

**ROLE OF DOMESTIC FACTORS IN SHAPING THE  
FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN: A CRITICAL  
ANALYSIS OF POST-9/11 ERA**



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# **ROLE OF DOMESTIC FACTORS IN SHAPING THE FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF POST-9/11 ERA**

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ





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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Malik Muhammad Gulzar (Late) and my mother Naseem Akhter, my wife Fozia Tabassum, my children Eiman Rustam, Amna Rustam and Muhammad Ashir Ali Khan who gave me unconditional love, encouragement, tremendous support, and provided me strength, endurance and determination to move through the final stages of this dissertation. Their constant motivation and sacrifices were indispensable in making this dissertation a reality.



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## **FORWARDING SHEET**

The thesis entitled “**Role of Domestic Factors in Shaping the Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Critical Analysis of Post-9/11 Era**”, submitted by Mr. Rustam Khan is partial fulfilment of PhD degree in social sciences with specialization in International Relations has been completed under my guidance and supervision. I am satisfied with the quality of student’s research work and allow him to submit this thesis for further process as per IIUI-rules and regulations.

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Supervisor**

**Prof. Dr. Muhammad Khan**

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

UNO	United Nations Organization
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
USSR	United States of Soviet Socialists
US	United States
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
UN	United Nations
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
IT	Information Technology
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
LOC	Line of Control
PD	Prisoner's Dilemma
OIC	Organization of Islamic Countries
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
MFN	Most Friendly Nation
TTP	Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
JEC	Joint Economic Commission
TCF	Trillion Cubic Feet
PRC	People's Republic of China
TAPI	Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
CTBT	Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

## ABSTRACT

The foreign policy of any country is based on both internal and external factors. These factors guide the state to devise, mould and establish relationship with other states, while taking into consideration, its own national interest. While the external factors may not always be favourable, the domestic factors can mostly be controlled by the governments to formulate a more feasible, dynamic and futuristic foreign policy by the State. Ever since its inception in 1947, Pakistan's foreign policy has been strongly influenced by the external factors besides the domestic ones. This was mainly owing to its geopolitical and geostrategic location and competition among the rivals of the cold war; the United States of America and former Soviet Union in particular. Besides, the foreign policy of Pakistan was also strongly influenced by its internal factors like; military coups, political upheavals, poor economy, religious forces, poor governance, leadership, pressure groups, corruption, media outlook, misconstrued image, extremism and terrorism etc. At the level of neighbourhood, despite sharing a common history, prolonged period under British colonial power and a unified freedom struggle, India and Pakistan could not maintain closer relationship in last 75 years. Similarly, Pakistan and Afghanistan have common religion, ethnicity and values, but their relationship has never been cordial. Pak-Iran enjoyed cordial relationship for some time, but it began deteriorating since 1990s. China and Pakistan's relationship however have been very friendly and mutually reassuring in most of the time. Pakistan's relationship with Russia and United States have been uneven, mainly owing to vested interests and exploitative strategy. On the basis of results extracted from the primary and secondary data obtained on the subject, it is established that internal factors are equally important in the formulation of foreign policy of Pakistan as of the external factors. However, influence of the internal factors remained different at different times and circumstances.

**Keywords:** *Pakistan, USA, Foreign Policy, Domestic Factors, State, Critical Analysis*

## **Chapter 1:**

# **INTRODUCTION OF RESEARCH**

# **Chapter 1:**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction of Research**

Foreign policy in general, is a mechanism where states interact with the other states to be in a relationship to protect the national interests. The foreign policies of states are framed by considering its domestic needs and requirements, in order to protect its strategic interests, military and economic empowerment, effective role of its leadership, the working of the governments, taking geographical advantages including many other factors (Amin, 2002). Among many other definitions, the foreign policy is a way of communication by one state with the other states to achieve its goals, protect the values by using different tools and instruments (Younus, 2003). In order to devise a realistic approach for making foreign policy by any state, she has to consider the external system, internal dynamics, resources of the state and available options before making foreign policy.

Another has defined foreign policy as “a well-rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation” (Khanna, 2010). States are forced by the structure of the international system which is anarchical, despite presence of regulatory global institutions, like United Nations Organization and many other regional and international institutions which provide financial help, like World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Nordberg, 1998). However, it is a matter of fact that internal factors of any country do matter a lot in the formulation of foreign policy by the respective state. It is an accepted principle that the main objective of making foreign

policy by any state rest with enhancing its ability to attain the specific goals (Khan, 2015). Foreign policy is a plan devised to address some problems or take up some goals that imply action towards foreign entities. In all aspects internal and external environments are two broad spectrum which determine the foreign policy by any state (Sattar, 2013).

Foreign policy of Pakistan also lies between some external factors, like geopolitical and geostrategic location, economic interdependence, cold war between super powers and internal factors; military capabilities, economic development, societal effects, Islamic ideology, ethnic groups, religion, media, leaders and political pressure groups (Khan, 2015). Different foreign policies are shaped by different domestic factors, towards its neighbouring states. Besides, Pakistan and India have long history of common culture and living together in common place before partition of Indian sub-continent. Both countries have many differences, like Islamic ideology and religion, which are most powerful factors, while ethnicity remains involved in shaping foreign policy of Pakistan with Iran (Pande, 2014). Similarly, religiously Pakistan is close to the Afghanistan, however, linguistic issues, historical effects remain core with the Afghanistan (I. Khan, 2007).

Pakistan's foreign policy mainly revolves around India. There are many unresolved issues between Pakistan and India since partition of Indian sub-continent which are pending and are required to be settled down. Kashmir dispute, Siachen crisis and water dispute are the core issues between the two states (Amin, 2002). There are many national and international non-state actors playing their role in the South Asian region to escalate strained relationship between two nuclear powers to get their own interests. Whenever, the governments of both the states tried to initiate any composite dialogue, there were such pressure groups and non-state actors that derailed the process, besides Indian rigidity on



Kashmir dispute, calling it as its integral part (Khalid, 2013). Pakistan has only cordial and friendly relations with China since 1950; despite both countries have many differences in their internal factors and diversified cultures, different languages and religion (Belal, 2017).

The study would explore Pakistan's response to critical domestic factors which highly influenced its foreign policy towards its neighbouring states and three major powers; China, US and Russia. The study would explore as how far the domestic factors influenced the foreign policy and what measures and strategies should be taken to minimize the influence of those factors in order to a pro-active and futuristic foreign policy which takes into consideration all aspects of national interests of Pakistan.

## **1.2 Rationale of the Study**

Both external and internal factors shape a foreign policy of any state towards other states. The external factors are normally beyond control and influence the changing world politics based on geostrategic location of any state (H.-A. Rizvi, 1983). Pakistan's foreign policy has been discussed by many scholars, but mostly discussed foreign factor include Pakistan's security threat by India when it joined SEATO and CENTO immediately after it got independence.

Later on, Pakistan joined USA in Afghan war in 1980s against United Soviet Socialist Republic's (USSR) ambition to cherish the idea of expanding communism. However, internal factors pushed Pakistan into US camp (S. I. Husain, 1989). Pakistan has strong religious emotions and ties with Afghanistan. It was not acceptable for Pakistani nation to see USSR invading Afghan territory. Therefore, Pakistan joined American camp

against Soviet Union in this war. Similarly, Pakistan never accepted Israel as an independent state in UN due to strong reservations of religious pressure groups (Belal, 2017).

Although, Pakistan has a rich strategic geographical location as well as huge natural resources, however, it needs to minimize its internal weaknesses through national integration and political appeasement (Mazhar & Goraya, 2013). Pakistan is in dire need of an inclusive society, political consistency, democratic culture, maintaining law and order, providing equality and justice to its public by observing constitutional supremacy and strong institutions (Lake & Powell, 1999). These measures are vital to achieve its desired place in the regional and international community (S. Ahmad, n.d.). There are other domestic factors as well, like military interventions, political instability, public opinion, governance, economy, role of bureaucracy, extremism and terrorism involved in shaping foreign policy of Pakistan (Mazhar & Goraya, 2013). Therefore, it is important to study and analyse these factors critically.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Since foreign policy is a sum total of domestic policies, therefore like other nation states, foreign policy of Pakistan has always been influenced by its domestic factors. In most part of its history, owing to military interventions, political upheavals, poor economy, religious factors, leadership crisis, pressure groups and poor governance, have repeatedly influenced Pakistan's foreign policy. Besides, security problems, unresolved issues and unfriendly neighbourhood, particularly with India and Afghanistan have also influenced the foreign policy formulation of Pakistan. In the post-9/11 period, there has been a strong impact of these domestic factors and hostile neighbourhood towards formulation of foreign

policy of Pakistan. A critical analysis has been conducted to evaluate the impact of above-mentioned factors to ascertain the way forward for a more comprehensive foreign policy of Pakistan, for meeting the future challenges.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

This research is aimed at achieving following objectives:

- To analyse the role of domestic factors, which shape the foreign policy of Pakistan.
- To examine how individual actors affect the foreign policy of Pakistan viz-a-viz the elements of national interest.
- To evaluate how internal factors impact the foreign policy of Pakistan towards its neighbouring states and major powers.
- To scrutinize the factors which attract regional and global acceptability for the state of Pakistan.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

On the basis of abstract, statement of problem and objectives, following questions have been formulated:

- 1) What are the domestic factors which affected in shaping the foreign policy of Pakistan in its post-9/11 history?
- 2) Why some domestic factors remained more influential, and the others are less in the foreign policy of Pakistan?
- 3) How foreign policy of Pakistan can be made all engaging towards its neighbours and major powers?

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

In the global village of this anarchic world, states are bound and restricted not only by their own interests, resources, actions and policies but at the same time, they are constrained by the similar actions and reactions and interests of other nations with which they usually interact. The relationship between countries can be viewed as the state of two countries as per the geographic location, political type, its natural resources and defence and strategic capabilities (Younus, 2003). Governments must choose between the limits where they can make a difference and the limits where their participation can backfire. It also requires states to maintain political, social and economic structures to organize and prioritize their internal existing resources which are present in their borders' limit (H.-A. Rizvi, 1983).

Foreign policy of Pakistan is a backbone for its security and development. The external factors do not come under the direct control of any state, however, domestic factors can be controlled where it is in danger and contradict with the overall security and economic development of Pakistani state (Khan, 2015). Pakistan was created in the name of an Islamic ideology, therefore, its foreign policy is seen as an ideological imprint. The Muslims of South Asia were enthusiastic to establish a Muslim majority country to have strong ties with the brother Muslim states, therefore, foreign policy of Pakistan was tilted towards the close ties with the Muslim countries. The close connection between state-building and the emotional turmoil triggered by the events of the widespread Islamic world among Muslims in South Asia before independence led Pakistan to plan its Islamic identity in foreign policy and build close relations with other Islamic countries (H.-A. Rizvi, 1983). Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Premier of Pakistan, while elaborating

foreign policy and its relationship with the ideology clarified that “Pakistan came into being as a result of the urge felt by the Muslims of the sub-continent to secure a territory, however limited, where Islamic ideology and the way of life could be practiced and demonstrated to the world. A cardinal feature of this ideology is to make Muslim brotherhood a living reality. It is therefore part of the mission which Pakistan has set before itself to do everything in its power to promote closer fellowship and cooperation between Muslim countries” (Burke, 1972). So, Islamic ideology imprints are clearly reflected in all the constitutions of Pakistan, which highlight the need to strengthen solidarity between Islamic countries (Article 24 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1956).

During the late 1960s and 1970s, there were several developments that took place in the world order in the anarchical world system in general and the Muslim world in specific (Rose, 1998). These reforms encouraged Muslim states' projection of Islam in politics, something Pakistan has always strived to achieve since its independence. Pakistan was once again in the forefront of the push to unite Muslim countries and make them a political force to be reckoned with (H.-A. Rizvi, 1983). A clear shift in Pakistan's foreign policy initiatives permitted its active engagement. It shifted from a policy of alignment with the West to one non-alignment and bilateralism with soft image to its motive to engage with the West-sponsored security system. Following that, the powers that had questioned Pakistan's credentials as a Muslim ally reacted positively to these diplomatic efforts (Khalid, 2013).

Since these domestic factors have played a dominant role in shaping foreign policy of Pakistan with other states in general and its neighbours in particular therefore, it is a desperate need of the time that those domestic factors of Pakistan which are more

influential should be analysed, critically reviewed and suitable suggestions should be made for policymakers, political leaders and military controllers.

## **1.7 Delimitations of the Study**

Domestic factors of Pakistan influenced its foreign policy since its creation. A number of variations have been observed in the foreign policy of Pakistan since its independence in 1947. These variations were seen due to external factors, like cold war between great powers i.e., USA and USSR and domestic factors, like Islamic ideology on the basis of two nation theory was seen in relationship with India. The foreign policy was also influenced due to poor economy caused by corruption and political instability, which made it dependent on major powers.

In this dissertation, it is difficult to analyse all the factors that influenced foreign policy of Pakistan since 1947, therefore, this study will be limited to the role of domestic factors i.e., military interference, political upheavals, economy, religious factors, governance, social structure, media, public opinion, leadership, corruption, extremism and terrorism etc. in shaping foreign policy of Pakistan towards neighbouring states and major powers in post-9/11 era only (2001 to 2018).

## **1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research is a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. To examine and illustrate the study, both forms of data including primary and secondary were employed. This study's approach includes in-depth interviews with retired military officers, diplomats, and researchers from various think tanks/academicians involved in foreign policy formulation and international relations. These interviews were given a chance to

comprehend underlying difficulties and fundamental concepts, as well as help in the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy achievements and failures that lie outside the scope of the literature.

In this study, political elite, military and pressure groups are very important variables which directly interlink and affect others, including economy, governance, corruption, media outlooks, extremism and terrorism. Political elite always prefer relations with other states where their personal interests are protected. Similarly, Pakistan's military may not interfere when foreign policy is devised with European or African states, however, when civilian government review its foreign policy towards neighbouring countries, especially India and Afghanistan, it cannot be finalized unless military is not on board. Moreover, foreign policy towards America and China is also a hot issue for military that cannot be materialized without their involvement. As far as pressure groups are concerned, they always play their role when their own interests are shaken. The political parties, religious pressure groups and business community get activated when their interests are not fulfilled.

Furthermore, the researcher has conducted surveys and questionnaires to collect data and used snowball and convenience sampling to get the requisite information. Because this study is about shaping foreign policy, snowball sampling was useful in locating persons associated to foreign policy specialists, particularly retired officials from the military or diplomatic offices, whose information is difficult to find online. Secondary data contains government papers as well as other published material such as books, research articles, and reports, among other things.

### **1.8.1 Research Design**

This study is analytical and descriptive, internal elements influencing Pakistan's foreign policy toward its neighbours is compared, and an observatory approach is used to draw conclusions. In the next section, using a quantitative technique, primary data was acquired from military officials, foreign policy specialists, ambassadors, professors of International Relations, and think tank members which was assessed, and conclusions were drawn.

### **1.8.2 Population**

Foreign policy formulation is not a routine task that can be undertaken by any member of society, government, or state. Rather, this is a specialised function that must be performed by specialists who are skilled about the issue and have substantial expertise in the related work. To target a more relevant and credible demographic, primary data was collected through interviews from (1) retired military officials serving as defence analysts, (2) diplomats and officials of foreign office, (3) political figures, (4) academicians of International Relations related to foreign policymaking, (5) members from think tanks and (6) religious leaders having political affiliation.

### **1.8.3 Sampling**

Foreign policymaking is not an ordinary subject. Only those who are relevant, qualified, and highly professional are invited to participate in this study. As a result, snowball and convenience sampling is employed. The target individuals were contacted by snowball sampling; however, it was observed that most of the people other than foreign officials, academicians and military officials were well aware of the concept of foreign policymaking. The religious high ups were unable to respond due to limited knowledge on



the subject. Total sample size was twenty-two (22) comprising of academia, politicians, religious personalities and military personnel.

#### **1.8.4 Instrumentation**

Open and close-ended questionnaires were prepared and both structured and unstructured interviews were conducted from academicians of International Relations related with foreign policymaking, retired military officials, officials of foreign office, diplomats and members of think tanks.

#### **1.8.5 Data Collection**

The primary data is collected with two methods of quantitative and qualitative analysis. The quantitative method is obtained through close ended questions where answer is analysed with quantifiable method. This data is analysed with the help of Data Analysis software where mean, mode and median type of results are generated with regression and correlations through various formulas. While qualitative data is obtained through open ended questionnaires. This type of data is analysed and evaluated through comparative method technique. Qualitative data is comprised of sounds, words, expressions, emotions, feelings, colours and other non-quantifiable types of data (Booth et al., 2008). Qualitative data is collected through structured and unstructured questionnaires, focused groups, observations, case studies and other methods by which data is analysed on comparative basis.

During the existing research, both primary and secondary data was collected. Primary data was collected through personal interviews and telephonically from academia, military officials, politicians, media persons, foreign policy experts from Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, defence analysts and members of think tanks, while secondary data was collected from relevant books, reports, articles, magazines, online portals, and newspapers.

#### **1.8.6 Data Analysis**

This study was analytical and descriptive therefore primary data was analysed through statistical tool of regression analysis (SPSS). Similarly, secondary data of content analysis was made by the way of literature available in the neighbouring states, and by their successes and failures of domestic factors leading the foreign policy of those countries. On the basis of content analysis and regression analysis, conclusion have been drawn and findings were generated for policymakers and state institutions.

### **1.9 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The study has been elaborated in eight chapters. The summary of these chapters is provided as under:

- First chapter is introductory. This part includes the study's premise, explanation of the problem, aims, research questions, and importance. Following that, there is full explanation of the literature review, and this research activity attempted to bridge the gaps found during the study. Research methodology is a critical component of the study, therefore, all the relevant form of empirical data techniques including selection of population, sampling of data, instruments used to analyse and at the end data analysis of the data were all included.
- Second chapter provides background knowledge of the subject. A brief literature review has been provided, that how much work has been done on the issues of domestic factors and their role in the foreign policy of Pakistan. It also provides an

information that how these factors are important to be discussed individually and collectively to understand the priority of any state. The background literature available on the topic depicts to further study the role of domestic factors in the foreign policy of Pakistan.

- Third chapter of the thesis discusses the theoretical framework of external and domestic factors leading foreign policy of any country. This chapter also explores neighbouring countries' foreign policies regarding Pakistan. The debate continues to lead the two nations' interactions by utilising game theory and neoclassical realism theory. The role of external and internal elements has been addressed in the light of various international relations theories.
- Forth chapter explains general objectives and dynamics of successful foreign policy of a state. Every state has to interact with other state to protect and safeguard its national interests. What are the national interests and how states behave with other states to secure their vested national interests? The subject of foreign analysis provides to understand the key players of any state that how international players make policy decisions and these political figures interact with each other to promote and secure their vested interests by interacting with other foreign governments, national and international organizations. Foreign policy is a complex discipline where multiple players interact and influence the decision-making within and outside the state structure. This chapter also provides level of foreign policy, aims, objectives and national interests of Pakistan which are important to be considered while making decisions and interacting with other states.

- Fifth chapter examines Pakistan's foreign policy as well as internal elements that affected its policy throughout the time. Domestic variables such as military coups, extremism and terrorism, economy, governance, political upheavals, religious ideologies, leadership skills, public pressure groups, corruption, media outlook etc. have also been examined in order to identify more prevalent elements. These factors have been analysed, using data acquired from both primary and secondary sources, and a full analysis has been offered.
- Sixth chapter discusses the foreign policy of Pakistan with its neighbouring states in post-9/11 period. Pakistan and India have tense relations since partition of Indian sub-continent, however, presently more tensions are brewing between Pakistan and India. The discussion lead from historical perspective to narrow down to relations in post-9/11 era. Pak-Afghan relations have been discussed in context with internal influential factors shaping Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan. Both countries have common domestic factors like religion, language, ideology, culture and social structure but relations between both the countries are tense, besides Pakistan tried to adjust with Afghanistan in war on terror. Similarly, Pak-Iran relations have also been analysed on the basis of primary and secondary data, especially in 21<sup>st</sup> century when the incident of 9/11 shook the world politics.
- Seventh chapter discusses Pakistan's foreign policy towards major powers i.e., US, China and Russia. Pakistan tilted towards US during cold war era and during the war on terror. However, currently Pak-US relations are highly tense in its nature. Although, Pakistan preferred to join the US camp since its inception in 1947 due to its hegemony, however public opinion of Pakistani nation did not mould it towards

the US. Pak-China relations will also be discussed and analysed. Pakistan and China have many differences in domestic factors like different religion, culture and political system; besides both countries have friendly relations. These relations touched new heights of cooperation and friendship when China started CPEC project in 2015. Pakistan remained in indirect war against Russia in 80s when Pakistan played leading role to disintegrate the Soviet Union during Afghan war, however, currently both states are trying to have friendly relations in the emerging multi-polar world order. This study focuses on the religious and other domestic factors influencing foreign policy of Pakistan towards US, China and Russia.

- Eighth chapter is summary of the conclusions drawn during the research and closes the discussion. This chapter offers a full description of the findings, as well as recommendations. Finally, references are provided.

**Chapter 2:**  
**LITERATURE REVIEW**

## **Chapter 2:**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Many scholars have written on foreign policy of Pakistan and subjective analysis of internal factors. Some of the more influential domestic factors include military capabilities, economic conditions and types of governments. The role of media and foreign policy relationship and Pakistan's relations with India, Afghanistan, Iran and other states is also considered factor affecting foreign policy. Some domestic factors of Pakistan's foreign policy like ethnicity contributed positively in the relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan, likewise, it contributed negatively in the relations with Iran. At the same time, religion remains main forceful factor, like the eruption of tense and complex relations between Pakistan and India. Pakistan's relations with the west and the US also mapped on the basis of being Muslim state in the world politics. Pakistan's active role in the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) was not admired by the west and the US due to close ties with Muslim world based on common religion (Khalid, 2013).

Ethnicity is one of the key determinants in the foreign policy, where pressure groups established on the basis of ethnicity influenced the state policy towards other countries of their choice. Ethnicity has a powerful, influential and a unique academic discussion, where it highlights the impact of ethnicity on the foreign policy of Pakistan towards its neighbouring countries (Shah, 1997). It has covered two and a half decades of 70s to mid-90s. The focused points out the political and ethnic dimensions of the state's policymaking measures taken with the other states. There are cross border strong affiliations on the basis of linguistic, diverse historical, cultural and ethnic groups presume

their country should make foreign policy of their choice. While devising the foreign policy, political families strongly influence it, like in the case of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Iran. The ethnicity has also strongly influenced the foreign policymaking process towards brotherly Islamic states, as well as it is dealing with major powers of the world.

Pakistan was created on the basis of two nations theory where religion has a strong impact on the domestic life of individuals especially in the subcontinent. It discusses religion as the "primary driver" of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan is attempting to break free from its Indian past by advancing its philosophy. Pakistan wishes to cleanse itself of any traces of India, and its foreign policy is rife with gaffes and blunders. The overarching goal is to highlight the Islamic base in the foreign policymaking process. Islamization factor wants to push back the non-Muslims from national affairs, which resulted in diluting the foreign policy ideologies (Pande, 2014). There are certain alternative ways of foreign policymaking, which other political and religious parties have suggested during the time.

Pakistan's foreign policy evolved around some hows and whys of the country's policy from a domestic to an international perspective. Changes after 9/11 necessitated a profound shift in self-image and worldview that went beyond simply being a US ally in Afghanistan or rejecting the strategy of backing the Taliban (I. Khan, 2007). The study's major focus is on identifying such improvements, their prerequisites, and some basic ideas for future adjustments. The book also examines historic, global and domestic factors of post-9/11 policy of Pakistan towards Afghanistan. It highlights the regional consequences of that choice, as well as the local discussion that it sparked, and it finishes with an assessment of and implications for reforms in Pakistan that are necessary for its success.



It is quite difficult to point out which are most influential factors of state's foreign policy, however, it is clear that many of the domestic factors have direct and indirect link with the foreign policymaking process and these factors can be the main cause of its success or failure (Bindra, 1988). Without a doubt, measuring the influence of internal and external forces in real time is challenging. A transparent government structure and political stability, make significant contributions to building economic and military power. Other variables, such as corruption, political unrest, and fundamentalism, have a negative impact on foreign policy.

The military remain the point of concern in the national or regional development of the country. The other pillars of the country are dependent on the ultimate power and strategic position of the military. Being a diversified type of neighbourhood, where Pakistan has three out of four neighbours, but does not have cordial relations with all of them, means a lot for the importance of the military in the foreign policymaking process. According to this, Pakistan's national strategy has been concerned with completing a single fundamental and transcending task: the establishment of such ways and means as might best secure the country's existence, from the start (S. I. Husain, 1989). Pakistan's security aspects have included both domestic and external components. In reality, Pakistan has had a particularly strong relationship between internal and foreign threats. Pakistan's policy had been to protect the country from external mystifies in its domestic affairs; assist in providing the state with armed forces, sufficient to deter military invasion; and generate resources to meet the above two requirements, as well as provide adequate funds for social and economic development. The book presents and defends military strategic priorities,

while also discussing Pakistan's economic and social progress. However, whole discussion goes on theoretical perspective without any statistical and data support.

Pakistan's foreign policy towards neighbours is a sum total of multilateral diplomacy, detailed ups and downs with India, including three wars and the role of Islamic world in global politics (Amin, 2000). Pakistan, besides its limited options to either compromise its spending on its military power or to put these resources on the social development was the main foreign policy problem. Although, Pakistan got nuclear power and missile technology but getting only nuclear weapons cannot guarantee its survival. Soviet Union was nuclear power, but this capability could not save the USSR from disintegration. The Soviet economy proved to be its Achilles' heel, as the productivity fell considerably. It would be foolish to ignore this historical lesson, because Pakistan's fragile economy may be perilous for nations as well as people. This book provides little detail about the internal factors, while whole discussion revolves around Pakistan's diplomatic relations with the outer world.

Pakistan's foreign policy has a direct influence on domestic players such as the military and bureaucracy and has very little effect on Parliament (Irshad, 2005). No outstanding performance of Parliament has been observed when it has devised a direction of foreign policy. It is also a matter of fact that most significant and critical time of the external moments occurred when there was military rulership. So, it is evident that major turning points in the history of foreign policy decision were unilaterally decided by the military or its leadership. Other factors also remained important including its geostrategic position, economic compulsions, historical perspective, and inconsistent leadership.

Pakistan's foreign policy outlook reveals that the state has made foreign policy decisions unilaterally and without consultation.

9/11 was an event in the world history which shook things up and especially the foreign policies of many states (J. Shah & Riaz, 2013). Keeping in view the event of 9/11 the basic study of this article is to answer the question that what was the foreign policy of Pakistan towards Kashmir and Afghanistan after this incident. Pak-Afghan policy before 9/11 and how it changed and abandoned its erstwhile foreign policy and joined the US on the war against terror was a total shift. Further, Pakistan's foreign policy towards Kashmir prior to 9/11 and Pakistan's change towards Afghanistan and Kashmir after that gory incident paved the way for MMA towards National Assembly, which proved the arrogance and abhorrence of Pakistani people, especially the people of KP towards US and Bush administration.

Economy is one of the strong variable where nation states tried to strengthen their country to influence the other one. Similarly, economics should regulate Pakistan's foreign policy as well (Herald, 2015). With the passage of time, Pakistan believed in strengthening its military against its arch-rival "India". Pakistanis who are well-versed with the foreign policy of Pakistan know that India wants to strengthen its economy to match China's and does not want to have skirmishes with Pakistan. India realises one thing that going to war with Pakistan will weaken its economy and IT sector. It is a matter of fact that foreign policy of any state is basically true reflection of its economy. A country having better economic policy implemented by the country would have better foreign policy.

Pakistan's military officials think that the needs of national security mandate and their engagement in foreign policy formulation is for Pakistan's security, and is armed forces' *raison d'être*. Even though Pakistan has an elected government, the military rejects civilian direction on foreign policy, particularly in regions of special importance such as Afghanistan and Kashmir. Pakistan's military also dictates policies to all major statesmen (N. Ahmed, 2010). The Indian and Afghan policies have been designated as reserved topics, while foreign policy objectives in general are intended to ensure Pakistan's security. However, the method in which they are pursued also promotes the business interests of the military. Because Pakistan's state and democratic institutions are relatively weak, the military controls foreign policy. As a result, the military now controls foreign and security policy, notably of Kashmir and Afghanistan.

Foreign policy is regarded as an important attribute of a country, in the community of nations and systematic, vibrant, efficient, and successful foreign policy raises a country's stature on the international stage (R. M. Khan, 2015). A bad foreign policy might have serious implications. Pakistan's foreign policy should be guided by history, pragmatism, dynamism, and logic in the future and our foreign policy should not be founded on illusions in the future. Instead, Pakistan's ties with all countries should be treated with fairness, equality, and cooperation. As is customary, the maintenance of world peace and security must be an intrinsic aim of Pakistan's foreign policy. To build a favourable home climate, we must cement the effects of Operation Zarb-e-Azb and fight militancy, sectarianism, fanaticism, and extremism more aggressively.

