

## Soft Power and its Efficacy: A Case Study of Pakistan

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### Abstract

This article analyses the concept of soft power and outlines recommendations for Pakistan to strengthen its global soft power image. The article is built around genesis of the concept, its relevance and importance in today's world, followed by a study of contemporary models to draw relevant lessons.

**Key words:** Soft Power, Country Studies, Culture, Economy, Diplomacy, Education, Role Models, Image.

### Introduction

Soft Power (SP) has tapped an undercurrent in international current affairs and has achieved increasing popularity. The term was coined by Joseph Samuel Nye, Jr. in the 1990s,<sup>1</sup> defined as 'the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment.'<sup>2</sup> Nye has also defined it as 'the ability to obtain preferred outcomes through attraction.'<sup>3</sup>

With the capacity to inspire and attract, terms like cultural power, the power of example, or the power of ideas and ideals have also been used interchangeably with soft power. The Information Age has changed the traditional dynamics of power, making it lesser tangible and diluting it into coercive capabilities. Management and application of soft power, thus, requires different wherewithal than the application of traditional hard power assets for the achievement of state objectives. In fact, soft power has been used effectively without resorting to the well-known hard means; therefore, failure to pay attention to this ostensibly benign form of state policy can cause irreversible loss and insurmountable difficulties.

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), x.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power," *Foreign Affairs* 88, no.4 (2009): 160.

Pakistan has been and continues to be a victim of an image problem notwithstanding the fact that its positive attributes far outshine the negative perceptions. This poor image phenomenon was further accentuated in the post-9/11 environment owing to a host of factors.<sup>4</sup> Being a victim of terrorism, the sacrifices rendered by Pakistan in tackling the menace of terrorism remain unparalleled, but hardly acknowledged. The world in general and West in particular keeps cajoling Pakistan through their unabated and vociferous mantra of ‘do more.’<sup>5</sup> Lack of due attention to the importance of soft power and image building of the nation has given rise to negative perceptions about Pakistan in the comity of nations.<sup>6</sup> Based on the lessons derived from the case studies of contemporary models of SP practiced by various countries, and the challenges as well opportunities that this instrument of power proffers, this paper suggests ways and means for deriving optimum benefit from this soft instrument of power projection.

## About Soft Power

### *Genesis*

Joseph Samuel Nye Jr. is credited with the development of the concept of soft power. He described the notion as ‘the ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce, use force or give money as a means of persuasion.’<sup>7</sup> Soft power works through relatively less transparent and invisible channels as well as lobbying through powerful political and non-political organisations.<sup>8</sup> The ‘Soft Power Theory’ is one of the most convincing international relations theories that does not hinge on the military might of a nation, denoted by him as hard power, rather on the often more persuasive soft power that can magnetise (attract) other nations through the application of diplomacy, ideals like democracy, and culture etc.<sup>9</sup>

Though formally coined by Nye, various thinkers and philosophers had been tweaking the notion much before its formal adoption.<sup>10</sup> The Chinese proclaim Sixth Century BC strategist Sun Tzu as the original

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<sup>4</sup> Khalid Chandio, “‘Pakistan’s Latest Crisis’ – A Rebuttal,” Islamabad Policy Research Institute, October 5, 2014, <http://www.ipripak.org/pakistans-latest-crisis-a-rebuttal/>.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel Markey, “A False Choice in Pakistan,” *Foreign Affairs* 86, no.4 (2007): 85-102.

<sup>6</sup> Jan Melissen, “Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy” (Clingendael Diplomacy Papers no.2, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael, Hague, 2005).

<sup>7</sup> Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “Propaganda Isn’t the Way: Soft Power,” *International Herald Tribune* January 10, 2003.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *The Future of Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox (1882–1940)*, vol. 1 (Orlando: Open Road Media, 2012).

proponent of soft power and equate his seminal work *Art of War* as a key element of statecraft: ‘a carefully crafted strategy to confuse putative rivals, throw them off balance, and hopefully win victories without striking a blow.’<sup>11</sup> Confucius saw a state’s soft power in its leadership by positing that a ‘ruler is expected to demonstrate moral excellence, taking wise decisions on behalf of his subjects to keep the state secure and prosperous.’<sup>12</sup> It is this strong sense of obligation of the rulers to govern justly and magnanimity that in return they demand hard work and loyalty from subordinates and the populace.<sup>13</sup> Chinese philosopher Laozi in the Seventh Century BC proposed ‘the idea of attraction as a form of power.’<sup>14</sup> While disbanding the non-interventionist policies of World War I and wooing the intimidated populace of western Europe, the notion of soft power in the European context<sup>15</sup> was coined by Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his State of the Union Address of 1941 extolling the significance of ‘freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.’<sup>16</sup>

### **Anatomy**

Soft power is associated with the rise of globalisation, technological revolution and neoliberal international relations theory.<sup>17</sup> However, it is not merely the application of non-traditional instruments such as cultural and commercial goods, rather the fulcrum on which the principles of soft power stand are society, institutions, and policies to attain state objectives.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, all non-military action does not constitute soft power. Towards this end, certain measures and actions like economic sanctions (though non-military in nature), are unmistakably focused on coercion, and thus qualify

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<sup>11</sup> Alan Hunter, “China and Soft Power” (working paper, Coventry University Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies, Coventry, 2008), <http://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/ebooks/files/378081292.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Alan Hunter, “Soft Power: China on the Global Stage,” *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2, no. 3 (2009): 373-398; Shaun Breslin, *A Handbook of China’s International Relations* (New York: Routledge International, 2010).

<sup>14</sup> A. K. Lal, *Transformation of the Indian Armed Forces: 2025* (New Delhi: United Service Institution of India, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War: 1929–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 427–434.

<sup>16</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “The Four Freedoms” (address, State of the Union, January 6, 1947), <http://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrthefourfreedoms.htm>.

