Nation-Building Process of Pakistan: Traditional and Non-Traditional Challenges

A. Z. Hilali

HoD –Governance, Politics/International Relations and Public Policy (GPP),
Abasyn University – Peshawar, Pakistan.
Email: a.z.hilali@abasyn.edu.pk

ABSTRACT

"Nation-building or State-building" has been a 20th century highly complex and controversial concept which taking again center-stage in the post-Cold War era. The idea has generated much heated debate in the world as well as in the academic circles. The notion is a process of constructing or structuring a unification of the people within the state through the state power which can be politically and economically stable and viable in the long run. In the past 'nation-building' or 'state-building' approach emphasizes on cultural identity for the newly established 'nation-states' which lead to self-determination. However, in the contemporary modern world, it is process whereby a diverse society with different languages, cultures and religions come together within the boundaries of a sovereign state with a unified constitutional and legal dispensation. In this regard, Pakistan is multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious state where people have less amount of commonality of interests, goals and preferences. It is extremely unlikely that different linguistic communities will agree on the definition of 'nation'. Its complexity and fragility is the product of deep rooted political and economic factors which are the main threats to its domestic security and stability. It is also fact that religion and external threats are no more viable reason for the state and regime survival. So, the guardians of the state remain failed to succeed in 'nation-building' process which is still the biggest challenge to the country's solidarity. Modern scholars have views that nation-building cannot complete without economic development, modernization and democratization. Thus, the state is the political regime that operates within an existing nation or nations. It is the role of the state to bring together disparate national communities into a stable political regime. Nonetheless, the model of democratization, expansion of federal structure, economic growth and stable political institutions recognize as the formula of success and this is the only way of nation-building or national integration.

Keywords: **Nation-Building; Multi-ethnic Society, Linguistic Communities, Political & Economic Development, Challenges, Federal Structure, Democratization, and National Integration.**

Introduction

The term "nation-building" has become a debatable and controversial concept in the contemporary time. The idea has produced heated discussion among the intellectual, academicians, researchers and policy makers. The scholars suggest

that nation-building has become a term of persona non grata, moving to a vital segment of diverse opinion that rejected the complete idea. In the post-cold war era some scholars use the notion 'state-building' and 'nation-building' under the same perception but some writers have used entirely in diverse senses (Hippler 2004, Goldsmith 2007). However, the realists use the term state-building' as an aggressive strategies to rebuild the stable state structure as an apparatus of the prudent strategy to stabilize the statism. So, 'nation-building' is not only a concept but also an objective and it is for the integration of society along national lines. So, nation-building appears as a clear notion which is wider in scope, depth and breadth. It is also perceived to be a strategy for socio-economic development and also for political stability of the country (Baba, 2011).

Moreover, most of experts approved arguments that a well-structure state required the development of a nation on the sound footing, and therefore asserts that state is the only entity on the international stage which desire rational actions for its building. It is inevitable because its survival is the primary goal which cannot complete without the construction of its history, values, economy and power. Thus, the state guardian must work for nation-building to secure it from anarchy and with the assumption that others will not help in their pursuit to fulfill the task of state-building (Miller, 2010). In this regard, liberal school of thought is wrong who stand with cultural pluralism and argued that nation-building is an incorrect idea because it is an unjust effort of cultural imperialism and westernization rather they have to believe that it is a different thing to different people (Dobbins, 2003). The western scholars and Indian writers should avoid from bleeding hearts or they should come out from partition syndrome. They have to stay away to advocate "greater India" perception and should not oppose others states nation building. Thus, they must recognize that nation-building is the best idea in the age of multiple states which is the only way to shun war and to secure nation-states.