Pakistan suffers from economic and social maladies that both the military and democratic governments are unable to address. India, which is Pakistan's biggest rival, its

politics has never been the same as Pakistan's. India has made strides towards democracy, whereas Pakistan continues to tilt towards authoritarian governance. The geographical position of Pakistan is critical. If it fails, the neighbouring nations will be in risk as well (Ganguly, 2000).

Pervez Musharraf while discussing foreign policy of Pakistan asserted that five determinants are important for the foreign policy of Pakistan. These determinants include, security, economy, international concern about atomic weapon, ideology and upholding of principle of Kashmir (P. Musharraf, 2000). Three out of five determinants are internal; therefore, it is necessary to focus on the factors that can be controlled by the state in order to devise strong foreign policy towards other neighbours and major powers.

Foreign policy always begins at home and domestic factors have a significant impact on both sides of North Atlantic. Geostrategic location, economic conditions, internal institutional framework and human figures have massively contributed to the foreign policymaking process of both American and European states. American shift of geographic mixture over the foreign policy issues of the state has been figure out by many western scholars. Some analysts mentioned that European migrants have had significant influence on the foreign policy of US towards European countries. The Hispanic Americans have strong impact over the central foreign policymaking process of the country as compared to the other ethnic groups, as their population will be majority of the US by 2050 causing a historic drift in the geographic landscape of America. Also Asian Americans are the fastest growing ethnic group but still they have very small portion of the total population, therefore, they may not have any strong impact on the foreign policy for quite longer time (Hamilton et al., 2018).

The role of public opinion in policymaking and its impact on the state departments is vital in the foreign policy of developed nations (Sheng et al., 2021). Pak-Afghan border management and role of international public opinion has been discussed by foreign relations experts. It is evident from the analyzed data that international public opinion plays a significant role in international politics. It influences the role of a state, foreign policy of a state and bilateral dispute between two countries. Traditional media tools and its confluence with modern technologies have led to increased flow of international news available to the general public, in more rapid pace and effectiveness as compared to traditional media. Hence, its potential to shape public opinion has enhanced, thus playing a crucial role in developing public opinions and influencing an event.

Extremism has significant impact on the foreign policy of neighbouring countries as well. Increasing extremism in the Indian state by the Hindus has been a source of reaction by the followers of other religions of neighbouring states. It is accepted that extremism is the issue, that states are facing since many years and this still exists in the contemporary era. Under extremism, the state is usually divided into different ethnicities, castes and color etc. Religion is sacred to people as they have emotional sentiments towards religion and are always ready to fight in the name of religion. South Asia is a region which has different languages, castes and ethnicities etc. Before independence these ethnically divided people in South Asia were living under the dominancy of Mughal Empire and British Raj (Akram & Siddique, 2021).

## **Research Gap**

The literature available on the subject and discussed in this study reveals that a substantial academic work including books, research articles and dissertations are available

on foreign policy of Pakistan, its relationship with neighbouring countries, as well as other states and major powers. However, all these relations have been discussed that are influencing foreign policy of Pakistan due to external factors and rivals of cold war; USA and USSR. Although, domestic factors have been considered as dominant factors but there is lack of critical analysis available in the academic circles.

The international politics has been changing from uni-polarity to multi-polarity and new hegemonic powers are emerging in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Besides, Sino-Russian role of challenging the uni-polar world order, India and Brazil are also emerging as industrial powers in the new world order. Pakistan has to devise a very active and dynamic foreign policy by letting off the static and stagnant one in order to get survival in the international anarchic, new and multi-polar world order. It is need of time that dominant domestic factors influencing foreign policy of Pakistan must critically be analysed, so that a dynamic and futuristic foreign policy is devised by the state elites and institutions.

**Chapter 3:**

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE**

**RESEARCH**



## **Chapter 3:**

# **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The objectivity of studying social and political sciences has long been called into doubt due to the possibility of personal values affecting. In a similar spirit, differing world perspectives and techniques make it difficult to comprehend and explain international interactions. This is due to the fact that there are several approaches to understand international relations. To begin with, international events that might include conflict, collaboration, or both, necessitates, a multidisciplinary and multilevel study will be explained. Between the two decades of world wars, international relations became recognised as a distinct field, and debates about "what to study" and "how to study" have raged ever since (Ari, 2018).

There are many theories in the discipline of international relations which were developed during the period. The scholars of international politics viewed this anarchic world according to their own angle and presented theories to understand inter-relations of nation states. Pakistan is Islamic Republic State, and the strategic location of Pakistan exists with two Islamic states in its neighbours, while other two are Hindu majority i.e., India and Buddhism in China. The relations of Pakistan with its neighbours can best be analysed with institutional theory and neoclassical realism theory of international relations.

### **3.1 Theory of Institutionalism and its Application**

Institutionalism is a theory of international relations which has its own place in the political science. The institutionalists have drawn motivation from internal institutions interacting or influencing the world politics. The institutionalists address similar questions

as raises in the other fields of political science, however average differentiation between types of institutionalism may not be precise as other fields of international relations. It is also a field of interaction of domestic and international politics (Jönsson & Tallberg, 2001).

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The institutional theory provides a unique and different approach to critically analyze social, political and economic dynamics of a state and the global world. Domestic institutions frame rules of the game within a society or a state (North, 1991). All the formal and informal institutions like family system, government, private corporations and state institutions are part of the game and frame those rules. These new dynamics focus on the role of domestic institutions and their operational context which are important to shape the enterprises, state and behaviour of the enterprises (Carter & Scott, 2010).

Institutional theory is normally considered as more relevant and receive great attention in the field of international relations in the developed and advanced countries where domestic and international institutions are strong to frame and influence the decisions. However, developing states are also gaining attention regarding institutionalism-based research. Most of this sort of study has thrown light on issues of market and government failure in countries, allowing different types of institutions to operate. The ageing infrastructure; static-centric systems; continued government control in the corporate sector and land owners; limited access to information; and cumbersome processes to establish new firms and pursue an integrated strategy of state institutions are examples of elements (Aceves, 1997).

Indeed, the complexities of the institutional structure in the world politics has risen exponentially since the birth of the United Nations Organization and the Bretton Woods

system following World War-II. In conjunction to such shifts in local and international engagement with governmental behaviour, NGOs have grown as parallel and influential organizations. As a result, the new theoretical frameworks must account for both developments. Institutions and organisations in global politics have grown in size and complexity, and therefore gained a considerable importance to collective life. They have grown into separate actors, dubbed "organisational sovereigns" by some (Meyer et al., 2006). NGOs play an essential role in both the domestic and international systems, and comprehending the institutional worth of such organisational sovereigns is both theoretically and practically vital for global politics and IR studies (Ohanyan, 2012).

Second, governments and local populations have strong interests in current designs and hence oppose to close of gaps. Examples include the global health care regime, financial environment, and the ecosystem (Garrett, 2007). Though, the possible consequences of the established order are high, the redistribution of resources whenever new concerns development in the international setting and has typically been slower inside donor nations due to the modified version of donor support (Leon, 2010). Similar mechanisms are at work in the environmental sector, where the global community has failed to develop comprehensive and legally binding agreements on how to address climate change, despite of the fact that the consequences of inactivity have gradually risen (Victor, 2004). Monetary interest groups in industrialized and developing market nations have opposed aggressive international laws in this arena because such restrictions would weaken their industrial strategies of competitive edge. Unfortunately, such opposition leads the international concessions that countries must accept to narrow governance deficiencies,

and hence the internal political risks they face, to grow over time more rapidly than they would have if agreements had been reached sooner (Fioretos, 2011).

Without a foreign policy, no nation-state can exist. So, Pakistan has its own foreign policy. Nonetheless, it has vacillated between a flawed democracy and an autocrat since its creation in 1947. In the previous 75 years, quasi-institutions like civil bureaucracy, as well as the military have cornered the parliament which is the actual (foreign) policymaking institution. During the 1950s, the civil bureaucracy dominated politics and foreign policy, with the military serving as a subordinate partner. While exercising its authority, the Ayub Khan-led military took the lead in October 1958. As a result, the military institution dominated politics, government, and foreign affairs during most of the decades of 1960s, 1980s, and 2000s. Pakistan technically had democratic dispensations during the intermittent times. However, in reality a civil administration has either bungled or unable to define its authority to counteract the military in foreign policy. As a result, the military dominated foreign policy formulation and implementation. In the modern era, the military has controlled the parameters of foreign policy, while asserting its authority. The preceding has been established in light of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) agency theory, which the author has used to analyse complicated empirical evidence (E. Hussain, 2022).

### **3.1.1 Military as an Institution**

In successive eras, Pakistan's foreign policy has been reinterpreted and redefined in response to security concerns. The Russian Empire and other nations supported the Indian plan to split Pakistan and create Bangladesh. Indra Gandhi had long wished to drown the Two Nation Theory in the Bay of Bengal. For her, the sad tragedy of the fall of Dhaka was a dream come true with the advent of the twenty-first century, when Pakistan attained

nuclear status. Following 9/11, the United States and its allies devised a worldwide conspiracy with a broader aim to incapacitate Nuclear Pakistan. Pakistan was to be destabilised, de-Islamized, and denuclearized. Terrorism immobilised the state's structure, and nearly seven hundred thousand Pakistani citizens and troops were killed in terrorist assaults, making this the deadliest time in the country's history. Pakistan had to incur irreparable damages of more than 118 billion dollars in financial losses, as well as social agony affecting the whole nation. This was the period when Pakistan's military forces, as usual, heroically confronted the wave of terrorism as well as the external perpetrators of this calamity (M. Saleem et al., 2019).

The nature of civil-military relations in the state has been heavily influenced by socio-political history, foreign as well as domestic threat factors, and the shortcomings and strengths of civil democratic structures. Pakistan has had a tumultuous relationship with India since its beginning for a variety of reasons. The primary cause for the foregoing has been the military's supremacy at the expense of governmental civilian institutions. All of it was owing to the region's distinctive security situation. This country has been the target of four direct military coups; in 1958, 1969, 1977, and 1999. According to military leadership, "military used to establish a very efficient, disciplined, task focused cohesive profile coupled with a strong esprit de corps that was always considered as necessary for the state's existence." It ruled the country for 33 years since its inception. However, for the rest of the time, it had considerable authority in national affairs, with the military leadership making all significant domestic and foreign policy choices.

During the military leadership of General Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan, and General Zia-ul-Haq, the military exercised authoritarian control over foreign policy. In

1999, General Musharraf took control of the country. Aftermath of the 9/11 incident was that he took a daring foreign policy decision by deciding to become a non-NATO strategic partner of the United States in the war against terrorism. Until the regime transition in 2008, the governing party of Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q) backed the military establishment in all foreign policy concerns. However, he did compel the civilian component of the state to remain on his carefully designed page in order to assist the US government. Regarding security, his policies brought Pakistan into the worst chapter in its history. According to the Rational Choice Approach, both the civil and military elites gave each other room to make policy choices in the best interests of the country. In this sense, both confer with one another and make joint decisions (H.A. Rizvi, 2000). During Pakistan's last decade of democratic setup, a trend in civil-military ties emerged (2008-2018). During this era, a new pattern of hybrid relationships was established, which gained prominence during Pakistan's last civilian government of Tehreek-e-Insaf. It is based on giving the military a major function in national defense and important foreign affairs choices, most notably in Afghanistan and Indian policies. Though, there were numerous competing elements in the recent decade, Memogate and Dawn Leaks were the most inciting issues between civil and military leadership, but the military did not go for a coup and chose to remain on the back foot (Parameswaran, n.d.). During his tenure as Prime Minister from 2013 to 2018, Nawaz Sharif attempted to mend relations with India. In this attempt, he did not fear to employ backdoor connections, which irritated the military establishment because it just wanted to rebuild relations in a methodical manner. To secure long-term peace with aggressive India, the military leadership encouraged Nawaz Sharif to confer with his military rival, which he completely rejected. Dawn Leaks was the result

of poor ties between both the military establishment and civil government, rather than any conflict on foreign policy.

### **3.1.2 Parliament as an Institution**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs normally outlines foreign policy in accordance with executive directives and submits it for parliamentary approval. After a deep consultation with the members of the parliament, it either approves it or proposes changes. Members of the parliament from the Government or oppositional benches may support or oppose the government's foreign policy. They may ask questions on the country's foreign policy and the efficiency of the minister of foreign affairs. Statements released by the Head of state, Prime Minister, or Foreign Ministers on external issues are discussed during parliament's discussion, in which legislators can voice their thoughts as well as the public's viewpoint (Sampson, 1962).

Given the significance of parliament, particularly in international affairs, President General Muhammad Ayub Khan called a special sitting of the National Assembly in 1962, when border dispute between China and India began, and informed members on the effects of the conflict on Pakistan's security. Consequently, meeting of the National Assembly was summoned when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's then-President, departed for New Delhi in 1972 to meet with Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi following the East Pakistan catastrophe. The Shimla agreement, which was signed on July 3, 1972 by Pakistan and India, was also confirmed and ratified by the then-National Assembly. This was for the very first time that a Pakistani administration asked the National Assembly to approve the pact. Aside from this example, a joint and special session of the parliament was called

several times to debate the Kashmir problem and other security-related issues in Pakistan (Muzaffar et al., 2016a).

Again, in the Yemen crisis, Pakistan's foreign policy was quite logical and responsible, as long-time friend Saudi Arabia asked Pakistan to send armed personnel to Yemen, but the then-civilian government debated this with the military establishment and in parliament, and the prevailing thought was not to deploy soldiers to Yemen. Islamabad, on the other hand, added by promising to play a part in peace talks (M. Saleem et al., 2019).

### **3.1.3 Media as an Institution**

Media as a subject in academia has resulted in the production of countless new concepts, giving rise to the necessity to comprehend this vast discipline. The growth of media over time, and its sister areas such as journalism and communication studies, have developed tremendous ability to affect the environment in which they operate. The contemporary media has evolved dramatically to the point where it has established itself as a distinct entity in society, despite of the number of critics. As a result, several ideas have been developed and debated in order to comprehend the scale of the impact that media in today wields. The Pakistani media took the lead in bringing to light previously taboo policy problems, and the media quickly became a critic of Musharraf's semi-dictatorial rule. During this time, several serious foreign policy challenges arose. In such dreadful circumstances, the media played a critical role in maintaining the morale of the nation and its warriors high by showing important programmes, and the state-owned channel PTV was at the forefront of this approach (Saeed, 2017).



The nature and intricacy of today's threats necessitate the role of the media in fostering agreement. The role of the media becomes even more crucial in recognising the delicacy of some of the most pressing issues confronting Pakistan at both the regional and international levels. To portray its image in the global political arena, a state requires the support of the media. Furthermore, in an effort to broaden its foreign policy and develop diplomatic abilities, the media (print, electronic, radio, and social online web-based) plays a key role. Public opinion is regarded as a major influence of foreign policy, and the media is regarded as the public's mouthpiece and a reflection of its goals (Chandio, 2019).

Pakistan, a developing country with numerous social, economic, political, and security concerns is not immune to the influence of modern media. Indeed, the Pakistani media is being regarded as more open, direct, and proactive than ever before. It currently emphasises the country's social wrongdoings, economic incompetence, and political errors. Over time, Pakistani media has evolved into a powerful platform for examining the operation of state institutions; rather than proposing policy alternatives to the government, it has taken on the mission of policymaking (N. Hussain, 2012a).

Until recently, the media's role in deciding Pakistan-India relations was that of an agent to support the government's message and strengthen its perspective on contentious matters such as Kashmir. With the electronic media under government control until the 1990s, the only possible resistance to the government's agenda may have come from the independent press. It did not, however, since media feared sanctions, if they attempted to deviate from the official narrative on India. With a little independence, the press could hardly be expected to take any responsibility. As a result, the media sector in those days was characterised by many publications competing to demonstrate their commitment to the

national purpose in foreign policy, particularly in relation to India and Pakistan (Saffee, 2016).

The private owned pattern of the media in Pakistan has been significantly different from that of the United States. Nonetheless, the media has followed the propaganda paradigm, when it comes to several key matters, particularly foreign policy concerns such as relations with India. Before digging into the media's impact on Pakistan-India ties, it is essential to comprehend how the media works in this nation and how much power it has. Is it influential and powerful enough to have an influence on the country's foreign policy, notably in the case of India? (Mustafa, 2004). Without a doubt, the media has changed dramatically in the later decade of the twentieth century. This has not always been the situation in Pakistan. Change has also occurred on a global scale. The media's ability to reach out to people has increased dramatically as communication technology has advanced and global markets have become more integrated.

Previously, the physical mechanism of information conveyance was so difficult, sluggish, and limited, and the economic restraints were so numerous, that the media whether television, radio, or print could not work as efficiently as it does now. This also made it extremely simple for the government to place limits on the media in order to exert control over it. This expansion of the media net today is especially noteworthy in the case of Pakistan, where the press and electronic media have never been free. Only recently has there been some relaxation of regulations. The Ministry of Information set the policies for the electronic media, which was solely owned by the government. In contrast, the press, which was not owned by the government, was restrained through the issuance of strict press advisories, the enactment of harsh laws, and the use of advertising as a tool for economic

pressure. In severe situations, journals and newspapers were shut down, and editors were imprisoned. As a result, the media was unable to independently influence how the people felt or how foreign policy was created. The media had to back up whatever the administration thought should be its stance towards India. On the government's handling of foreign policy concerns, or for that matter any delicate aspect of national life, there could be no inquiries or criticisms. The administration might stifle journalistic freedom under the guise of defending the nation from external security dangers by equating relations with India with national security worries (Niazi, 1992).

The internet has also grown in importance as a source of global news. A monarch could no longer impose an edict to censor information and opinions. In the past, any publication that included anything that the government regarded offensive was prohibited. The copies were destroyed, and admittance into the nation was denied. However, readers no longer need to wait for the physical copy to arrive if they are interested. One only needs to visit the publication's website to read whatever one wants in the comfort of one's own home. The internet has already changed the way that politics and media are practised, and this effect is only going to grow. The Internet has emerged as a cure for those who are marginalised from political discourse, providing access to diverse and dissident media on a global scale. This also holds true for Pakistan (Atkinson, 2008).

### **3.2 Neoclassical Realism Theory and its Application**

Neoclassical realism is a method of analysing a country's foreign policy. It combines classical and neorealist theories, notably defensive realist theories. Neoclassical realism maintains that “intervening systemic characteristics such as the distribution of power capacities among states, as well as cognitive variables such as the perception and misunderstanding of systemic forces, may explain a state's activities in the international system” (Rose, 1998). Moreover, it affirms that decision-making authorities are influenced by the threats and intensions of other nations, as well as international factors, which may be elites, state institutions and social and civil society actors.

Purdon, while explaining the neoclassical realist theory acknowledges that “systemic restrictions on climate change cooperation, relative-gains issues connected with international resource transfers implied in climate change policy, and political variables that help explain heterogeneity in individual state behaviour” (Purdon, 2014). India has attained the foreign policy objectives due to its political stability, technological advancement, industrialisation, and reasonable growth in its gross domestic products. However, Pakistan could not pull it out from consequences of Afghan war, post-9/11 war on terror and subsequent internal violence, extremism and terrorism issues. Pakistan has effectively engaged major nations such as the United States in the fight against terrorism, as well as collaborating with China on the economic corridor initiative.

The notion of neoclassical realism best explains the relationship between Pakistan and India. Both nations have a history of interfering in each other's domestic issues in order to demonstrate their influence in international politics. The game of perceptions and misperceptions concerning conventional and non-conventional weapons has led both

governments to acquire nuclear weapons, which pose a major threat not only to both states but also to the whole area (Burke, 1972). A similar issue exists in Pakistan's relationship with Afghanistan. Pakistan has engaged in Afghan domestic matters in the past, in order to install a pro-Pakistani administration. However, non-state forces in Afghanistan, particularly in the post-9/11 era, interrupted this effort. Afghanistan likewise asserted its claim to Pashtunistan and refused to recognise the Durand Line as an international boundary. India and Afghanistan pursued a hostile foreign policy towards Pakistan, forcing Pakistan's military and leadership to retaliate in kind (I. Khan, 2007). Pakistan, on the other hand, has never been hostile to Afghanistan and has sought to work with it on several occasions.

Neoclassical realism is a broader foreign policy perspective. It claims that foreign policy's scope and goals are founded on a larger philosophy. Neoclassical realism's aspects have limited control and impact over international affairs research. According to neoclassical realism, the scope and purpose of a nation state's foreign policy is determined by the nation-state's factual power in international policy issues. Neoclassical realism draws on classical realism's straightforward relationship between land and society without sacrificing neo-core realism's grasp of the control of international affairs study.

Classical realism emphasizes the need for nation states to work together to accomplish common goals in the sphere of international politics, as well as the challenges that leaders have faced in carrying out foreign policy. Moral philosophy shapes foreign policy topics like, military intervention, diplomacy, legal philosophy, and so on.

China has started to invest in the developing countries to build their infrastructure and attain its economic goals (Blah, 2018). China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is

the most important and significant project which has been launched in Pakistan by the Chinese government, however it has been facing considerable hurdles due to regional and global political interest of other powers. This project will be a game changer for many countries in general and Pakistan and China in particular will get maximum benefit. It will not only improve the economy of Pakistan but it will also be a source of influence for China, in the regional and global arena. On the one hand, this project will overcome the major issues of Pakistan's economy including energy crises, road infrastructure development and unemployment but it will also enhance the importance of Pakistan in regional and global politics. However, India has raised many concerns over the success of CPEC, as she feels that Pakistan's boost in the economic front will not be beneficial for India's dominance in the region and global politics. Chinese, on the other hand, are unconcerned about India's rise, whilst the Indians are considerably more concerned (Gulshan, 2018). They believe that dominance will be impossible to achieve without facing China's influence and Pakistan's economic expansion. According to Indian authorities, New Delhi has backed an insurgency in Balochistan, aiming at sabotaging the project, including destroying the gas pipeline and murdering and capturing Pakistani and Chinese employees. It has been mentioned by many Pakistani political and military leadership that secret agency of India is continuously trying to sabotage the CPEC project to secure its own vested interests (Safdar, 2015).

Many scholars of international politics have mentioned that India is trying hard to become a big power in the region which may be accomplished by any method (Horimoto, 2017). India has attempted to sponsor a rebel organization in Balochistan, in order to undermine Pakistan's economic progress and counteract China's influence. It is also

claimed that Pakistan's inadequate internal policies fostered and provided room for rebel groups to engage in such operations (Burke, 1972).

It is important for Pakistan's foreign policy analysts to understand the major issues of Pakistan insurgency which is ultimately hurting the CPEC project. Two theories were established for this goal. To test the assumptions, the best appropriate theory in these circumstances is neoclassical realism. This method identifies factors, that are more dominant than others, and factors that are more dominating than others. Neoclassical realism is a blend of classical realism and neorealist theories, notably defensive realist theories, which was first proposed by Gideon Rose in a 1998 *World Politics*' review article.

Classical realism often concentrates solely on 'hard' military strength rather than relative economic power, and it analyses international politics rather than domestic politics. Kenneth Waltz, for example, is a structural realist who preferred the overall framework of the international system rather than any domestic or subsystem. The international system often provides the politic and structure of the global world and major powers, but it does not provide comprehensive picture of any state. Gideon Rose stated that neoclassical realists believe that material and defence power of any particular state defines the boundaries of its foreign policy. He mentioned in Thucydides' phrase that "the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must" (Burke, 1972). State leaders and the elite class are the primary players in the process of foreign policymaking; they believe that relative power is crucial, and as a result, each state reacts differently (Rose, 1998).

The neoclassical realism focuses on individual level variable to provide analytical clarity regarding foreign policy of any state (Rose, 1998). However, it also focuses on the

broader system level variable and speaks that global pressure is very much significant in the foreign policy of any state. They claim to predict the foreign policy of certain state on the basis of historical events, where other classes of realists may not be able to do it. At the same time, neorealism has some boundaries that can only forecast the international political system rather than internal politics (Dueck, 2005).

In reality, ideas from any social science subject may be used to effectively explain and comment on situations. Similarly, International Relations is a branch of social science that can best explain inter-state and intra-state relations via the use of theories. Southeast Asia's regional and geopolitical situation is best described using game theory and neoclassical realism. Pakistan-India relations are primarily tied to the Kashmir issue, which can only be addressed if the cooperative game theory concept is used and both states are willing to consider a give-and-take formula.

Pakistan and China have had friendly relations since Pakistan's independence, but India has long believed that Pak-China relations may harm Indian national interests. As a result, it is always attempting to disrupt any movement that is in Pakistan's or China's national interest. From the beginning, India has attempted to make the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor project problematic. Similarly, game theory can best explain Pak-Afghan ties. Both nations are Muslim, with religious, cultural, and historical ties. They may achieve more by following the idea of collaboration rather than refusing to collaborate.



**Chapter 4:**

**DYNAMICS OF FOREIGN POLICY AND**

**THE CASE OF PAKISTAN**

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### **4.1 What is meant by Foreign Policy?**

Many scholars have defined foreign policy in numerous ways that highlight their particular opinions. They agree that it is primarily concerned with the national interests and behaviour of any particular state with the other nations. The main job of the foreign policymaking authorities is to safeguard the national interests, even when there is an adverse situation and other nations want to get maximum benefit from it. Foreign policy is basically a polite and diverse political interconnection and relationship where state engages other countries and non-state actors beyond their own national interests. Foreign policy is, by definition, acts where states create spaces constructed (Chong, 2007).

Foreign policy has been described as a state's activities towards its external environment, as well as the conditions where these actions are developed. The impact of some variables is subject to change. For instance, a country's economic as well as political system can undergo a change with the passage of time. Similarly, the regional and global political systems within which states operate also change (Arshad, 2004).

The concept of foreign policy is as old as the existence of human being on earth. The early human beings interacted with each other. The diplomacy behaviour means actions and reactions one state adopts towards the other state. It is also named as policy of interactions with other states for the smooth and effective functioning of international

relations to ensure and protect the prescribed objectives and national interests. It is also a policy to describe how a state will interact with other states on political, economic, military and social platforms and one state will deal and interact with the other non-state actors in an anarchical international system (Acharya, 2004).

Foreign policy can be a simple state-to-state interaction, or it can be very complex and vague to protect the national interests and sovereignty. It is not only the name of meetings and diplomatic ties with the other political figures, but it also means that foreign policy experts engage the counterparts and important figures to meet the objectives of its own state and enhance its national interests. Moreover, foreign policy means focusing on the aims and objectives of a state. In addition, it focuses on the national interests and values, while interacting with other nations during negotiations.

Foreign policy discusses the role to determine and define the outlines and objectives of the state. In the era of globalization, no state can exist in isolation. Foreign policy of any state is interlinked with the historical events that define the increasing role of particular nation in the unity and sovereignty, core principles and foundations for the progress and ideology of the country by focusing on the aims and objectives. It may be interpreted broadly in terms of government formation, economic development and stability, political scenario, geographical factors, and the country's current surroundings.

Currently, it is agreed and believed that world is working like a global village and all the countries on the earth are its various parts. No state can live in isolation, as all the nation states are inter-dependent on each other to feed their people and to fulfill their needs. Accordingly, all the states need to develop good relations with each other. In order to

develop good relations, these states have to interact with each other. These international protocols set the attitude of the states with each other.

Currently, nation states are required to maintain their security and stability as main concern of national strategy in the prevailing world order. The third world countries of South Asia are more vulnerable and insecure due to inter-state and intra-state conflicts. These disputes are of various natures but mostly they are because of territorial, political and ideological differences. In order to remain secure, these states have to use and opt different strategies of getting sympathies of major powers and alliances with other regional states.

Foreign policymaking process is usually influenced by ethnic and interest groups. America is the only superpower in the global world of the day. That's why its foreign policy analysis affects the politics of other states. There are strong ethnic lobbies engaged in the foreign policymaking process of USA. These lobbies are very influential while devising the dimensions of the power politics. "The lack of consensus about the dynamics behind the formation and power of ethnic lobby groups can be seen as rooted in an unclear evidentiary pattern and an understudied set of phenomena" (Haney, 2010).

As a matter of fact, it has widely been accepted principle that political figures across the world influence the foreign policy of not only states but of the regions as well. For the last couple of decades, an impression has been emerged on the basis of media outlook and sayings of political figures, hence, leaders play crucial role in the foreign policymaking process (Grove, 2007). The opinion and attitude of the public has crucial role in the international politics played by the foreign policy during the era of nation state. The public

views are considered important and influential voice in the international politics. Normally public do not have their major concern on the routine matters of foreign policy, however, in the matter of critical issues, opinion of public is considered a core value, while devising the matters by the policymakers. It is evident that public perception is based on the public opinion as per the realist approach. Although, choice and systemic theories on foreign policy effects are differentiated by the neorealists approach but they agree with the approach of neorealists about public views and foreign policy (Foyle, 1999).

