed the 18th Amendment which returned Pakistan to a parliamentary democracy more in line with its 1973 Constitution, which remains the lodestone of democratic legitimacy in Pakistan. This is the first time in recent history when a president "willingly" ceded power to a prime minister. Democracy deficit, military intervention in politics, disputes in cabinet, failure in national integration and state within state are leading internal challenges ahead of Pakistan. Democracy is still not well practiced and well established. After its independence as sovereign and democratic state it took nearly a decade to frame a constitution. Since 1958-73, 1977-88, 1999-2008, there was not democratically elected government in Pakistan. Democracy and the rule of law were not nurtured. When military think that the civilian government is not capable to run the state and serve the nation, it upholds the state power from democratically elected government.

Dispute within Cabinet between Prime Minister and President is not historically rare in Pakistan. Constitution gave Prime Minister the power to overthrow President. Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammed misplaced public council trice between 1953 and 1955. Then, being President Iskander Mirza announced martial law and made Muhammad Ayub Khan Commander In Chief but Ayub Khan in 1958 disposed Iskander Mirza and took legal power of Presidency in 1960. General Zia took power in 1977 and sentenced death to Bhutto in 1979. After death of General Zia, Benazir Bhutto crowned power in 1988 but overthrown by Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1990. Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif reached power in 1990 and overthrown in 1993. In 1996 President Farooq Leghari overthrew Benazir. In 1999 Musharraf overthrew government under a coup. The nation got sound democracy after 2008.

Creation of Bangladesh in 1971 as independent nation was considered a failure of Pakistan's national integration. Baluchistan may follow the so. Pakistan may break into pieces. The Baluchistan problem was potentially serious in that it sought to generate separatist and nationalist sentiment within a culturally distinct ethno-linguistic group that had its own autonomous history. The Baluchis were accustomed to having arms and historically overlapped with Iran as well as Afghanistan. Within Pakistan, the Baluchistan area made up 42 per cent of the entire country. Baluchi separatism was perceived as a threat to the state of Pakistan. The Sindhudesh or Sindhi nationalist problem was probably the most significant potential base of separatism in Pakistan because of the long history of Sindhi states prior to British rule, the highly developed language, and the relative size and territorial compactness of the Sindhi population in Sindh province. It was geographically an ominous threat too because Sindhi independence could turn northern Pakistan into a landlocked country.

Olama mashaek (Islamic leaders) and Islamic militants have raised themselves as third party in the disputes between military and civilian government. State may lose its nuclear secrecy to these third parties. Pakistan has taken the challenge of defeating the Pakistani Taliban seriously.²³ Pakistan has made significant strides in securing its nuclear arsenal through the establishment of the National Command Authority and the Strategic Plans Directorate.

The new type of clash is ongoing between Supreme Court and Government of Pakistan. Recently Pakistani Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani has been dismissed. The scene behind the curtain is, since 2009 Mr. Zardari opposed Justice Chaudhry's restoration. Mr. Gilani's dismissal stemmed directly from his refusal to heed court orders to pursue a corruption inquiry against the president. The ultimate target of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry's order may have been President Zardari. The new prime minister Raja Pervaiz Ashraf has embroiled in the same legal battle as Gilani, as the supreme court reissues its demands for the prime minister to pursue money laundering allegations against Zardari within two weeks. Basically, being used to overthrow so many civilian Presidents in the history of Pakistan, the judiciary and military view this periodical coup as their duty. Some described Gilani's ousting as a "judicial coup".

²³ C. Christine Fair, *Is Pakistan a failed state? No.* in *Foreign Policy Magazine* June 24, 2010

7. What would be the Solution: The System or Men?

State failure can only be countered through democracy, reform in governance and positive international response in time. Pakistan has to give up its longstanding ties with radical Islam and share intelligence with the US to remove mistrust. Pakistan has the potentialities to frustrate antiterrorism operation and radicalize key segments of Islamic world. The military's political ambition could not be encouraged. Pakistan's excess focus on religious ideology, military capability and external alliance has weakened it internally that leads state governed institutions in decline. Pakistan should give more emphasis on developing own economy. It should remove its intersecting fault lines between civilians and the military, among different ethnic and provincial groups, and between Islamists and secularists. These countering measures can only tackle state falling. The US should not use its aid (Since 9/11 the US has provided Pakistan - or more accurately the Pakistani military - with more than \$20bn in aid) ²⁴as leverage to influence in Pakistan's internal politics. Independent foreign policy will pave the way for Pakistan to solve common security problems. It may be difficult for the world community to force an end to Pakistan's status as an Islamic ideological state. The world should demand reform in Pakistan's governance. Military of Pakistan should not nurture Islamic militancy in home land and may give up national objectives like building pro-Pakistani government in Afghanistan or sponsoring terrorism in Indian Kashmir. It should give more emphasis on economic prosperity and popular participation in governance. There should be a balance in spending between military and social services. Establishing democracy, strengthening civil society and building secular political parties can contain its falling.

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²⁴ Owen Bennett-Jones, *Pakistan: A failed state or a clever gambler? BBC News, Islamabad on 17th May 2011.*