

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Theoretical basis**

##### **2.1.1 International Relations**

International Relations (IR) as discussed by Peter Sutch and Juanita Elias is formed of three words “Inter-National-Relation”. Important thing to understand is that in international arena the IR may not be restricted to the pattern of relationship followed between one nation state and the other or more than two nation states. When we see IR in context of global, regional or even at bilateral level there may be many other actors involved in the processes related to the IR. These actors may be international or transnational organizations like United Nations (UN) or maybe the International Monetary Fund (IMF); Regional organizations like Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN); NGOs like Red Crescent and Red Cross, Amnesty International, and big Multinational corporations (MNCs) being giant economic power sometimes even bigger than many countries. All these collectively or individually affect the political landscape of the International Relations. (Sutch & Elias, 2007). The issues related to the IR are also multi facet. These issues may be linked to history, moral philosophy, political standings, economies, law and order, geography, historical connections, war and strategic studies, defense and security requirements etc.

Chris Brown and Kristen Ainley build the understanding of IR in a similar context, whereby defining it as, “the diplomatic-strategic relations of states”, addressing the issues like conflicts, wars, sustenance of peace, and studying and analyzing the trade negotiations and involvement of Non-state institutions, financial systems, communication and transportation systems, and defense and security aspects (Grieco et al., 2019: 1). So, we can summarize IR as the study of the relations of the

states, contextual to, “Diplomatic, Military and Strategic interests” (Grieco et al., 2019: 3).

### **2.1.2 Theory of National Interest**

In international relations, there are several elements that have contributed to its development. The three important elements are actor, interest, and power. These three then relate to form a national identity. Actor is the driving force behind a diplomatic relationship between countries. In the national interest, the state acts as an actor that makes decisions and has an important role in international relations that affect the people of that country. Thomas Hobbes said that the state is seen as a protector of territory, people, and a distinctive and valuable way of life. This is because the state is something that is essential for the lives of its citizens. Without the state in guaranteeing the tools and conditions of security or in promoting welfare, people's lives will be limited so that the movement space owned by a nation becomes the control of a state (Jackson and Sorensen, 2009: 89).

National interest is created from the needs of a country. This interest can be seen from its internal conditions, both from the political-economic, military, and sociocultural conditions. This national interest also serves as a guide for leaders in conducting foreign relations and as a basis for evaluating the government's performance in conducting foreign relations. Interest is also based on the 'power' or the power to be created so that the state can have a direct impact on state considerations in order to gain world recognition. According to Sitepu (2011: 163) national interest is conceptually used to explain the foreign policy behavior of a country.

Hans J. Morgenthau said that national interest is a tool to pursue power where this is always the ultimate goal of political power. Through the power of a country to control other countries by controlling thoughts and actions with political power, it will have an impact on reciprocal

relationships that are influenced by the expectation of profit, fear of adverse circumstances, and respect for humans or institutions (2010: 33-35).

The existence of national interests illustrates that there are aspects that become the identity of the state. This can be seen from the extent to which the country's focus is on meeting targets achievement for the survival of the nation. From the identity created, it can be formulated what is the target in the near future, temporary or also for the sake of long-term sustainability. This is also in line with how important the identity is, whether it is very important or not too important.

The national interest for Hans J. Morgenthau in Sitepu (2011: 165) is determined by political conditions and cultural context in foreign policy and then decided by the concerned country. This explains that the national interest of a country depends on its government system, and of those countries that are partners in diplomatic relations, along with the history that makes the country what it is today. Meanwhile, tradition in the cultural context can be seen from the perspective of the nation which is created from its human character so as to produce habits that can be used as benchmarks for the state before deciding to carry out cooperation.

In the national interest, there are two types of national interests according to their nature, namely: national interests which are vital or essential and national interests which are non-vital or secondary. The vital national interest is related to the survival of a country and the core values that become the identity of its foreign policy where this interest is very important and becomes the main priority interest. Vital interests explain how far these interests exist and are used, which emphasizes the state of emergency of a country so that it must be decided immediately. An example is when a country will protect its sovereignty, defend its territory, and the pride of its country. Meanwhile, non-vital or secondary national interests come from people who prioritize the interests of the community and are not directly related to the existence of the country but continue to

be fought for through foreign policy. Non-vital interests are used because the process takes a long time but the results and functions can be felt better in the future with a long period of time (Nincic, 1999: 29-55).