Nonetheless, it is recognized fact that state-building is an indispensable element of nation-building and it is not divisive term than 'nation-building' which normally used for the creation of common cultural identity with reference to the specific area or region. In this regard, Fukuyama, Donini and Chesterman provide thought provoking perspectives on the issue of nation-building and state-building in detail. They suggest that peace, development and state governance is the popular idea of the nation-building. Donini mentioned that state-building is much more important as compare to nation-building. Chesterman stated that state-building cannot complete without concentrating on good governance and institutions building which are necessary as compare to the common ethnic or cultural matters (Fukuyama, 2004). However, Fukuyama has given the comprehensive description, as he integrates the state and the nation. He explains that "nations is a community of shared values, traditions and historical memory and believed on unplanned historical-evolutionary process." Fukuyama also talked about *Nation-Building*, not *State-Building* and suggested that "Nation-building is

the combination of two activities, i.e reconstruction and development" (Fukuyama, 2004). As per the Fukuyama's experience, nation-building is state-building plus economic development. He claimed that "the concept of nation-building can be involved both governance and equally significant belief of political culture of community (Ibid, 2004). However, according to his idea the state is the political regime which functions through the nation or nations. There is a sole responsibility of the state to unite people as a core element of national interests and convert into a stable political regime.

Brief History of Nation Building

The word "nation-building" came into being by traditional oriented political scientists in the 1950s and 1960s. They main architect of this word were the United States academic scholars such as Karl Deutsch, Charles Tilly, and Reinhard Bendix. Nation-building philosophy was predominantly used to define the procedures of national integration and partnership which formed the modern nation-state as different than the many traditional states, such as feudal and dynastic states, church states, empires, etc (Connor, 1972). Political scholars indicated that the term nation-building covers conscious planning and it began by the state vanguards or by the unintended societal variation. So, the 'nation-building' require "industrialization," and social economy as a prerequisite instrument for monitoring, labeling and examining the instruction of historical and sociological dynamics which have created the modern state (Khobragade, 2009). In this regard, in the first step state need economic and cultural merger. The second level took the greater zones of the people into the mainstream system through enrollment of the army as a mandatory in schools, etc. The growing mass media produced channels for contact to the central elites and periphery populations. This idea has created extensive feelings of identity within the political system which can only settle down by the completion of nation-building. In the third phase, the subject masses were carried into energetic involvement in the state political system. In the last final step the governmental instrument of the state enlarge, public welfare services were organized and national strategies for the equalization of economic conditions were formulated.

Nation and Nation-building

Nation-building is a process of emerging-nation state and based on collective systematic struggle. The contemporary nation-building or state-building efforts recommended to their state vanguards to redefine the nationhood without territories against the will of colonial powers and without regard to ethnic, language or other factors which help for nation-building including religion, culture and civilization. However, later many domestic factors included such as national anthems, flags, languages, national symbols and national myths. According to Gopal, there is a deliberately need to construct national identity by the decoration

of diverse ethnic communities into one single nation. In fact, in many newly emerged nation-states the rulers continued the colonial practices of divide and rule had resulted in ethnically heterogeneous populations (Gopal, 1991). So, nation-building and nation formation is the comprehensive process in which nations have to cross the difficult bridge. Additionally, the process of nation-building is connected with the people within the state and only by the will of people state can ensure political and socio-economic stability which is essential for the survival of state. The idea is associated to particular political prerequisites and it is leading discourse that the modern states in the contemporary world must concentrate on nation-building or state-building and integrate people along the "national" lines within a country. It is the perfect way to complete the task of nation-building and later it will convert politically feasible and stable in the long run (Dobbins, 2003).

With this background, the process of nation-building require the potential contribution of elites of society, intellectuals, academicians, oligarchies, and people motivation who can work as backbone of state strength. In this contact, soft power and hard power can play an important role for nation solidarity along with national values. Moreover, developing countries require stable federal structure and institutions which can work for the strength of national integration and stability. As a result, the nation-building process can complete within a short time and culture of the nation can receive better projection. Even after the strong economy and stable political culture the nation cannot depends on perception, values and beliefs which are so-called idealistic shelter but not legitimize state structure. According to Harris Mylonas, nation-building is wide-ranging spectrum and inclusive ranging process, which started after the birth of a nation state to become as practical, unified, and sovereign and well recognize entity (Mylonas, 2013). Historically, European established homogeneous nation-building but domestic differences destroyed them due to heavy pressure and violence. In fact, European elites enforced the Treaty of Westphalian because at that time homogeneity was the foundation of the European nation-building. However, the 19th century developments also influence the society and particularly the role of mass media and education deeply affects the European society and also molds the national identity. In this manner, the scientific and industrial revolution strongly prompted the process of nation-building and homogeneity is not the matter of concerns in the process of nation-building even if the state is fragile. So, in the contemporary time, homogeneity can no more an objective of the process of nation-building, because it cannot be attainable and it has accepted as a fundamental diverse reality.