<sup>17</sup> Priscilla Roberts, ed., *Going Soft? The U.S. and China Go Global* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

<sup>18</sup> Bates Gill and Yanzhong Huang, “Sources and Limits of Chinese ‘Soft Power,’” *Survival* 48, no.2 (2006): 17-36; Jan Melissen, ed., *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

as hard power.<sup>19</sup> Whereas a well-run military system can be a source of attraction, albeit through military cooperation programmes and humanitarian relief, misuse of military resources can also undercut soft power. Educational and cultural institutions play a critical part in the development of soft power of a nation. Popular culture and media is frequently identified as a source of soft power, as is the spread of a national language, or a particular set of normative structures that inspire others to acculturate.<sup>20</sup>

### ***Sustainability***

The bipolar generation of positive and negative effects by a host of non-state actors also contribute in generation of soft power both within and outside a country. The sustainability of soft power, thus, rests heavily on the reputation of actors within the international community along with the flow of information between them. Emphasising the need for sustainability of soft power, Nye in 2012, pointed out that ‘the best propaganda is no propaganda’, further amplifying that during the Information Age, ‘credibility is the scarcest resource.’<sup>21</sup> Rather than acting unilaterally or arrogantly, hard power, foreign policy and soft power must act in tandem with each other. A fine balance between the application of all these state instruments can enable the sustainability of soft power in an era dominated by technology.<sup>22</sup>

### ***Measurement***

The degree of soft power ‘magnetism’ (a key ingredient of soft power)<sup>23</sup> can be measured by public opinion polls, interviews, and case studies.<sup>24</sup> Towards this end, the Institute for Government, UK and Monocle magazine can be credited for creating a composite index for measuring the efficacy of soft power in 2010. The If G-Monocle Soft Power Index metrics is based on a framework of five sub-indices including culture, diplomacy, education,

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<sup>19</sup> Matteo Pallaver, “Power and its Forms: Hard, Soft, Smart” (PhD diss., London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), London, 2011); George A. Lopez and David Cortright, “The Sanctions Era: An Alternative to Military Intervention,” *The Fletcher Forum on World Affairs* 19, no. 2 (1995): 65.

<sup>20</sup> Uma Purushothaman, “Shifting Perceptions of Power: Soft Power and India’s Foreign Policy,” *Journal of Peace Studies* 17, no. 2&3 (2010): 1-16, <http://www.icpsnet.org/adm/pdf/1291714915.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “China’s Soft Power Deficit,” *Wall Street Journal*, 2012.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “The Information Revolution and American Soft Power,” *Asia-Pacific Review* 9, no.1 (2002).

<sup>23</sup> Naren Chitty, “Hard Elements of Soft Power,” *China Daily*, December 19, 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Angel Folorunso, *Dynamics of Political Communication: A Treatise in Honour of Asiwaju Bola Tinubu* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2013).

business and governance and indicates the soft power resources of countries, though not their ability to influence.<sup>25</sup> Based on the 2015/16 soft power survey, Germany was ranked first, while U.S.A. ranked second.

According to 'The Soft Power 30'- another index developed by Portland Communications and Facebook, U.S.A. ranked the highest in 2016; while last year it was in third place, with UK at the top.<sup>26</sup> Soft Power 30 is based on the quality of a country's political institutions, the extent of their cultural appeal, the strength of their diplomatic network, the global reputation of their higher education system, the attractiveness of their economic model, and its digital engagement with the world.

Elcano's Global Presence Index also ranks countries according to their soft power capabilities with 2015 results placing U.S.A. in the number one spot, followed by China, Germany ranked third and UK in fourth place.<sup>27</sup>

### ***Limitations***

The popularity of the concept of SP notwithstanding, haze persists regarding its definition, sources and limitations.<sup>28</sup> SP strategies, therefore, can neither be considered as a panacea for all foreign policy concerns of a nation-state nor can it be applied to all situations universally.<sup>29</sup> For example, efforts to wean the Taliban government away from its support for Osama bin Laden in 1990 through the use of soft power remained futile.<sup>30</sup> Based on the assumption that only incentives of force and finance generate responses from state actors, some neorealist<sup>31</sup> and other rationalists<sup>32</sup> and neo-

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<sup>25</sup> Jonathan McClory, "The New Persuaders: An International Ranking of Soft Power" (Institute for Government, London, 2010), [http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20new%20persuaders\\_0.pdf](http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20new%20persuaders_0.pdf).

<sup>26</sup> Jonathan McClory, *The Soft Power 30: A Global Ranking of Soft Power* (London: Portland Communications, 2016), [http://www.portland-communications.com/downloads/the\\_soft\\_power\\_30%20NOV.pdf](http://www.portland-communications.com/downloads/the_soft_power_30%20NOV.pdf).

<sup>27</sup> Iliana Olivie Carola García-Calvo and Manuel Gracia, *Elcano Global Presence Report 2015* (Madrid: Elcano Royal Institute, 2015), <http://www19.iadb.org/intal/intalcdi/PE/2015/15494en.pdf>.

<sup>28</sup> Ying Fan, "Soft Power: Power of Attraction of Confusion?" *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 4, no. 2 (2008): 147-158.

<sup>29</sup> Jan-Philipp N. E. Wagner, "The Effectiveness of Soft and Hard Power in Contemporary International Relations," *E-International Relations Students*, May 14, 2014, <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/05/14/the-effectiveness-of-soft-hard-power-in-contemporary-international-relations/>.

<sup>30</sup> Osama bin Laden and Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden* (London: Verso, 2005).

<sup>31</sup> Sergio J. Pacifici, "Notes Toward a Definition of Neorealism," *Art of the Cinema*, no. 17, (1956): 44-53.

<sup>32</sup> Michael Oakeshott, *Rationalism in Politics, and Other Essays* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 1962).

rationalists<sup>33</sup> tend to disregard the efficacy of soft power in international relations.<sup>34</sup>

### ***Public Diplomacy (PD) vis-à-vis Soft Power***

Post-Cold War, Public Diplomacy (PD) defined as the ‘process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented,’<sup>35</sup> has transited rapidly to adapt to new emerging realities. Nicholas Cull has defined PD as ‘an international actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public.’<sup>36</sup> Soft power, on the other hand, as discussed earlier is ‘the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment.’<sup>37</sup> While public diplomacy and soft power are not synonymous with each other,<sup>38</sup> the former has been the main instrument of success for the West in the Cold War given its ability to project soft power. Thus, the two are interlinked with each other, and PD acts as an important cog of soft power projection.