In the analysis of national interests, the role of the actor in this case is the state, which will pursue anything to establish and maintain, control of one state over another state. According to Jemadu (2008: 68) this control is related to the power created through coercive or cooperative techniques. Such action depends on how much power the country has. In line with this, if the point has been met, the state may change the initial path that was adopted previously to achieve the initial interest, to suit the new interest. This new interest is carried out by continuing to carry out the original interest or completely changing its interest without using the basis of the previous interests to be achieved. This is further clarified when looking at a country in its national interest where the interest A from country X to country Y is the beginning of bilateral relations created then interest B arises from country X which can arise before cooperation is carried out or during cooperation.

These interests form the basis for strategy in carrying out a cooperation. Countries use these strategies after comprehending their national interests, to estimate how far the results will be achieved later. In addition, the state as the main actor in the international arena must have a selling value in the sense that it has capabilities, so that it is respected by its partners/opponents who are considered for cooperation. As described by Jon C. Pevehouse quoted by Jemadu (2008, p. 68) in his book *International Relations: "Actors use strategy to pursue good outcomes in bargaining with one or more other actors. States deploy power capabilities as leverage to influence each other's actions. Bargaining is interactive, and requires an actor to take account of other actor's interests even while pursuing its own."*

In the international realm, cooperation is also an act that is seen as a stage or arena in demands which discuss the interests of the actors

caused by the limitations inherent in the cooperating countries. So, in this case the state tries to use the national interest as a component that is formulated and then fought for in a 'relation'. Pakistan and the US both countries have taken terrorism as a threat to their sovereignty and peaceful existence, and considered fighting it as vital national interest. This commonality of threat perception has made two countries to work together for a common cause i.e., counter terrorism.

### **2.1.3 Pak-US Relationship**

Since its independence, Pak-US relationships have seen many ups and downs. Considering the former USSR's expansionist policy in the region, with India tilting towards the Soviet Union and China's influence as neighboring country, the US established relationships with Pakistan as a strategic partner. The first Mutual Security: Defense Support Assistance agreement between Pakistan and the US was signed in 1955. Subsequently Pakistan also became member of SEATO and CENTO. In the following years Pakistan was given funds of \$500 Million for provision of state-of-the-art military equipment. As mentioned in official US state department record, "The Pakistan army got hundreds of Patton tanks artillery, APCs, howitzers, while Pakistan Air Force received over 100 F-86 Sabre jets, one squadron of F-104 Star Fighters, two Squadrons of B-57 light bombers, T-33 trainer jets, high-level long-distance radars, amphibious aircraft and helicopters and sufficient spares. The Pakistan Navy was offered frigates and submarine Ghazi. The Us also helped Pakistan in many sectors including Industries, agriculture, building Dams and Barrages, provision of first-rate military capabilities and nuclear research infrastructure.

At the time of Independence in 1947, Redcliff Award under Viceroy Lord Mount Batton decided the border of India and Pakistan. There were many anomalies left mainly because of lack of knowledge about the local areas and the understanding of the structures and secondly it was done in

hast without realizing the consequences for two newly formed states. These disputes including the division of assets, riots during migration, water resources allocation, and above all the Kashmir issue, has resulted in three major wars between India and Pakistan in the history. Two major Indo-Pak wars were fought in 1965 and 1971 (A. U. Khan, 2005).

Since its independence India was mainly in former USSR camp, whereas, Pakistan was ally to the US. However, during these wars the US didn't help Pakistan as a strong military ally. This had a bad impact on Pak-US relationships, resulting in suspension of military aid. Underground nuclear test by Pakistan further deteriorated the soaring relationships. However, after the Soviet intervention of Afghanistan US-Pakistan relationships were again renewed as allies for common interest. As Daniel Bayman (2018) suggested, "A proxy war occurs when a powerful political actor has a prominent role supporting and managing a war in another country but only performing a small percentage of the war itself. This means the opposite of a traditional conflict, in which the most powerful countries carry the burden of the war and the smallest ones contribute proportionally" (Maddalena Settembrini, 2019: 10). The US made a front to fight this proxy war against the former USSR in Afghanistan, along with their allies, including Pakistan.

With the monetary funding from KSA 20,000 to 30,000 fighters from all over the Muslim world, known as Mujahideen were sent to Afghanistan to fight the war against the USSR, in the name of Jihad. This decade-long Afghan War resulted in the Geneva Accord in 1988 (Shahi, 2008), and the Soviet Union (USSR) finally withdrew their army leaving the battlefield to Mujahideen guerrillas (Mataxis, 2002). During this war Pakistan was given \$3.2 Billion aid and received front line fighters F-16. During the Afghan War, Pakistani pilots claimed numerous kills on the Soviet aircraft, while flying these F-16s. In 1985 Pressler amendments were imposed on Pakistan, restricting and binding the US aid to the

Presidential approval. With the end of cold war there was a sharp decline between these relationships which continued in 90s. (Ahmad, n.d.: 4-9).