Western Model of Nation-building

The renowned European scholar Stein Rokkan's model described nation-building as phase of nation's formation by the force of people's participation and political system. European has seen severe time for nation-building which started from the

Atlantic rim to Middle Ages and the end was French Revolution (1789). However, the process of nation-building has taken several centuries in Europe until the debate on nation-building has taken the new dimension. According to Walker Connor, writing on the nation-building was thought provoking social assets in diversity of groups such as burghers and peasants, commoners, elites and common masses but totally isolated ethnic variety. In this regard, Connor argued that around nine percent of the states in the world could be called ethnically homogeneous (Connor, 1972).

Under the Deutschland tradition nation-building meant assimilation into the larger society and the eradication of ethnic peculiarities. Connor also believed that in world history that nation-building had produced more nation-destruction than the completion. So, the nation-building model greatly becomes successful and less counter-productive, however, failed to control ethnic resurgence. Whole absorption of minor ethnic community had mostly unsuccessful in the world, even in that alleged stronghold of consummate nation-building (Reza, 2020). In the case of the ethnic sets the term "nation" removes all objective cultural identification as effective identity differentiations for these units. The element of common language, common religion, and common identity or shared cultural reservoir within a group qualified as a genuine mark of nationhood. Any such action to objectivize the nation perceived to be a blunder of the cultural expressions of a nation for its essence. The actual matter of the ethnos was in general case the intellect of common origin can contribute by its members. So, the nation is the absolute extension of the family which is the core part of society. Thus, it is difficult that if the people have a common origin of their associates of the nation be verified (Weiner, 1965). In reality, it will be coincident if it will establish that a specific nation stems from various ethnic bases. The conviction of the same genetic source can therefore ordinarily be prove to be real myth and has remained a sine qua non for every nation.

Benedict Anderson, Tom Nairn, Ernest Gellner and Eric Hobsbawm as a critique of liberalism and Marxism offensively highlighted the mythical characteristic of the nation. In his book title "*Imagined Communities*" he invented the expression to define modern nations. Under his idea the nation is an intellectual property of romantic idea in the sense that the members of the community individually have no knowledge about each other and can only visualize by the communion with each other. Consequently, Anderson has produced various observation about the notion and explained it in the way of "invention" and "fabrication" and mentioned the nation should not be defined as "false consciousness." He also confessed that there are certain level of things such as "true communities" which can be transform into proper nation rather "false" nations (Baud, 2005).

Nation-building in the Post-Independence

After the decolonization, a significant number of new nation-states born or gained independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America and they all were confronting with the un-finished agenda of nation building. This situation was posed serious challenges to new nation states because they were expected to accomplish by the skill of human management as per the experience of the Western countries which had accomplished through a difficult journey and endless procedure of evolution (Leonhard, 2013). In fact, many inherited states received established bureaucratic structure, generally well developed governance system, even geographical areas and territorial boundaries that had been drawn randomly and not on the basis of caste, colour, race or religion which had nothing to do with the association and socio-cultural make-up of the people (Ayoob, 1995). Moreover, it is also undeniable fact that nation-building is one of the important aspects of any new state. It is a manner of unity of people and integrating the state with well-operating governance, well-eminent and combined nation. It is only possible through the state power and by the help of political, social, economic, and cultural institutions. Thus, the spirit of nation-building can generates nationalism and enthusiasm in the people who can take part in the process of modernization, development and socio-economic refurbishment of nation. It will increase patriotism and devotion in the people to provide their services to re-construct new democratic society with the vision of socio-economic development.