### **Contemporary Models of Soft Power - Derived Lessons from Country Studies**

There are no formal models of soft power projection for the countries under consideration, other than China. However, from a study of the means used by these countries a construct of their models can be derived. Based on their preeminence and relevance to Pakistan’s environment from a replicability point of view, a brief overview of few selected contemporary models of SP are discussed with the intent of drawing pertinent lessons:

#### ***U.S.A.***

Culture is a soft power resource that produces attraction, for example, it is difficult to ignore the attractiveness of America given the number of English Language Teaching (ELT) institutes operating in various

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<sup>33</sup> Kelly C. Smith, “Neo-Rationalism versus Neo-Darwinism: Integrating Development and Evolution,” *Biology and Philosophy* 7, no. 4 (1992): 431-451.

<sup>34</sup> Fan, “Soft Power: Power of Attraction or Confusion,” 147-158.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Sharp, “Revolutionary States, Outlaw Regimes and the Techniques of Public Diplomacy,” in *The New Public Diplomacy, Soft Power in International Relations*, ed. Jan Melissen (London: Palgrave Macmillan Publishers, 2005), 11.

<sup>36</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past* (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), 12.

<sup>37</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008).

<sup>38</sup> Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, 15.

countries<sup>39</sup> and its fast food culture which has mushroomed into global franchises and become household names like MacDonalds and Starbucks. These are perfect projections of SP and may also be considered ‘weapons of mass attraction’.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the undercurrents of America’s soft power rest on the notion that it needs to promote democracy, as ‘democratisation enhances the lives of citizens of other countries and contributes to a more peaceful international system.’<sup>41</sup> In the domain of public diplomacy, the United States is carrying out its soft power policy in the form of vast information efforts including positive projection of its foreign policy, especially through the social media.<sup>42</sup> For example, all U.S. embassies and resource centres in Central Asian countries have their pages on Facebook. They widely rely on Twitter, YouTube, My Space, etc. to put out their information.<sup>43</sup>

To nurture the development of liberal norms and values throughout the world, exchange programmes have become an established practice (e.g. the Fulbright programme). Such programmes can be viewed as expressions of American soft power and global integration.<sup>44</sup> Owing to its ability to dominate the media and means of communication,<sup>45</sup> American sports players and media personalities are powerful cultural ministers. By participating and excelling in almost all global sporting events, the most recent one being the 2016 Olympics, it is successfully utilising sports as a tool for projecting its soft power.<sup>46</sup>

Given the comparative advantage non-government organisations (NGOs) possess, aid is dispensed to the developing countries through these conduits. Agencies like the USAID possess grassroot level connections,

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<sup>39</sup> Thomas Molloy, “Projecting Soft Power through English Language Training,” *The DISAM Journal* 28, no. 3 (2006),

[http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Vol%2028\\_3/Molloy.pdf](http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Vol%2028_3/Molloy.pdf).

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> James Traub, *The Freedom Agenda: Why America Must Spread Democracy (Just Not the Way George Bush Did)* (New York: Picador, 2009).

<sup>42</sup> Melissen, “Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy.”

<sup>43</sup> John Krige, “Technological Leadership and American Soft Power,” in *Soft Power and U.S. Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2010), 121-136.

<sup>44</sup> Chris J. Dolan and Courtney L. Escudero, “Soft Power and Cultural Exchange: Assessing the Global Influence of U.S.-Hosted Higher Educational Exchange Programs,” (paper presented at ISA, Toronto, 2014).

<sup>45</sup> Daya Thussu, *De-Americanizing Soft Power Discourse?* (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2014), 6.

[http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u20150/CPDPerspectives2\\_2014\\_SoftPower.pdf](http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u20150/CPDPerspectives2_2014_SoftPower.pdf).

<sup>46</sup> Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*.

credibility amongst the local population, and are more flexible and efficient as compared to other institutions.<sup>47</sup>

In the military domain, capacity building exchange programmes hosted by elite U.S. military schools, defence universities and war colleges are also soft power instruments.<sup>48</sup> This builds personal and professional networks which extend American influence through military soft power rather than through hard power.<sup>49</sup>

The huge soft power projection capability of U.S. notwithstanding, the country continues to face favourability problems due to a host of reasons. The Vietnam debacle in the 1970s is a stark reminder of ‘...not on whose army wins, but... whose story wins.’<sup>50</sup> In the post-9/11 environment, American leadership has been at a loss to comprehend why ‘they hate us.’ The main reasons attributed to this animosity is the disequilibrium between hard and soft power, with an overreliance on hard power in the post-Cold War unipolar environment; and the Bush era unilateralism in foreign policy.<sup>51</sup> However, the epitome of this un-favourability is its policies towards Israel and support of despotic rulers in the Muslim world. Regaining lost ground in the Muslim world will require considerable investment in soft power tools.

### *China*

The concept of Comprehensive National Power (CNP) of China (zongheguoli 综合国力), emerged parallel to Nye’s interpretation of soft power. CNP is the ‘quantity of the nation’s total power or strength in terms of economy, military might, science and technology, resources, and influences.’<sup>52</sup> It is a combination of hard, soft and coordinating power. It includes government leadership, political structures, management

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<sup>47</sup> Layla Saleh, “Soft Power, NGOs, and the U.S. War on Terror” (paper 66, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, Milwaukee),

<http://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1069&context=etd>.

<sup>48</sup> Carol Atkinson, *Military Soft Power: Public Diplomacy through Military Educational Exchanges* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014).

<sup>49</sup> Nye, Jr., “Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power,” 160-163.

<sup>50</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “Power Shifts,” *Time Magazine*, May 09, 2011, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2068114,00.html>.

<sup>51</sup> Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*.

<sup>52</sup> A. G. Hu and H. H. Men, “The Rising of Modern China: Comprehensive National Power and Grand Strategy” (conference proceedings, *Rising China and the East Asian Economy*, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, Seoul, 2004), 2; Wuttikorn Chuwattananurak, “China’s Political Stability and Comprehensive National Power: A Case Study of the Conflict in Xinjiang,” *Journal of U.S.-China Public Administration* 11, no. 9 (2014): 721-741.

capabilities, organisational decision-making power, and reform coordination capabilities.<sup>53</sup>

China, today is increasingly capitalist, modern, and globalised.<sup>54</sup> In an effort to assuage the apprehensions of others that its new found strength is benign in nature, China has adopted the mantra of ‘peaceful rise.’<sup>55</sup> Cognizant of the anguish surrounding its meteoric rise, and aware of the benefits of a sophisticated soft power portfolio, China has ingressed all the regions of the world, particularly the oil rich Middle East<sup>56</sup> and developing nations of the Americas, Africa, and South Asia.<sup>57</sup> To mitigate the serious image issues like lack of democracy, lack of attention to Chinese diaspora, territorial disputes, and non-serious attitude towards piracy, China has resorted to projects which may also be termed as ‘Dollar Diplomacy’ or winning friends through ‘non-interference.’