9/11 terrorist attacks on American soil resulted in a major shift in the US's foreign policy towards Central and South Asia. Pakistan's decision to join GWOT with the US redefined the relationship of two countries. The strategic relationship developed between these two countries had a common goal of ousting the Taliban Government from Afghanistan and fighting terrorism (K. M. Ahmad, n.d.).

#### **2.1.4 Foreign Policy**

Foreign policy is basically an "action theory", or a policy of a country aimed at other countries to achieve a certain interest. In general, this is a set of policies for values, attitudes, directions, and targets to maintain secure and advance national interests in the international arena (Perwita & Yani, 2017: 47). A commitment which is fundamentally a basic strategy to achieve a goal both in the domestic and foreign contexts and at the same time determines the involvement of a country in international issues or the surrounding environment (Perwita & Yani, 2017 :47). By going through the above understanding, it will lead to two parts, namely:

- a. Analyzing and describing foreign policy according to general symptoms that show the pattern of foreign policy behavior, the nature and type of foreign policy based on the context of the process and the purpose of its formulation.
- b. Explain the factors that influence the decision-making process of foreign policy. (Wicaksana, 2007: 13)

In the study of foreign policy, stimuli from the external and domestic environment as inputs will affect a country, which is perceived by decision makers in a process of conversion into output (Perwita & Yani, 2017: 49). This conversion process refers to the meaning of situations, both those that take place in the external and internal environment, taking

into account the goals to be achieved as well as the facilities and capabilities it has (Rosenau, 1980, as quoted by Perwita & Yani, 2017: 49). This then boils down to foreign policy, a strategy or plan of action by the government of a country with the aim of achieving the national interest. To fulfil the national interest, the state carries out various kinds of cooperation including through bilateral, trilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation (Perwita & Yani, 2017).

This paper sets out to examine the behavior of the state through its foreign policy, which in this case is a form of Defense Diplomacy for capacity building of Pakistan Air Force between Pakistan and the US. Keeping this in focus, the phenomena studied will be law and geography, national aspirations, national attributes, conflicts, capabilities, institutions and operations aimed at achieving and maintaining national interests of a country as a nation - state (Rosenau et al. 1976, as quoted by Perwita & Yani, 2017).

The process of making foreign policy itself includes:

- a. Elaborating the development of national interests in the form of specific goals and objectives.
- b. Determine situational factors in the domestic and international environment related to foreign policy objectives.
- c. Analyze national capabilities to achieve the desired results.
- d. Develop a plan or strategy to use national capabilities in dealing with certain variables so as to achieve the goals that have been set.
- e. Take the necessary actions.
- f. Periodically review and evaluate progress that has taken place in achieving the desired goals or results. (Plano & Olto, 1997, as quoted by Perwita & Yani, 2017: 51)

Considering this, it is clear why foreign policy will never be separated from the existence of national interests, where national interests are very important to explain and understand international behavior.

Therefore, national interest is often considered as a fundamental goal and the final determining factor that will direct decision makers in formulating foreign policy (Perwita & Yani, 2017: 35).

The foreign policy of a particular country will have its own characteristics, but of course it will still be subject to the same understanding as what has been described above. In the context of Pakistan, the implementation of foreign policy must be creative, active and anticipatory, not just routine and reactive, firm in principles and stance, as well as rational and flexible in its approach. Only then application of foreign policy can be well implemented.

### **2.1.5 Diplomacy**

Every country may not be able to live independently without help from other countries in meeting their needs. Therefore, it is necessary to have interaction and cooperation between countries that are mutually beneficial. This interaction and cooperation can be carried out in various fields, including politics, economy, culture, law, education, and defense.

Interaction and cooperation between countries is often referred to as "*Diplomacy* " based on the science of international relations. Diplomacy comes from the Greek word *diploum* which means to fold. In the days of the Greeks and Romans, the practice of diplomacy was carried out by exchanging envoys carrying travel documents or what is currently called a passport (Mohsin, 2010: 4). Now the practice of diplomacy is growing in line with modern times. Prof. P.M. Drost in Simamora (2013: 27) says that "*diplomacy is an art only, while politics is art and law*". Meanwhile, according to Melissen in Simamora, diplomacy is defined as "a mechanism for representation, communication, and negotiation in which states and other international actors carry out their activities or business" (2013: 27).