Furthermore, nation-building is a process to build stable identity and cultural pluralism with the strength of state power which can binds people in the single thread not only to form a state but also to find the process by which the nation states came into existence. However, nation builders can use different methods for nation-building such as military conscription, mass schooling, provocative propaganda and major infrastructure development to foster social harmony and economic growth (Mylonas, 2013). In this connection, scholars also include political process to for nation-building and emphasis on the people commitment with democratic system and its institutions. This philosophy will not only boost people for the legitimate struggle of stable political system which will ultimate pleasing the people's demands and their genuine rights. It will also provide legitimate power to the political systems by the strength of autonomy and sovereign. It involves the arrangement of a big quantity of people or from leading social groups and includes the combination of united people and the elite classes. It is also reality that nation-building recommend to involving the people in the national commitment with humanistic development along with all materialistic progress. In view of the growing phenomenon of nation-building and its identity consciousness, which can be based on region, religion, language, culture, colour, race, ethnicity, or a combination of all these factors become the relevance to construct the mechanisms of nation building.

In the contemporary time, it has broadly assumed that accommodation, with creative and imaginative application is the key of national reconciliation and nation building. In this connection, democratization or federalism seems to be the dynamic system for nation-building and has strong relevance with its mechanism of reconciliation (Kathrada, 2011). The nature of this combination has often determined the likelihood and degree of success of such policies with reference to Western European countries experience as well as India, Australia and United States experiment and in relation to special situations and specific challenges. In this regard, the beauty of federal system lies that the smaller communities living in a particular nation state in course of time would assimilate with the dominant group without losing its identity (Baruah 1999). Thus it is necessary that the dominant majority must carry out its national agenda of state construction with the understanding of smaller communities in the state because without their consideration the mission of nation-building will not accomplish.

Essential Features of Nation-building

The process of nation-building basically refers to the creation of a nation or nationhood and it can be socially or religiously constructed "imagined community,"[7] that seeks to be politically sovereign. Some European and Asian countries (such as China, France, Germany, Italy and India) have strong national identity before the attainment of modern nationhood. Some others countries has centralized state preceded the existence of the nation, compelling political elites to develop nation-building strategies. Thus, nation-building could serve as an asset for the modern nation-states which are still in the process to complete their destination. Thus, the scholars are in struggle to redefine the nation in term of nation-building with the "logical extension" of the concept and as an integral part national identity which can be constructed and acknowledged (Leach, 2018). The scholars has also demonstrated that nation building basically is an internal process of society where socio-political vanguard or state guardians can take action to overcome with socio-cultural values, ethnicity, language and religious motivation in respect to enforce national identity to stabilize nation and state. In this regard, there are many Nation-building aspects and indicators which mobilize the process of nation-building through the enthusiastic promotion of the people, the establishment and the power holders:-

Firstly: Nation-building as a political entity can be based on the given territory, commonly accepted rules, customs, and values, and a common citizenship.

Secondly: To build political institutions which represent the political identity and civil institutions i.e bureaucracy, an economy, the judiciary, the administration, and civil society organizations.

- *Leader-* A Nation is constructed by the dynamic and vibrant leader. A fully dedicated, enthusiastic and devoted national leader is only capable to build a energetic nation;
- *Goals and Co-operation of the people-* Nation building is essential to achieve the task of national's goals, collaboration, coordination and cooperation among the peoples;
- *Respect of national symbols-* Nation building can be strengthen through the contribution of architects, intellectuals, poets, writers, singers, and academicians who can promote nationalism and teach people to honour the national symbols (National Flag, National Anthem, and National Signs etc);
- *Territorial Integrity-* Nation building is should be based on the lines of territorial assimilation and it cannot complete without involvement of all segment of society;
- *National identity-* Identity is the sense of belonging and state of mind and for this purpose common culture and values should be the national priority of the state elites. So, there is a responsibility on the shoulder of elites that they have to protect the national identity by different means because it is the core component of a nation;
- *Instrument of Nation building -* The main essential instrument of nation-building is equal treatment of state citizens with the binding principles of morality and constitution commitments in which everyone must be treat on the basses of equality and without the obstacles of caste, creed, race, colour and religion;
- *Role of Mass and Electronic Media-* Mass Media or Electronic Media both are the fourth pillar of democracy which are active and effective weapons of the contemporary society and both can play vital role for political stability, modernization and progress;
- *Role of Economic Growth -* Nation Building cannot be stabilize and maintained without the strength of sound economic growth and technological advancement which is lifeline of political socio-political stability and state survival; and
- *Political Institutions and Democracy –* Political institutions and democracy both are essential and necessary instruments for new nation-states for their nation-building process and without that they cannot sustain and survive in the modern state system world.