China’s active participation in peacekeeping and health diplomacy are an effective tool of SP projection. Since 1964, it has sent hundreds of medical doctors to numerous African countries.<sup>58</sup> It has aggressively expanded its canvass by focusing on cultural, academic, and language exchange programmes as well. Resultantly, the number of international students in Chinese universities has increased dramatically.<sup>59</sup> It has also very aptly utilised diplomacy as a tool of soft power.<sup>60</sup> Frequent visits of important states by Chinese leaders and vice versa reflect that China considers itself a stakeholder in global affairs.<sup>61</sup> To convey the image of a responsible state, China has not only grown more active in international

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<sup>53</sup> Michael Pillsbury, *China Debates the Future Security Environment* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2000); Chuwattananurak, “China’s Political Stability and Comprehensive National Power.”

<sup>54</sup> Jan Nederveen Pieterse, “China’s Contingencies and Globalisation,” *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 11 (2015): 1985-2001.

<sup>55</sup> Carola McGiffert, ed., *Chinese Soft Power and its Implications for the United States: Competition and Cooperation in the Developing World*, CSIS Smart Power Initiative Report (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2009), [http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/090403\\_mcgiffert\\_chinesesoftware\\_web.pdf](http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/090403_mcgiffert_chinesesoftware_web.pdf).

<sup>56</sup> Gal Luft, “China’s Infrastructure Play: Why Washington should Accept the New Silk Road,” *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 5 (2016): 68.

<sup>57</sup> Rosalie L. Tung, “Opportunities and Challenges Ahead of China’s ‘New Normal,’” *Long Range Planning* 49, no. 5 (2016), <http://www.citeulike.org/user/derchao/article/14136791>.

<sup>58</sup> Drew Thompson, “China’s Soft Power in Africa: From the ‘Beijing Consensus’ to Health Diplomacy” (China Brief 5, no. 21, Jamestown Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2005).

<sup>59</sup> Gill and Huang, “Sources and Limits of Chinese ‘Soft Power.’”

<sup>60</sup> Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China’s Soft Power is Transforming the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>61</sup> Matthew Kroenig, Melissa McAdam, and Steven Weber, “Taking Soft Power Seriously,” *Comparative Strategy* 29, no. 5 (2010): 412-431.

multilateral organisations,<sup>62</sup> it has also initiated new ones like the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).<sup>63</sup>

### ***Russia***

The application of soft power for attaining state objectives is a relatively new phenomenon in Russian power politics.<sup>64</sup> In fact, the case of Russia is interesting because its concept of SP and PD are very different from the West and have different objectives. According to Russian President Vladimir Putin ‘soft power is a set of complex tools and methods to achieve foreign policy goals without the use of weapons, through the use of information and other levers of influence,’<sup>65</sup> rather than creating an attractive image, the Russian concept is based on creating informational linkages with the surrounding region.<sup>66</sup> The Russian Tv RT, formerly known as Russia Today, is offering an alternative source of information to the Western viewers. Suffering from a poor international image, Russia has embarked upon a massive propaganda campaign in an effort to improve relations with the European Union. However, its past image continues to haunt its efforts to reap the dividends from this instrument of power projection.<sup>67</sup>

### ***India***

Through adroit manipulation and cleverly crafted strategies, combining public diplomacy and soft power, India has been able to create the mirage of ‘shining India’ and ‘Make in India’. To understand the expanse of Indian soft power, its culture and diplomacy, we need to look at its sources, while at the same time, giving due recognition to the factors that erode it. India, by virtue of its ‘liberal democratic regime’, stands a better chance over

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<sup>62</sup> Young Nam Cho and Ho Jeong Jong, “China’s Soft Power: Discussions, Resources, and Prospects,” *Asian Survey* 48, no. 3 (2008): 453-472.

<sup>63</sup> Sheng Ding, “To Build a ‘Harmonious World’: China’s Soft Power Wielding in the Global South,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 13, no.2 (2008): 193-213.

<sup>64</sup> Alexander Sergunin and Leonid Karabeshkin, “Understanding Russia’s Soft Power Strategy,” *Politics* 35, no. 3 (2015): 347-363.

<sup>65</sup> Stefan Meister and Jana Puglierin “Perception and Exploitation: Russia’s Non-Military Influence in Europe” (German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), Berlin, no. 10, October 2015), <https://dgap.org/en/article/getFullPDF/27185>.

<sup>66</sup> Natalia Burlinova, “Russian Soft Power is Just Like Western Soft Power, But with a Twist,” *Russia Direct*, April 7, 2015, <http://www.russia-direct.org/opinion/russian-soft-power-just-western-soft-power-twist>.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

China in competition ‘for global attractiveness and influence.’<sup>68</sup> India has been putting greater emphasis on soft power strategies since the 1990s manifested more recently in cultivation of her relations with Afghanistan. Former Afghan President Hamid Karzai had warmer relations with India as compared to neighbouring Pakistan. This is the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme bearing fruit as many bureaucrats and politicians from other countries graduated from various academic and training institutions in India.<sup>69</sup> Aimed at winning the hearts and minds of estranged Kashmiris, Operation ‘Sadbhavan’ (goodwill) in occupied Jammu & Kashmir has been an Indian Army endeavour in the realm of soft power.<sup>70</sup>

India has also started venturing into the application of soft power through economic aid. The establishment of ‘Development Partnership Administration,’ within its External Affairs Ministry is a step in the same direction. Towards this end, the disbursement of over \$1.5 billion in 2011, stood second only to China amongst the donor developing countries.<sup>71</sup>

Indian movies and music have a large international market, particularly in Asia, Europe, Africa and West Asia. It is also the world’s largest sourcing destination for the IT industry, which has proved to be India’s strength not only in giving the country an economic boost, but also showing its soft power all over the globe.<sup>72</sup>

Indian diaspora constitutes the biggest instrument of its soft power.<sup>73</sup> It is an enormously significant source of support for the Indian Government in wielding influence, garnishing support and execution of its policies through the clout they have generated over the years in the countries they have opted to live in. The spread of Buddhism and Islam from India has added to its secular theme.<sup>74</sup> India also welcomes Jews; therefore, it enjoys soft power in Israel. In the UK, ‘Indian curry houses employ more people than the iron and steel, coal and shipbuilding industries combined.’<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 88–89, quoted in Jacques E. C. Hymans, “India’s Soft Power and Vulnerability,” *India Review* 8, no. 3 (2009): 234, <http://www-bcf.usc.edu/~hymans/India%20Review%20article%20final.pdf>.