Foreign policy is analyzed by the modernist theory and pluralism theory as theories of international relations. It is the name of having diplomatic relations, peace, alliances and gaining political support of other countries. In this global village, diplomacy is most important tool of the international relations. The democratic governments talk about the importance and values of democracy, while non-democratic governments correlate its abilities to the welfare of the people and their rights. However, public opinion as a doctrine of foreign policy is considered as freedom but it does not control the foreign policymaking process (Pierce, 2017).

## **4.2 National Interest and Foreign Policy**

In order to devise a foreign policy to be consistent and continuous in modern times, it must earn credibility and authority among a country's inhabitants. This can be accomplished by consistent attempts to pursue stated national objectives through the use of the country's foreign policy. National interests are devised by the policymakers as per the expectations, goals and requirements of general public of the state. National interest can also be characterized in terms of defence against attack, raising living standards, or contemplating one's rightful role in the United Nations and other international

organizations. There are two types of national interests which can be categorized as core and supplementary interests. The core interests are considered as more significant and important in the foreign policy by the state. For example, the American people intend to play strong role in the international politics, as being a super power, it is in the US national interest. However, in many other countries, such thoughts are not considered as core interest of foreign policy (Arin, 2014).

Foreign policy is a combination of proper planning, control and management of the affairs of the country. There are some tools which are used in the foreign policy by the states, like diplomacy which is an important strategy of the foreign policy. Foreign policy is decision-making process where states are bound to take decision of their national interests with the other states. The decision-making not only comes with the power but it is the name of right decision at the right time on the basis of in-depth information (Debnam, 1984).

Foreign policy is a complicated and complex method of devising relations with other states and it has much influence on the domestic and regional politics and culture. The transnational relationship is an important component of foreign policy regulations (Gyngell & Wesley, 2003). Foreign relations and diplomacy comprise of foreign policy. It also has a public policy dimension that manages the affairs with the external world. It also deals with the tricks and actions to create an international environment, where it is meant favorable for the state's national interests.

### **4.3 Objectives of Foreign Policy**

The objectives of foreign policy include, to determine its strong and friendly relations with other states and to strengthen its own beneficial acts. It is usually guided by the state's ethics and ideals. In the era of nation states, it is not possible to live in isolation, therefore, reaction to the international and global events is an important component of foreign policy. The ultimate goal of the foreign policy is to protect the national interests and sovereignty of the state. There are some universal objectives of all states while devising their foreign policy, which includes unity and integrity of the country, it intends to meet the requirements of its citizens within the borders and beyond the limits, it also wishes to maintain the dignity and sentiments of rest of the world; and to develop durable relations with other countries for economic ties and technological cooperation in order to pursue its own national interests.

Foreign policy is a study of international system to resolve, assist and understand it for the purpose of carrying out planning operations in the international affairs. The main objective of the foreign policy is to get and expand its position in the international politics. It also focuses on attaining a better position of its citizens and gaining an edge over the other nation states of the world. The foreign policy is created, devised and implemented to mitigate its problems and challenges that are different and unique to each state in the whole world. The theoretical approaches of international relations argue that all states are in continuous struggle and competition with other countries for more suitable and effective decision-making to be more productive and result oriented. Foreign policy is a dynamic subject of international politics, where a number of factors are studied to meet the required goals of the country.

However, the main purpose of the foreign policy rests with the fact that each country needs to determine its national interests and effectively achieve those interests.

#### **4.4 Determinants of Foreign Policy**

According to the subject of international relations, the world can be grouped into three layers of the developed (first), developing (2<sup>nd</sup>) and underdeveloped (third) worlds. The division is primarily based on the basis of political and economic growth metrics, social structure and foreign transactions, such as external debt and participation in international organizations. Usually, the foreign policy of countries falls in the first layer, which is durable and tolerant as per the basic principles, with no shift in regulation and relative to the developing and underdeveloped world. Pakistan can be either classified in the definition of developing or underdeveloped state, with a lack of elected governments most of the time and also a large foreign debt install under contemporary foreign policy review books. Countries without proper democratic setup and having foreign debt are considered as less sovereign in case they come in the category of developing countries (Kundi & Faiqa, 2005).

The foreign policy behaviours are not accurately measured. The most important determinant in political system is foreign policy. The unusual conditions like wars and crises have strong influence over the international political assessments (Foyle, 1999). Kaarbo and other scholars view that “The lack of an overarching government in the international system is one of the most important external conditions that affects foreign policy”. Realist theory proposes that “anarchy is the characteristic of the international environment that makes international politics so dramatically different from domestic politics” (Beasley et al., 2012).



Foreign policy analysis mainly deals with the aim to know how the decision makers and leadership of international politics understand their states' national interests (Breuning, 2007). Foreign policymakers also think about the collective interests instead of individual interests. They focus on the international issues linked with the domestic ones and try to make and shift arrangements to serve the foundation of foreign policy development.

According to Amer Rizwan (2009), there are number of external and domestic factors which shape the foreign policy of any state. These factors include, territorial boundaries, geographical presence, historical background and its culture, economic strength, technological advancement, national and regional competence, social structure development indicators, public opinion, democratic setup, political leadership and accountability, rights of free press and bureaucracy are some key domestic factors of foreign policy. Similarly, external factors also push the state to consider the sovereignty of the state. These factors include global organizations, perceptions and outlook of the other nations, position of the state in an international setup and international public opinion (Rizwan, 2018).

The basic characteristics of foreign policy have decentralized into many comparative and competitive viewpoints. The core goal of the foreign policy can best be explained to determine its national survival in an environment where multiple nation states interact with each other (Webber & Smith, 2002). It is a matter of fact that internal and external are both the factors which influence the foreign policy of any state. It is a difficult job to make and devise foreign policy of any country towards other nations. So, it is the responsibility of the elite and leadership to frame the foreign policy. It is evident that

foreign policymaking is not only internal and external phenomena, but also the global changes that happen around the world can also influence the foreign policy of any country.

Thus, foreign policy is mixed with a country's long-term aims and aspirations, as well as its leaders' ambitions to play a big role on the global stage, which lends final shape to the country's foreign policy. Any country's foreign policy is shaped by a variety of internal and external influences. Geographical considerations, culture and history, economic factors, technology, national competency, leadership, political accountability, the press, and bureaucracy are the key domestic variables that determine foreign policy. At the same time, external considerations such as the current structure of international politics and the defensive capability of other nations impact foreign policy goals. These aspects combine to form these factors, and their equal participation adds to the country's foreign policy.

A democratic political system takes various elements into account while developing policy. It remembers the core rights of the people and their responsibilities to them. When secret intelligence and diplomatic activities are carried out, the importance of foreign policy is acknowledged. Global stability and democracy have a crucial influence in foreign policy implementation. Foreign policy formulation varies from time to time and in accordance with international politics. In the post-cold war era, USA put more efforts to boost its economy, rather than defence disputes. After the cold war, she spent a large number of resources in economic development. She also provided guidance to other countries as well, to boost their economy, so that countries may spend more money on the development of their people (Khara, 2018).

In the ideal situation, it is mandated that each country should consider global welfare as well while formulating foreign policy and not just improve its own national interests. The current world is living in the era of global village. Each country has a direct and indirect impact on the actions of the other country. So, foreign policy should be devised in such a way that all the sister states should also get benefits of it. In this way, a dream of a peaceful, safe and prosperous globe can be achieved.

#### **4.5 Foreign Policy of Pakistan**

Scholars have labelled Pakistan as an "ideological state" due to its founding fathers' political reinterpretation of Islam, including Muhammad Ali Jinnah; a "garrison state" due to the military's central role over the period where almost half of its existing, military ruled; and some anti-Pakistan lobbies called it a "terror state" due to the perceived radical uprising of Islamic movements. Moreover, another scholar has defied the foreign policy of Pakistan that the state has the ability to be flexible, keeping in view the domestic and external dynamics, which can be called as "client state" and "pivotal state" (Jaffrelot, 2016).

The internal and external factors of Pakistan have been source of its foreign policy formulation which include, geographical and historical perspectives, social and political system, weak economic condition, military preparedness, power politics in the region and the global politics. Pakistan's foreign policy was influenced by the Indian factor in its early five decades, however, after 9/11 Pakistan remained in struggle to protect the interests of USA in the war on terror. The country had previously suffered as a result of the cold war; this new circumstance forced Pakistan to defend itself against a torrent of claims and seek tighter collaboration from friendly nations in order to avoid international isolation (Hilali, 2012).

After 9/11 incident, Pakistan faced its most vulnerable position, when George W. Bush, former President of USA declared that "every government, in every area, has a decision to make. You are either with us or with the terrorists" (Bush, 2001). He also stated that any country that continues to house or assist terrorists would be recognized as a hostile government by the US from that point forward. Bush went on to say, "We will respond to hostility and bad faith with resolve and power" (LAFEBER, 2002). At the time, the US needed neighbouring nations' airspace, bases, and logistical support to undertake a victorious invasion of Afghanistan.

#### **4.6 Foreign Policy Goals of Pakistan**

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founder and first Governor General, stated Pakistan's foreign policy aims in a broadcast address to the people of the United States in February 1948: "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. 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 peoples of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter."

Pakistan's constitution also establishes standards for the country's foreign policy. According to Article 40 of the constitution:

"The State shall endeavour to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the

peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.”

Pakistan is struggling to achieve the goals of peace and stability within and outside the borders through the support of global collaboration. It also focuses on the economic diplomacy to capitalise on the benefits of globalisation, while simultaneously meeting the problems of the twenty-first century. Our foreign policy is similarly oriented on projecting the country's image as a vibrant and moderate society.

Pakistan has always tried to promote inter-state relations to protect and respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state and tries to settle the conflicts through peaceful resolutions. Therefore, Pakistan attempts to have cordial and friendly relations with other countries.

#### **4.7 Foreign Policy Objectives and Determinants of Pakistan**

Keeping in view the guiding principles of the founding father, the constitutions of Pakistan and desires of the people of Pakistan, the aims and objectives of the foreign policy of Pakistan can be stated as under:

- Promote Pakistan as a vibrant, progressive, moderate, and democratic Islamic nation.
- Establish cordial relations with all countries, particularly major powers and neighbours.
- Protect national security and geostrategic interests, especially those in Kashmir.

- Strengthen our business and economic ties with the world community.
- Protect the interests of Pakistanis living overseas.
- Ensure that national resources are used optimally for regional and international collaboration.

The main objectives and determinants of the Pakistan's foreign policy (Muzaffar et al., 2016b) are discussed as under:

#### **4.7.1 National Security of Pakistan**

National security or sovereignty is the primary goal and important determinant of the foreign policy of Pakistan. After partition of the Indian sub-continent, it was needed to ensure its security and territorial sovereignty, since it was a new-born state. It had serious threats to its survival in its early days of independence. Pakistan considered national security its priority and extended links with the foreign nations. Pakistan always extended respect to the national security and political independence of other states, therefore, it expects same from other countries as well (S. Yousaf & Tabassum, 2003).

Pakistan always felt security threat from India keeping in view the circumstances of partition since its birth (Mehmood, 1987). India is a big country with a lot of resources taken into its custody during the partition of Indian sub-continent, therefore, Pakistan has always spent more on its defence to protect its territory from Indian hegemony in the region. India has had aggressive defensive policies against Pakistan since partition and it occupied Muslim majority states besides the ground realities of the India Pakistan partition. These kinds of measures and aggressive behaviour of India concerned Pakistan that India may try to take advantage of the weaknesses of Pakistan.

Moreover, Indian action in the Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh had put the Pakistani leadership into serious thinking to save Pakistan from Indian aggressiveness. Pakistan at the outset needed diplomatic pressure from its allies and needed help to secure its territorial boundaries as well as economic interests. Due to the security concerns, Pakistani leadership at that time preferred to seek help from US for military and economic assistance (Salahuddin, 2005). The requisites of Pakistan push its foreign policy towards United States based on the security and defence. On the other hand, United States needed regional allies to counter the Soviet Union in the cold war. Therefore, India had a historical and crucial element of the establishment of Pak-US relations (Pasha, 1990).

#### **4.7.2 Financial Factor**

Pakistan was primarily a weak and poor country with very little financial and monetary balances when it was born. In addition to this, the hostile policies of Indian National Congress minimized any possibility of good relationship between the two countries. The Indian administration attempted to strangle Pakistan with disagreements over financial balances, defence stocks, Kashmir and water distribution system. The Congress leadership was thinking that Pakistan will not sustain economically and it will be collapsed, therefore, they attempted more aggressive policies towards Pakistan (R. Ahmed, 1989). This was the background when Pakistani leadership thought to have strong connections and relationships with the states that may extend her with financial and military aids (S. Yousaf & Tabassum, 2003).

#### **4.7.3 Ideological Factor**

Pakistan was created on the basis of two-nation theory, and it is an ideological state. Its foreign policy is developed and guided by the Islamic philosophy. The basic goal of the

foreign policy is to protect and safeguard the basic ideology. Pakistan's progress and stability is dependent on the ideology. Therefore, creating a close tie with the Muslim countries remained a primary factor of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan's foreign policy is based to build strong relationships with the Muslim countries and support the unity of Islamic countries at regional and international level (M. A. Kundi, 2003). After independence, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan supported and advocated the Islamic unity principle (Mehmood, 1992). Although Pakistan has preferred its Islamic ideology in the formulation of the foreign policy, however, it does not indicate that Pakistan would pursue policies that isolate it from countries that adhere to ideologies other than Islam. As a result, Pakistan has forged close ties with both China and the United States.

#### **4.7.4 Unity of Islamic World**

Pakistan, as an ideological state, has made it a central doctrine of its foreign policy to foster warm and amicable ties with Muslim countries. Pakistan remained a strong proponent of the unity and brotherhood of Muslim world and always extended good ties with the Islamic states. It played a key role during the crises of Muslim countries, including Iran-Iraq war, Palestine freedom movement and Afghanistan. Pakistan is a very important member of Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) from the very first day of its establishment. It had been playing very active role in addressing the concerns of the world politics about the Muslim civilization (S. Yousaf & Tabassum, 2003).

Besides, Pakistan's efforts to seek closer relations among the Muslim countries and the foreign policy of these states on the basis of Islamic ideology could not be much appreciated due to one way and the other and keeping in view the internal and external



problems of sister states. It was one of the most important goals of the foreign policy of Pakistan that Islamic world should work in the global politics as a Muslim bloc but it could not be lateralized. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah stressed the Islamic countries to establish strong ties and solidarity among them to safeguard the Islamic philosophy. He emphasized the leadership of the Muslim countries that the issues of Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir are the 'eye opener' in the current play of 'power politics' for all Muslims of the world.

In the year 1950-51, Pakistan also led the Muslim nations in organizing an international conference on Muslim cooperation on financial and political issues that were bothering them, which resulted in amicable agreements with practically every Muslim country (Jalalzai, 2004). Pakistan has followed the idea of close cordial ties with all Muslim nations, including Afghanistan, which has a complicated history of relations as a neighbour and a Muslim country, since its independence.

#### **4.7.5 Good Relations with Neighbours**

No country has the power to influence its neighbours. Pakistan had a unique geographical position until 1971, with a thousand-mile separation between East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan was encircled on three sides by India, with the only way in being by water, which India could easily control. Pakistan faces a significant security burden as a result of its geographic location (Mehmood, 2000). While West Pakistan (now Pakistan) is bordered on three sides by three major powers: Russia, the former Soviet Union at the top, People's Republic of China in the north-east, and India in the south and east. There is hardly an example of such geographic location of any country in the world, where it has three powerful neighbours at its border. Such a placement in the map of world can either

be a source of weakness in terms of physical power, however, it can also be a source of strength when she may be able to establish normal and friendly relationships with its powerful neighbours (M. A. Khan, 1967).

Pakistan adhered to the concept that cordial and good ties between neighbours have always been beneficial to the region's stability and development. Pakistan, on the other hand, was not so lucky in her relations, particularly with two large neighbours. India has always had a hostile attitude towards Pakistan, and ties between the USSR and Pakistan have gone through numerous ups and downs (M. Iqbal, 2004). Despite the difficulties, Pakistan attempted to pursue a strategy of developing amicable relations with all of its neighbours, including India, and pledged to resolve all issues, including Kashmir (Ahmar, 2009). As a result, Pakistan has requested talks with India at every location, at every level, and at all times. Pakistan's involvement in SEATO and CENTO strained ties with the Soviet Union, however, Pakistan was never a participant to any plot against the Soviet Union, and its pact membership was solely for security reasons. As a result, Pakistan accepted the notion of normalising ties with both China and the Soviet Union (M.A. Khan, 1967).

#### **4.7.6 Support to Right of Self-Determination**

Pakistan supports all oppressed nations' right to self-determination. Pakistan is a firm believer in each nation's right to self-determination. Therefore, Pakistan always raised its voice against colonialism and any such movement in the Europe, Africa and Asia, where right to self-determination is suffered. Pakistan has played a critical role in the battle for independence in Kashmir, Palestine, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Namibia, and Vietnam (M. R. Afzal, 1976).

Pakistan believes in peaceful co-existence and respects the liberty, freedom, and sovereignty of other nations, as well as expects others to do the same. Pakistan has always been uninterested in other countries' internal affairs, and it condemns all forms of imperialism and violence. In view of this basic precept, Pakistan has followed a live-and-let-live policy since independence. It has long wished normal ties with India as a result of its strategy, but this wish has gone unmet.

#### **4.7.7 Independent and Neutral Policy**

Pakistan maintained an independent and neutral foreign policy with the slogan, 'friendly to all and hatred for none' in its early years of its establishment. It is preferred as a philosophy of non-alignment and working as independent state in the world politics. Thus, Pakistan did not associate with itself as ally of any bloc of the US or the USSR during the early half decade after its independence. Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan made it clear that Pakistan would not side any major power in the ideological war, when she was in the growing age of its third year of independence (Burke, 1973). After a few months, Pakistan's Governor General, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, stated, "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world" (M. R. Afzal, 1976).

It can be said that Pakistan followed a balanced foreign policy approach where she extended respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty of other nations and their political independence. Pakistan aspires to peacefully resolve issues and improve ties with other countries throughout the world.

## **4.8 Levels of Foreign Policymaking Process**

Foreign policy of any state is devised and formulated by the individuals. Therefore, leadership and other policymakers play very critical and important role in the foreign policymaking process. Because these elites define foreign policy in its final form; their opinions and personalities have an influence. Policymakers characterize the issue not just on the basis of global circumstances but also in terms of organizational possibility. The leadership seeks information from different sources, including its agencies, then evaluate it on basis of experiences and information shared by the government officials of relevant departments (K. J. Holsti, 1978). The following elements influence foreign policy:

### **4.8.1 Individual Level**

In the administrative setup of Pakistan, the President, the Prime Minister, and the Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan make up an Administrative Troika. It has the power to approve or disapprove Pakistan's foreign policy, as well as make changes to it. It is, however, extremely difficult to depart from Troika's prior overseas obligations (Muzaffar et al., 2016b).

This troika play an important role in the formulation and devising of foreign policy of Pakistan. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Premier Liaquat Ali Khan were key contributors of the foreign policy formulation of Pakistan in its early days of independence. Their remarks and speeches on different occasions made very clear directions of foreign policy formulation in developing and maintaining relations with many other countries. They saw the United States as a vital ally who could assist Pakistan with its economic and security challenges. The Prime Minister's statements were recognized as government decisions. They also led the country in areas of foreign affairs in order to foster relations with other

countries throughout the world. He was a regional and worldwide representative of his country. Their personality and beliefs have a significant effect on the foreign policy of their country (Salahuddin, 2005).

It is a matter of fact that a strong and popular Prime Minister can have a clear direction and advice to others in authority, such as foreign ministers, ambassadors, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs' personnel regarding formulation of a strong and independent foreign policy. The President selects ambassadors for foreign nations on the suggestion of the Prime Minister. The role of authority in the formulation of foreign policy has always been crucial. For top-level executive decision-makers, priorities and convictions are always vital. Foreign policy is influenced by the decision maker's personality rather than the reasoning function of the policymaker. As a result, the logic is that the personalities of heads of state and government and foreign ministers are more likely to influence their countries' foreign policy actions.

According to the aforementioned arguments, the personality of Pakistan's strategic decision-making leadership from 1947 to 1972 had an influence on the country's foreign policymaking process. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Khwaja Nizamuddin, Ghulam Muhammad, Muhammad Ali Bogra, H.S. Suhrawardy, Ch. Muhammad Ali, Iskandar Mirza, Muhammad Ayub Khan, and Z.A Bhutto all influenced Pakistan's foreign policy. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Premier Liaquat Ali Khan were significant leaders in this respect during the first four years of independence (1947-51).

Since independence, Pakistan has been concerned about the tremendous security danger posed by Indians from the outset. As a result, Pakistan's military forces have

traditionally played an upper hand role in the foreign policy formulation and in making defence related decisions (Ahmar). General Muhammad Ayub Khan, as C-in-C, was instrumental in forging strong connections with the United States, particularly in defence pacts, throughout the 1950s. The request for military pacts between Pakistan and the United States was accepted when he became C-in-C in January 1951 (Zaidi, 2014). Similarly, Pakistan's Chief of Armed Forces have also served as Presidents and had devised foreign policy of Pakistan independently- General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq after 1979, when Russia invaded Afghanistan and again General Pervez Musharraf after Kargil war. This approach was also overseen by General Raheel Sharif, who was particularly concerned with the issue of terrorism. General Qamar Javed Bajwa also had a significant role in this respect, having lately responded against Donald Trump's stance towards Pakistan in the context of the Afghan conflict and terrorism. He added that Pakistan is combating terrorism for its own sake, not for the money and weaponry provided by the United States. And was not seeking material or financial support from the United States, but rather seeking for trust, understanding, and recognition of Pakistan's efforts.

#### **4.8.2 The State and Group Level Analysis**

##### **4.8.2.1 Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

The Ministry of External Affairs or Foreign Affairs has very important role in the process of formulation of foreign policy. The Foreign Affairs ministry is comprising of professionals and specialists, as well as high-ranking officials. They prepare foreign policy while keeping the strategy's essential aims and criteria in mind. They develop foreign policies, strategies, and programmes, and they work closely with the Troika to prepare them. The Troika has been replaced with the 'National Security Council' as a result of a

new constitutional amendment (Joseph, 1968). The foreign ministry is usually headed by a foreign minister and deputy foreign minister of International Affairs, which coordinates foreign policy with the Prime Minister. He makes public pronouncements about the country's foreign policy and defends his ministry's operations in Parliament. He also manages the country's external connections. His leadership abilities are crucial to the success of foreign policy. In the history of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Bogra, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and Mr. Agha Shahi at Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs played an essential role in the country's foreign relations (Salahuddin, 2005).

#### **4.8.2.2 Political Parties and Pressure Groups**

Political parties and pressure groups have a strong and important effect on the formulation of foreign policy of any state. Political parties devote their manifestos to foreign policy, but after coming into power these political parties compel the responsible to adjust foreign policy goals in response to changing circumstances and in light of their viewpoints. Similarly, pressure groups can have an impact on foreign policy (Sampson, 1962). Since political parties and pressure group organizations represent the public, therefore, they play critical role in shaping the public opinion as per the wishes of the public (M. ul Haq, 1955). This is the process through which the foreign policy of any state chooses its direction.

Pakistan's decision to opt the western bloc was based on the country's best interests due to security concerns. However, it failed to gain popular support and was chastised not just by the left-wing parties but also the persons having moderate opinion on the local and international affairs. Even in the case of nationalization of the Suez Canal in July 1956 when the decision was taken by Egypt, the West raised the objection about the move,

because it went against their commercial interests, however, opinion of the Pakistani public was in the favour of Egypt. Pakistan's official policy, on the other hand, was aligned with western objectives (Salahuddin, 2005). This is how the foreign policymaking process chooses its path.

#### **4.8.2.3 Role of Parliament**

In the political and constitutional setup, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible to prepare the foreign policy in accordance with executive orders and presents it to the Parliament for approval. It is power of the Parliament to approve or disapprove it, following the debate and discussions. Members of Parliament who sit on the Treasury or Opposition benches may support or oppose the government's foreign policy. The Parliamentarians have the power to question about the foreign policy decisions as well as the performance of the officials of the Foreign Ministry. The remarks and statements of the President, Prime Minister, or Foreign Minister are included in the Parliament's discussion, in which honorable members can voice their thoughts as well as the public's viewpoint (Sampson, 1962).

At a number of occasions, special sessions of the Parliament were held to discuss the foreign policy on specific issues. A special session of the National Assembly after the Sino-Indian border problem in 1962, was held by the Parliament to take a specific stance on the issue which reflected the importance of the Parliament, particularly for foreign affairs, and addressed the members on the effects of the conflict on Pakistan's security. Similarly, when Pakistan's then-President, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, travelled to New Delhi in 1972 to meet with India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, following the East Pakistan catastrophe, the National Assembly was trusted (Muzaffar et al., 2016b). The National



Assembly of Pakistan accepted the Simla Agreement, which was signed by Pakistan and India on July 3, 1972. This was the first time that a Pakistani administration requested that the agreement be ratified by the National Assembly. Aside from this, joint sessions of the Parliament were held to discuss and generate debate on Kashmir problem and other Pakistani security issues (Sampson, 1962).

#### **4.9 The System Level Analysis**

Although, states are free to take foreign policy decisions but in practical, maintaining a successful foreign policy necessitates making decisions that are sensible in the context of the international system's reality. For example, Pakistan was pushed by the multipolar powers in the cold war era in the Afghan war during 1980s. Similarly, after the tragic incident of 9/11, there was no choice for any country to be against the US, being super power in the war on terror. Pakistan was also forcefully made part of its foreign policy due to system level policies in the international arena.

The external restrictions on foreign policy are the subject of system-level study. The system-level approach works as "top-down" in the international politics keeping in view the political, social, economic and geographic aspects. The system looks how the global powers and nations are influenced by the activities (Moore & Lanoue, 2003). However, these approaches vary from state to state keeping in view its role in the international politics, its defensive, economic empowerment and relationship with other countries is based on power relationships, economic realities, and norms.

Pakistan is one of the countries that has developed relations with other states in order to protect its national interests. Pakistan faced hostile behaviour of India after its

independence in 1947, therefore, it went to make close ties with the United States to safeguard its territory and economic concerns. Similarly, the United States was busy in combating the expansion of communism in South Asia, therefore, it needed a regional ally, so, both the states went in close relations in order to protect their own interests.

Keeping in view the discussion, it is evident that Pakistan is in dire need to re-assess and re-evaluate its foreign policy, to improve its international image which best represents the wishes of the general public. It is need of the hour to devise dynamic approach, which should frame the foreign policy of the country. The foreign policy experts and leadership should take decisions and make foreign policy independently, rather than it is made under the influence of the power politics and the superpower.

All the politics of foreign affairs must be placed before the Parliament for extended discussion and debate. Following the debate and discussions, fair, transparent and free foreign policy may be devised which must be in the benefit of the people of Pakistan and the state of Pakistan. As it emerges that global power politics is based on the priorities which states make, based on the strong economic partnerships and defensive approach over the political hegemony. The foreign policy experts and leadership of Pakistan must orient themselves with the rest of the world politics and make strong connections with the global political figures, so that Pakistan may not suffer in the race of emerging powers in the twenty-first century. The ideal foreign policy of Pakistan can only be devised when the leadership realizes its political will and a pragmatic strategy is built on solid foundations.

**Chapter 5:**

**DOMESTIC FACTORS AND FOREIGN POLICY OF**

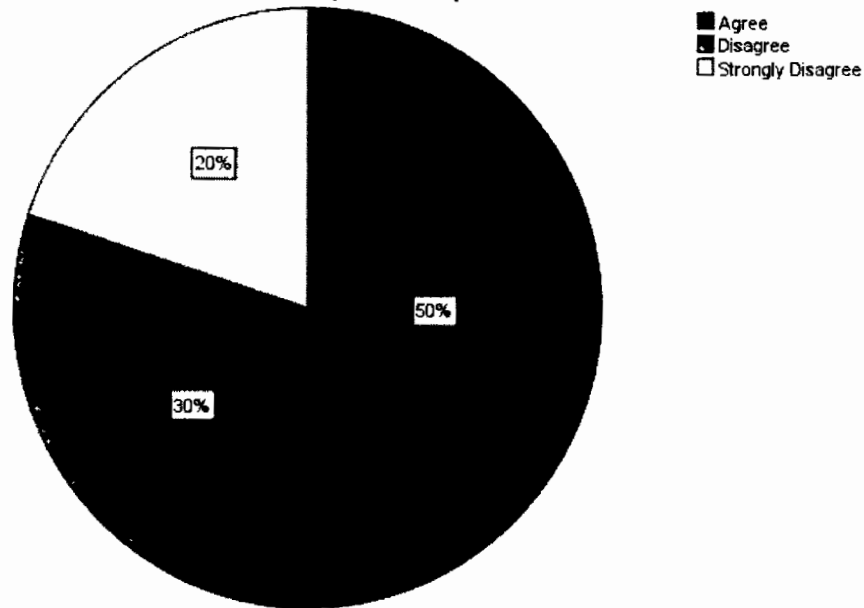
**PAKISTAN**

## **Chapter 5:**

# **DOMESTIC FACTORS AND FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN**

The foreign policy of any state is influenced by the external factors which are usually beyond control and states have to take reactive measures to safeguard the national interest. However, internal factors are equally important in devising foreign policy by any state. The states can take proactive measures to mould the internal factors by the policymakers while devising the foreign policy to protect the national interest. Pakistan has also been influenced by its external and internal factors since its independence. These internal factors are military interference, political upheaval, poor economy, governance, media outlook, pressure groups, political elite, religious elements, extremism, terrorism and public opinion. At some time, internal factors influenced the foreign policy of Pakistan towards its neighbouring states and major powers, while at some occasions, the state used these factors in its own favour. It is important to know these internal factors and their role in the foreign policymaking of Pakistan in the post-9/11 era. A question was placed before the foreign policymakers including academicians and political figures, so half of the respondents did not agree that domestic factors contributed in shaping the foreign policy of Pakistan in post-9/11 era.