Hans J. Morgenthau has his own views on diplomacy. He argues that one of the important elements that shape a country's national strength

is the quality of diplomacy. Diplomacy here is an art in combining elements of different national powers into an integrated system and is reflected in the foreign policy of a country (2010:169). Diplomacy itself is an implementation of relations between sovereign states through intermediaries of officials who are at home or abroad (Berridge & James, 2003), with this it can also be interpreted that diplomacy functions to win people's hearts, change opposing perspectives and attitudes, so that each side is receptive to peace and optimistic about its values. Diplomacy directs countries and nations to behavior of mutual respect, can coexist in peace, make the world dense with cooperation, and complete with justice (Emilia, 2013: 6).

#### **2.1.6 Defense Diplomacy**

Defense Diplomacy as defined is “A set of activities carried out mainly by the representatives of the Defense ministry, as well as other state institutions, aimed at pursuing the foreign policy interests of the state in the field of security and Defense policy, and whose actions are based on the use of negotiations and other diplomatic instruments” (*Of Arms and Allies—India’s Growing Military Diplomacy - The MIT Post*, n.d.).

Historically the form of defense diplomacy tends to be considered as a new understanding, where the concept is a form of development of diplomacy theory. Based on this understanding, defense diplomacy can be interpreted as "all methods and strategies used by countries that may be in a state of competition with one another, but they have used a certain kind of practice including economic, culture, political cooperation, defense cooperation, and diplomacy to make friends, with hope to cooperate with one another, and, most importantly, to build and increase mutual trust” (Pedrason, 2015: 16).

The definition of defense diplomacy put forward by Cottey and Forster (2004: 5) is “The peacetime use of armed forces and related infrastructure (primarily defense ministries) as a tool of foreign and security

policy and more specifically the use of military cooperation and assistance". That military force is a foreign and security policy tool whose use is based on military cooperation. Furthermore, Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster (2004: 7) clearly defined the scope of activities for Defense Diplomacy, which consisted of:

- a. Bilateral and multilateral contacts between senior military and civil defense officials
- b. Appointment of Defense Attachés abroad
- c. Bilateral defense cooperation
- d. Training of foreign military and civil defense personnel
- e. Provision of expertise and advice on democratic control over the armed forces, defense management and military technical areas
- f. Contacts and exchanges between military personnel and units and ship visits
- g. Placement of military or civilian personnel in partner countries of the ministry of defense or armed forces
- h. Placement of the training team
- i. Provision of military equipment and other material assistance
- j. Bilateral or multilateral military exercises for training purposes

All of these activities as form of Defense Diplomacy lead to strengthening cooperation to build and reinforce mutual trust between countries through the practice of diplomacy. Supriyatno (2014: 158) explains that Defense diplomacy is a way of managing international relations between two countries by using negotiation activities that specifically examine the defense sector. The main goal is to realize the ideals of a country or its national interests. Defense Diplomacy according to K.A. Muthanna is a cooperative relationship on an ongoing basis with the aim of building trust, preventing conflict, introducing transparency in

defense relations, building perceptions of the public interest, changing partners' mindsets, and promoting cooperation in other fields (2011: 1-15).

In this research, Defense Diplomacy concepts are used as the main theories and concepts in analyzing the way Pakistan and the US have interacted for capacity building of Pakistan Air Force to undertake Counter Terrorism Operations. Moreover, it also helps understand the process and results of the cooperation in fulfilling the mutual interests between Pakistan and the US between 2004-2017.

For the purpose of this research, out of all activities under the scope of Defense Diplomacy, as defined by the Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster (2004: 7) this study will focus on following aspects:

- a. Bilateral defense cooperation
- b. Training of foreign military personnel
- c. Placement of military or civilian personnel in partner countries of the ministry of defense or armed forces
- d. Placement of the training team
- e. Provision of military equipment and other material assistance
- f. Bilateral or multilateral military exercises for training purposes

### **2.1.7 Capacity Building**

Capacity-building is defined as “the process of *developing and strengthening the skills, instincts, abilities, processes, and resources* that organizations and communities need to survive, adapt and thrive in a fast-changing world.” *Defense capacity building* has increasingly become an integral part of developing nations’ Defense programs. Military capacity is a new way of thinking State’s Defense that poses a new set of challenges and opportunities for the military and Political leadership (Studies, 2013: 02).