<sup>69</sup> Rani D. Mullen and Sumit Ganguly, “The Rise of India’s Soft Power,” *Foreign Policy*, May 8, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/05/08/the-rise-of-indias-soft-power/>.

<sup>70</sup> Purushothaman, “Shifting Perceptions of Power: Soft Power and India’s Foreign Policy.”

<sup>71</sup> Mullen and Ganguly, “The Rise of India’s Soft Power.”

<sup>72</sup> Shashi Tharoor, “Indian Strategic Power: Soft,” *Huffington Post*, June 26, 2009, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/shashi-tharoor/indian-strategic-power-so\\_b\\_207785.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/shashi-tharoor/indian-strategic-power-so_b_207785.html).

<sup>73</sup> Amit Kumar Gupta, “Commentary on India’s Soft Power and Diaspora,” *International Journal on World Peace* 25, no. 3 (2008): 61-68.

<sup>74</sup> Triloki N. Madan, “Secularism in its Place,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (1987): 747-759.

<sup>75</sup> Purushothaman, “Shifting Perceptions of Power: Soft Power and India’s Foreign Policy.”

However, three factors contribute to India's failure to exploit its soft power potential to the fullest: an overestimation of the above resources; lack of sufficient hard power to undergird its soft power ambitions, and finally, the unresolved elements of India's identity tend to undermine its efforts at soft power projection through public diplomacy.<sup>76</sup> The failure of hard power initiatives in South Asia has forced India to perfect and project its soft power led by its private sector.<sup>77</sup>

### ***Israel***

The Israelis wish to survive as a distinct community, mostly as a minority. Resultantly, they have a propensity to adapt to a host of conditions and experiences, while keeping their own culture and religion intact, thus, becoming themselves the centres of elaboration and cultural creation.<sup>78</sup> They have strong lobbies and influence in the countries in which they live. Whereas Israel's influence in Europe and U.S. is well known, Israel is expanding its influence in Asia by forging closer relations both with India and China, especially in the domain of free trade. Israel's trade relationship with Japan is also on an upward trajectory. Israel has also forged closer ties with Egypt, Jordan and Qatar in the Middle East and Nigeria, Kenya and Rwanda in Africa.<sup>79</sup> With Israeli scientists publishing 6309 essays in 2005 in foreign scientific journals, Israel ranked fourth in the world in scientific activity.<sup>80</sup> Extensive research and development work is being carried out in energy, medical, industrial and other sectors.<sup>81</sup>

### ***Lessons Learned***

Major elements of soft power are culture (when it is pleasing to others); values (when they are attractive); and policies (when they are seen as legitimate). Common means used for successful soft power projection are investment/aid programmes, diplomacy, culture, media and exchange

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<sup>76</sup> Rohan Mukherjee, "The False Promise of India's Soft Power," *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations* 6, no.1 (2014): 42.

<sup>77</sup> Ikram Sehgal, "Expanse of Soft Power," *News Intenational*, March 10, 2011, <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-35418-Expanse-of-soft-power>.

<sup>78</sup> William Safran, "The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective," *Israel Studies* 10, no. 1 (2005): 37.

<sup>79</sup> Lawrence Solomon, "Israel's Soft Power: Advanced Technology Boosts Diplomatic Ties," *World Jewish Daily.com*, October 7, 2016, <http://www.worldjewishdaily.com/israel-soft-power.php>.

<sup>80</sup> Ofri Illani, "Israel Ranks Fourth in Scientific Activity," *Haaretz*, November 17, 2009, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/israel-ranks-fourth-in-the-world-in-scientific-activity-study-finds-1.4034>.

<sup>81</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Science and Technology" (Government of Israel, 2015), <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/Science/Pages/default.aspx>.

programmes.<sup>82</sup> It involves strategic use of persuasion, capacity building and projection of power and influence in ways that are cost-effective and have political and social legitimacy.<sup>83</sup> Women emancipation, human rights record and protection/freedom of minorities in a country are directly proportional to its soft power projection potential. This means that soft power projection is possible only with internal stability/security, national harmony and a sound economy. The more educated a nation, the more vibrant and rich its soft power projection in the globalised world.<sup>84</sup> Soft power projection by democratic states has seen more success in the last fifty years than autocratic or dictatorial states, in which China emerges as an exception.<sup>85</sup>

States also enhance their soft power capacities through regional and interstate cooperation, such as periodic humanitarian assistance projects.<sup>86</sup> However, countries successful in soft power projection, by and large, follow a policy of non-interference in other states' affairs.

Religion, if manifested in true letter and spirit, is also a major resource of soft power. Celebration of World Hijab Day on February 1, 2013 on the initiative of Nazma Khan from Bangladesh involved the participation of females from other religions and is a case in point.<sup>87</sup> Private and state media, if managed by educated and qualified personnel, is by far the fastest and most effective medium of soft power projection.

## **Pakistan's Soft Power**

### ***Constraints***

Pakistan projects its image as a moderate, progressive and pluralist society. However, derailed democracy and state-sponsored radicalisation abruptly drowned its softer image in the 1970s; repeated martial law and external interventions have impeded the progression of a strong political culture;<sup>88</sup> and now soft power development is impeded by extremism, a volatile

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<sup>82</sup> Nye, Jr., "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power."

<sup>83</sup> Pallaver, "Power and its Forms: Hard, Soft, Smart."

<sup>84</sup> Judit Trunkos, "What is Soft Power Capability and How Does it Impact Foreign Policy?" (PhD proposal, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 2013), <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2013-acdusa/What-Is-Soft-Power-Capability-And-How-Does-It-Impact-Foreign-Policy--Judit-Trunkos.pdf>.

<sup>85</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "The Rise of China's Soft Power," *Wall Street Journal*, December 29, 2005.

<sup>86</sup> Danny R. Bouie, "Humanitarian Assistance and 'Soft' Power Projection," (paper, Naval War College, Newport, 2012), <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a563765.pdf>.