**Domestic factors of Pakistan did not contribute most in shaping foreign policy in post 9/11 period**



## **5.1 Military Interference**

The role of Pakistan's military remained very vital and controversial in the power politics and its governance at many times. It was considered as a relief by the people when there was instability, inflation and corruption. When there is instability, people frequently favour military rule, because it relieves them of separatist battles and corruption. All four military administrations in Pakistan attempted to ensure internal security and cohesiveness by laying the groundwork for economic development, establishing government institutions, and ensuring accountability. However, these objectives were never attained by any military ruler. All the time, it went to security abnormality, political instability and unity crises (Sadaf Farooq, 2012).

Pakistan has been experiencing internal political instability, social disturbances, injustice, violence and economic crises since its inception. Political violence, internal

rivalry and anarchy have continued to pose a major risk to the state's stability (Sohail Mahmood, 2001). It has suffered greatly as a result of inadequate leadership and governance. The majority of democratic civilian administrations collapsed which were taken up by the military ruler initially for indefinite period. The political governments were blamed as point of concern and national crises by the military, and every time they took control with the justification to secure the national interests of Pakistan. The military also justified their interference in the political system that politicians have failed to provide the leadership and have also failed to take out country from the crises.

Pakistan military has repeatedly hijacked democracy of the country, ruling Pakistan directly for almost half of the country's existence. Between 1947 and 2020, only two elected governments completed their tenure and peacefully transferred power to other elected governments. However, these governments also compromised by the leadership in this period. Military coups have thwarted Pakistan's prior democratic transitions. Even when they were not in power, the military forces kept a solid hold on national politics (Jaffrelot, 2016). In 2018, Pakistan finally broke its curse of second democratic turnover when the Pakistan Muslim League (N) completed its full constitutional term of five years and surrendered power.

The army's credibility stems from its claim to be the only institution that fully comprehends Pakistan's dangers. Officers believe that only they have the knowledge, discipline, and resources to achieve critical national goals, like protecting Pakistan from Indian aggression, maintaining internal law and order, and defining limits beyond which political parties are not allowed to stray (S.P. Cohen, 2004).

There is a natural tendency of occasional observers of Pakistan to point out an opposition between the forces of freedom, associated with civilians, and those of oppression, identified with the military. These two factions definitely exist, but portraying the former as relying on a body of anti-military citizens would be an oversimplification, simply because associating civilians with democrats in Pakistan is exceedingly dubious (Jaffrelot, 2016).

Military-run administrations have dominated the country for more than half of its history. From 1958 to 1969, from 1969 to 1971, from 1977 to 1989, and from 1999 to 2008, it ruled for significant period of time. Internal security and cohesiveness were the fundamental goals of Pakistan's four military administrations, which were achieved through laying the groundwork for economic development, establishing government institutions, and ensuring accountability. Despite this, not a single military administration has been able to achieve these goals. It remained questionable that Pakistan went to its most vulgar position either in the security or social structure. The institutions could not deliver during the military regimes and Pakistan faced more destabilising movements instead of taking care of the stability and saving ideological grounds. All the four military regimes failed to provide a long-term strategy and vision to build the nation, unite it and stabilize the political system of the country (Sadaf Farooq, 2012).

The military rulers were aware of their illegal occupations; therefore, they were conscious to make it legal through judiciary or with the help of some political groups. A leading expert on Pakistan, Stephen Cohen, states that "all Pakistani martial law administrators who have seized power have been concerned about the legality of their initial action and of subsequent acts that they and their subordinates commit under the

ambit of martial law” (*The Pakistan Army (1998 Edition)*): Cohen, Stephen P.: 9780195779486: Amazon.Com: Books, n.d.).

The current phase of democratization is probably at the midpoint on a scale of civil–military relations. The Eighteenth Amendment (2010) has given the government greater power than what it had in the 1988–1999 period but less than during the Bhutto era, as the army retains supreme control over key policies regarding nuclear power, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and so forth. Once again, civilian power suffered from its divisions. Although Nawaz Sharif, after being forced into exile by his former Chief of Army Staff (COAS) in 1999, struck an alliance with Benazir Bhutto to oust the military from power, she was once again to strike a deal with Pervez Musharraf in 2007, and Nawaz Sharif was once again tempted to play into the military’s hands to oust the PPP during the “Memogate” episode in 2011 (Jaffrelot, 2016).

Many of today's issues stem from Musharraf's dubious practises during his time in office. His government's determination to let extremism flourish in tribal regions and elsewhere, as well as his devotion to an Afghan strategic theory that tolerated, if not supported the Taliban, was particularly significant. He also neglected to invest in the development of civilian and political institutions and the reform of the system in order for it to work more successfully after democratic government was restored (L. Armitage & Lee, 2008).

In order to strengthen and prolong their rule, all the military regimes tried to find political allies with which they did not face any difficulty. These political groups were willing and eager to work in the military dominated political structure because they were



patronized by the military and were allowed to share power in the military's political setting. As Pakistani political analyst Akbar Zaidi argues "no military government in Pakistan has had any problems in finding civilian and political partners legitimise its own particular brand of authoritarianism and dictatorship" (Zaidi, 2008). This allowed all the military regimes to stay in power and rule the country for almost a decade (except that of Yahya Khan) but at the cost of crippling the country's political system and damaging the country's internal security.

The policies of the military regimes deprived the country for a genuine evolutionary political process and growth of the civil society. All the military rulers preferred a presidential system, elections and a weak legislature. They tried to dominate the central authority and were never the proponents of provincial autonomy. They failed to build a stable democratic system based on strong institutions and a dynamic political process and participatory framework for political action. They could not build the country into a cohesive nation-state or provide basic elements of governance like accountability, a legal framework for development, transparency at the grassroots level, nor could they overcome the legitimacy. They failed to establish a viable participatory framework political action, de-politicise state institutions, devolve power and restore democracy. In the view of Owen Bennet Jones "no Pakistani military officer can argue that the army has played a positive role in country's political development" (Cloughley, 2008).

The military rulers gave priority to economic growth over strengthening political institutions. They always preferred to focus on the economy while leaving political institutions to develop over a long period of time. The absence of a viable political system

facilitating political participation and an uncertain future were a deterrent in building an infrastructure ensuring socio-economic justice and a sustainable peace (H.A. Rizvi, 1984).

Since the power remained with individuals during all the military regimes, therefore, all the successes or failures in the foreign policy goes to these individuals. General Asad Durrani, former DG, ISI while explaining to the question of military intervention and status of foreign policy said that:

“No doubt, Pakistan has faced many military interventions but if you say whether foreign policy during these tenures was stronger or weaker, so I would say that military was bound to consider all aspects including security, economy, public and media to play with other powers of the region and major. So, foreign policy of Pakistan remained more stronger in my opinion” (A. Durrani, personal communication, September 13, 2021).

Foreign policy expert Prof. Dr. Mansoor Akbar Kundi who remained Vice Chancellor of couple of public sector universities and also head of Pakistan Chair at Turkey was of the view that “Foreign policymaking was stronger during military period. They did what they think but democratic government could not contribute more, except Zulfikar Bhutto” (Dr. M.A. Kundi, October 3, 2020).

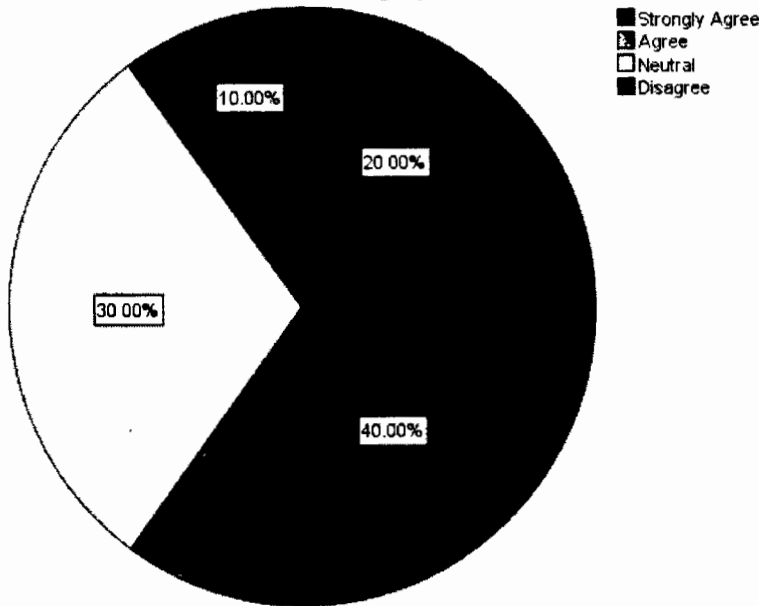
Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi, former Chairman, Department of Politics & International Relations, International Islamic University, Islamabad while giving his views about military interventions and status of Pakistan’s foreign policy said that “during military interventions, Pakistan’s foreign policy remained very strong, because of the

authoritative power of a single person, I mean the chief of army staff, but on the other hand it had some negative consequences as well.”

While commenting on the subject of military interference and foreign policymaking of Pakistan, Dr. Shaheen Akhter from NDU was of the view that “During military regimes, global context did matter more. If you have relations with global powers, the policy will be influential by that major power. During Musharraf period, there was war on terror. It is said that if there was a political government in 2001, it could have been managed better and in favour of the state about the participation on war on terror issue. In the issue of Yemen and Saudi Arabia, both military and civil governments were in consensus. They both were on same page. It was a good and collective decision” (Prof. Dr. S. Akhtar, November 11, 2020).

On the other hand, Mr. Khalid, President, IPS stated contradictorily about the foreign policy during the military regimes. He was of the view that foreign policy of Pakistan was very weak during the military regimes, because it was being made on the pressure and influence of America, instead of our own national interests and devised by our own state. (K. Rehman, December 23, 2020). Majority of respondents agreed with the question that military interference contributed negatively and adversely affected the suitable foreign policy of Pakistan.

**Military interventions remained key factors which adversely affected the foreign policy of Pakistan**



**5.2 Extremism and Terrorism**

Terrorism and extremism are non-traditional security threats that reached a climax in Pakistan after September 11, 2001. The terrorist attack on Pentagon and World Trade Center divided the world into the supporters or rivals of the US. Pakistan was chosen as an ally of the US in the war on terror and faced more dreadful consequences than the favorable (S. Afzal & Iqbal, 2012).

The international community joined hands with the US and took terrorism as threat to the whole world. The policymakers of global world considered it as a security threat for the peaceful and prosperous world. These terrorist attacks began the new era of the world order. The US blamed that the attacks were managed by Al-Qaeda, headed by Osama bin Laden, who was a guest of the Taliban at that time in Afghanistan. The United States gave Taliban a deadline to bring over Osama bin Laden or face the dire repercussions (Yusafzai,

2011). The Taliban regime refused to accept the ultimatum to handover Osama bin Laden and denied accepting America as a superpower. This was the focused moment for the policymakers of Pakistan as well. Pakistan had to respond in such a way that it could be in its own best interest. When Taliban leadership refused to hand over Osama Bin Laden to US, it was then when America attacked on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. It was assumed that US wanted to take Osama bin Laden to its custody. The US was supported by the ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) and they managed to capture major cities in Afghanistan within a few months after the attack (Hasnat, 2005).

Due to variety of factors, including inadequate government, marginalisation of rural communities, delays and unavailability of justice, and easy access to weapons, Afghanistan brought terrorism to Pakistan (M. K. Khan, 2009). Furthermore, the country's geographical location makes it vulnerable to terrorist attacks. Extremism may be fuelled by poverty, unemployment, lack of law and order, poor health, and illiteracy in any culture. Extremism is fuelled by socio-economic difficulties, which, when combined, offer fertile ground for terrorists (C. S. Ahmed, 2005). The social structure of the society in Pakistan could not be improved. In both military and civilian administrations, it went in a way that it remained very difficult for females to earn their livelihood in an honourable way, people felt deprived of their rights, so they looked for shortcuts to earn wealth and relief from dissatisfaction. In every civilization, all of these variables contribute to extremism and terrorism. Former National Assembly Speaker, Fahmida Mirza believes that "terrorism and extremism are the largest challenges to the region's security, peace, and stability, while poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment are the major reasons" (F. Mirza, 2009).

After the US invaded Afghanistan in the aftermath of 9/11, terrorism, extremism and violence spread in the Pakistani society at massive level. Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) became hub of the extremist and terrorist groups and this wave of terrorism reached in all parts of the country (S. Malik, 2005). Terrorists today have resources and access to the newest technology and knowledge about tech gadgets because of technological advancement and globalization. Due to its involvement in Afghanistan, Pakistan is still facing several domestic challenges. The deployment of foreign forces on the Pak-Afghan border was highly criticized within Pakistan as a danger to national security and sovereignty. However, after evacuation of American military from Afghanistan, it brought considerable peace in the borders area of Pakistan as well. Terrorism and extremism that are currently threatening Pakistan are mostly 'Home Grown' but inspired by external forces. The roots of this virus were planted as a governmental policy in the late 1970s and persisted uninterrupted until 9/11 (Amir, 2010). Pakistan can handle and contain this threat as part of a bigger team now, but in the post-war Afghanistan that is being envisioned, can be forced to tackle such difficulties alone, with the potential for catastrophic catastrophes.

Pakistan's policy towards terrorist groups operating on its land has changed throughout time. Many western scholars perceive that Pakistan has nurtured the terrorist groups. It is also perceived that prior to 9/11, al-Qaeda worked through Pakistani terrorist networks, and the Taliban recruited children and adults from madrassahs and mosques are sponsored by the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam's political leadership (JUI). Many Pakistani militants belonged to sectarian and Kashmir-focused organizations. In Afghanistan, these organizations formed alliances with the Taliban and al-Qaeda, sharing training camps and

logistical assistance. Although terrorists were affiliated with many organizations, they were united by training, logistics, and a common anti-Western pan-Islamic ideology (L. Armitage & Lee, 2008). Due to engagement of Pakistan in the war on terror, it could not work on the economic and development side. Pakistan's foreign policy remained revolved with the Pak-Afghan and Indo-Pak engagements.

History will probably be harsh with all the military rulers' policies leading the disintegration of the country a prey to Talibanization. Rather than healing the wounds given by first two rulers of the country's body politic, the next two leaders damaged the internal security environment. No one of the military could conceive of the nation's fundamental interests and strategic requirements. The policies these leaders followed affected the country's environment beyond their tenure in office and are being felt to this day (Sadaf Farooq, 2012).

Mostly, an issue appeared during one regime, it matured in the other. For example, the dismemberment issue began to take root in the era of General Ayub Khan and reached its culmination in Yahya Khan's era. However, Pakistan at that time was not the victim of religious extremism. The religious extremism started during the tenure of General Zia and then it again started when Musharraf participated in the Afghan-US war on terror.

Religious extremism is a key component of Pakistan's current quagmire, and the rising Taliban-militant insurgency and Taliban-backed terrorism are posing an increasingly serious danger to the country's security and stability. Thousands of people have died as a result of terrorist acts such as suicide bombings in Pakistan (John, 2007). Like dismemberment, militancy is also not a sudden phenomenon; it is the result of decades of

policies adopted by the two military regimes of General Zia and General Musharraf. The Pakistani state is suffering from two creations of these regimes Jihad and the Taliban (Sadaf Farooq, 2012). He used religion as a Jihad and the Taliban as instrument to gain domestic legitimacy and to create a strong support base. While adopting his Islamization agenda, he encouraged people both from the army and civil society to observe strict Islamic principles in every walk of life, but he wanted the people to observe the faith in the manner he wished. His Islamization was selective and did not apply to all functions of the state. Pakistani analyst Hasan Askari Rizvi stated that:

"his selective Islamization strengthened the punitive, regulative, and extractive functions of the state but paid very little attention to the Islamic principles emphasizing socio-economic egalitarianism and accountability of the rulers" (H.A. Rizvi, 2009).

Secondly, in order to undermine his moderate, mainly secular ideology, General Zia cultivated orthodox and conservative Islamic groups. These groups acted as a counterweight to his secular political opposition and helped him to consolidate his authority. In an effort to gain domestic legitimacy for his regime, he did not take into consideration the long-term effects these orthodox religious groups could have on the country's internal security. Although his Islamization agenda helped him succeed in his mission by prolonging his regime, but this sowed the seeds of radicalisation. His efforts to gain international legitimacy for his regime through his Afghan war agenda also proved detrimental to the country's security in the long run. The policies adopted by Zia's regime to the Afghan war agenda led to a proliferation of religious extremism, the "madrasa phenomenon" and resulting into "Jihadi culture" It brought "Kalashnikov and drug culture"



to Pakistan. These policies laid down basis for the terrorist insurgency and "Talibanization phenomenon" following decades. The country is now reaping a harvest of militancy, seeds of which were sown during Zia's regime. General Zia's policies created an insecurity dilemma that lingered with the policies adopted by General Musharraf and, in the words of Butt, "made the country a victim of weak state syndrome" (Butt & Elahi, 2010).

In order to get international legitimacy for his regime Musharraf supported America's war against Terrorism. But the measures he took to support that war and fight against the Taliban dealt a severe blow to Pakistan's security balance and made the country a victim of suicide bombings. Pakistanis were initially the people from the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan provided sanctuary to the Afghan Taliban (because of the same ethnic and the code of Pashtunwali) after they had fled from Afghanistan to tribal areas following the American attack on Afghanistan and who entrenched themselves along the Pakistan-Afghan border. The Musharraf government did not make any serious efforts to prevent the accumulation of extremist groups in that area. In the process of facilitating the Afghan Taliban, the people of the tribal areas soon became converted to the ideology and became Taliban themselves (Sadaf Farooq, 2012).

Many of the unemployed Pakistanis were converted into terrorists because the insurgency was well funded. Taliban paid their soldiers and families of the suicide bombers. Musharraf's worst legacy was the banned religious extremists and terrorists, who run riot across Pakistan, damaging the life and property of the citizens. So far as the politics and performance of the four military regimes is concerned, Ayub Khan's regime seemed to be relatively successful.

The period between October 1958 to 1962, the regime moved to tackle some of the most complex and long-neglected problems of the country with a swiftness and determination that was never seen before (or since) in Pakistan's history. Of the military rulers, however, it was General Zia who left the most damaging legacy. His Islamization campaign gave rise to sectarian violence and his Afghan war policy also had a disastrous impact on Pakistani society. Pakistan's fourth military ruler, Musharraf, failed to do much better. His policies to control militancy further increased it and a legacy of suicide bombing. No military regime could have prevented the conditions that made the country a victim of dismemberment and terrorism (John, 2007).

Being ideological state and created on the basis of religion, the Islamic ideology remained a strong and influential factor while interacting with the neighbouring and other states. The contents of Quran and Sunnah have ever been misinterpreted by the terrorists for their own motives. The state ultimately started to counter this religious narrative by a counter national narrative of Paigham-e-Pakistan against violence, extremism and terrorism, duly signed by all the religious leaders of all sects of Pakistan. In order to counter violence, extremism and terrorism, the state institutions with the help of government, civilian institutions and religious leadership of all school of thoughts launched a national narrative of Pakistan against violence, extremism and terrorism namely Paigham-e-Pakistan in 2018 (Zia ul Haq, 2018). The state's narrative has a twenty-two points resolution and a *Fatwa* against terrorism and extremism in Pakistan.

In post-9/11 era, extremism and terrorism remained one of the most influential factors which Pakistan faced in FATA, Karachi, Balochistan and other parts of the country. All that happened because of what Pakistan did with neighbouring countries and with the

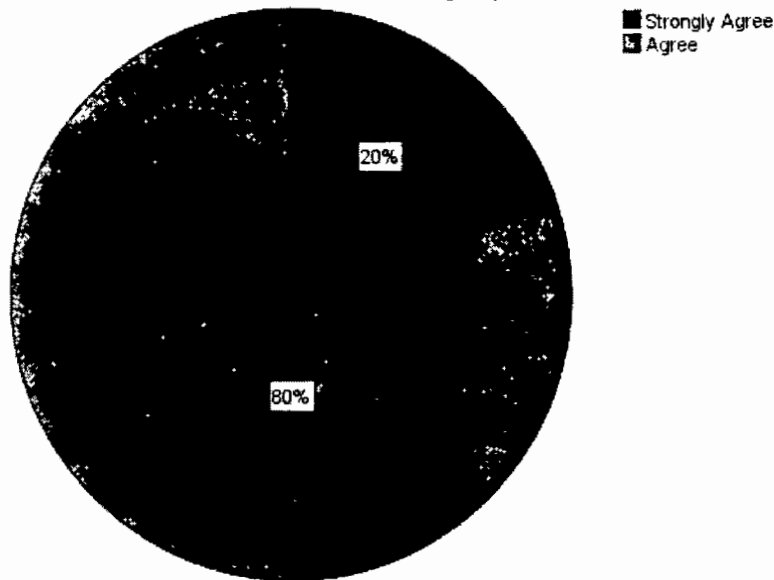
major powers. In broader context and in the war on terror, this factor was more highlighted and remained stronger. External factors like al-Qaeda and ISIS are also important factors (Prof. Dr. S. Akhtar, personal communication, November 11, 2020).

The President of Islamabad Policy Studies was of the view that terrorism remained very influential and important factor during the post-9/11 period in the foreign policy process. Pakistani state did not think what will be the role of Pakistan in the issue of Afghanistan and America. Pakistan accepted all what west said about the terrorism without any research and inquiry (K. Rehman, personal communication, December 23, 2020).

General Asad Durrani, former Chief of Inter-Services Intelligence, was of the view that no doubt extremism and terrorism has cumulative impact on foreign policy of Pakistan. It had impacted the precious life of military and civilian personnel. It also impacted the economy of the country however, it needs to see the reaction and circumstances of that time. This extremism and terrorism were the factors that America attacked Afghanistan and a lot of civilians of both Pakistan and Afghanistan were martyred during these attacks. So, it was evident that a reactionary approach would emerge against these attacks. Pakistan was ally of America in this so-called war on terror, so it was quite possible that Pakistan will also face consequences (A. Durrani, personal communication, September 13, 2021).

A question was put before the experts of foreign policy that, did extremism and terrorism remained most influential factor in post-9/11 era, which badly affected the successful foreign policy of Pakistan towards its neighbouring countries. Almost all the respondents agreed with the content of the question.

**Extremism and terrorism remained dominant factors in post 9/11 period though Pakistan could not concentrate in formulating more flexible foreign policy Pakistan towards neighbouring countries and major power**



### 5.3 Islamic Ideology

For anyone studying politics, political behaviour, or a variety of other political science subfields, the term ideology is undoubtedly well-known. Converse, for example, described belief systems as “a configuration of ideas and attitudes in which the elements are bound together by some form of constraint of functional independence.” (Converse, 2006) Holsti defines ideology as “a set of lenses through which information concerning the physical and social environment is received. It orients the individual to his environment, defining it for him and identifying for him its salient characteristics.... In addition to organizing perceptions into a meaningful guide for behaviour, the belief system has the function of the establishment of goals and the ordering of preferences” (O.R. Holsti, 1962). More recent interpretations from Jost state that “ideologies also endeavor to describe or interpret the world as it is – by making assertions or assumptions about human nature, historical events, present realities, and future possibilities and to envision the world as it

should be, specifying acceptable means of attaining social, economic, and political ideals” (Jost et al., 2009).

Ideology provides a purpose for human beings to plan their future according to it. Since Pakistan was created on the basis of two-nation theory and Islamic ideology has included in the base of its establishment, therefore, it has a critical and important role in the foreign policy of Pakistan. The ideology of Pakistan is basically ideology of its divine religion Islam, being a Muslim state created in the name of Pakistan. So, it is understood that Islamic ideology or ideology based on religion has a dominant role in the formulation of foreign policy. The foreign policy of Pakistan cannot be contrary to the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah which provide basic guidelines for socio-political, economic, cultural aspect but also for foreign relations. Therefore, policymakers cannot ignore these basic principles while formulating the foreign policy of Pakistan. One key example is to maintain cordial relations with Muslim countries remained the key priority of all governments of Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan did not recognize Israel which was established on the basis of Jewish ideology. Pakistan always talked about the rights of the people of Palestine. Pakistan also has close relations with Saudi Arabia, as it is also the custodian of two holy mosques i.e., Makkah and Madinah (A. Yousaf, 2020).

Every ideology, political, religious, and economic component exists to offer a canopy under which politicians' acts at the national and international levels may be justified. Ideology may be developed from a state's, or nation's history, beliefs system, and social structure. Ideology has a very important and crucial role in the formulation of foreign policy of any country and its relations with the other countries. Different ideologies have prevailed at different times in the history of the nation states. The major powers normally

made lesser allies through forming alliances, or weaker states linked themselves with the larger ones whose ideology they shared, or socio-cultural, political, and economic similarities were discovered. The states usually make alliances with other states that have same ideology and this tradition has been in practice since long in the international affairs to protect their vested interests (Javaid et al., 2016).

Long before 1947, the Muslim community in India was well-organized and diverse. They were living a sophisticated and cultured life like a large Muslim nation, like Hyderabad was highly westernized Muslim academia, peasants, professionals and landowners with their own interpretations of *Sufi* Islam. There was also a difference in their culture in north-south and east-west directions. There were a number of societies and associations working and were associated with mosques and madrassahs (religious schools often attached to an important mosque), spiritual sites, scholars and other religious and spiritual figures, as well as a rich and varied cultural life, supported the one-quarter of India that was Muslim (S. P. Cohen, 2004).

Pakistan was established in 1947 to offer a homeland for Muslims on the Indian sub-continent. It was created as a Muslim majority land without dominance of the Hindu. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah provided guidelines for the newly established country in which a Muslim majority state would be able to work and practice their religion and their norms according to their traditions and culture, and minorities would have equal citizenship rights. His goal was not to establish an Islamic state, but Pakistan strayed from Jinnah's path over time and adopted many of the formal traits of an Islamic state (Louis, 1995).

The role of Islam in national life is described by the ideological divide. The religious parties were initially formed outside the Parliament into pressure groups, however, later on these parties grew into well-armed and well-financed parties with considerable and significant influence in and outside the Parliament. These religious groups grew under the patronage of the military and civil bureaucracy, as these groups were later on used as tool to provide support and help to the military's influence over the national and international affairs. At some stage, these violent groups became a danger for the civil society of Pakistan and also a source of sectarianism in the society. Some of these religious groups are considered as incompatible with the modern view of Pakistan. These Islamist groups have potential to destabilize the foreign policy of Pakistan. Some Indian based scholars consider these Islamist groups to be helpful and supporter of the Jihadis in Kashmir and the Taliban in Afghanistan (Haqqani, 2004).

Till 1947, none of the other Muslim majority states came into being as co-religionists state. Most of these governments had a previous cultural or civilizational identity before becoming Muslim, particularly Arab or Persian. Pakistan was created as an effort of national traditional movement with a geographic and geopolitical vision to create a safe and separate state for the Muslims in majority. In terms of Pakistan's identity, the Muslim League and (personally) secular Jinnah intended Pakistan to be a state for Muslims rather than an Islamic one. Many Muslim League members were lawyers raised in the British tradition, therefore, they were more concerned with electoral politics and the rule of law than with spiritual issues (S. P. Cohen, 2004).

Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi, former Chairman, Department of Politics & IR, IIUI was of the view that "Islamic ideology has its own position, status and role in shaping Pakistan's

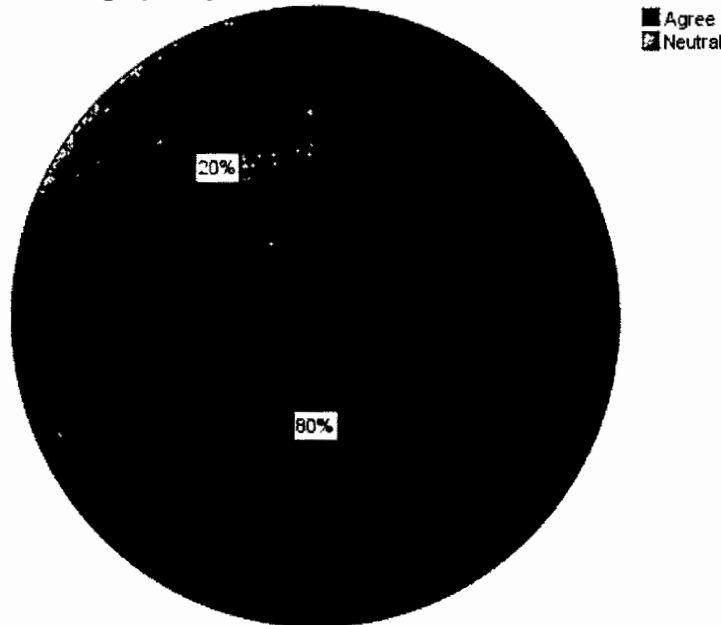
foreign policy and post-9/11 it has influenced Pakistan's foreign policy, but I don't think that it is too much because of the war on terror, because of the US pressure and because of the changes and the international politics, so many occasions, and in so many events even Pakistan did not support events based on Islamic ideology. So, if we compare the era of pre-9/11 and post 9/11, we see that pre-9/11 era of Pakistan was mostly shaped by the Islamic ideology as compared to the post-9/11 one" (M. K. Afridi, 2020).