Military capability for defense forces can be described as “*the ability to achieve a desired effect in a specific operating environment*”

(Wells & Local, 2006). As per the US DoD, State of combat readiness, sustainability of owned capability, modernization and finally the force structure are interdependent factors defining the Military capability. In terms of assets, it includes the technological achievements, weapon systems and equipment use, which are available to execute specific present or future operations and functions carried out in pursuit of the national defense policy (strategic). Therefore, the capability is measure of ability of any force to conduct operations and functions, whereas, capacity is how you conduct these operations.

Pakistan as partner in GWOT with the US and West had to participate very actively. As a consequence, with growing internal instability and empowering terrorist outfits, especially in Afghan bordering areas of Pakistan, military operation was conducted involving Pakistan Army and PAF. PAF lacked the capability as well as capacity to undertake these counter terrorism operations effectively. This necessitated PAF essentially required capacity building. Pakistan and the US collaborated in this regard and PAF was equipped and trained to be at par to the threat.

### **2.1.8 Terrorism and Counter Terrorism**

Randy defines terrorism as “acts of violence intentionally perpetrated on civilian non-combatants with the goal of furthering some ideological, religious or political objective” (Borum, n.d., 2004: 6). Simmon while quoting Pedahzur and Sivan describes terrorism as, “a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role”; similarly, Alex Schmid proposed it as:

*“Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human*

*victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat—and violence—based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main target (audiences(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought” (Weinberg et al., 2004).*

As a strategic choice by any party, terrorism follows a three-stage method: disorientation, target response, and gaining legitimacy. (Pratt, 2010). Counter-terrorism consists of actions or strategies aimed at preventing terrorism from escalating, controlling the damage from terrorist attacks that do occur, and ultimately seeking to eradicate terrorism in a given context. Counter-terrorism can be classified according to four theoretical models: *Defensive*, *Reconciliatory*, *Criminal-Justice*, and *War*. Generally speaking, each model contains differences in threat perception, how to guard against that threat, how to frame terrorism in the law and constitution, and which agents effect counter-terrorism (Pratt, 2010).

**Table 2.1 Counter Terrorism Models**

Model	Defensive	Reconciliatory	Criminal-Justice	War
<b>General Features</b>	Terrorism is a physical and psychological threat	Terrorism is a political problem	Terrorism is a crime	Terrorism is an act of war
<b>Goals and Methods of the State</b>	Protecting potential targets and victims	Addressing the root causes of terrorism	Arrest and punish terrorists according to the rule of law	Eliminate terrorism through military force
<b>Legal Aspects</b>	Corresponds in most cases to the elements of liberal democracy, with exceptions when practices undermine civil liberties	Corresponds with the law	Corresponds with the law and is subject to constant judicial oversight	Corresponds to laws of war, or may ignore law entirely
<b>Agents</b>	Police, private security companies, firefighters and paramedics, other state and municipal agencies	Politicians, policymakers, brokers, diplomats	Police and the criminal justice system	Intelligence and military units

Source: Ami Pedahzur, *The Israel Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009) (Pratt, 2010)

Talking specifically about the *War Model*, it considers *Terrorism as an Act of War*, and state's goal is to eliminate terrorism through military force. These actions may or may not corresponds to the laws of war and intelligence and military units are used to carry out these operations (Pratt, 2010). This study is focused on this the War model of counterterrorism.

### 2.1.9 Air Power Utilization in Counter Terrorism Operations

Air Force since its inception has been a force of first choice. As it was said by Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, *"If we lose the war in the air, we lose the war and we lose it quickly."* As per USAF Air Force Doctrine Publication 1, *The Air Force*, Airpower is defined as *"the ability to project military power through control and exploitation in, from and through the air"* (USAF, 2021: 6). As per UK Air and Space Power Joint Doctrine Air power is defined as *"the ability to use air capabilities in and from the air, to influence the behavior of actors and the course of events"* (Of et al.,

2018). Over a century since its inception the air power as has proven its lethality. Air Power shows flexibility, versatility, synergetic effects through persistence and concentration (USAF, 2021).

The major roles of Air Power include the control of the air to secure the freedom of actions, Intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance for better understanding of developing environment, followed by the attack that can coerce and influence to change the behaviors of actors involved and finally the Air Mobility. The Air Power speed, reach and height are the core attributes which lead to desirable results in any theatre of war (Of et al., 2018).