<sup>87</sup> "World Hijab Day," accessed April 3, 2016, <http://worldhijabday.com/about-us/>.

<sup>88</sup> Aisha Shahzad, "The Politics and Ethnicity in Pakistan" (PhD diss, Lahore College for Women, University, Lahore, 2011).

security environment, perception management, low literacy rate, poor governance, and decreasing diversity.<sup>89</sup>

Those who laid the foundation of religious extremism are long gone, what remains is a legacy of extremism and intolerance that is affecting Pakistani society and tends to hijack its peace and prosperity.<sup>90</sup> Projected as the epicentre of problems, the post-9/11 environment, has badly tarnished the soft image of Pakistan. Killing of Osama bin Ladin in Operation Neptune Star<sup>91</sup> and allegations of harbouring the Haqqani Network in North Waziristan Agency are used as cast iron evidence against it.<sup>92</sup> Resultantly, Pakistan continues to suffer the wrath of terrorism on the one hand; and poor image on the other. 'Seeing is believing', the dream for Pakistan can not come true unless the security situation in the country improves and can attract delegations, tourists, students and international sports tournaments.

The middle class is a country's actual cultural/soft power resource. The overall mismanagement of the country has resulted in poor socio-economic indicators. Resultantly, well-educated Pakistanis belonging to the middle class tend to abandon it for greener pastures and settle abroad. Though these educated expats are a source of SP projection abroad, the continued brain drain may not bode well for the future of the country.<sup>93</sup>

Pakistan is multilingual and multi-cultured society. The people of different regions have their own regional cultures, but off late these cultural values which used to be visible in different social customs and festivities are rarely seen or projected. The occurrence of certain alleged cases of blasphemy have resulted in violent reaction by particular segments of society. Taking the law into one's own hands impinges on the rights of minorities as enshrined in our religion and the Constitution.<sup>94</sup> The cases of domestic violence, *karo kari* (honour killings), *vani* (child marriage), killing of Farida Afridi of SAWERA NGO<sup>95</sup> and Parween Rehman<sup>96</sup> are

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<sup>89</sup> Maqsoodul Hasan Nuri, "Do We Need Soft Power?" *News International*, July 1, 2015.

<sup>90</sup> Mary Anne Weaver, *Pakistan: In the Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan*, 2nd ed. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003).

<sup>91</sup> Kevin H. Govern, "Operation Neptune Spear: Was Killing bin Laden a Legitimate Military Objective?" in *Targeted Killings: Law and Morality in an Asymmetrical World*, ed. Claire Finkelstein, Jens David Ohlin and Andrew Altman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 347-373.

<sup>92</sup> Jeffrey A. Dressler, *The Haqqani Network- From Pakistan to Afghanistan*, Afghanistan Report no. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of War, 2010), [http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Haqqani\\_Network\\_0.pdf](http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Haqqani_Network_0.pdf).

<sup>93</sup> Javed Iqbal Shah, "Brain Drain: Why People leave their Motherland? Implications for the Developed and Developing Economies," *Journal of Managerial Sciences* 1 (2011): 63-74.

<sup>94</sup> See for details Article 25 (1) Equality of Citizens of Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

<sup>95</sup> Asad Zia, "Militancy: A Progressive Voice for Tribal Women Silenced in Targeted Attack," *Express Tribune*, July 5, 2012, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/403834/militancy-a-progressive-voice-for-tribal-women-silenced-in-targeted-attack/>.

omnipresent sore points. The issue of missing persons casts serious aspersions on the country's human rights record which is further aggravated by the media glow on such reports.

Whereas media is the mainstay for projecting the soft image of a country, its role in projecting a positive image of Pakistan remain debatable.<sup>97</sup> However, at the same time, the unending race between the print and electronic media for better ratings is resulting in nerve straining sensationalism.

### ***Opportunities***

Despite the above image problems, Pakistan is a culturally rich country, blessed with a geostrategic location making transnational linkages conducive for all kinds of traditional, educational and sports exchange programmes for projecting its soft power, both inland and abroad. The culturally charged populace, throughout its length and breadth remain engaged in traditional festivals, Arts Council Festival, youth and literature festivals and mountaineering festivals. The country also provides a variety of tourist attractions for domestic and international tourists, including the towering mountain ranges of Northern areas, archeological sites like Taxila and Mohenjo-daro, vast deserts and a plethora of hill resorts.

Given the prevailing regional and global environment and domestic dynamics, Pakistan can practice soft power through three resources i.e. culture, political values and its foreign policies/public diplomaacy.<sup>98</sup> We must remember that the constraints touched upon earlier may exist in other countries also, but they are still able to project and maintain a soft image successfully. What is needed is synergy in the efforts of the state, civil society, diaspora and strategic messaging through strong media campaigns.

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Farida Afridi was executive director of a Human Rights NGO, Sawera, which was working for improving the plight of women in FATA. She was shot dead on July 5, 2012 in Peshawar.

<sup>96</sup> Mahim Maher, "Socially Responsive Workers: Perween Rahman's Salary was Rs 32,000 the Day she Died," *Express Tribune*, April 6, 2013, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/531736/socially-responsive-workers-perween-rahmans-salary-was-rs32000-the-day-she-died/>. Perween Rahman was a Pakistani social activist, director of the Orangi Pilot Project Research and Training Institute. She was murdered on March 13, 2013.

<sup>97</sup> Munawar Sabir, "The Role of Media in Creating Values of Nationalism in Pakistan," *Journal of Political Studies* 18, no. 2 (2011): 17.

<sup>98</sup> Hadia Rahman, "Pakistan's Soft Power: Prospects and Limitations," *Journal of South Asian Studies* 2, no. 3 (2014): 257-263.

## Strategies for Pakistan's Soft Power Projection

The internet, specifically social media, has shifted the concept of soft power beyond state policies. Although, the state is still a main player, the increasing role of citizens in projecting cultural trends and images of a nation have become an undeniable force. Pakistan needs to manage and balance its soft power with hard power in a way that it does not remain inextricably dependent on hard power alone; and to evolve national consensus and support for resolving internal and external issues by focusing on softer techniques. The onus is fast shifting on Pakistan's young generation to reconnect with the rest of the world. However, it is important for both state and non-state actors to play an important role in this regard by first assessing Pakistan's current situation and global image continually and realistically; and then building corresponding capacities, provided there is a stable security situation to overcome existing strategic shortfalls.