Although Pakistan was created on the basis of Islamic ideology, but it could not develop such kind of relations on the basis of religion only. There is a strong potential to have a Muslim bloc as was developed in the Bhutto's period, but it did not turn out as desired. OIC has not supported Kashmir cause especially UAE, Saudi Arab and Indonesia. They cannot support the Kashmir cause the way they could have. There is lack of leadership in Muslim countries. They are divided but expectations are higher. Even foreign ministers of these member states except commenting, did nothing, even they did not issue statement in favour of Kashmir (Prof. Dr. S. Akhtar, November 11, 2020).

It is evident that Islamic ideology was the main factor for creation of Pakistan. Pakistan has more than 95% Muslim majority country, therefore, Islamic ideology is foundational thought of Pakistan. But it has less influence on the foreign policy of Pakistan after the incident of 9/11 (K. Rehman, December 23, 2020). However, 80% of the respondents of closed-ended questions replied that Islamic ideology did matter a lot in the foreign policymaking process in the history of Pakistan.



**Islamic ideology is a powerful internal factor which influenced foreign policy of Pakistan towards its neighbouring states**



The establishment's more Islamist elements can find comfort in a unique strategic and diplomatic strategy drawn from Pakistan's Islamic status. "Pakistan is an ideological miracle and not a geographical landmark"; as a result, its strategic doctrine is essentially ideological, with geopolitics coming in second. Pakistan was founded as an Islamic state by individuals whose political ambitions stretched beyond the India-Pakistan region to the whole Muslim world. As a result, Pakistan should not be considered a South Asian insecure state, but rather a global unstable state "outward looking extroverted Islamic State which was to be the harbinger of the independence of the Muslim States of Asia and Africa" (Sameen Khan, 1990).

In an address to the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947, three days before independence, Muhammad Ali Jinnah stated, "You are free to go to your temples, mosques, or any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You can be of any faith, caste, or creed; it has nothing to do with the government's business." He went on to say that in an

ideal world, "In course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because religion is a matter of personal conviction, but in the political sense as members of the State" (I. Ahmed, 1991).

After the death of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Government of Pakistan was under pressure by the religious personalities. This was the commencement of a lengthy national discussion about the differences between a Muslim state and an Islamic one, and which one Pakistan should be. Depending on whether the definitional question was considered in political, legal, or religious grounds, different answers were given. 'A Muslim state is any state that is populated and controlled by Muslims,' said Khurshid Ahmad, a renowned Pakistani scholar and politician. An Islamic state, on the other hand, is one that chooses to conduct its relations according to Islam's demonstrated guidance, embraces Allah's supremacy and the sovereignty of His law, and commits its power to this end (K. Ahmad, 1994).

Other milestones in the Islamization process were to follow. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced legislation prohibiting the sale and drinking of alcohol in the early 1970s. President Zia-ul-Haq introduced the Hudood Ordinance in 1979, which mandated Islamic penalties (stoning to death, amputation of hands) for specific offences and were particularly harsh on women's rights in situations of rape, adultery, and extra-marital sex. Finally, in 1991, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government had the Shari'ah Act passed by Parliament, stating that "the injunctions of Islam, as given down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, shall be the supreme law of Pakistan" (Jahangir & Jilani, 1990).

## **5.4 Economy**

States are constantly forced to come under the sway of great powers due to poor economic conditions. Pakistan was the first country on the planet that was created on the religious or Islamic ideology, so it was mentioned by the founding father that Pakistan's foreign policy will be based on the Islamic principles. However, at the time of partition, the Hindu majority party Congress was against the independence of two separate states, therefore, they tried to deprive of the legitimate and due rights with the bad intension that newly established state may bring back to united India. The concerns were managed at the time by foreign help, and sovereignty was maintained by leaning towards the large nations for economic support. Pakistan aimed for major powers, but when the help was denied, it turned to others; this pattern persisted throughout Pakistan's history (Yaseen, 2010).

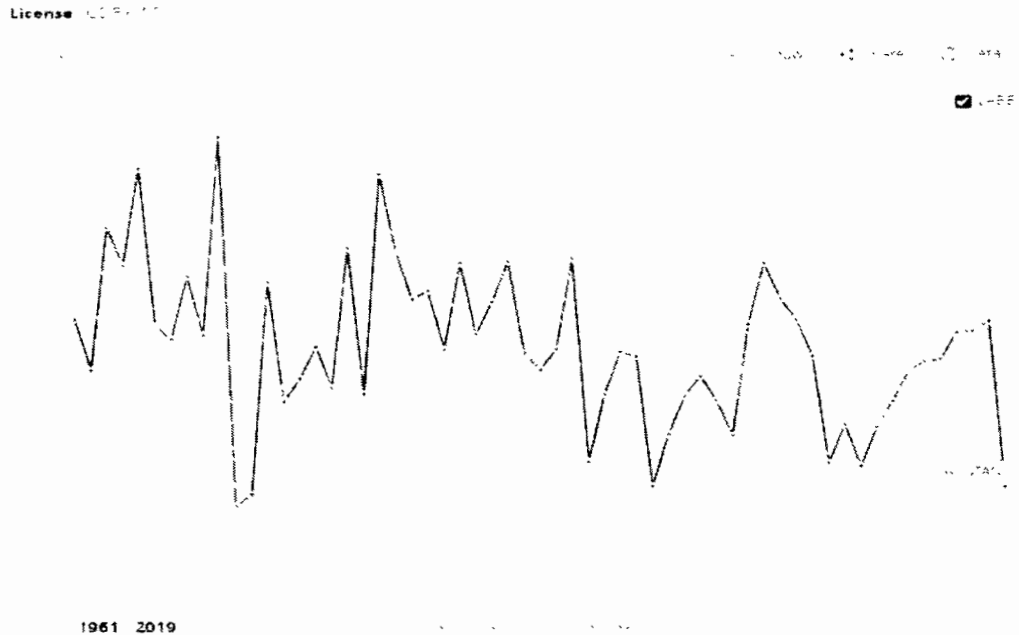
Pakistan's economic performance may be separated into two major stages over the previous 75 years. In the first phase, which spanned the first forty years since independence, Pakistan's economy was performing best in all the emerging countries, with an average growth of around 6%, considerably outpacing India and Bangladesh. With the exception of a short time from 2014 to 2018, the second time period, from 1990 onwards, Pakistan gripped into financial and economic crisis. It went to one of the least economic growth countries of South Asia (I. Husain, 2019).

Pakistan joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in exchange for more advanced American weapons and considerable financial assistance. After a series of ups and downs, Pakistan was ready to support the US in the Soviet Afghan war with billions of cash and F-16 fighter planes during the anti-Soviet struggle in Afghanistan. Afghanistan's post-9/11 conflict resulted in

even more guns and money. Between 2002 and 2015, although Pakistan got around USD 30 billion aid in addition to F-16s from US to fight against al-Qaeda and terrorism in northern areas, however, Pakistan lost more than the received aid because of massive terrorism and sectarianism which shook Pakistani society. The US government funded a large portion of Pakistan's defence and military budget for more than half of the decade to provide security and crash Taliban in the Afghanistan (Jaffrelot, 2016).

Pakistan's economic history has been marked by ups and downs. The 75-year economic history of Pakistan may be split into two different phases. The first 40 years (1950-90), when Pakistan was one of the top 10 developing-country performers, and the next 25 years (1990-2015), when the country slipped behind its neighbours, with an average annual growth rate of 6.5 percent falling to 4.5 percent (IMF 2016). The primary problems that must be addressed in the next eight years are reversing this downward tendency and resuming the previous economic trajectory (I. Husain, 2019)

## GDP growth (annual %) - Pakistan



Source: (*GDP Growth (Annual %) - Pakistan* | Data, n.d.)

The tax collection of Pakistan can be considered as lowest among the developed countries. The tax to gross domestic product (GDP) ratio rose from 9 percent in 1964–1965 to 14 percent in 1990 before returning to 8.9 percent in 2013 (Rana, 2013). It further diminished to 7 percent in 2014 (Z. Shaukat, 2014) and (Kiani, 2005). These figures are also due to fraud (one specialist estimated in the 1990s that less than 1 percent of the people who are supposed to pay income tax do so) (Pasha\*, 1995). Things have not improved considerably since then. In 2013, the income tax to-GDP ratio has fallen to 3.5 percent, with taxpayers numbering about 1.5 million people (Sherani, 2013).

The military had ruled the country for 32 years by the time General Pervez Musharraf ended his eighth year in absolute authority on October 12, 2007. During this

time, the economy increased at a 6.3 percent average growth rate. However, next three decades were tough and difficult for Pakistan's economy which remained annual GDP growth of only 4.7 percent (*The Economy under Pervez Musharraf*, 2007).

This state of things is the reflection of a robust convergence of interests of the establishment elite groups, including the politicians and the army chiefs. But the convergence does not stop there. A high economic growth was observed during the military regimes, but the growth was not witnessed and followed by social and development sectors. They could not create an infrastructure or ensure socio-economic justice. They failed to eliminate corruption and give people access to speedy justice. Their use of religious slogans or the rhetoric enlightened moderation as an instrument of policy could not resolve genuine political and material demands of the people (Masood, 2009).

By failing to politics, the economy and society in a comprehensive way, they allowed the conditions to develop that produced terrorism. The military regimes' failures to develop elements of moderation and reconciliation in the political culture resulted in fueling violence. All four military regimes created many of the unemployed Pakistanis, which were converted into terrorists because the insurgency was well-funded. The first military regime, that was of General Ayub Khan, resulted in acute social and regional economic disparities, by the time it ended there was increased popular bitterness and political friction in the country. The political tension was followed by a civil war during the latter half of the rulership of second military regime. The crises were mishandled by the establishment that resulted in the involvement of India and dismemberment of East Pakistan and creation of a newly state of Bangladesh. Another military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq laid down the armed culture and emergence of militant groups and whole

Pakistani society witnessed sectarian violence and religious extremism. During this regime, drugs and guns were easily available in the country. The fourth military regime created law and order situation in the country undermined during the fourth military regime under General Musharraf. Bloodshed, protests, separatism, and sectarianism were not new phenomena, but the character of militant violence underwent a significant change during the Musharraf regime with the growth of the Pakistani Taliban. Pakistan suffered a spate of suicide attacks; such attacks had previously been a very unusual phenomenon there. The military regime appeared to have little control over events. Musharraf even went to the extent of allowing American drone attacks on the tribal areas near the Pak-Afghan border, leading to the death of innocent civilians. To intervene in a sovereign country is not easy, irrespective of size of the country or the wealth of its resources but he connived with course of action to prolong his rule. This decision badly affected the image of Pakistan and its reputation as a sovereign state in the eyes of the world (Sadaf Farooq, 2012).

As per the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the state runs its affairs with four main pillars of the hierarchy, which includes Parliament, which makes laws, executives to enforce and implement the policies and laws, judiciary to interpret and enforce agreements and contracts and media which highlights the positive and negative aspects of the society. If these institutions are not working under their prescribed limitations, then it will be difficult to seek equal advantages for the general public, but this will affect the economy of the country. The people who have preference and approach, will get more benefits of the existing resources. The historical experience of Pakistan and the lesson learned from other neighbouring countries demonstrates that successful governance

is based on the combination of policies, institutions, and leadership. Poor institutions and leadership make it impossible to implement sound economic policy (I. Husain, 2019).

The 'Garrison State' phenomenon, according to some commentators, is to be blamed for Pakistan's general bad performance (Haqqani, 2005). Being a security state and its long enmity with India, Pakistan has had to fix a huge amount from its resources, for defence, to increase its military capability and sustain the existing huge military from the very first day of its independence. So, the human and social development has been neglected. Major funds have to divert for military needs, nuclear capacities and other security related expenditures.

It is required to be answered that how to return this state into democratic governance? This can only be done to strengthen the state institutions, rebuild these institutions to establish the writ of the state, demoralize and eliminate non-state actors which tried to interfere and support the militant activities. The general public needs to be equipped with the moral grounds, provide them basic goods and services, justice and fair economic opportunities, so that the country could be put on track just like first half of its existence (I. Husain, 2019).

Prof. Dr. Mansoor Akbar Kundi, a renowned political scientist agrees with the statement that, poor economy always influence the foreign policy of any country a lot. Dependency is increased on others, which affects the foreign policy (Dr. M.A. Kundi, personal communication, October 3, 2020).

The poor economy of Pakistan has its own role in shaping the foreign policy of Pakistan. When Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO, one of the main purposes was to

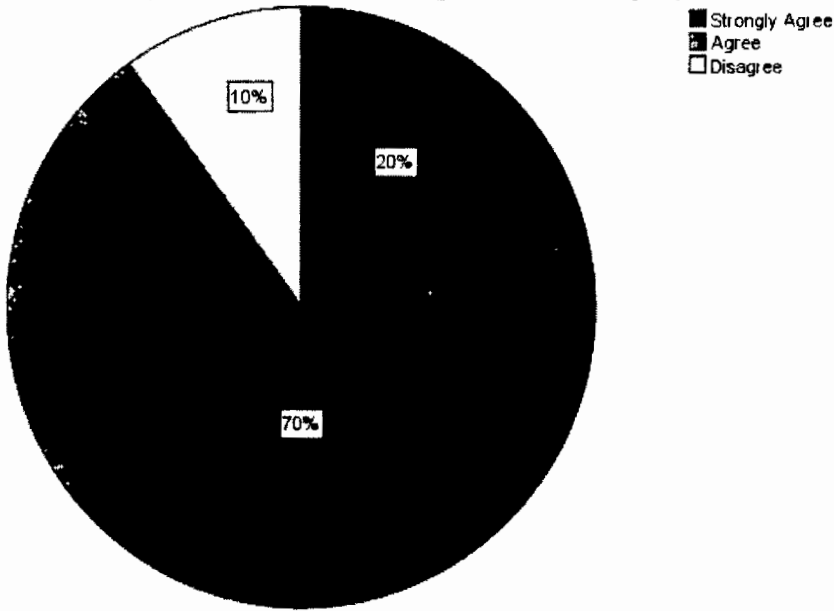


make it economically stronger and also when Pakistan started bilateralism, having good relations with China and Soviet Union in the era of 1960s, it was also aimed to be economically stronger. General Pervez Musharraf wanted to be with the US in the war on terror, which mentioned four purposes: i) to protect nuclear weapons, ii) to safeguard Pakistan's sovereignty, iii) to have help of the US in the case of Kashmir conflict, and iv) to make Pakistan's economy stronger, so no doubt poor economy and condition of Pakistan shaped and influenced Pakistan's foreign policymaking decisions (M.K. Afridi, personal communication, 2020). Economy is most influential and a strong factor in shaping foreign policy of any state towards other countries. Until and unless, a country is strong in economy, it cannot devise strong and free foreign policy (Prof. Dr. S. Akhtar, personal communication, November 11, 2020).

Khalid Rehman from IPS was of the view that "In my understanding, Pakistan does not have less resources. Our incompetent ruling system is the main source of our poor economy" (K. Rehman, personal communication, December 23, 2020). However, comments of Lt. General Asad Durrani were contradictory to the above political scientist. He stated that "In my opinion, role of political leaders, economy, public opinion and media remained very meager. These factors never pushed the policymakers to set back with their framed policy. If we see the time of incident that happened on 9/11, I don't think these factors were considered or they influenced the Musharraf's government to divert from this policy of inclusion in the non-NATO ally of America. Musharraf's government did what they were supposed to implement. So, I don't think these factors devise the foreign policy of any state (A. Durrani, personal communication, September 13, 2021). While analyzing

the quantitative data, it was revealed that 90% respondents were of the view that poor economy is a big hurdle in the strong foreign policymaking process of Pakistan.

**Poor economy of Pakistan is most influential factor in devising strong foreign policy towards neighbouring states and major powers**



All evidences indicate that Pakistan's economic security has been compromised as a result of the country's choice to join the global fight against terror. Non-conventional weapons' research has surely provided Pakistan's national security an unparalleled boost. However, lessons learned from contemporary history of war and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan teach us that nuclear capacity alone is insufficient for a country's defence and without economic security. Despite possessing hundreds of nuclear weapons, missiles, and the newest warheads, the former Soviet Union disintegrated without firing a single shot, despite having the full force of the WARSAW agreement and the most advanced equipment. The Soviet economy fell like a house of cards, and the globe shifted from a bipolar to a unipolar state as a result.

In this moment of challenges and crises for Pakistan, politicians and analysts may not want to forget the history, lessons learned from the catastrophic collapse of one superpower that simply overlooked the most crucial aspect, which was economic stability. The writing on the wall is that living above one's means is harmful for both individuals and nations and leads to instability and eventual failure. One of the most pressing issues confronting humanity is security. Although the state, as the ultimate form of political order, is responsible for providing security to citizens, these states have yet to establish long-term relationships and cohabit in total peace. Historically, each state has felt threatened by the other, and one state's pursuit of national interests has led in enmity between the two, culminating in a terrible war. With nuclear weapons and sophisticated military technology at a state's disposal, war is the greatest immediate threat and a continual menace to the general public.

## **5.5 Political Development**

Political stability is considered as a key factor in the development of modern nation states. Political instability has a severe and dire consequences, especially in the newly born states. The political upheavals seriously affect the progress and raise challenges for the countries. Pakistan is also one of the countries where political system could not grow up, instead it has been turbulent in its small life of about seven decades. Political system is source of social integration and legitimize the crises. The economic development in the modern nation-states is directly linked to the political stability which is ultimate source of social integration and legal supremacy. The state institutions which are base of economic development of any country are affected by the political instability. The consistency in the governance and political regime change are the requirements to grow and thrive. It is quite

impossible for the smooth formation of any country without stable and organized political system, otherwise it usually becomes a tug of war between different political and non-political groups (A. P. Memon et al., 2011).

A politically unstable state is led by unstable government and poor and inefficient political culture. The developing and disadvantaged nations are normally more affected by the political instability, and it becomes a major issue. The political leadership works with compromises, public opinion, give and take and in consultation with the general public while dictatorship is not bound to be responsible for the nation. It normally considers the political leadership as a threat to its government. The common man is usually suffered most in the military regime, as they normally participate in public rallies, sacrifices for the freedom of speech. Pakistan was created by the Muslims of Indian sub-continent to live in a separate state with freedom of religion and their customs. Despite passing of seven decades, the political system of Pakistan could not emerge, in fact, political culture became more corrupt and inefficient. Pakistani political system revolves around the personalities and most of the parties are true examples of one man show. It is obvious that none of these groups and persons are interested in restoring the democracy in its true spirit, rather they want to share power in the politics (Aziz, 2001).

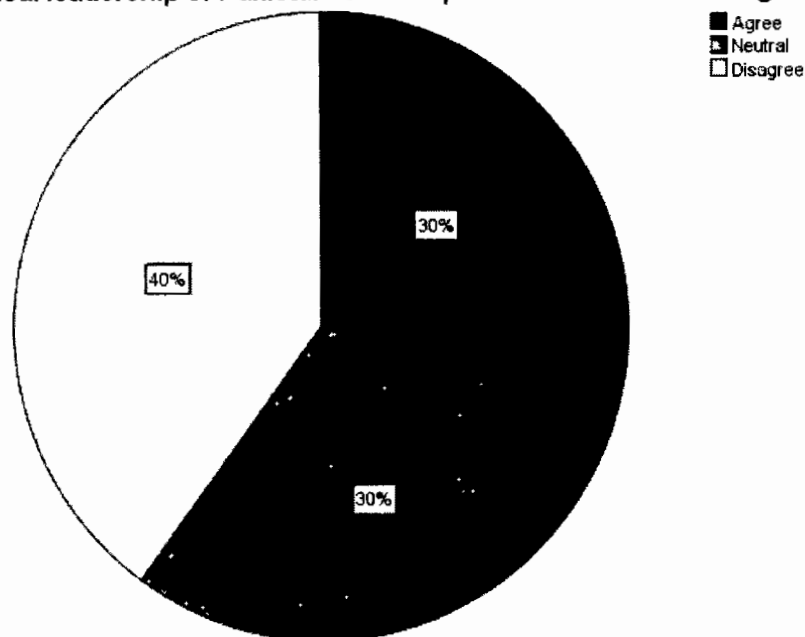
“Definitely political upheavals have importance and influence towards shaping foreign policy, so, I think every country of the world that has been influenced by the political upheavals weather that is inside the country or outside of the boundaries of the state in an international politics or system. Same is the case with Pakistan’s foreign policy, Pakistan’s foreign policy has been influenced by the political upheavals, by the dictatorships, military governments, by the civilian rule, by the inter-party conflicts, by the

opposition and the government and also influenced by the political upheavals outside of the boundaries of Pakistan, so both domestic and external political upheavals are responsible for shaping and influencing Pakistan's foreign policy" (M.K. Afridi, personal communication, 2020).

There could be some sort of consistency in the foreign policy if governments are formed in a systematic way. So, inconsistency in the formation of governments usually lead to failure of foreign policy. Military governments are formed by the individuals, and they have to legalize the internal and external system of governments, so, national interest is usually wend back instead and military dictators prefer their own priorities (K. Rehman, personal communication, December 23, 2020).

A question was put before the experts of foreign policy, whether political leadership of Pakistan is incompetent to formulate a strong foreign policy? However, there was mixed answer. Majority of the respondents (40%) disagreed with the statement. They did not consider the political leadership of Pakistan as incompetent. While 30% remained neutral.

**Political leadership of Pakistan is incompetent to formulate strong foreign policy**



## 5.6 Governance

Though not a novel notion, government is as ancient as human civilization (Preti, 2004). The concept of governance is as old as the human being and human civilization emerged on the earth, where people were ready to form a society and live in a community to make decisions, enforce laws for a peaceful and harmonious society. However, if rebuilding of democratic institutions is contextualized where democratic institutions (what has been dubbed the "third wave of democracy"), the phrase "good governance" has emerged as significant tool of participatory democracy in order to achieve the goal of globalization. The post Second World War period was considered as largely tied to economic progress subject to good governance.

The concept of good governance was overlooked in the political environment, such as rule of law, public opinion, accountability, democracy, and human rights. The third world countries were used by the financial donors due to their weak economic condition

and for seeking help from these international organizations. Until 1980s, the World Bank did not focus on bad governance, rather it focused on the economic indicators due to its own article of agreement, where World Bank was bound not to ask the governments about non-economic political concerns. Later on, the World Bank took into the account the non-economic issues when it suggested a shift in its concept of good governance in its World Development Report of 1999. It is now commonly acknowledged that the primary causes of human deprivation are not solely economic. Poor governance is also influenced by social and political forces (M. Ali, 2015).

There is a link between a country's foreign policy and two particular factors: the geostrategic framework (regional and global) in which it is positioned and the country's domestic compulsions, which include governance challenges and economic limits. A country's foreign policy has varied degrees of effect on these two factors, depending on its economic strength, military might, leadership, and vice versa. Between foreign policy, governance, and the geostrategic environment, there is always a dynamic interconnectedness at work. All states have the ability to make their own foreign policy decisions, albeit to various degrees of autonomy. As a result, their decisions shape regional and global geostrategic situations. Today, supra-state players such as the UN, IMF, World Bank, UNCTAD and other multinational organizations, NGOs, transnational militant groups, liberation movements and media influence the geostrategic position of the world.

Pakistan's foreign policy is also influenced by these supranational powers and organizations. Pakistan's consecutive foreign policies have been characterised by both the geostrategic environment and governance difficulties, particularly economic issues, since 1947. Pakistan's foreign policy, on the other hand, has had an influence on governance

concerns, albeit to a smaller extent. Whatever the content, orientation, and conduct of Pakistan's foreign policy, it has been established by succeeding administrations making independent and planned decisions.

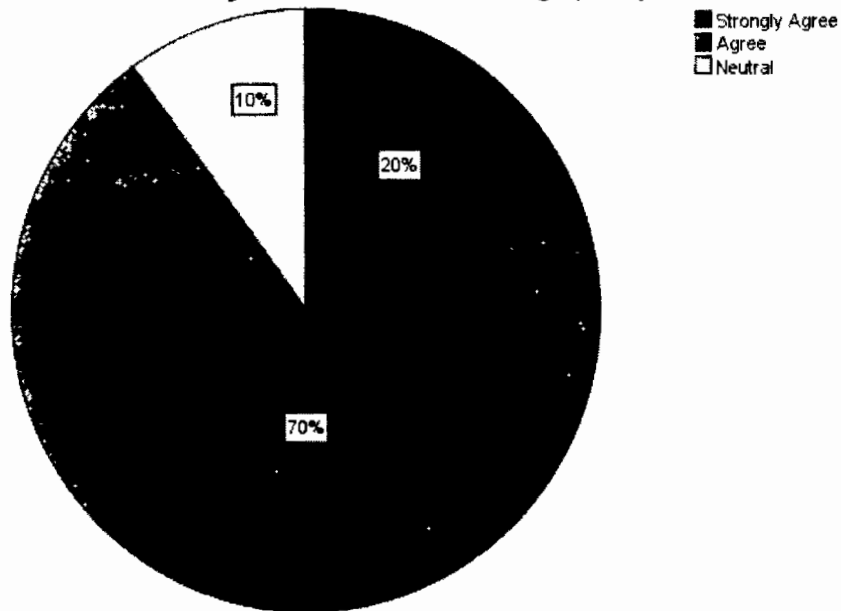
Being a newborn state and having a lot of difficulties of its liberty, Pakistan had to face three different powers in its neighbours (India, China and Afghanistan) and an under-equipped newborn state, did not fully deprive people's choice and independence. The nature of past administrations' selections might be contested, but it is a reality that each government had to prefer its sovereignty and national interests while choosing its partners. Pakistan's foreign policy was developed and framed by the state independently, and not on the influence of any other country in terms of content. It is a matter of fact that foreign policy of any state is the most technical and professionally handled subject of any state, especially the one which suffered with discontinuity and turmoil. In contrast to other parts of policymaking, foreign policy was mostly undertaken within an organised framework. Perhaps Kargil was an exception. The fact that this professionally managed strategy failed to boost the country's economy indicates wider governance flaws that have been ignored for decades. Their cumulative effect is now being felt.

It is a common practice in our country that the role of political elite remained meagre especially after 9/11. All the foreign policy issues were directly dealt by the establishment (K. Rehman, personal communication, December 23, 2020).

It has been observed that 70% of the respondents agreed to the statement that poor governance is one of the key factors, thus Pakistan could not devise a strong foreign policy in its national interest.



**Poor governance is one of the key factors thus Pakistan could not formulate a dynamic and flexible foreign policy**



#### **5.6.1 Good Governance: A Conceptual Perspective**

The terminologies of governance and good governance have been phrased by many scholars and in a variety of ways but there is not a permanent and fix definition (Khawaja, 2011). Mostly definitions are based on normative ideas about how new decisions should be made inside organizations and how formal and informal structures should be used to carry out those decisions. Governance is a multi-faceted and complicated notion that is difficult to explain precisely. There is still no clear consensus among them on what it means. Scholars have defined the term governance in a variety of ways. To put it another way, governance is the process of making choices and putting those decisions into action (or not implemented) (Rao, 2008). Governance, according to Tahir Naveed, is the “management of resources and the organization of persons and groups into official and informal bodies, institutions, and companies through social, political, administrative, and economic procedures” (Tahir, 1998). The World Bank provides two distinct but connected

ways about the governance. The focus of the World Bank is mostly on "how political authority is used to control a nation's affairs."

The concept of governance was given a new definition in the UNHD Report 2002, where it was referred as democratic governance. It was considered critical for human development. In a democratic government, good governance is a way where people are given due respect in the form of human rights and freedom in their lives and respect to the decision taking, while choosing the governments. It is meant by the social and economic policies to be responsive and taken on the demand of the people. (*Human Development Report 2002 | Human Development Reports*, n.d.). According to Etoungue Manguella: "Good governance implies presence of rule of law, safeguard human rights, and existence of honest and efficient government, accountability, transparency, predictability and openness" (Landell-Mills & Serageldin, 1991). According to Michael Johnston, Good governance is: "A competent management of a country's resources and affairs in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to people's needs" (Johnston, 2006).