Pakistan's Nation-building

Pakistan as a multi-ethnic character has been engaged in the development of nation building which subscribes to the western notions of nation-state in which, ideally speaking, language, religion, races and political sovereignty have been important factors for nation-building. Since the inception of country the overall nation-building experience in Pakistan is not pleasant and the country's elites almost

given attention to establish 'national identity' nearby periphery of religion which is the main factor of the country creation rather than socio-economic and political traditions (Hetland, 2013). The basic objectives of the elites are remain in general, has been to create a collective sense of national identity which is dominated by the state and less reflect ethnic communities of the country. This kind of concept focused to nation-building and stimulated by the liberal modernization school of thought. They rejected to recognize the notion that states integrating more than one 'ethnic nation' and both could be stable and melodious.

Pakistan adopted the policy of nation-building after the independence in 1947 and it seems to be pan-Islamic identity in the result of accomplishment of economic, political, and cultural motivations of different ethnic communities living inside the legitimate area. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan had try its best to handle the task to convert Pakistan into single "nation" and struggle to unite various ethnic clutches into one nation which was only religion as a source of integration (Long, 2016). Thus, in the early stages elites exploited religion just to please the migrants or even flood of refugees who came to Pakistan. In fact, Quaid-i-Azam fought with the British and the Indian National Congress imperialism for the acceptability of Muslim nationhood. Once both has accepted and legitimize Muslim nationhood, then Jinnah demanded the state of Pakistan on the basis of Muslim nationhood which was obvious pearl of the Woodrow Wilson's idea of self-determination. Thus, religion was the motivated force for the creation of Pakistan and ruling elites have heavily relied on religion to promote national unity (Sayeed, 1963). In this regard, national unity was strengthen by highlighting India as an external threat, exploited Kashmir issue as an unfinished agenda of partition and anti-Indian feelings also used as an instruments for Pakistan's survival, its solidarity, and its Muslim identity as a "nation-state" (Jahan, 1972). The ruling elites used an enemy for state and regime survival and for strengthening internal unity. Therefore, enormous domestic diversity was connected with the utmost desire of unity, at least as expressed in the political realm. All successive governments and military establishment of Pakistan used religion as a unifying force and to keep away the fragility of the Pakistan. Even the secular leaders of Pakistan such as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Shrif and Imran Khan used Islamic card to validate their position. General Zia ul-Haq as a chief of secular army tried its best to convert Pakistan into an "Islamic State," and cooperate with Islamic extremist forces (Burki,1988).

Historically, Pakistan's history of nation-building is full of tragedies because the death of the founding father (Muhamamd Ali Jinnah) soon after the birth of the state deemed the chances to complete the constitution of the country. But Jinnah's address to the first constituent assembly (1948) clearly indicated about the future vision of "Islamic Secular" Pakistan. He has given task to the constituent assembly to make constitution to protect the sovereign and integrity of the state. The constitution should form to bring justice, equality, fraternity and unity among the people. Jinnah hopes that the future constitution will protect the rights of citizens

and there will be no discrimination on the bases caste, creed, colour and religion (*Dawn*, 1999). Moreover, the constitution should be guarantee to citizen equal justice, liberty and equality. Thus, it was perceived that nation building process will be the socio-economic progress, respect to political institutions and democratization. It was also mentioned the nation-building will be start with the establishment of a political institutions and economic development and the elite and political institutions have to take initiative for the integration of country with the participation of people in national level. So, the nation-building is a task to construct the unity with the strength of all segment of society.