Air Force employment has become more complex with the emergence of non-traditional security threats. With these emerging uncertainty in the nature of threats air force offers more flexibility with the timely, effect based, scalable response in support of national security objectives of any country. Air Force is tasked to undertake a variety of missions including counter terrorism, humanitarian assistance and supporting civil authorities (Of et al., 2018). However, impermanence is one of the Air Power Characteristics which can be considered as its limiting factor to operated jointly with the land forces to uphold an impact or effect by their presence. Air Force doctrine explains impermanence as “inherent in air power because of the temporary nature of an air platform’s ability to maintain an influence or effect through its presence” (Spencer, 2019).

Post 9/11 operation in Afghanistan by the coalition in 2001 and 2002 employed air power and consolidated its decisive action against asymmetrical forces. The offensive force was employed from the medium which could not be challenged by the Afghan forces (Gray-Murphy, 2008). Afghanistan’s mountainous terrain became formidable for the land forces to move and capture on ground. The Air support was considered vital for the counterinsurgency operations (Snow, 2016).

When Pakistan decided to undertake counter terrorism operations in FATA and bordering areas, Pakistan land forces were initially deployed for these operations. However terrorists were well-embedded within the FATA's challenging mountainous terrain (B. Khan, 2016a). Pakistan land forces had lot of trouble in carrying out operations and heavy casualties were incurred. Subsequently, PAF was employed to soften out the environment before land operations (Hussain, 2020).

## **2.2 The result of previous research**

Defense Diplomacy is a concept which has not been very commonly used in context of Pak-US relationships. Although the relationships between these two countries have been discussed by many analysts and writers, but they have mainly concentrated on these relationships as a whole or strictly military relationships. Similarly, the defense diplomacy for capacity building is not found in its true manifestation in any of the research. However, the diplomatic relationships and the fruit they bear can be found in many studies carried out in the past. The following are some of the relevant previous studies:

1. Research titled, "Historical Perspective of Pakistan USA Relations; Lessons for Pakistan", by Umbreen Javaid and Imrana Mushtaq in 2014.
2. Research Titled, "Pakistan-U.S. Relations" by K. Alan Kronstadt in 2021.
3. Research titled, "Role of Airpower for Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan and FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas), by Irfan Ahmed in 2009
4. "Counter Insurgency in Pakistan", by Seth G. Jones and C. Christine Fair in 2010
5. "Changing Dynamics of Pak-US Relations and the Challenge of Soft Power", by Moonis Ahmar in 2021

6. Research titled, "Pakistan's Contribution to Global War on Terror After 9/11", by Dr. Hidayat Khan in 2013
7. "The Terrorist Threat and the Policy Response in Pakistan", by Aarish Ullah Khan in 2005
8. "Military Operations Against Terrorist Groups Abroad: Implications for USAF" by David Ochmanek in 2003

### **2.2.1 Research Gap**

All these researchers have focused partially about the Pak-US relations, reasons for terrorism in Pakistan, PAF's role to undertake counter terrorism operations, and lack of capacity leading to restrained success in these operations. However, *none of these have discussed the Defense Diplomacy as part of diplomatic efforts* to enhance the PAF's capacity to be part of CT operations effectively and successfully. So, there is a research gap which is to be filled by this study.

**Table 2.2 Comparison of Past Research**

<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Aim</b>	<b>Similarities / Differences</b>
<b>1</b>	Umbreen Javaid and Imrana Mushtaq	Historical Perspective of Pakistan USA Relations; Lessons for Pakistan	The purpose of this paper is to analyze Pakistan US relationship in historical perspective, highlighting lesson that Pakistan should learn from its past's experiences with the US and recommend a viable strategy for the future.	Both papers are focused to analyze Pakistan US relationship in historical perspective, highlighting lesson that Pakistan should learn from its past's experiences with the US and recommend a viable strategy for the future.  The major difference to this study is that it does not discuss Defense Diplomacy for capacity building and its policy implication. This study is proposed to address this aspect in detail.
<b>2</b>	K. Alan Kronstadt	Pakistan-U.S. Relations	To understand Pak-US relationships in context of Military Aid (2001-2022)	This study addresses many aspects including Pak-Afghan relations, domestic politics, economy and fiscal crisis, China and CPEC impact, Pak-India Relationships and Domestic Militancy and Terrorism Financing and Human rights issues and their combined