The existence of five factors is required for successful governance. Political liberty, constitutional and judicial protection of individual rights, a stable currency, universal access to education and health care, and executive responsibility to a democratically elected legislature are among them. Good governance is defined by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as a process that promotes effective decision-making. "Staff incentives, training of civil servants, administrative and fiscal decentralization and dialogue between governments and civil society". "The UNDP has further underlined following main features of good governance:

- Political accountability and legitimacy;
- A free and fair judiciary;
- Accountability of bureaucracy;
- Freedom of information and expression;
- Infective and efficient public sector management and cooperation with civil society organizations (UNDP, 1997).”

Thus, via the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority, any society's governance tries to promote openness. Its main goal is to develop a good relationship between rulers and ruled. In conclusion, the good is not a static term in this context. The achievement of public aspirations requires good government. Aspirations must be grounded in a sense of realism and dynamism. In a more technical term, good governance is described as "authority exercised in a variety of institutional contexts with the goal of directing, controlling, and regulating activities in the interests of citizens, voters, and employees." As a result, good governance may be defined as “government that promotes human growth via public engagement and social and economic equality. The ultimate goal of effective administration must be the establishment of a civic society” (Preti, 2004).

The above concepts of good governance can be said that governments should be responsible, democratic, transparent, effective, efficient, fair, inclusive and respecting the rule of law. The most important aspect of the good governance is the assurance that the government will work with the passion and free from any kind of corruption. It should also

be very clear that the government must take decisions keeping in view the priority of the minorities and voice of the public.

### 5.6.2 Impact of the Crisis of Governance on Foreign Policy

Pakistan's institutions are placed 115th out of 144 nations in the latest Global Competitiveness Report (World Economic Forum, 2012). The following table provides a clear picture of the government's performance. According to the Global Competitiveness Report, all of the aforementioned metrics point to bad governance in Pakistan. Corruption has been considered as the greatest problematic aspect in Pakistan by the political elite, government officials and business community. The second most difficult aspect of conducting business in Pakistan is inefficient government bureaucracy.

**Indicators of Institutions**

<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Pakistan's Ranking out of 144 Countries</b>
Judicial independence	57
Property rights	116
Favoritism in decisions of government officials	129
Irregular payments and bribes	119
Organized crime	136

**Source:** Schwab (2012), Global Competitiveness Report, 2012-2013.

Since 1947, Pakistan has relied on foreign help. Foreign aid is one of Pakistan's primary sources of income, although it has not been helpful in improving the country's economic situation. The issue therefore becomes, if foreign aid does not help in our

developmental goals, where does it go? According to one viewpoint, foreign aid degrades governance through high level of corruption, weak rule of law, weak institutions, and a lack of accountability, as well as poor management, and hence does not contribute to progress (Muhammad & Qayyum, 2011). Foreign assistance contributes in economic growth in the context of excellent policy or good governance; otherwise, it has no effect or has a detrimental effect (Durberry et al., 1998).

### **5.6.3 Measures of Good Governance**

Pakistan's foreign policy could not provide the progress and prosperity to its people during the last seven decades. The consistent approach has never been the priority of the state in its economic front. Pakistan could not materialize its economic benefits and ties at its best with the countries like Iran, Malaysia and China, etc. These countries have tried at many times to broaden the trade and investment. Pakistan has initiated economic growth with only China in the form of CPEC, but it could not materialize major breakthrough with other countries. It is need of the time that institutions are encouraged to independently form trade and investment opportunities with the rest of the world as per the demand and supply principle.

Whenever the governments consider the public opinion, consent of the people, principle of the accountability, it becomes excellent. Pakistan has suffered all these ill-practices. The problem of corruption, inefficiency, political instability, dishonesty, red tape governance steadily disrupted the administrative structure of the country. The economic progress has slowed down and the difference between rules and ruled have been increased manifold. Good governance can be defined as "government that promotes human development via public involvement and social and economic equality". The strong civil

society is an ultimate source of good governance. In the modern nation-building concept, good governance is a key theme of human development.

## **5.7 Corruption**

Corruption is defined as “the misuse of entrusted power for personal benefit. Corruption undermines trust, democracy, retards economic progress, and intensifies inequality, poverty, social division, and the environmental disaster. We can only expose corruption, and hold corrupt people accountable if we understand how corruption works and the mechanisms that support it” (*What Is Corruption?*, n.d.).

Unfortunately, corruption is defined as the abuse of entrusted power for personal gain, is rampant in Pakistan. It affects every structure, echelon, and office in the public sector. It has a huge reach. It has infiltrated every branch of the government, including the courts and the legislature. It is no exaggeration to claim that the entire state of Pakistan is afflicted by this ailment and is groaning under its weight. Pakistan is ranked 124th in the world on a scale of corruption-free governance due to its widespread prevalence.

Corruption has developed widely in many nations throughout the world in recent years, particularly in emerging economies where the repercussions are severe. Economists are increasingly recognizing the significance of independent institutions in fostering economic growth. The weak institutions are the ultimate result of the institutional deficiencies though corruption becomes the source of weak institutions. As per the World Bank, “the misuse of public office for private benefit is a typical definition of corruption” (Bank, 1997). Bribery is a form of corruption where government officials sell public

property for their personal interests, bribe in public procurement, and the abuse of government finances are all examples of corruption (Reinikka & Svensson, 2005).

Corruption is a global problem that affects more than one country or region. In emerging countries, corruption slows economic growth and limits opportunities for progress. Higher political as well as civilian authorities have been abusing public offices across the world to acquire national riches at the price of public wellbeing (Oni & Awe, 2012). Corruption, according to the World Bank, is "the single greatest obstacle to economic and social development. It undermines development by distorting the rule of law and weakening the institutional foundation on which economic growth depends." Corruption has disrupted the interest of economists at global financial organizations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in recent years due to its negative effects on economic growth.

Economists have identified five factors that contribute to a corrupt society or political system, as well as unlawful wealth accumulation and economic corruption. To begin with the corrupt society produces a corrupt government, and a corrupt leadership will be unconcerned with the government. Secondly, the political corrupt officials become a major source of making unlawful money and corruption in the country. Thirdly, in the third world countries, the presence of a set of obligations and inducements help bribery dealings. These laws and motivations include pervasive social materialism, high economic disparity and poverty, public exaltation and respect of ill-gotten money, and low and irregular pay packages for government personnel raising big children. Fourth, the corrupt government's acquisition of illicit money urges other representatives of the society to approach and control over the means of exploitation. These deceitful individuals take hostage

organizational process, to get offshore accounts and transfer the money illegally. Finally, when the enforcement of laws becomes weak and there is no fear of punishment, the magnitude of chaos will increase. The system of tax collection in the third world countries is also a major hurdle and has many weaknesses. The government is unable to trace out the potential taxpayers and their source of income which tantamount to encourage the corruption (Aburime, 2009).

For the past five years, Pakistan's economy has had a relatively slow rate of development and a significant amount of unpredictability in its growth rate. Furthermore, except for 2017 and 2018, Pakistan has failed to meet its aim of 5.3% growth rate during the last sixteen years, with an average of 2.6% economic growth rate. There are several causes for Pakistan's low economic performance; rising corruption is the most significant factor affecting the country's economic progress. Corruption is the outcome of institutional flaws that hinder a country's economic development. The majority of governance metrics in Pakistan have stayed unaltered throughout time, and corruption appears to have extended to all top, medium and down levels of federal, provincial, and municipal governments. Pakistan was placed as most corrupt country in the list of Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) in 1995, when its index was 2.25. Although, Pakistani governments later on tried to fix this problem and took various measures to minimize the corruption in the country. These efforts were proved fruitful, and Pakistan improved its CPI from 2.53 to 2.7 in 1998. Pakistan is now ranked 124th out of 180 nations in the world on the Corruption Perceptions Index, making it the world's 56th most corrupt country (2020 - CPI, n.d.).

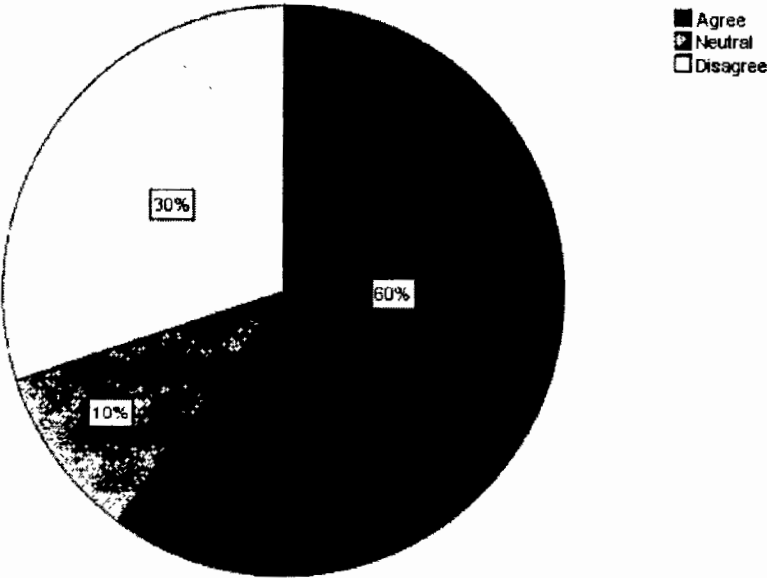
Although there can be more causes of corruption but one of the known causes of corruption is its weak institutions. There are also other causes included, i.e., lack of will to



eliminate the corruption, the bureaucracy has a lot of financial authority, but their salaries are much lower than the competitive market of other non-governmental organizations against a higher rate of inflation. Government bodies are held accountable for the growth of corruption in Pakistan, since they manage and administer the country's public resources (Farooq et al., 2013).

Corruption is directly linked with the economic conditions of any country, while economy do matter a lot in the foreign policymaking of any state. So, it is evident that corruption can be considered as one of the major factors of Pakistan's poor economy. It is out of question that Pakistan would be able to have a strong foreign policy towards its neighbouring countries and major powers, if it does not boost its economy. Only 30% of the respondents did not consider corruption as one the major factors which remained hindrance in shaping a strong foreign policy.

**Corruption is one of the major domestic factors which remained hindrance in shaping stronger and diversified foreign policy towards neighbouring countries and major power**



## 5.8 Leadership

The perceptions of political leadership are important in shaping the foreign policy of a state. The perceptions are ingrained in “national history and myth, changing slowly over time as political leaders reinterpret them and, external and internal developments reshape them.” For instance, how the leaders of Pakistan perceive Iran and Saudi Arabia it reflects through the foreign policy behaviour of different leaders. Mian Nawaz Sharif has maintained close relations with Saudi Arabia. However, Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) always tries to improve foreign relations of Pakistan with Iran. The interpretation of ‘Power, security threats, national interest, domestic challenges vary from one state to other. Particularly, national interest and power varies on the role and assessments of political leadership. For instance, the national interest of Pakistan is different from Indian national interest. The concept of ‘power’ is different for China as compared to Pakistan. Therefore, the interpretation of different ideas also plays crucial role in the preparation of foreign policy (A. Yousaf, 2020).

Individuals such as high-ranking government executives, especially the political leadership plays an important and key role in foreign policymaking. Actually, global players are the individuals who shape the world. Such individuals are discussed by many scholars in their books who remained key players in world politics, and they were main players of power politics. For instance, Halberstam, Isaacson, Thomas, and many other memoirs, biographies also highlight the significance of the behaviours of the leaders and high-level officials. Without understanding the role and influence of these individuals, we cannot analyze the foreign policy of any country. The role of leaders is important, because a leader has to perform at two levels; firstly, at domestic level and secondly at external

level (HALBERSTAM, 1972) (Isaacson & Thomas, 1997). According to Neack, “the head of the government in any kind of political system is motivated by two similar goals: retain political power and build and maintain policy coalitions.” (Neack, 2008)

The leaders have the ability to influence the domestic politics of their state in many ways. For instance, leaders can use foreign policy to achieve domestic goals and sometimes, the leaders do not affect their domestic agendas with their foreign policy decisions. The domestic environment of Pakistan also influences the foreign policy. In this regard, the role of different leadership also remained significant. For instance, during the era of President Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan joined US’ ‘war on terror.’ It further resulted in economic grant from US which enabled President Musharraf to sustain domestic pressure, as many people were criticizing his foreign policy decisions.

Moreover, President Musharraf tried to improve Pakistan’s relations with India. The meeting with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in July 2001, start of bus service from Lahore to Dehli and encouraging people-to-people contact were also part of such efforts to improve bilateral terms between the two states. The prime goal of the foreign policy of the government of Pakistan People’s Party was to normalize its relations with India and Afghanistan and progress on the economic front with China. PPP government was also enthusiastic to strengthen the relations of Pakistan with Russia in addition to the working relations with the United States. They were committed to form good relations with the Arab states and Middle Eastern countries.

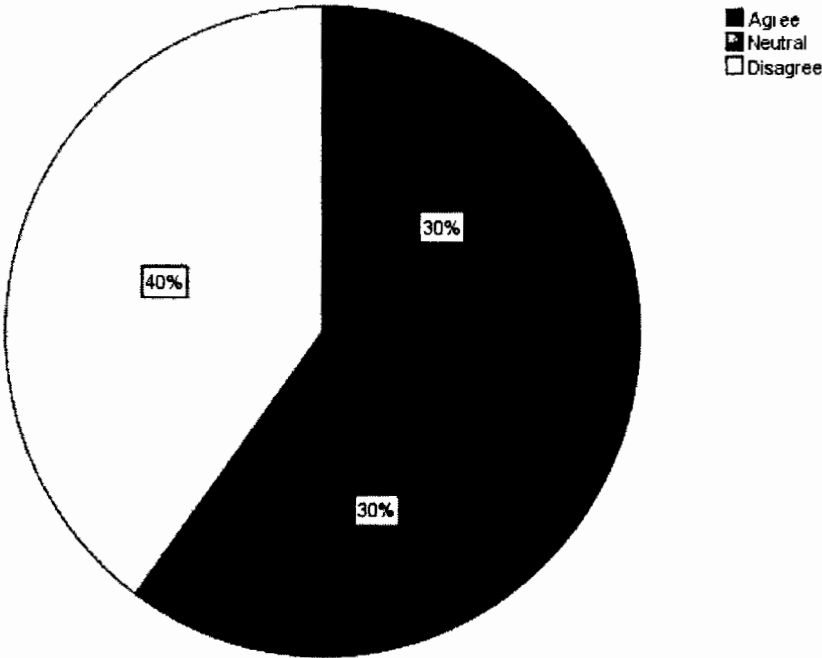
However, PPP leadership also lacked the ability to achieve these foreign policy goals. As a result, Pakistan faced serious challenges during that era. From 2013 to 2018,

PML (N) under Mian Nawaz Sharif was in power. The foreign policy objectives during Mian Nawaz Sharif era were to maintaining fraternal relations with Muslim world, GCC states (particularly Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar) and Iran, CPEC, good relations with Russia, mutuality in Pak-US relations, resolving the Kashmir issue, good ties with India and support for peace in Afghanistan. However, there was no roadmap that how PML (N) government will achieve these objectives of their foreign policy. Quite interestingly, there was no Foreign Minister till 2017. Consequently, Pakistan faced crucial challenges at foreign policy front. During that time, Pakistan experienced tensions in the neighbouring countries Afghanistan and India. Moreover, Pak-US relations also remained strained. However, Pakistan improved its relations with Russia and continued the CPEC project with China.

Imran Khan came into power in 2018 and he mainly relied on diplomatic tools rather than military, especially to resolve the Kashmir issue. Prime Minister Imran said that “the Kashmir issue could be resolved through dialogues as the war could not be a solution to any problem and those looking for that option were fools.” Imran Khan used speech diplomacy at regional and global platforms to highlight the tensions between India and Pakistan, particularly the Kashmir conflict. He also tried to balance Pakistan’s relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia. He clearly said that “Pakistan is ready to play its role for peace, but it can never again be the part of any war.” He also emphasized on normal relations between Taliban-US and Iran-US. Moreover, Kartarpur Corridor is also a key example of the use of soft power by Imran Khan. Therefore, it is evident that leaders have the ability to influence the foreign policy of a state. Majority of the respondents (40%) disagreed with

the statement that political leadership of Pakistan is incompetent, while 30% respondents were neutral.

**Political leadership of Pakistan is incompetent to formulate strong foreign policy**



The role of foreign ministry is vital in the formulation of foreign policy of Pakistan. It also includes experts, high-government officials and specialists of foreign policy. Their main responsibility is to formulate foreign policy according to the national interest, goals and standards. However, it is also their responsibility to coordinate and cooperate with Troika for the preparation of foreign policy. The Foreign Minister is the head of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and he/she has to coordinate with Prime Minister regarding foreign policy decisions and matters. Moreover, the Foreign Minister is responsible to issue the statements for media and public. He has to defend the foreign policy decisions in Parliament. Moreover, the personality, qualities and expertise of a Foreign Minister also

play a significant role in this regard. Previously, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto played important role when he was the Foreign Minister of Pakistan under President Ayub Khan (from 1963-1966).

Later on, the role of Mr. Abdul Sattar in the government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was highly admired by relevant forums. He played well during nuclear tests of Pakistan on May 28, 1998 and interacted with the world to highlight the security concerns of Pakistan when India made the tests earlier on May 11, 1998. Shah Mahmood Qureshi also actively played an important role as a Foreign Minister of Pakistan under the leadership of Prime Minister, Imran Khan. He previously served as a Foreign Minister from 2008 – 2011, during the government of Pakistan People’s Party. The role of Foreign Minister is important to protect, project and safeguard the national interest through foreign policy (A. Yousaf, 2020). For instance, to enhance the bilateral ties between China and Pakistan, Shah Mahmood Qureshi met Chinese Foreign Minister on a number of occasions. Shah Mahmood Qureshi attended the first session of Foreign Ministers’ Strategic Dialogue in March 2019. He went to Beijing in April 2019 to join the Second Belt and Road Forum and in August 2019 he met Wang Yi.

## **5.9 Media**

Media has become an important instrument to pursue the national interests outlined in foreign policy. Political scientist, Michael Brecher provides a comprehensive analysis of foreign policy decision-making. He explicitly explains media as a network of communication that works within a political system. It enables “the flow of information about the operational environment to the incumbent elite.” According to Brecher, the foreign policy comprises of a particular environment or setting. The foreign policy

decisions are defined and taken in an operational environment. The notion of setting includes numerous factors and conditions that affect the behaviour of a state at external level. The policymakers have to work within the parameters set by the operational environment (Brecher, 1972).

Mass media could be defined as “devices for moving messages across distances or time to accomplish mass communication.” In this regard, the role of media is also important and complex as well. Media also set a situation within which policymakers have to take their foreign policy decisions. Moreover, the media influences the political leaders and foreign policy decisions. Media is also a source of communication between government and public. Media provides information about national and international events, news etc. Therefore, the role of media has been increased due to easy access to all happenings throughout the world. Media has three primary roles in the foreign policy process; communication, interpretation and advocacy (B. C. Cohen, 2015).

Today's world is completely different from previous centuries, due to technology and advancement. The power of technology is visible in all fields of life including politics. Electronic media, print media and now social media is also playing significant role. Media in Pakistan also highlights not only the domestic issues but foreign policy as well. Sometimes, it also depends how media frames the foreign policy decisions. For instance, media frames Sino-Pak relations differently, Pak-India relations, Saudi-Pak relations and Pak-US relations differently. Moreover, Sino-Pak relations are always highlighted as trustworthy friends by media in Pakistan. Similarly, media also projects CPEC as series of all-weather friendship. Media also interprets foreign policy; and it affects not only decision makers but also the audience at home. Like Pak-Turkey relationship has strengthened since

Recep Tayyip Erdogan assumed power. Previously, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and then Imran Khan also continued to support Pak-Turkey friendly ties. Media projects Pak-Turkey relationship positively and while President Erdogan's visit to Pakistan in February 2020, he addressed the joint session of the Parliament of Pakistan.

This visit was highlighted by Pakistani media as good move at foreign policy front. Similarly, media also plays a vital role in reflecting Pakistan's foreign policy towards India, especially about Kashmir issue. The leaders and foreign policy decision makers are also aware of this reality. For instance, Pulwama incident of February 14, 2019 intensified the tensions between Pakistan and India. India blamed Pakistan for Pulwama attack, while Prime Minister Imran Khan denied such allegations and said, "India should stop blaming Pakistan without any evidence." All these statements were highlighted by media to show the world that Pakistani leadership is concerned about peace and stability of this region. Furthermore, such kind of statements by PM Imran Khan also satisfied the public at home that government is dealing with all the challenges posed by India. Therefore, the media always plays an important role not during peace time or war time but during all kind of situations. For instance, currently the media is creating awareness about COVID-19 among general public and also highlighting the efforts of different states to control the spread of the virus.

"The media of Pakistan also played its role in the post-9/11 era of Pakistan's foreign policy but unfortunately Pakistani media just narrated what was presented to them or what they have observed, I mean the western narrative, I mean the restart statements they have just portrayed, so it is very unfortunate that Pakistani media could not develop the Pakistani



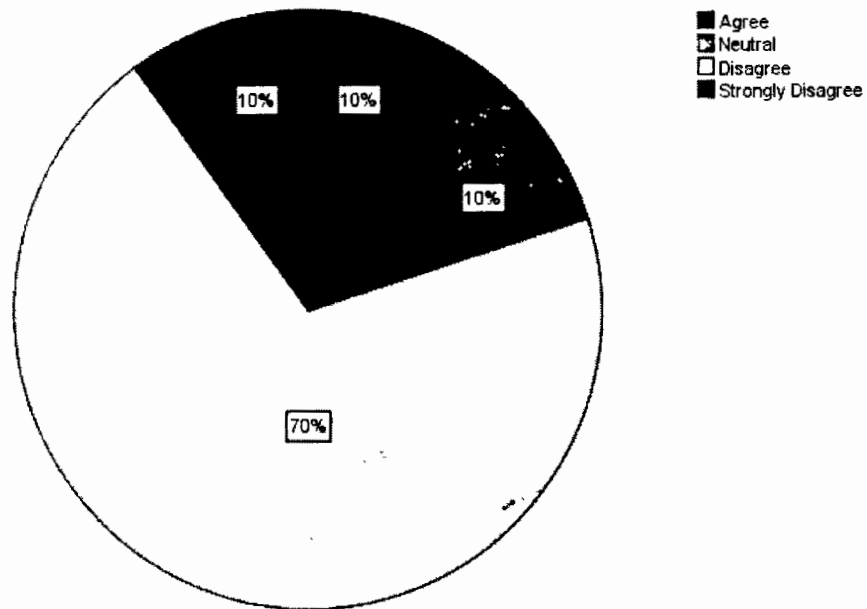
narrative or could not present Pakistan's image or picture to the outside world” (M. K. Afridi, personal communication, 2020).

“It is needed to look how much media is developed. Media does ‘not frame policy but media discusses, generate debates and can polarize in positive and negative way. Suppose Pakistan wants to make good relations with India and media tries to work on peace narrative, but they could not do anything. Media is just a tool to advance a specific narrative” (Prof. Dr. S. Akhtar, personal communication, November 11, 2020).

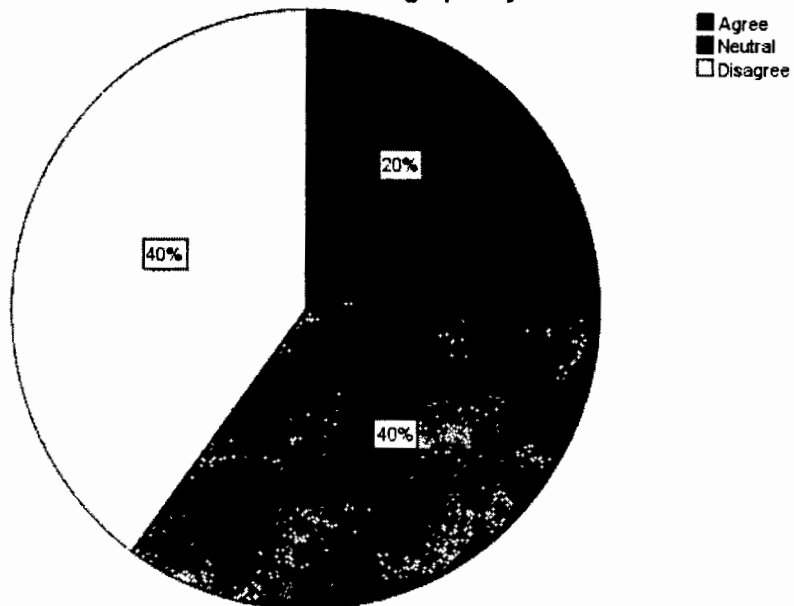
“Media is one of the major tools of the modern world. It has been increased manifold in Pakistan after 9/11. But our media is not regulated. It is actually controlled by external forces. Media always talks in such a way that powerful institutions and governments wish to hear. Pakistani media always extended benefit to those people who supposed to launch their wished policies, instead our media could had forced the elite in favour of national interests. Pakistani media needs independence, as well as it should be regulated in proper way. It is unfortunate that role of our media was not in favour of the state” (K. Rehman, personal communication, December 23, 2020).

It was elucidated that the majority of the respondents were of the view that media neither played positive or negative role in the foreign policymaking process.

**Media has played dominant role in formulating Pakistan's foreign policy in post 9/11 era**



**Media has played negative role whenever Pakistan tried to formulate a powerful foreign policy**



## 5.10 Public Opinion

Public opinion always affects the decisions of the government not only at the internal level but also at the outside level. Pakistan is a democratic state and political leaders are also concerned about the response of public on certain foreign policy decisions. Previously, President Pervez Musharraf who was a dictator, but set the media free. Since 2002, the media is playing a very important role as a fourth pillar of the democracy. It is putting an eye on all decisions of governments and also creating awareness among the public regarding the policies and decisions of our policymakers.

The role of media is also important as both have the capability to influence public opinion. However, sometimes political leaders can create such an environment to get public support on their foreign policy decisions. For instance, the people in Pakistan are quite concerned about the foreign policy towards India especially on Kashmir. So due to historical, emotional, ideological factors public is always ready to support the government decisions to deal with Indian threat. Sometimes, leaders create favorable environment at home to achieve the foreign policy goals. Leaders can frame issues in certain way to convince their public to support their foreign policy decisions. For instance, after 9/11 President Musharraf decided to join war on terror and created certain kind of environment at home and tried to get the support of public. Though, short-term and long-term consequences were more visible with the passage of time. Moreover, Prime Minister Imran Khan always says that Pakistan wants to promote peaceful relations among all the Muslim states (A. Yousaf, 2020).

There is a direct link between what the public think and what leaders do. For instance, in October 2019 Prime Minister of Pakistan H.E. Imran Khan visited Iran and

Saudi Arabia to resolve their long-standing issues. However, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan issued a statement on January 5, 2020 that “Pakistan will not” let its soil be used against any other state,” and will not become part of “any regional conflict.” One key reason behind neutrality is Sunni population in Pakistan has affiliation with Saudi Arabia and Shia community has religious affiliation with Iran. Therefore, foreign policy decisions regarding Iran and Saudi Arabia can escalate extremism in Pakistani society. As a result, such kind of mediation offers by Imran Khan was also supported by the general public.

Dr. Mansoor Akbar Kundi was of the view that public did not come on road regarding foreign policymaking process. Some religious groups did participate but public did not do anything (Dr. M.A. Kundi, personal communication, October 3, 2020).

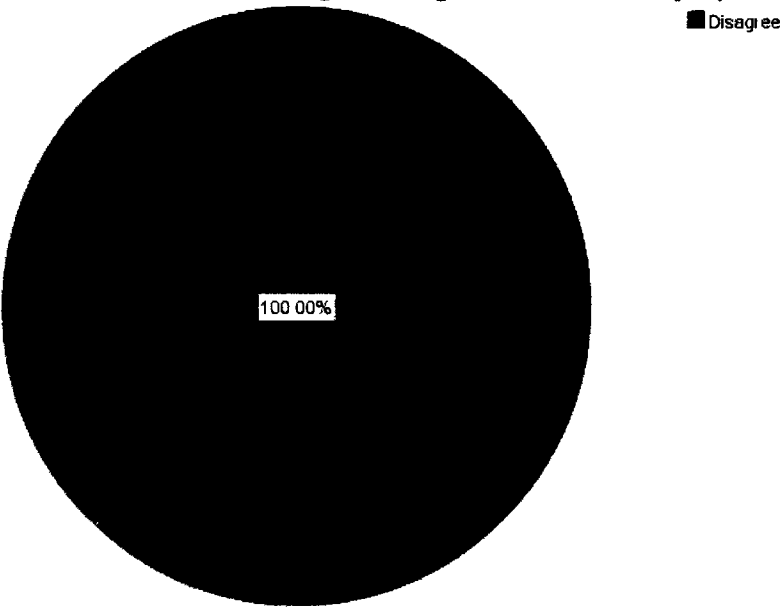
Public opinion has its role in making foreign policy of any country, so in case of Pakistan especially in the post-9/11 period, during the era of General Pervez Musharraf, public opinion did not matter much, but after Musharraf’s regime, during PPP’s, PML (N)’s and PTI’s governments, comparatively public opinion did matter in Pakistan’s foreign policy decision-making (M. K. Afridi, personal communication, 2020). Public opinion is about the role of civil society. Although media is strong in terms of number, but it has not matured yet. We do not have a strong civil society. Media is still in the transition and evolving stage (Prof. Dr. S. Akhtar, personal communication, November 11, 2020).