Pakistan and its Nationhood

Pakistan is a beauty of diversities. It is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, religious, and cultural state. It desired grand planning for nation-building which have to produce all section of people with the equal spirit of belonging, honour and survival. The founding father desired acceptable constitutional framework on the equal footing. As a matter of fact, ruling elites of Pakistan embraced cultural diversity rather to impose specific brand of culture in the country. The elites of the country were in struggle to form the nation but not the clear with the dimension of unity. So, there is a perception in the country that the elites are not serious for the future of the country and not giving importance to the nation-building which is basically a question of life and death for the country. It is undeniable fact that nationhood is inevitable for the nation and it can be better with the nationhood but it cannot apply on Pakistan because nation-building process in Pakistan is like a razor edge. The country has previously faced disastrous situation with the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, and presently it is in trial and error. The country elites failed to develop common "national identity" therefore remained shallow and could hardly develop (Jahan, 1972). The country elites seem to be unsuccessful to define the character of Pakistani state and it is still with "colonial" character and hardly to reconstruct or reform the country. Thus, the country is the victim by the hands of civil-military establishment and by political and religious oligarchy. However, the nation has raised its head, maintained its solidarity and integrity with its multi-ethnic fabric, diversity of culture and religion. Moreover, the country also maintained its solidarity and nationhood despite the crises, political decay, chaos, and instability.

However, it is reality that cultural and ethnic groups have a stable and unique identity consciousness. The awareness makes identity into prejudice which is plural one. Since the political system is normally determined by the powerful military of the country. So, the country political fabric is dominated with the heterogeneous atmosphere and there is a need to use revolutionary reforms for nation building process. For this purpose, the policy makers have to treat the fragmented nature and heterogeneous veracity of the country and it is difficult to reduce the powers of military institution which will be disastrous because of the

ineffectiveness of the political parties and politicians. It has perceived that religious identity is vibrant option for the survival of the country but not democracy. Hippler studies highlighted that ethnic-diversity, autonomy of the federating units and strong civil bureaucracy in Pakistan is seems to be the great obstacle in nation-building construction (Hippler, 2014). Although there is no concept of nation-building in religion and even in Islam there is no room for different identities and elite-masses as all are challenging nation-building in Pakistan. In the Pakistan context, regional, ethnic and cultural identities perceived to be more powerful not only in matters of language but in many other respects as compare to mainstream nation identity.

It is regrettable that since the independence Pakistan state structure is week and people seems to be cynical and isolated from politics and state affairs. The structure of the country is still weak and has declining over time. The contemporary difficulties seem to be the outcome of vulnerable political parties and poverty of politicians. In reality, contemporary political system dependent on operational infrastructure, an impartial legitimate system, rule of law, economic growth and good governance which are still absent in the state. The "land lord class" remain governs and paralyses politics and they have deep influence over the elites and national institutions (Cohen, (2011). Moreover, military and civil establishment backing to this class for their vested interests and both have no interest with the country's stability and economic development. They are using political power just to maintain their own status or have no short-term and long-term grand planning for country's future. Furthermore, military is traditionally dominated in the country politics. Most of the time, Pakistan ruled by its military and even military put forward to justify their *coup* d'état. According to Stephen Cohen, the elites of the country are not strengthened the country position rather weakened the socio-political fabric of the country. Military establishment are backing some politicians for their vested interest and thereby guiding and commanding politics. Contrary, political parties have less influence in the people and they cannot express their will, rather than religious oligarchies and political elites (Cohen, 2005). Moreover, domestically democracy has no effect, and political programmes are also not a matter. Thus, the present situation considerably contributed to further fragmentation and regionalism, tribalism and ethnic politics become popular in the country. They also backed the fragile and un-democratic forces for political gains.

Nonetheless, "national infrastructure" is not only vulnerable, but it is in worst position in many angles. At the same time the International Monitory Fund (IMF) and global financial agencies have rotated the squeeze and compel Pakistan for "structural adjustment programmes." This economic influence is normally realized by the common masses, because it has increased burden in their socio-economic life, national resources become lesser and reinforces fragmentation (Lieven, 2012). Therefore, division in the political system has grown since 1950s and regionalism has emerged in aggressive meaning than the "national" character. This scenario

has produced national solidarity in a more complicated direction and difficult to achieve the task. Presently, the socio-political fabric of the country is continuously weakening and grave political and economic crisis is at the head of nation. The situation of the country, persistently is flagging the state national structure, boost distrust in politics, leaders and parties. Moreover, the grave political crises have given bad time to economy which could move to de-legitimation of the democratic system which is challenging for the ruling party, opposition and the guardian of state.