				impact on US Foreign Assistance and Security Aid. Again, the major difference remains addressing the Defense Diplomacy for capacity building of PAF to undertake its role in CT operations, which is the major focus and sub focus of this study.
3	Irfan Ahmed	Role of Airpower for Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan and FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas)	This thesis examines the role of airpower in Counterinsurgency (COIN) in Afghanistan and Pakistan.	This study discusses the direct and indirect role of Air Power in Counter Insurgency Operations in FATA and Afghanistan. This study also discussed about use of Drones and their implications and the operational, technological and cultural constraints faced by PAF. The previous study only focuses on the shortcoming and requirements, whereas this study also aims to analyze the Defense Diplomacy efforts and approaches to achieve them.
4	Seth G. Jones and C.	Counter Insurgency in Pakistan	This document examines the evolution of militancy in	This previous study addresses the roots of the militant challenge in Pakistan, Pakistan's

	Christine Fair		Pakistan, assesses Pakistan's efforts to counter militants, and offers a range of policy recommendations.	primary operations and its effectiveness against militants and the results of these operations, and the policy implications. This new research aims to address the practicality of the process through use of Air Power (PAF) for carrying out counter terrorism operations.
5	Moonis Ahmar	Changing Dynamics of Pak-US Relations and the Challenge of Soft Power	This study describes, the changing dynamics of Pak-US relations over the years, starting from 1950s till date	This paper focuses on analyzing national interests, security and sovereignty matter. Whereby suggesting focus on diplomacy, trade and technology instead of threats and coercion and policy of 'do more' for Pakistan in combating terrorism in progress. Although this study addressed the progressive shift from geopolitics to geoeconomics to ensure a win-win situation for both sides while using soft power in many domains including Military. However, it has not focused on use on Defense Diplomacy approach to address

				the military capacity building, which is the major difference between the two papers.
6	Dr. Hidayat Khan	Pakistan's Contribution to Global War on Terror After 9/11	Aim of the study was to determine whether war is the solution or the problem while examining GWOT in Afghanistan.	This study by Dr Hidayat discusses the role and efforts of Pakistan in GWOT along with its partners NATO and the US. Present research is more focused on particular role of PAF and the shortcoming in the capabilities, and how these are fulfilled through DDCB with the US.
7	Aarish Ullah Khan	The Terrorist Threat and the Policy Response in Pakistan	To describe the historical, political and strategic background to Pakistan's experiences with religiously motivated terrorism and alignment of Pakistan as a whole to the GWOT.	This Policy Paper sets out in concentrated and penetrating fashion the historical, political and strategic background to Pakistan's experiences with religiously motivated terrorism as both a tool and a curse and the policy response to this terrorism and alignment of Pakistan as a whole to the GWOT. In the present research this political and historical and strategic links are connected to the achievement of capabilities

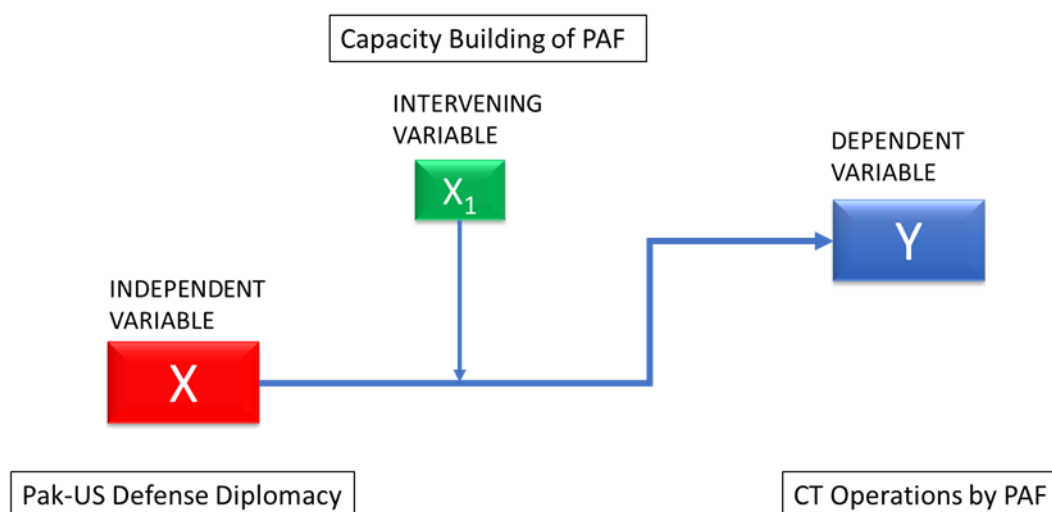
				to fight against terrorism by PAF while being a partner in GWOT and using it as a tool of Defense Diplomacy for CB.
8	David Ochmanek	Military Operations Against Terrorist Groups Abroad: Implications for USAF	Implications for the Air Force: identifying promising applications of air- and space power in Combating Terrorism.	Initial work on the research outlined here took place in both the Strategy and Doctrine program and the Aerospace Force Development program. Ultimately, the study was completed in the Strategy and Doctrine program. This study also guides about the requirements for PAF to modify its doctrine and methodology to undertake CT operations. It also outlines the capabilities and training requirements. This is the major difference as USAF has those capabilities and PAF has to acquire those through DD.