In the political domain, it is important for Pakistan to inculcate mature democratic values through democratic dispensation; democracy within political parties; giving primacy to political institutions and interdepartmental/ministerial harmony. This can be achieved if there is continuity of free and fair general elections; an independent and free Election Commission; intra-party elections; legislation for compulsory casting of votes; and a free and fair judiciary. There should be legal binding for policy formulation in foreign, economic, interior, defence and educational affairs.

On the societal front, an 'educational emergency'<sup>99</sup> should be declared; and *madrassas* (Islamic religious schools) mainstreamed. The Education Policy 2009 should be updated and implemented in letter and spirit; free education up to high school level and registration and standardisation of *madrassa* syllabus should be undertaken.

Possible ways to succeed in combating extremism through soft power include engaging with moderate faith-based civil society organisations (CSO) to combat militant *jihadi* (holy war) networks; coordinating with senior community leaders to reach grassroot levels; revision of the Blasphemy Law to avert its misuse, and stringent legislation for protection of minorities. However, the government needs to recognise that economic revival is also critical for a developing country like Pakistan. The state should tap the region's rich mineral resources; implement a taxation emergency; and privatise sick public enterprises like Pakistan Airlines,

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<sup>99</sup> Editor's Note: Term coined by Pakistan Education Task Force (PETF).

Pakistan Steel and Railways. Stringent laws should be imposed for deterring corruption in society.<sup>100</sup>

Given below are some of the internal and external strategies that need to be adopted to improve Pakistan's existing global image:

### ***Formation of Pakistan Cultural and Educational Council/s***

Pakistan Cultural and Educational Councils should be established on urgent basis in the European Union, ASEAN, and Scandinavian countries, as well as in U.S.A. and Canada where Pakistan's cultural festivals should be given prominence. Selection of Cultural Counselors/Attaches should be done on merit basis, with those who have a background in cultural studies. Similarly, having created the fiscal space, the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, educational institutions and think tanks can offer training/fellowship programmes for students/scholars from abroad on exchange basis or even unilateral basis.

### ***Role of Media and Films***

In the realm of media reforms, there is a need for regular national media workshops by different recognised national and international institutes for training of media personnel. Making anti-state discussions and programmes punishable crimes could also be a step in the right direction. The relatively recent revival of Pakistani cinema led to two Oscar awards for Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy. Jami's *Moor* went to several international film festivals and was nominated by the Pakistani Academy for 2016 Oscar consideration. To further capitalise on this trend, there is a need to incentivise production of such movies which have across the board acceptance and corrective messages for society. Through expertly crafted narratives, reputed specialists need to be engaged in producing movies for projecting the true image of Pakistan.

### ***Tourism***

Pakistan is a tourism paradise<sup>101</sup> which has regrettably become Milton's Paradise Lost. First and foremost, the local tourism industry needs to be revitalised as a precursor to attracting foreign tourists. The government

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<sup>100</sup> Ishrat Hussain, "Economy of Pakistan: An Overview" (keynote address, Expo Conference, Karachi, 2005).

<sup>101</sup> Afia Malik, Mehmood Khan Kakar, Waliullah, and Samina Khalil, "Tourism in Economic Growth: Evidence from Pakistan Economy" (proceedings, parts I and II, 23rd Annual General Meeting and Conference of the Pakistan Society of Development Economists, Islamabad, 2008), 985-995.

needs to incentivise local and foreign tourists by adding more affordable, safe and secure hotels for foreign tourists with subsidised rates; offer cheaper ticket deals on all kinds of transportation; and develop dedicated facilitation centres with up-to-date maps and details about tourist attractions and expert guides covering all possible tourist resorts.

For promoting domestic and foreign tourism, coordinated events can be planned during the summer season to attract tourists around the northern areas of Pakistan. A suggested pattern could be celebration of a 'Blossoming Pakistan Week' consisting of events like passing out parades of the Pakistan Military Academy and Regimental Centres, polo and golf tournaments, musical events and excursion/hiking trips. The same model could be replicated in other places. Similarly, an 'Ecotourism Week' could focus on providing easy opportunities to tourists exploring the natural beauty of Pakistan through a package deal for visiting areas like Gilgit, Hunza, Skardu, and Chitral etc. An 'Archeological Week' could focus on the archeological and historical sites such as Mohenjo-Daro, Kot Diji, Harrapa, Mehrgarh, and Gandhara civilisations.

### ***Foreign Policy***

The Foreign Office needs to engage new regions and emerging actors as well as continue relations with old allies. The purpose of public diplomacy is not propaganda, rather building a strategic language of communication based on objective facts and truth. As part of a perception management exercise, the government should listen to what the world believes about it and address those concerns head-on. An 'Office of Public Diplomacy', under the Prime Minister, could be established. Since, the edifice of public diplomacy rests on understanding the roles of sustainability, credibility, self-criticism, and civil society in generating soft power, the said Office may be entrusted with reframing the image of Pakistan through culture, arts, and tourism. A suggested diplomacy theme could be 'Promising Pakistan'.

Credibility and legitimacy of the state is the *raison d'être* of soft power. Foreign policy of a state gains legitimacy when its institutions are seen working and contributing towards economic and social welfare.<sup>102</sup> While interacting with the outside world, Pakistan needs to adopt a truthful and honest approach which will not only help build trust, but also forge lasting relations. Focus should, thus, be on vertical development, instead of being intrusive in other country's affairs.

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<sup>102</sup> Tarik Oğuzlu, "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 61, no. 1 (2007): 81-97.

### ***Combating Terrorism***

The futility of a pure military approach as a panacea for neutralising violent extremism has long been acknowledged by the world. The 2005 European Union Counterterrorism Strategy as well as United Nations Global Counterterrorism Strategy 2006 view terrorism as a process and tactic. Better understanding of the conditions which lead to radicalisation and extremism and ultimately to terrorism is the edifice for developing an effective policy. Due to overreliance on the application of force as a means to combat terrorism, the vicious cycle of hostilities and antagonism continues unabated. Ironically, soft power as an instrument of countering the menace of terrorism has remained a neglected area with no more than 30 out of 192 countries injecting soft power into their counterterrorism strategies.<sup>103</sup>

The suggested approach towards this end would be for the civil-military junta to recognise that:

We will not win unless the moderates win. Our soft power will never attract Osama bin Laden and the extremists. We need hard power to deal with them. But soft power will play a crucial role in our ability to attract the moderates and deny the extremists new recruits.<sup>104</sup>

### ***Use of Military for Soft Power Projection***

Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed people of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.

-Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

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<sup>103</sup> Hamed El-Said, "In Defence of Soft Power: Why a 'War' on Terror will Never Win," *New Statesman*, February 24, 2015.

<sup>104</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "A Dollop of Deeper American Values," *Washington Post*, March 30, 2004, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2004/03/30/a-dollop-of-deeper-american-values/acd1b194-2d1c-46ff-a7d2-baa1a15ab3a7/?utm\\_term=.4fccd7c638c1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2004/03/30/a-dollop-of-deeper-american-values/acd1b194-2d1c-46ff-a7d2-baa1a15ab3a7/?utm_term=.4fccd7c638c1).

The military is not just a symbol of hard power, it can also be used for soft power projection.<sup>105</sup> UN peacekeeping missions have had a long history of Pakistani association with the United Nations since 1960, starting with deployment in Congo. Since then many soldiers, police, civilians, and paramedical forces have been regularly taking part in various missions and have conducted a host of activities under the banner of the UN ranging from humanitarian assistance to hardcore security operations. In fact, with over a 100 countries contributing troops and police for peacekeeping missions, Pakistan is ranked at the top. Given its experience in this area, Pakistan can provide trainings for peacekeeping, peace-building & stability and support operations. Having also been appointed on various key positions of UN peacekeeping operations, Pakistan can offer its expertise in resolving conflicts through negotiations.<sup>106</sup> Another area could be humanitarian/relief work abroad, especially in case of earthquakes and floods.

### ***Catalysing Diaspora's Role***

The easiest most effective way to project one's own culture and social values abroad is through synergised efforts by the diaspora.<sup>107</sup> Respective embassies can be assigned responsibilities for holding cultural exhibitions as per the dates held at home, and purchasing air time on electronic media for telecasting youth programmes, dramas and Pakistani films.

### **Two Sides of the Picture: Symbols of Hope**

Pakistan's hope also lies in the healing hands of plastic surgeon Dr Mohammad Jawad who has been working to reconstruct disfigured faces;<sup>108</sup> our old as well as young generation can emulate Bilquis Edhi, Samina Beg,<sup>109</sup> Nergis Mavalvala,<sup>110</sup> Mehmood Bhatti<sup>111</sup> and the late Arfa Karim.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Hard and Soft Power in a Global Information Age," in *Re-Ordering the World*, ed. Mark Leonard (London: The Foreign Policy Centre, 2002), 2-10.

<sup>106</sup> Qamer Abbass Anka, "Role of Pakistan in UN Peacekeeping Operations," *News International*, June 29, 2016, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/131522-Role-of-Pakistan-in-UN-peacekeeping-operations>.

<sup>107</sup> Gupta, "Commentary on India's Soft Power and Diaspora."

<sup>108</sup> Maheen I. Ghani, "Interview: Dr. Mohammad Jawad, Surgeon featured in the Documentary 'Saving Face'," *Newsline*, accessed October 17, 2016, <http://newslinemagazine.com/magazine/interview-dr-mohammad-jawad-surgeon-featured-in-the-documentary-saving-face/>.

<sup>109</sup> Madiha Shakeel, "8 Pakistani Women Who Made Us Proud," *Business Recorder*, October 17, 2015, <http://www.brecorder.com/arts-a-leisure/lifestyle/257473-8-pakistani-women-who-made-us-proud.html>.

<sup>110</sup> "Nergis Mavalvala," MIT Department of Physics, September 3, 2015,

It is the unprecedented philanthropy of late Abdus Sattar Edhi which shows the real compassionate face of Pakistani society. It is the 22.5 per cent representation of women in Parliament, with portfolios of Speaker and Deputy Speakers in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan which speaks of women empowerment in the country. It is the contribution of the Pakistan Army in rehabilitating apprehended terrorists at social welfare institutes like Sabawon and different cadet colleges which speak of its soft power capacity. It is the desire of Indian film star Nasser-ud-Din Shah 'to have been part of the film Bol' which shows the quality of our film industry; and it is Imran Qureshi, a Pakistani artist who was declared Artist of the Year 2013 in Berlin, Germany. Pakistan's true image lies with Mrs Tabassum Bashir who has established the first Women *Jirga* of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Swat (through a local NGO *Khwalinde Toleena*) in May 2016.

It is Pakistan's novelists and playwrights like Mustansar Hussain Tarar, Intizar Hussain, Bano Qudsia, Ashfaq Ahmed, Ibn e Insha, Quadrat Ullah Shahab, Ibn-e-Safi, Umera Ahmed, and Farhat Ishtiaq coupled with more younger writers who have also achieved international acclaim like Mohsin Hamid, Mohammad Hanif, Daniyal Mueenuddin, Nadeem Aslam, and Kamila Shamsie that truly reflect the creative and vibrant side of this country.

## **Conclusion**

We need to devise and cultivate strategies to project Pakistan as a sovereign, progressive, tolerant and prosperous state, which is at peace with itself and others while rekindling hope, inspiration, goodwill, and confidence at home and abroad. With psychological warfare and information technology as the *lingua franca* of today's world politics, the need for soul searching and in-depth review of Pakistan's outlook and policies at wider level by our policy planners cannot be overemphasised. Failure to address these issues could be a recipe for disaster, especially if the 'profile' war is won by the adversary through image distortion, without even the application of kinetic hard power. ■

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[http://web.mit.edu/physics/people/faculty/mavalvala\\_nergis.html](http://web.mit.edu/physics/people/faculty/mavalvala_nergis.html). Nergis Mavalvala is a Pakistani-American astrophysicist known for her role in the first observation of gravitational waves.

<sup>111</sup> "Richest Person of Pakistan Mehmood Bhatti," *PNP News*, accessed October 7, 2016, <http://www.pnpnews.net/richest-person-pakistan-mehmood-bhatti/>.

<sup>112</sup> "Arfa Karim, the Little Pakistani Genius," *Pakistan History Blog*, accessed October 7, 2016, <http://pakistanitube.blogspot.com/2012/01/arfa-karim-little-pakistani-genius.html>.