In a democratic society, the opinion of public is given due consideration and the voice of public is considered through its Parliament. However, the role of our Parliament remained very less in foreign policy process during this whole period (K. Rehman, personal communication, December 23, 2020).

General Asad Durrani was of the view that “In my opinion, the role of political leaders, economy, public opinion and media remained very meager. These factors never pushed the policymakers to set back with their framed policy. If we see the time of incident of 9/11, I don’t think these factors were considered or they influenced Musharraf’s government to divert from this policy of inclusion in the non-NATO ally of America. Musharraf government did what they were supposed to implement. So, I don’t think these factors devise the foreign policy of any state” (A. Durrani, personal communication, September 13, 2021).

While responding to a question whether public opinion do matter in the foreign policymaking process of Pakistan in post-9/11 era; almost all the respondents were of the opinion that public opinion has never been considered a hurdle while devising foreign policy towards any state.

**Opinion of the public remained dominant factor in shaping foreign policy of Pakistan towards neighbouring countries and major power**



The domestic environment of a state always affects its foreign policy. Pakistan's foreign policy formulation and decisions are also affected by internal environment. In this regard, the role of leadership is most important. However, foreign policy formulation is a complex process and it also involves President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and the Parliament. Moreover, the role of media and public opinion is also important as foreign policy decision can be influenced by the responses of general public. Media has the ability to build a narrative on all kind of foreign policy decisions of a government. Therefore, the foreign policy of Pakistan is also shaped by many domestic factors.

Pakistan is facing many challenges at home and abroad. However, political stability and economic progress will be helpful to formulate an independent foreign policy. In Pakistan, political parties include ideal foreign policy objectives in their manifestos but when they come into power, they do not pursue these goals. However, Prime Minister Imran Khan emphasized that Pakistan would like to promote peace with its neighbouring states, including India and Afghanistan. On the other hand, Pakistan is supporting peace among Muslim world. Moreover, Pakistan is supporting dialogues to reduce tensions among all the states, i.e., US-Iran conflict, Taliban-US or Iran-Saudi Arabia tensions.

## **CHAPTER 6:**

### **POST-9/11 FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN TOWARDS ITS NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES**

## **Chapter 6:**

# **POST-9/11 FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN TOWARDS ITS NEIGHBOURING CONUTRIES**

Every state pursues its foreign policy in line with its national interests and set objectives. These national interests depend on a variety of indicators, such as cultural and historical practices, geographical, economic and political goals. In this variety of preferences however, there is also a fundamental goal, which did not originate exclusively on rational considerations. Every country has a dominant obsession for its external strategy. It is not claiming that this is something completely irrational or unreasonable, when it is called passion. It can be associated with historical perspectives and religious factors developed over the time of hatred and love. Pakistan has also similar kind of things. The partition of Pakistan was accepted by the India with heavy heart. She put every possible effort to degrade it and not to accept it as a separate entity. Pakistan's every act is driven by the Indian apprehension and described in its foreign policy. At the time of partition, India objected the creation of Pakistan and adopted hostile approach towards distribution of the resources of the combined Indian sub-continent. Pakistan is much smaller than India in terms of military capabilities, geography, area, population and equipment. Prior to India's armed conflict with China, even with the assistance from the United States, Pakistan's military forces never surpassed 1/3rd of India's military capability (Sayeed, 1964).

Since the partition of the Indian sub-continent, Pakistan and India have had strange relations, but there are currently more disputes between India and Pakistan. The discussion



in this chapter will lead from historical perspective to narrow down to relations in post-9/11 era. China is neighbouring country of Pakistan towards its northeast border; however, it is also an emerging major power in the new multipolar world order. Therefore, discussion about Pak-China relations have been discussed and analysed in the next chapter. Pakistan and China have many differences in domestic factors like different religion, culture and political system; besides both countries have friendly relations. These relations touched new heights of cooperation and friendship when China started CPEC project in 2015. Pak-Afghan relations have been discussed in context with internal influential factors shaping Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan. Both countries have common internal factors like religion, language, ideology, culture and social structure but relations between both the countries are tense; besides Pakistan tried to adjust with Afghanistan in war on terror. Similarly, Pak-Iran relations have been evaluated on the basis of primary and secondary data especially in 21<sup>st</sup> century when the incident of 9/11 shook the world politics.

## **6.1 Foreign Policy of Pakistan towards India**

### **6.1.1 Pak-India Relations in the context of Internal Factors**

The Indian sub-continent gained freedom from Britain in 1947, when the legislature of the United Kingdom passed the independence act. The new country, Pakistan was sculpted out of the communal India on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 as a result of this law. This segregation was followed by large waves of relocations between India and Pakistan. The sub-continent witnessed displacement of millions of people, violent communal conflicts, dismemberment of families and thousands of victims on both sides, but majority of them were the Muslims who lost their life and properties and majority of them were forcefully asked to leave their homeland (KUSZEWSKA, 2016).

Pakistan and India have a crucial relationship. Three major wars and many minor border conflicts have been witnessed between both the countries since 1947. Despite this hostile relationship, efforts were made for peaceful negotiations and mitigating the conflicts. In essence, after every serious confrontation, they sat down at the table of talk. These peace initiatives can be divided into three types; UN-led, bilateral peace talks, and 3rd party arbitration (M. S. Malik, 2020).

Since 1947, the issue of Kashmir remained a dominated factor on account of Pakistan's foreign policy towards India. The territorial disputes remained the influential factor by an idealistic rivalry as an emblem of both Pakistan and India's foundation principle. For Pakistan, Kashmir was regarded as a symbol of two-nation theory being Muslim majority area, therefore, it was considered to be part of Muslim majority in the newborn state of Pakistan. On the other hand, it was a sign of the democratic nature of the new polity that was free to all faiths in case of India (Bose, 2005).

Pakistan's policy to support local resistant movements on moral and political grounds to achieve its foreign policy goals regarding India and Afghanistan experienced a reversal after the incident of 9/11. In the first place, General Pervez Musharraf, the-then Army Chief and head of the state entered into the war on terror with USA, and Pakistan again became a leading state in the US foreign policy. Pakistan was alleged to help and support the militant Kashmiri movements such as Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed, which reportedly assaulted the Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001.

In retaliation to the Parliament attack, India threatened a military response against the installations of insurgent groups in Pakistan. The confrontation between the two nations

which contain the threat of nuclear war was resolved by diplomatic interference by the United States and the United Kingdom in the summer of 2002 (Wagner, 2020).

Musharraf and Vajpayee settled on a joint forum during the January 2004 Summit, with a view to addressing all of the existing issues, such as Kashmir, which was significant to Pakistan, and terrorism which was of interest to India. In a joint statement, Musharraf asserted that Pakistan's territories would not be used for terrorist attacks against India. The composite dialogue brought new confidence building steps, such as travel facilitation, new channels of communication and connectivity between Kashmir, Punjab, Sindh and strengthening of communal, cultural and academic cooperation. Musharraf also proposed withdrawal of Pakistani military forces from (LOC) of Kashmir for the first time (*The Hindu*, 2007).

Pakistan and India have history of ups and downs since partition and getting independence from the British rule is common between them. Both the countries managed to settle their disputes through dialogue, despite many wars and border disputes. However, unluckily they could not manage to agree upon any roadmap of permanent and peaceful settlement. It has been proved that most of the time, an effective approach of peacemaking between the two nations has been third-party mediation. These interventions have been increasingly beneficial for peace since the historic Indus Water Treaty to the Rann of Kuch and the handling of events like the Kargil war and military standoff of 2002 (M. S. Malik, 2020).

There have been some successful bilateral peace attempts, but they have always failed to address the underlying causes. The composite discussion process was the most

comprehensive peace endeavor ever attempted, but it was not successful, and none of the key topics discussed were resolved. It demonstrates that while the bilateral channel can assist in paving the way or handling minor concerns, it has failed to address larger issues.

The lack of any institutional structure to handle tensions and disputes is the fundamental cause for failing the bilateral initiatives. The strong enmity between the two countries is the second cause. The failure of the UN and bilateral channels leaves room for alternative options to be explored. Third-party mediation should be utilized to address severe difficulties in Pak-India relations, since it has a track record of success. In reality, in the current scenario, third-party mediation is the only viable alternative, since it not only has a track record of success but also has the capacity to amicably address Pak-India problems.

All of these unrests are evidence of Pakistan's persistent domestic problems. Persistent rivalry between the elder brother (Punjab) with other provinces, between the centre (Punjab) and other provinces, radicalization, sectarianism, extremism and terrorism aggravated by the disreputable Tehreek -i- Taliban Pakistan (TTP), all these internal strife and tensions have ripped the country apart. The other issues like civil government and weak democratic institutions, corruption, and economic crises exaggerated the dark hours for the country. Pakistan's industry could not overwhelmingly manage to be source of self-sufficient economy because many experiments were witnessed including nationalization of the industry and military setbacks time and again in its meagre life of seven decades. Economic reforms were tried to be implemented at many occasions but every time it was ignored. The common man is in the trap of poverty, while the elite of Pakistan has still

maintained itself, despite worsening of the economic condition of the country (KUSZEWSKA, 2016).

In the recent past, India has been playing a full-fledged fifth generation warfare within the borders of Pakistan. The evidence in this regard was shown by the former Foreign Minister of Pakistan and spokesperson of the Armed Forces. RAW and Pakistani militant groups' number of financial transactions worth of millions of dollars, audio/video clips and contact details were provided as evidence (Werleman, 2020).

### **6.1.2 Goals of Pakistan's Policy towards India**

The Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan is a major element of worst relationship. It is an unending conflict which can be a global and regional threat to the peace. In case of any escalation between the two nuclear powers, the whole world can be destroyed, therefore, it is an important aspect of foreign policy, not only for Pakistan and India but it is equally important for the rest of the world and especially major powers.

Pakistan has claimed on the Kashmir due to its Muslim majority position at the time of partition and when British rulers left the sub-continent. It was agreed by all the stakeholders that provinces with Muslim majority should be included in Pakistan. It was criticized by an Indian scholar that Muslim leaders used Islam as a weapon for political mobilization with the slogan "Pakistani ho" therefore, it was understood that being a Muslim majority province it should be included in Pakistan (Ganguly, 2001).

Pakistan always makes efforts to involve the international community to resolve the issue, since the partition of Indian sub-continent. Kashmir is considered as key element of foreign policy of Pakistan; therefore, it is mentioned on the website of Ministry of

Foreign Affairs as most important and key issue. Pakistan never compromises on the issue of Kashmir during any kind of talks with India and it considers it as a national security concern (*Guiding Principles and Objectives – Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2020). Pakistan's stance on the Kashmir is based on two-nation theory and Resolution of United Nations, where it was agreed by the UN that final resolution of the Kashmir dispute will be settled as per the wish and desire of the people of Kashmir. According to Pakistan, these aspirations should be achieved by conducting a referendum in Kashmir in conformity with the resolutions indicated above. The resolutions demanded that Pakistani and Indian soldiers withdraw from each portion of Kashmir, a provision that neither side has been able or is willing to achieve (Gaur, 2005).

### **6.1.3 Challenging India's Hegemony in the Region**

Pakistan is well aware of the apprehensions of India as she never accepted the sovereign position of Pakistan and always tried to sabotage the internal and external fronts of Pakistan. Pakistan has therefore remained always been concerned about its South Asian neighbour with the strategy.

How to fight Indian predominance in the area? Even a basic assessment of both countries' capabilities reveals that this endeavour is bound to fail. Over the last decade, New Delhi's status has increased dramatically. The country had fast economic expansion, which fuelled its international ambitions. India is trying hard to become the permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations. However, Pakistan is making its efforts to oppose the Indian wish of becoming permanent member, as it is presumed that the whole regional politics will be imbalanced in case India succeeds in becoming permanent member of the United National Security Council. She will be more influential

in the global and regional power politics, even when a hot issue of Kashmir dispute is unsettled between both the countries, that would be a bad situation for Pakistan. Furthermore, important actors on the world stage are paying attention to India's rising prominence. It is sufficient to state that India welcomed the presidents of all P-5 nations in 2010 (UNSC permanent members). This was a clear message that India is trying hard to get more powerful political and geostrategic position in the world politics. Pakistan has been dealing with this situation by working on the nuclear development. It should play a key role in the proxy war fought on the soil of Afghanistan, major non-NATO ally of the US and strategic partner of China to promote and protect the economic front (KUSZEWSKA, 2016).

In terms of nuclear capabilities, Islamabad has always been sensitive about being considered like India, by the international community. After the increase of mutual tensions in 1998, Pakistan responded with its nuclear capabilities that influenced the Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan, even when India was not responding with conventional weapons.

The incident of 9/11 was a major breakthrough for the foreign policy of Pakistan, which was a turning point during the first decade of twenty-first century. Due to strategic location of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf was one of the first leaders whom Bush administration asked for the collaboration as partner in the war on terror.

President George W. Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell sent a message (or rather an ultimatum): "you're either with us or against us." Musharraf had limited choice to choose the lesser of two ills, so he severed connections with the Taliban and allowed US forces to use Pakistani bases and airspace to conduct operations in Afghanistan. As a result,

General Pervez Musharraf, who had previously been disgraced and regarded as a tyrant by European states, therefore had no option but to enter in this "compromise marriage" with the US. As a result, he became one of Washington's most crucial regional strategic partners (R. M. Khan, 2011).

The decision of General Musharraf was not only proved as watershed moment in the new height of the relationship between Pakistan and US, but it was also considered as primary objective of Pakistan's foreign policy towards India during the first decade of new century. Due to the decision of the dictator, it had three important aspects; Pakistan stood at the same place where India was trying to adjust with US as a so-called partner in the war on terror. India was not expecting this decision from Pakistan, as she was thinking to exploit the US against Pakistan.

Secondly, it made Pakistan accountable for combating terrorism on its own territory, while being closely monitored by the international community (particularly India). Musharraf promised to tackle terrorism, but it is still generally believed in India and the West that the Pakistani military has connections to militant organisations operating in Afghanistan and Kashmir. The secret cables released by Wikileaks in February 2011 verified this ongoing backing for terrorist groups in Pakistan. According to intelligence sent to the Americans by a top British ambassador "terror training camps, though not directly run by the Pakistan government, continue to operate along the India-Pakistan border creating potential for conflict with India and instability in the region. Terrorist organisations, like al-Qaeda, have begun using these camps as recruitment centres. After additional training ... recruits are then poised to commit terrorist activities" (Suroor, 2011).



Thirdly, both India and Pakistan were in the competition to frame good relations with the US. The pre-9/11 censure of Musharraf was advantageous to India, but the following American alliance with the Pakistani ruler presented the question of who would be a more significant American ally, and what benefits would that bring? These benefits were quickly realised. Pakistan was major receiver of the military assistance and weapons since 2001. The United States further strengthened its relations with Pakistan and declared it as "major non-NATO ally" in 2004 but India could not receive any such privilege (Kuszevska, 2016).

After withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, India was left with no choice to take its heavy investment from Afghanistan in terms of strategic, political and economic, which Pakistan played very wisely. Although Pakistan's withdrawal from the US camp and refusal of huge financial aid had deep impact on its internal strife, social unrest and economic crises. However, Pakistan achieved more than what India invested in Afghanistan in the last two decades. Pakistan has always preferred to strengthen its relations with China which are more important and beneficial in terms of strategic and military collaboration. It might be crucial in a circumstance when the "compromise marriage" between Islamabad and Washington appears to be breaking down.

#### **6.1.4 Economic and Cultural Aspects of Pak-India Relations**

India and Pakistan have a tense relationship. This is owing to the legacy of a violent split that saw intercommunal violence and, since then, Pakistan's inability to effectively manage domestic and international policies by several elected administrations. As a result, the two nations have fought multiple conflicts that have either ended in a draw or in India's favour. These wars have benefited neither country in any concrete way; in fact, it could be

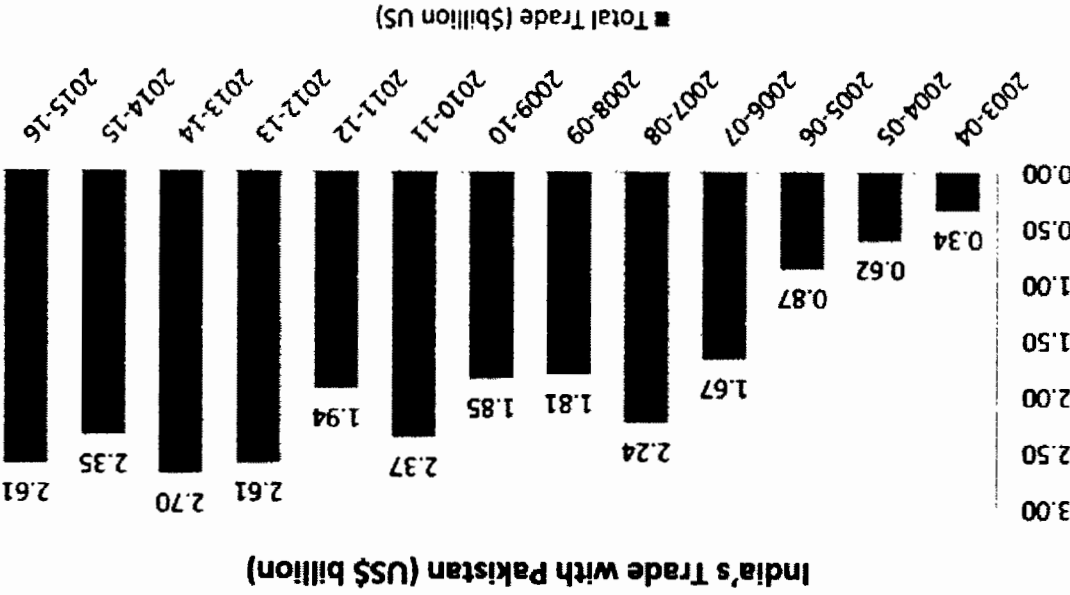
argued that they have only served to stifle India and Pakistan's economic development, despite the fact that India was feeling more threat from its east and west borders. It was end of two-front threat when East Pakistan got independent status as Bangladesh in 1971.

The bilateral trade and economic ties among both the countries remained good despite the fact that both states witnessed many ups and downs in their political, civil and military conflicts. The partition of Indian sub-continent not only split into two countries but also many families were separated by the newly constructed boundary. Language, social values, gastronomic interests, and other cultural linkages could not be instantaneously removed or reduced as a result of partition. These separated families traded based on their geographical positions, acquiring goods from both sides of the border, while retaining cultural and family ties. After the separation of both territories into two different countries, business community of both the countries saw economic potential in each other's country. Therefore, a new formal and commercialized link was developed between both the countries (Hughes, 2016).

Bilateral commercial connections between India and Pakistan have obviously been hampered by the relationship's political upheavals, although only to a limited extent. In 2004, the two countries met for a trade conversation. That discourse would eventually span into further four bilateral talks, and concluded in 2007 with the recommendations: the reopening of a land-based trade route, the amendment of marine trade prohibitions, and the expansion of the positive list. It was also decided by both the countries that trade will be allowed between LOC (the de-facto international boundary) as well as in Kashmir. Following the terrorist events in Mumbai, the continuing debate was put on hold and only

restarted in 2011. However, it is worth noting that no extraordinary actions were taken to halt or reduce bilateral commerce during that time.

In April 2011, Pakistan took steps to award India most favored nation (MFN) status, and in November of that year, it published an itinerary for implementing that designation. Islamabad shifted from a positive to a negative list approach, listing only those goods that could not be traded in from India, totaling over 1,200 products and items; New Delhi, decreased its list of banned imports to just over 600 in September 2012. Later on, by July 2013, it was agreed upon by the New Delhi that list of banned items would be shrunk to hundred only.



It was anticipated that bilateral trade between Pakistan and India would be around USD 2.6 billion for the fiscal year 2015-16. Being a large and populated country, it was very meager percentage at the Indian site for the entire commerce. Both the states were willing to further expand the bilateral trade which would also be a source of mitigating

military tensions between both the countries. However, unluckily, an incident took place in Kashmir, where 18 military personnel were allegedly attacked by the terrorists, who were backed by Pakistan, and they crossed border from Pakistani side.

In the most recent episode of purported cross-border warfare. India replied by deploying soldiers inside Pakistan to hit "launch pads" that terrorists were allegedly planning to use to attack additional Indian sites. While these actions sparked much debate and calls for retaliation on both sides of their shared border, it is worth noting that nothing has happened since the Indian government stated that it would review trade relations, the MFN status it has granted Pakistan, and the terms of the Indus Water Treaty. While political incidents like the one mentioned might create a slump in commerce between India and Pakistan, once the initial fury and outrage has passed down, those links will restart and even flourish. Apart from the necessity to preserve a healthy relationship and the impact of violence on bilateral trade, practicality reigns supreme. Both parties recognise that bilateral commerce might grow to USD 30 billion, 10 times its current level.

In addition to divided families, India and Pakistan have shared cultural values. Pakistani performers appear on Indian television shows, and the Indian actors have a big fan following in Pakistan. Another prevalent component is cricket. The game is intensely followed in both nations, with India approaching religious devotion. Cricket is most interesting and favourite game by the Indian public of urban as well as semi urban, especially cricket matches between India and Pakistan are considered as war like zone, with great deal of strategic and tactics experience in the game. The losing country considers a loss by either side to be a dishonor. These contests are so competitive and vulnerable to

security issues that it has been suggested that some of them be banned (M.A. Kundi &

Faiqa, 2005).

Given the regularity with which India and Pakistan assault one another's land, it is easy to forget that the two countries have a lot in common. It is not unreasonable to believe that they have more in common than they have differences. Given this, they should both devote more time to developing methods that will benefit them both. Like, they may establish "economic zones" along their shared border to expand the business, so that people to people contact may increase and establish cultural and financial ties. However, in the near future, it is not likely to be seen. This is the only way that both countries bring their nation into close ties and governments of both sides can initiate negotiations to resolve the long-standing conflict (Hughes, 2016).

### **6.1.5 Water Problems in Pak-India Relations**

Another major bone of contention in Pak-India relations is what some Pakistani policymakers refer to as "water terrorism" or "bloodless war" (S. Shaikat, 2010). It has heightened tensions to a great extent, because water is so crucial to Pakistan's economy. Pakistan is totally dependent on the agriculture, which accounts for 24% of the total GDP, 48% employment associated with the agriculture and 70% of the exports. It is worth noting that irrigation is used only in agriculture. Unfortunately, Pakistan's per capita surface water availability is decreasing, from 5,650 cubic metres from 1951 to an estimated 800 cubic metres in 2025 (International Monetary Fund, 2010). This might result in a severe water scarcity. Islamabad accuses India of damming rivers in order to cripple Pakistan's economy by causing water shortages. To Pakistan's disadvantage, the rivers that feed the Indus basin

originate in India (in the Indian side of Kashmir), raising fears in Pakistan that India's activities might lead to hunger and famine.

Pakistan now contends that the deal provided India an advantage. Islamabad expressed alarm over India's development of disputed projects such as the Salal Dam, the Wullar Barrage, and the Baglihar Dam, citing a breach of the Indus Water Treaty. Pakistan has opposed Kishanganga Dam which is being constructed by the India at Neelam River, claiming that it will negatively impact agricultural land in Kashmir by reducing and preventing water flow (Welle (www.dw.com), 2017).

Pak-India relations cannot be analysed only with the bilateral ties on economic and commerce footings. Pakistan has broad spectrum policy towards India where Pakistani officials consider region's strategic significance on one hand and the country's diverse domestic difficulties on the other. The Kashmir dispute, which continues to represent a severe danger to world security, is unlikely to be settled anytime soon.

While watching the current political upheaval in Pakistan, one must raise a critical question: who has the absolute power to describe foreign policy objectives of Pakistan? Civil administration has been poor throughout Pakistan's history, and public opinion has frequently viewed it with scorn and hostility. There is little dispute on who has the executive power to frame and devise Pakistan's foreign policy. Historically, army has framed the foreign policy especially towards Afghanistan, India and US. According to WikiLeaks cables released in December 2010 (*WikiLeaks*, 2010), Pakistan Army's COAS General Kayani in 2009 talked to the US Ambassador that military establishment has planned to get resignation from Asif Ali Zardari, a civilian President of Pakistan and

The globe was engulfed in panic following the 9/11 attacks. The way terrorism became a catchphrase, and the US formed an anti-terror campaign, immensely aided it in carrying out its overall goal of extending its power web throughout the world. As Robert Kagan argues, "The world is fast changing, not because of terrorism, the spread of the weapons of mass destruction or the existence of rogue states but because two of its key

#### **6.1.6. Terrorism as a Factor: Pak-India Relations**

2016).

The increasing power of Pakistan's extreme Islamists is particularly concerned about India, since it constitutes a severe security danger. Similarly, Hindu domination in the Muslim majority areas of India is a hot topic of concern for Pakistan, when there are severe cases of violence against Muslims, being minority. Pakistan's unpredictable and unstable nature runs counter to India's long-term interests. However, when it comes to resuming discussions with Pakistan, Indian officials would confront significant obstacles. Although India is willing to start composite dialogue but Hindu nationalist party BJP chief and Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi has a hardcore stance for Pakistan. Whenever the discussions start, they are under severe pressure and lack of confidence is seen from both sides. The clashes along the LOC will further disgrace the negotiations (Kuszezewska,

the Pakistani military's willingness to pursue harmony with India seemed difficult. up the COAS job in November 2013 and followed Kiyani's policies. In such conditions, Balochistan with military and financial aid. General Raheel Sharif, Kiyani's successor, took Delhi as an arch opponent and rival. It is also accused of supporting separatists in supreme Commander of Pakistan Army. In Afghanistan, the Pakistani elite views New

players, the US and Europe are increasingly diverging on how to deal with key security problems" (Cox, 2003).

In the post-9/11 world, India's repeated claims that the Kashmiri independence movement is a kind of terrorism backed by Pakistan, and Pakistan's denials, have introduced terrorism as a new dimension to their bilateral ties. Indian Foreign Minister, Jaswant Singh reminded immediately after the attacks, "Our struggle against terrorism did not begin on September 11, we have been waging this war alone for years. In Kashmir, Pakistan has created, promoted, and perpetuated terrorist activity". The Indian government publicly mocked Pakistan's leadership position in the global anti-terrorism operation (Chander, 2003).

Compared to India's Pakistan-specific stance on terrorism, the Pakistani leadership demonstrated a much more logical and rational approach. Not only did it ban the five militant organizations but their leaders, along with many followers were arrested and special cells to monitor their activities were also established (*The News (Karachi)*, 2002). Both Pakistan and India have been subjected to the acts of terrorism for many years. Against belief that the acts of terrorism in Pakistan were mostly perpetrated anti-Pakistan elements. The widespread perception in Pakistan is that the terrorist attacks in India were orchestrated by the Indian government. The assault on several extremist groups, as well as India's repeated allegations that Pakistan exports cross-border terrorism, enraged many Pakistanis. In this scenario, Pakistan was under severe pressure to legitimize the movement of Kashmiri freedom fight and avoid to come under the new definition of terrorism (Fazal-ur-Rahman, 2003).



An unexpected thaw in Pak-India ties occurred on April 18, 2003, when Prime Minister Vajpayee extended a hand of friendship to Pakistan during a rally in Srinagar. "We can change our friends, but we can't change our neighbours," he remarked in his address. And this is one of the key causes that drives the two countries to restore normalcy

### 6.1.7 Thaw in Pak-India Relations

After Indian air attacks on the JeM training camp in Balakot, the immediate aftermath of the attack sparked a flare-up between India and Pakistan, and both nations were on the verge of a full-fledged conventional war in a matter of days (Pakistan). Some strategic specialists feared the worst-case scenario of a nuclear exchange. The downing of an India fighter jet, Pakistan's unconditional release of an Indian pilot, and Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan's impassioned peace plea eventually stopped the escalation and delivered a quick-fix peace to the world's most militarised hotspot. However, relations between India and Pakistan are far from perfect. With India's Prime Minister, Narendra Modi announcing retaliation attacks and intensive cross-border shooting continuing, worries of a planned or unintentional escalation lurk on the horizon (Pandya, 2019).

According to Pandya, India is playing at front foot at the strategic shift after the Pulwama attacks, when it witnessed casualties of a dozen of Indians. It underlines India's steadfast will to combat terrorism, even if this necessitates deft cross-border actions, breaching on Pakistan's independent space and jeopardizing full-fledged war. Likewise, given the current fights on LOC, the Kashmir conflict which was considered a local and internal dispute between Pakistan and India would flash on the global politics and any Indo-Pak combat over Kashmir is expected to have significant worldwide consequences (Pandya, 2019).