Source: Recreated by the Researcher

### 2.3 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework outlines the researcher's logical thinking to facilitate in conducting the research. It creates a harmony between the background of the problem, theory and the discussion. This framework also enables researcher to compile research data in accordance with the requisite problems and desired objectives to be achieved in this research. Theoretical Framework also explains the relationship between variables in a study.

There are three variables in this study, namely *Pak-US Defense Diplomacy (Independent Variable)*, *cooperation in capacity building of PAF (Intervening Variable)* and finally *undertaking CT operations (Dependent Variable)* which falls under the national interests of each country.

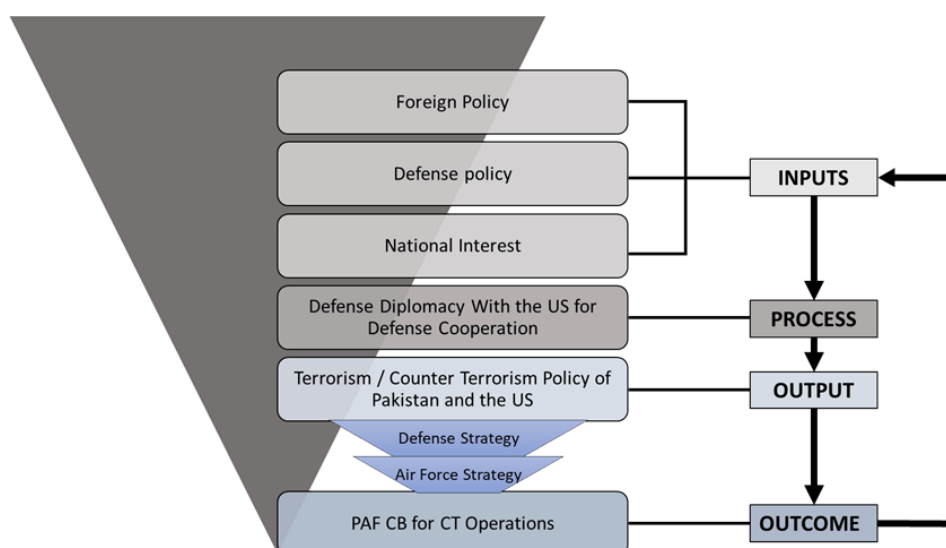


**Figure 2.1 Research Variables**

Defense Diplomacy as a process is a way of negotiation and communication tool for countries to realize cooperation in fulfilling defense and security regulations and to achieve the national interests. So, before a cooperation is established and national interests are achieved, the state will practice diplomacy against the destination country. There are several problems that underlie the practice of Defense Diplomacy carried out by Pakistan and the US in cooperation to build capacity of PAF to fight

against terrorism post 9/11. First and foremost, problem was the US's post-Cold War foreign policy towards Pakistan. Secondly post 28 May, 1998 nuclear tests by Pakistan, many sanctions were imposed. Both these had resulted in limiting PAF capacity to conduct CT operations.

Another important issue was related to the internal security conditions of Pakistan. Considering these factors, the research is formulated by using concept of international relations with foreign policy, defense policy, and national interests. The process in this case is Defense Diplomacy for Defense Cooperation between the US and Pakistan. The output is the conceived counter terrorism policy of the US and Pakistan, whereby assessing the Defense Strategy and Air Force Strategy in this particular scenario and finally to achieve the outcome in shape of PAF capacity building for CT operations. The processes carried out by the two countries will be analyzed by the researcher in context of the existing security situation and followed CT practices as well as the Pakistan's cooperation with the US in the fulfilment of the defense and security requirements through CB of PAF to undertake these operations. Along with that the permanence of these Defense Diplomacy efforts are also considered. The explanation can be seen from the following theoretical framework:



**Figure 2.2 Theoretical Framework**