According to Anatol Lieven, Pakistan is facing great challenges to its national integration but the greater encounter are ethnic, tribal and religious which posed serious trails. But the country has great potential to face threats. Democratic system is popular in the country and it is difficult to exclude from the political culture of society. The economic prospects are dim at the moment, but again, the potential for development does exist, if the political sector would function properly (Lieven, 2012). Last but not least, there are remains the chances of the instable equilibrium which is going on since the last many years and failed to produce viable system in the foreseeable future. This scenario would imply the current 'muddling-through' policy not falling apart, but being successful enough to keep going on without any doubt. So, there should be no doubt about the survival of country because ultimately Pakistan will achieve the task of nation-building as the other nation-states did it after the great difficulties. As mentioned by Michael Kugelman that "Pakistan is not a failed state but very much mismanaged country" (*Dawn*, 2012). This is normal growing skepticism about the Pakistan because many disastrous events including natural and unnatural climates, floods, earthquake, wars and crises etc failed to damage the nation and the country survive, sustained and the question of disintegration unfounded (Lieven, 2012). So, there should be no skepticism about nation-building process of Pakistan. There are valid arguments in favor of nation building on idealistic grounds which are supporting nation building and state-building.

Moreover, nation-building is an investment for future and it is the part of grand strategy which can potentially prevent from total collapse and there is no alternative of domestic stability which is the permanent guarantee of survival and more than better than nuclear and conventional power. The nation guardian must work to keep the nation unite under the umbrella of economic strength and relay on indigenous power rather alliances, partnership or dependence on others. Furthermore, nation-building can be stabilizes through the strong economy and democratic system. In fact, realist believes that the stable economy and spread of democracy can strengthen statism and ensure state survival. Economic development will reduce internal weaknesses and tend not to fight each other. It will also better to spread democracy which will decreases conflict and makes Pakistan safer. In this regard, the country guardians need to be careful, they have to build stable political institutions and not just hold election and be patient. Some scholar like George Will is on a crusade against nation building, and in particular,

against nation building in Pakistan. He called it a "fool's errand," that is "staggeringly complex," and claimed it is "rash or delusional" to try it because it is a "cannot-be-done" mission. He called it the "civilianization of the military." In his thesis, he claimed that the country elites are not sincere to construct country and always relayed on the United States or Western countries. Elites made country deliberately so backwards that "nation building which not impossible but the world knew the behavior of their elites and they are responsible to made it worst place (Miller, 2010).

Traditional Security Challenges

Traditional security challenges are about the threats against the vital values of the state such as territorial integrity, and sovereignty. In the context of internal security of state as explain by Samuel Makinda's that the state internal security is more sensitive as compare to external threats because "the preservation of the norms, rules, institutions and values of state" appears to be useful (Makinda, 1998). He further argues that all the institutions, values, principles and structures associated with society, including its people are to be protected from "military and non-military threats" (Ibid). So, it is important in defining traditional security, consist of weapons, armaments systems, and the military, but weapons and armaments as a means of traditional security are incomparably more advanced today than in past. In particular, nuclear weapons seem to be the most effective tools and only option to protect state but traditional threats are destructive and more dangerous for the security of the states.

Moreover, in the contemporary time, traditional security essences are constantly changing due to the technological innovation, new ideas, and political evolution. Thus, traditional security presents a serious challenge to the state because risks and threats to security are extremely complex and, depending on intensity, they can be manifested at the national and regional level. In general, the danger of armed aggression has been significantly reduced due to the development of society itself, globalization and the capital flow. But the states which have arch adversary and they not willing to change their character and they can use domestic weaknesses of the state and these are an enormous source of instrument to win war without fighting. However, there are many following threats to the national security of state and they have significant link with national-organized, transnational and cross-border crime and adversary can use internal security vulnerabilities as a weapons to achieve objectives:

- Growing Extremism & Religious Intolerance
- Growing Regionalism and Racism
- Sectarianism and Faith Schools
- Instable and insecure environment
- Poor Governance
- Weak Political System/Institutions
- Terrorism and its implied threats

- Transnational Crimes
- Groups work across geographic boundaries
- Groups Power in term of Non-state actors

Non-Traditional Threats

In the post-Cold War era, non-traditional security threats gained unprecedented prominence. In this regard, scientific and technological advancement has given new challenges to the security of state and their survival. Military power has lost its prominence as the key factor of national security because new technological know-how has revitalized the concept of security and reshaping it with the changing global realities. In the present scenario, non-traditional security (NTS) threats comprises a range of human security concerns such as climate change, deficiency of food and resources such as energy, infectious diseases, natural disasters, transnational crime, human and drug trafficking, and mass migration. These threats are challenges to the survival of state and well-being of peoples.

Non-traditional security threats are often transnational in scope, defying unilateral remedies and requiring comprehensive political and socio-economic responses, as well as humanitarian use of military force. Moreover, these are hard threats and have become more problematic than traditional ones. They are generally enduring and require a comprehensive action because nations around the world including Pakistan is facing an amalgam of traditional and non-traditional security threats and need effective response to stabalise internal order. Thus, non-traditional security issues focuses on non-military threats with these common characteristics:

- Hybrid Threats
- Cybercrime or Cyber-terrorism
- Natural Disasters and Diseases
- Pandemic Threats
- Group influence and their Illegal activities
- Procurement of illegal goods, & Drug trafficking (Narcotics)
- Disharmony between Communities
- Inability to control borders
- Economic Stagnation and Inflation

Pakistan is facing a multitude of traditional and non-traditional security challenges that complement and reinforce each other. These challenges intensify the vulnerability of the country and the government seems to have not fully prioritized combating these challenges. Despite investing in human development, the country is misusing its resources by clinging to traditional approaches of national security. Moreover, Pakistan faces nearly all kinds of above-mentioned challenges to its national security which are challenging and serious concerns to its national security and need effective short-term and long-term strategy to strengthen the position of state as intolerance, extremism, lawlessness, corruption and cyber security has given serious threats to Pakistan.

Conclusion

Nation-building is an unfinished agenda for the new nation-states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The core factors such as political and socio-economic inequalities, governance weaknesses and unimpeded population migration and splits at the mass level have prohibited from the destination of nation-building. The authoritarian regimes, democratic and military governments all backed dynastic politics and feudal culture in Pakistan never take interest for state survival. In this regard, political parties were given share in power and unrepresented ethnic groups and regions were ignored in all regimes. The problems of the country are socio-economic and political in nature but ruling elites ignored the ground realities and put the country in grave crisis. In fact, no serious efforts have been initiated to remove basic administrative faults, economic poverty and political shortfall. As a result, anarchy and political deprivation have expanded within the people and in the federating entities of Pakistan. Though the country vanguard have taken some steps to minimize socio-political discrepancies between the small provinces but ruling class of the country perceived to be unsuccessful to take appropriate action to reduce the level of dissimilarities which can productively help to materialize the dream of nation-building in the country. There is no doubt that the nation-building is the responsibility of state guardians but their all plan and strategies badly collapsed because of the lack of people participation and undemocratic rule in the country and ultimately nation building process suffered.

Nevertheless, there is a fact that the country always agonized due to the misconceived concept of solidarity. Unity of the nation is not only regarded legal but it is passionate, loving and political reality. Presently, patience, tolerance, and acceptance are essential tools of decent and democratic politics. Thus, there is a need to recognize ethno-regional identities and ethnic communities which has become a universal phenomenon. The notion of nation-building or nation-state desire 'one nation, one state' and it is the leading model of state in Europe and consequently has given message of nation-building for the new nation states including Pakistan. This has stood in the way of political, economic and cultural aspirations of the smaller units or nationalities. The country has achieved some level of success in addressing some issues and concerns, problems remain calling for a more inclusive nation building in the country. Finally, the nation-building project is normally state-led but the state policies have distorted to address the real issues which state builders have to address and required to remove socio-economic disparity which is necessary for the nation-building process in Pakistan.

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