Pakistan's foreign strategy has always focused on Afghanistan. Especially because Pakistan served as a key player in the Soviet-Afghan war. Pakistan played as frontline state to contain the expansion of communist in South Asia and fought a proxy war as ally of US. She was a key regional player where US and its allies fully stood behind Pakistan. However, after the soviet disintegration and torn into pieces, the cold war came to an end

### **6.2.1 Domestic Factors of Pak-Afghan Relations**

## **6.2 Foreign Policy of Pakistan towards Afghanistan**

corresponds to their strategic realities and compulsions. alternative accessible to the two nuclear enemies, since their continuing competition differences, they require political will and rationality. Dialogue remains the only viable price they will pay in the future, if they continue their current path. To reconcile their a permanent peace, the sacrifices they must make today will be far less costly than the high to start a dialogue process between the two countries. If they are serious about establishing ties between Pakistan and India. The Islamabad Summit repaid the Agra Summit's efforts standoff in one way or another, the reconciliation process continues to shape the future of and beyond the area. Though the two countries are still dealing with the fallout from the resulting from 9/11 had a limited impact on this course, as they have in other nations within 9/11 period, from crisis to confidence building was a return to that pattern. Changes Because Pak-India relations have always followed a predictable pattern, the post-countries for US favour (Talbot, 2004).

must be regarded in the context of regional unrest and competition between the two in their ties following each conflict. This strengthening of ties between Pakistan and India

and US immediately removed its support from the region and left behind Pakistan and Afghanistan at their own. This created a political deadlock in Afghanistan. Being a next-door neighbour (*Geography*, 2009), Pakistan could hardly remain indifferent to the political upheaval and civil conflict in Afghanistan as a participant in the Afghan war and also it had hosted a large number of Afghan refugees. Pakistan has been attempting to bring peace in Afghanistan as a peaceful Afghanistan is in the interest of Pakistan, especially when its control should be in the hands of those groups who are aligned and supporter of Pakistan. So, the Taliban government in Kabul was backed by Pakistan in 1996 which reflected this objective (M.Z. Khan, 2017).

Although Afghanistan and Pakistan share a same religion, race, history, ethnicity, and geography, their ties have never been pleasant and have remained tense. Pak-Afghan relations have seen numerous ups and downs over the years, and they have always been shaky and in murky seas. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan have been trying to maintain good and cordial relations since Pakistan got independence from the British Empire. The two neighbours' interactions may be regarded as difficult and convoluted. With the exception of brief intervals, the detriments that primarily control these connections have been debatable and have seen ebb and flow for historical and geopolitical causes. This mistrust, at times verging on animosity, persists, despite efforts by external parties, such as the US and EU, to strengthen the working relationship. Post-9/11 changes in the new regional context have a historic significance in world history, since they have driven both nations to the verge of massive national calamities. Pakistan had a chance after 9/11 to re-establish its diplomatic and political connections with Afghanistan, as well as review its Afghan strategy (Mazhar & Goraya, 2008).

Immediately following the terrorist hits in the United States of America in 2001, al-Qaeda was held responsible for these attacks. President of the United States of America, George W. Bush warned the Taliban Government that they immediately hand over Osama bin Laden (supreme commander of al-Qaeda) to America, otherwise they will face the consequences. They also asked Pakistan to choose between supporting the anti-terrorist coalition or the Taliban administration. Following this, Pakistan's government and policies faced an extremely difficult situation. Pakistan had cordial relations with Afghanistan's

Pakistan's closest neighbour is Afghanistan. Pakistan and Afghanistan are both Muslim nations, they have a tendency to enjoy fraternal ties. However, both have found it difficult to maintain the ball moving throughout history. The relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan are not cordial since creation of Pakistan. At many times, it was seen that both states gained a great deal of trust in each other and evolved into confident friends. But then an evil ghost appeared and snatched away everything that was good (Idrees, 2017).

Although Pakistan and Afghanistan have many commonalities but still Afghanistan proved itself as a difficult neighbour to Pakistan. British India and Afghanistan agreed on the Durand Line in 1858 under Government of India Act, but it has been a major conflict between Pakistan and Afghanistan since 1947 as Afghanistan claimed many inner parts of KPK province to be part of Afghanistan (*India - Government of India Act of 1858 | Britannica*, n.d.). Following Emir Abdul Rahman's inauguration, boundary delimitation was completed when an agreement was signed between both the states. It was accepted by Afghanistan that many parts of modern day western Balochistan and a large portion of FATA (Federal Administered Tribal Areas) of Pakistan were included in the British India (*AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN REGION 2015-2017: CONCEPT NOTE*, 2017).

Pakistan has always considered the Durand Line as a territorial boundary which was recognized by the British India before the partition of the Indian sub-continent as an international boundary, claiming that Afghan authorities have done so on multiple

Goraya, 2008).

Pakistan applies a British map, while Afghanistan utilizes an old Russian map (Mazhar & come up with their own stance and both claim according to two different world maps. kilometers long. The prospects for resolving this disagreement are bleak, given both sides has accepted the reality of the Durand Line as the formal border line, which is 2,640 initial point of contention in Pak-Afghan ties is the border issue. No Afghan administration formation of the Durand Line. This ancient railroad is in the same condition today. The signed an agreement with the British government to decide the limits, which led to the order to interpret them. The tale begins in 1893, when Afghan Ameer Abdur Rehman Although, now changes are visible but it is necessary to grasp its hundred-year history in Relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan were at a crossroads in their history.

## 6.2.2 Border Dispute

and intelligence cooperation. interests. Pakistan supported the US with a wide range of aid, including aerial, logistical, friends. Pakistan agreed to join the so-called "War on Terror" because of its vast national as it is stated that today's friends are tomorrow's foes and today's enemies are tomorrow's allies to combat the latter. Nothing in foreign policy is permanent except national interests, maintaining friendship with the Taliban dictatorship or to join forces with the US and its West. This was a critical time for the administration to choose between supporting and Taliban regime. It also had to deal with increasing pressure by the United States and the

Afghanistan is a landlocked country. It has been totally dependent on Pakistan, India and Iran to reach to the oceans for international and commercial trade and commerce. The relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan had its ups and downs during the early decades of the independence of Pakistan. The economic ties were vacillated from 1947 to 1965 due to political and geographic factors but these relations were converted into cordial one when both countries signed Transit Trade Agreement in 1965. Pakistan and

### 6.2.3 Economic Relations

Latif, 2012).

The frustration of the Durand line among Afghanistan and Pakistan should be fixed as early as possible. It is a significant impediment to their friendly relationship, impeding progress and prosperity not only in their bilateral ties but also in other areas (S. Hussain &

*Border is a Settled Issue*, 2009).

In general, it is claimed that this pact was signed in a friendly and free atmosphere. While speaking to a crowd that comprised military, civil, and Afghan tribal leaders, Afghanistan's former King, Abdur Rahman, presented a summary of the parties' understanding and agreement, explained the agreed agreements, and exhorted them to stick to the British alliance. Furthermore, the King reminded the audience that Afghanistan had for the first time been able to demarcate its correct border, which would, of course, help to prevent future misunderstandings and strengthen Afghanistan (*Pakistan-Afghanistan*

claim that the pact is only valid for one hundred years. signed by representatives of two sovereign nations (Grare, 2006). It even contradicts the occasions. It dismisses the Afghan allegations, claiming that a genuine document must be

Afghanistan further strengthened their bilateral relations when both countries signed Transit Trade Agreement in 2010. Now both the countries are international trading partners. After 9/11 incident and withdrawal of US and foreign forces from Afghanistan, now Pakistan has extended technical and financial aid for the reconstruction, development and rehabilitation of Afghanistan (Hanif, 2018).

Afghanistan is rich in natural resources, including vast reserves of natural gas, petroleum, Sulphur, lead, iron, chromium, zinc, salt, and a variety of valuable and semi-precious stones. However, due to their long involvement in the local, external and transnational war, they were unable to explore these natural resources that can be very much beneficial for their economy. "In 1970, the Soviet Union calculated that Afghanistan possessed 400 million tons of coal," Musa Khan Jalalzai recalls. Afghanistan has three essential economic requirements: a seaport, commerce, and help for economic growth (Jalalzai, 2003).

Afghanistan is lacking a well-structured railway or network of roads. Being a landlocked country, most of its trade is happening through Iran, Pakistan and Russia. However, the most suitable, natural and developed trade route is through Pakistan which connects Kabul with Karachi port.

Since Afghanistan is a landlocked country with few communication options, therefore, it lacks significant railroads, and roads are just recently being constructed. Afghan trade may go overland through three countries: Pakistan, Iran, and the Soviet Union. The most natural and well-developed commerce route for Afghanistan is through the Khyber Pass, which connects Afghanistan to the port of Karachi in Pakistan. However,

because of political issues with Pakistan, Afghanistan has not fully exploited this route (Hasan, 1964).

Economic links between the two countries are source of friendship and good relations as Afghanistan is a landlocked country and its most of the business and commerce is passing through Pakistan and Iran, the most economically and logistically feasible transit routes. All imports and exports of Afghanistan throughout the world is managed through Karachi port which is controlled under the Transit Trade Agreement 1965 and further improved in 2010. Since the independence of Pakistan, there has been informal transit commerce across the Durand Line. Pakistan and Afghanistan agreed upon to trade between both the countries through two crossing points of Peshawar-Torkham and Chaman-Spin Boldak in 1965 under TTA. Initially, imports were exempted from any kind of custom duties, service fee, port levies and other handling costs. In order to improve the trade and getting easy in the trade issues, an Afghan Commerce Development Cell was created in the 1995 to promote the commerce and trade with Central Asian countries. Another effort was made and Pak-Afghanistan Joint Economic Commission (JEC) was founded in 2002, which provided both nations with enormous opportunities to expand their bilateral commerce. Through the JEC, both the countries were able to analyze their trade and prepared plans to further promote economic cooperation (Ikram, 2006).

In order to further promote the trade and commerce between both countries, a series of meetings were held regularly to increase business engagement, bilateral trade, arranging single country exhibitions, simplifying procedures and formed joint ventures and created chambers of commerce and industry.



It was also agreed upon to constitute Pak-Afghan Joint Custom Committee to further ease the trade and transit concerns of business community. Pakistan had also taken a number of initiatives to provide aid to Afghanistan in the development of their infrastructure and educational institutions. Pakistan also provided 200 trucks, 100 buses and 38 ambulances. In addition, Pakistan also assisted in the school rehabilitation, construction of Kidney Centre in Jalalabad and aid to Kabul University. A number of other developmental work has also been done with the help of Pakistan, including Chaman-Kandahar Railway line, Torkham-Jalalabad Road, GK Khost Road and Power Transmission Line to Khost (Hanif, 2018).

Pakistan and Afghanistan should collaborate to combat piracy and promote tourism interchange. Despite political doubts and contradictions in both countries over the Pak-Afghan Transit Trade Treaty in post-9/11 period, both states had been working as key partner in the bilateral trade and commerce. In this connection, JEC performed very important and critical role in the bilateral trade and supported the commerce and industry of both the countries' financial connections, notably in Pakistan's reproduction of Afghanistan to promote controllable and sustainable growth in the landlocked region. After a long period of time, Pakistan also reopened the Torkham-Jalalabad Road to make the trade easy between both the countries. Both nations' alternative accomplishment in 2010 is the Transit Trade Agreement. Pakistan has maintained a significant lead in terms of fares to Afghanistan, with an annual number over USD 4 billion dollars. Pakistan, as it is now, is deficient in minerals but abundant in food and fibre, whereas Afghanistan possesses vast unexploited mineral and labour sources. Through the good relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan, both countries can get a lot of mutual benefits. Afghanistan can have an easy

and well-developed route to the sea, while Pakistan can have a vast market of Central Asian countries for its trade and commerce (Hanif, 2018).

#### **6.2.4 Border Insurgency**

Despite this, there have been several disputes and clashes between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Cross-border invasions predate Pakistan's founding and occurrence to this day. In May 2007, Afghan ground fighters reportedly infiltrated Pakistan and attacked military positions, killing eight personnel of Pakistani armed forces. Pakistan also retaliated and killed dozens of Afghan soldiers through heavy artillery attack on Afghanistan side. Similar border clash was also reported in February 2011 when Afghanistan captured a Pakistani soldier and killed him. They claimed that they did as a reciprocal to an attack which was held by Pakistani military officials (*Reuters*, 2011).

Pakistan and Afghanistan have a long and difficult border which is the source of mutual resentment between the two nations. The underlying primary issue, rather than the geographical boundary, is the cultural and ethnic connection of Pashtun community, which is frequently at the center of tricky border relations. Pashtun population lives on both sides of border line. They share common ethnic identity, linguistic uniformity, a common religion, and a perception that Pashtun culture and identity is under threat due to political and border tensions between both the countries. In the existing situation, cross-border terrorism has taken the form of a skewed reciprocal blame game between the two countries. The American allegations that terrorist safe havens exist on the Pakistani border are sadly backed up by Afghan nodes who support American claims. Drone attacks, which the US hoped would be a permanent solution, instilled in Pakistan the apprehensions about the country's non-NATO position.

President Hamid Karzai led by a 40-member delegation held a news conference during the burial of Abdul Wali Khan, a Pashtun Nationalist asserting that Afghanistan can also play and promote on the basis of Pushtun ethnicity to its advantages "If they (Pakistan and Iran) don't stop, the consequences will be ... that the region will suffer with us equally. In the past we have suffered alone; this time everybody will suffer with us. (...) Any effort to divide Afghanistan ethnically or to weaken it, will create the same thing in the

International Studies, 2011).

Afghanistan with the help and support of India (Siddique & Danish Institute for that terrorism in Pakistan is directly linked with the anti-Pakistan elements operating from created difficulties for both the countries. The stance of Pakistan is also based on the facts similar allegations over the counterpart, but it is a fact that cross border infiltration has blamed. Afghanistan has blamed that Pakistan is playing double game and Pakistan has put its internal conflicts, such accusations do not always imply that the ISI is completely to be fomenting its own insurgencies. While Afghanistan accuses Pakistan of fueling the fires of The blame game is more complicated: one government accuses the other of

confidence (Javaid, 2016).

occasional scuffles on both sides of the border have hampered efforts to build mutual combat the threat of terrorism. Both countries have made progress in this regard, however, neighbours have often emphasized the importance of sharing intelligence in order to terrorism due to transboundary. It will also aid terrorists in hit and run operations. Both request to close the shared boundary. Pakistan believes that it would be difficult to control Americans adamantly opposed. Furthermore, certain Pakistani quarters rejected Pakistan's Pakistan suggested fence around the Afghan border on multiple occasions, but the

neighbouring countries. All the countries in the neighbourhood have the same ethnic groups that we have, so they should know that it is a different ball game this time (*Dawn*, 2006).”

Domestic determinants have mostly focused on Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) instability in FATA (now part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province) and Balochistan by Baloch rebels with safe havens in Afghanistan. The role of intelligence services in shaping foreign policy towards Afghanistan has been another major domestic influence. Foreign policy has been impacted by a spongy border with weak border mechanisms, trafficking of drugs and smuggled products, gun handling, and more than that the existence of about 1.5 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan (B. Ali & Hussain, 2018). Besides having common religion, culture, ethnicity and language, Pakistan and Afghanistan could not manage cordial relations for a longer period of time.

Pakistan and Afghanistan can settle their issues through bilateral talks. Afghanistan can gain much by entering in the game changer future of CPEC. This route can also be a game changer for Afghanistan, being very close to this route.

## 6.3 Post-9/11 Pak-Iran Relations

### 6.3.1 Pak-Iran Relations; Internal Factors of Foreign Policy

Pakistan inherited a shared border with Iran of around 590 miles (909 Kilometer). The Goldsmith line, which extends from Koh-i-Malik Sait, the tri-junction of Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, to Gwadar Bay in the Arabian Sea, was largely demarcated. Baloch tribes, who are linguistically, ethnically, culturally, and historically similar, live in a same border region. The expansion of communication under the auspices of the Regional

neighbouring countries have a historical bond of friendship and used these ecological

Pakistani-Iranian ties bonded after Pakistan got independence in 1947. Both these

strategic transnational gas pipeline, and oil refinery at Gwadar (Z.A. Khan, 2012).

a major energy conduit in the area has grown further as a result of building of Gwadar Port,

Baloch people from Iran have similar customs and traditions. Balochistan's importance as

Qum and other Iranian towns. Baloch people from Pakistan's Balochistan and Seistan

as Hazara communities residing in Quetta in Pakistan, while same community is lying in

(Iranian Balochistan) used to cross border to interact with each other in daily life, as well

both the countries. The two Baloch tribal people from Pakistan, Balochistan and Seistan

Balochistan has a long border with Iran, therefore, it is used for transit and trade between

Balochistan is the major determinant of Pakistan's overall relationship with Iran. Since

is biggest province of Pakistan in terms of area, has close geographic proximity to Iran.

ethnic resemblances, has a beneficial and deep impact on Pak-Iran ties. Balochistan, which

The physical proximity of the two regions, together with socioeconomic links and

ties (Lall, 2007).

sectarianism in Pakistan and Shiite massacre in the 1990s are the only implied strains in

relations with India, as well as conflicting approaches in Afghanistan. Increased

such as Pakistan's connections with the United Governments, Arab states, and Iran's good

without tension. External causes, rather than implied conflicts, were more often at play,

Iran and Pakistan have long, peaceful and cooperative ties but are not always

encouraged social and cultural exchanges between these two populations even more.

Cooperation of Development (RCD) and the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO)

resources and importance in the region to promote regional and sub-regional unity, mostly to further their national interests. However, the friendly relations between Pakistan and Iran were harmed by convergence and divergence of interests. Economic, political, and security/defence imperatives were used to characterise these issues. Because of the changing worldwide situation, geographical boundaries are not barriers for international trade. So, both the countries need to further promote their relations to get benefit from each other and from the international system (M. Shah et al., 2015).

The Afghan conflict has always played a crucial role in determining Pakistan's ties with Iran. Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, there have been variances. Both nations have their own regional agendas, and their approaches on Afghanistan have been conflicting. The aftermath of 9/11 was viewed as a genuine chance for both countries to reconsider their bilateral relations. Three concerns dominated the crucial variables that influenced their ties after 9/11; Afghan, Iranian, and Indian relations as external, while sectarian violence and terrorism as internal factors.

Both Iran and Pakistan's foreign policy objectives have been changed by the post-9/11 international political order. Pakistan has little choice but to reconsider its old stance of backing the Taliban and work with the superpower to fight against the war on terror. Although it was in the interest of Iran that Taliban government was thrown away but this action created a new security challenge and threat for the Iran (Zehra, 2003).

Taliban's defeat provides Pakistan and Iran with a perfect chance to review and enhance their bilateral relations. Iran and Pakistan both hailed President Karzai's victory as a significant step forward for Afghanistan. Pakistan kept Iran informed about the least

Sectarianism is one of the key reasons which contributed uncertainty and negativity in the relations between Iran and Pakistan. Pakistan is a Sunni Muslim majority country where more than 95% Muslims are Sunni, while Iran is a Shia Muslim majority country. Although, relations between both the countries were not defined on the solely basis of

### 6.3.2 Terrorism and Extremism: Sectarian Factor

Pakistan and Iran also have two more aspects which are helpful in enhancing and promoting good relations between both the countries. Common faith and culture are two of these elements (*Dawn*, 2005). In the connection between Pakistan and Iran, several permanent and non-permanent items create a foundation. Geographic closeness, shared culture and faith are permanent variables, but shifting security environments, economic policies, and ideological policies are non-permanent variables. Pakistan and Iran share some mutual interests as a result of these causes (Hashmi, 2005).

US enmity against Iran, following the Shah's removal (Sumita, 2008). Another viewpoint is that weak internal policy of Pakistan has influenced its decision on the table of its foreign policy with Iran. Besides other elements, corruption, bad governance, political instability, and inconsistent economic strategies have all harmed Pakistan's socioeconomic progress. This has also tarnished Pakistan's reputation throughout the world. Furthermore, Pakistan's misleading image has been a key element in the international community's lack of appreciation for its efforts in the battle against terrorism. Besides all this, it is agreed upon by the global community that the role of Pakistan is vital for bringing peace in Afghanistan (Hashmi, 2005).

logistical assistance it extended to alliance armed forces, allaying Tehran's suspicions about

The deteriorating situation in Afghanistan, as well as the political/sectarian assassinations of civilians, officials, and diplomats heightened sectarian tensions in Pakistan. Several Iranian nationals and Pakistani Shias were killed in the 1990s during

Pakistani soil at official level (Zehra, 2003).

increased pressure on other Muslim regimes not to engage proxy sectarian warfare on worried about the developments and saw the matter as a local issue. Pakistan began to put justice has exacerbated the deterioration of Pak-Iran ties. Pakistan, on the other hand, was massacres. The inability of Pakistan's court system to bring those guilty for the murders to officials and the general population are concerned about the indiscriminate sectarian 1990. Five Iranian Air Force cadets were murdered in Rawalpindi later that year. In Tehran, Pakistan. Sadeq Ganji, the Iranian Consul-General to Pakistan in Lahore, was murdered in issue has resulted in the death of some Iranian ambassadors and other Iranian people in Another element hurting Iran's relations with Pakistan is sectarian violence. This

Iran failed to develop a relation based upon trust and cooperation.

contributed negatively, therefore, Pakistan tilted towards Saudi Arabia. So, Pakistan and communities of Pakistan. The policies of Iran on the basis of sectarian policies in Pakistan Pakistan. These developments paved way for the sectarian persecutions of Sunni and Shia Saudi Arabia and Iran created sectarian militant groups that caused much damage to groups in Pakistan that tarnished its social harmony. The sectarian-proxy war between desire to promote their sectarian ideologies, Saudi Arabia and Iran supported like-minded bitter rivals after the Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran (Haqani, 2006). In their utmost Islamic Revolution in Iran contributed a lot in this regard. Saudi Arabia and Iran turned sectarianism but the religious policies of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq in 1980s and



It is a Balochistan-based rebel Sunni Islamic terrorist group. This group claims that they are fighting for the rights of Sunni Muslims which Shia community in Iran is not providing them. This group was created by Abdolmalek Rigi. Jundullah group consists upon around 1,000 militants. They have claimed that they have killed 400 Iranian armed forces and a large number of non-combatants. It is an element of the Baloch rebellion in Pakistan and the Iranian province of Seistan and Balochistan. The People's Resistance Movement of Iran began as Jundullah and then changed its name to the People's Resistance Movement of Iran. Iran has regarded the group as an extremist and terrorist organization,

### **6.3.3 Balochistan Based Jundullah Organization**

The continuation of sectarian bloodshed in Pakistan became one of the most frustrating and disruptive topics in Pak-Iran relationship. President of Iran, Ayatollah Khatami, however, recognizing the tough position, remarked, "we regret what has happened and are concerned about India's nuclear tests" adding further, "we regard your security seriously and understand your position and the position of our brother, Pakistani nation. The security of Pakistan, as a brother, friendly and neighbouring state, is crucial to us. We consider their issue to be extremely important and will stand by you" (BBC, 1998).

Shia-Sunni conflicts in Pakistan. Following the US invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, Pakistan worried that Balochistan might follow the FATA route (now part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), a hazardous situation to say the least. Afghan insurgents also wreaked havoc in Balochistan, launching assaults on the province's minority Shia community, which has long been a target of extremist Sunni Islamists. In truth, sectarian violence has increased in Balochistan in recent years (AFP, 2015).

Jundullah claimed responsibility for a mosque assault in Chabahar that killed 38 people and wounded 89 others in December 2010 (Chasmliee, 2011). Iran accused Pakistan

supported the group (Zulfiqar, 2007).

Mashkel in Balochistan. Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, a Pakistani anti-Shia organization, has also Raiki, lived in Quetta and Karachi for many years and he studied from a madrassah in Kharan, Panjgur, Kech, and Gwadar. The supreme commander of Jundullah, Mullah Malik in Iran's Sistan-Balochistan province, which borders the Pakistani districts of Chagai, killed 11 Iranian Revolutionary Guard personnel. Jundullah operated for the first five years February 2007, the organization claimed responsibility for a bus bombing in Zahedan that border at Taftan in early 2007, forcing Pakistan to abandon its assistance for Jundullah. In for extending support within its territorial boundaries. In reaction, Iran blocked Pak-Iran and other regional and foreign powers of supporting Jundullah. She also blames Pakistan separation or integration with Pakistani Balochistan (Wieg, 2009). Iran blames America Pakistani Baloch who desire geographical independence, Jundullah does not encourage years. Jundullah is strongly associated with Pakistani Baloch nationalism, however, unlike over autonomy, unjustified economic distribution, and the shelter of insurgents, in recent authorities as well as similar kind of people who were fighting with Iranian government Iran. There are many local interest groups, who remained in clash with the Pakistani The Baloch region has a history of instability on both sides of the border in Pakistan and province, stretches the length of the Pak-Iran border, traversing rough and rocky terrain. Pakistan and Iran share 909-kilometer border. Balochistan, Pakistan's biggest

(Z.A. Khan, 2012).

accusing it of carrying out multiple acts of terrorism, kidnappings, and drug trafficking

of harbouring Jundullah and sought to close Pakistan's border on multiple times in response (Escobar, 2009). Iran also accused Pakistan for failing to manage Jundullah, which it claimed was causing conflict between the two nations; while Pakistani authorities' successful attempt to rescue 21 Iranian officials when Jundullah captured these official in 2007. This was a goodwill gesture that was promoted by Islamabad to secure privileges from America (Zulfikar, 2007). Although many conspiracy theories also exist in this regard but all the charges of Iran cannot be considered as wholly untrue (Harrison, 2009). Hostilities between Iran and Pakistan rose after assaults on Iranian Revolutionary Guard personnel in Sistan-Balochistan region on October 19, 2009. President Ahmadinejad accused "some Pakistani officials" of being involved in the assaults (*CBS News*, 2009). Pakistan denied the allegation of Iranian Interior Minister, Mustafa Mohammad Najjar that Jundullah received financial assistance from Pakistan and their participation in the bombing in Iran (*Dawn*, 2009).

#### 6.3.4 Geographical Factor: Balochistan

Balochistan is the biggest province of Pakistan in terms of land which has 42% of total area of Pakistan but is smallest in terms of population with 7% of total population. It is the poorest and least developed province where a large number of population is poverty-stricken. However, it is rich in natural resources. The province has a collection of large amount of copper, uranium and gold reservoirs (*Asian Times*, 2015), it also has a huge coal, natural gas and undeveloped oil reserves. All of these natural resources are located along the area of proposed Pak-Iran Gas Pipeline.

The Britishers influenced people with a series of treaties before the War of Independence in 1839. When they saw expansion of Iran in Balochistan, they decided to

At times, the movement has put the Pakistani state's integrity in jeopardy. In the 1970s, the Baloch resistance erupted into one of the most extensive and violent civil unrests in history. In 1973, another outburst of nationalist indignation erupted in Balochistan when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, backed and aided militarily by the Shah of Iran, refused Baloch demands for provincial autonomy, fearful of a spillover of Baloch nationalist uprising in Iranian Balochistan during the years 1973-1977. The coup headed by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq ended the insurgency with amnesty. Insurgency arose over the same demands

2012).

the Sardars who feared losing control if the province grew economically (Z.A. Khan, their territory hindered Baloch's aspirations and traditional roaming life, inspired in part by 27, 1948. The presence of national boundaries and the spread of central government over Kalat to Pakistan following independence, and the union of Kalat with Pakistan on March national struggle was sparked by the admission of British Balochistan and the Khanate of half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. With a strong hand, the Baloch resistance was crushed. The Baloch the Iranian and British colonizers grew in the later part of 19<sup>th</sup> century and then the first foreign domination or interference in their indigenous cultural practices. Resistance against Baloch people have always stood firm against any effort to subjugate them through Register to Afghanistan in 1893, further increasing Baloch resentment ("Pakistan," 2009). administrative administration in 1876. The "Durand Line" gave away Outer Seistan and discrimination, and disaffection among them. Kalat was placed under British people's social, cultural and economic unity and giving a solid sense of injustice, Commission unlawfully created the "Goldsmith Line" in 1871, splitting the Baloch pacify the Iranians in order to counter Russian influence. A Perso-Baloch Boundary

In terms of commercial links between Iran and Pakistan, there is a lot of promise. Increased bilateral commerce may be extremely beneficial to both countries. The potential commerce is immense, but both countries have been unable to fully use the chance to expand their bilateral trade. Pakistan's commerce with Iran has generally been confined to Pakistan's energy requirements. Both countries' socioeconomic achievements have been obstructed by a lack of commerce. Given Pakistan's energy crises and rising energy demands, an economic collaboration between Pakistan and Iran is a logical fit. Iran is an

### **6.3.5 Economic Relations**

view of the region's continuously changing geographical context (Sumita, 2008). Both parties see this expanding contact on security problems as critical in senior politicians to intelligence services, regular exchanges between the two sides have and combating challenges such as drug trafficking and sectarianism. At many levels, from joint ministerial panel on security to improve collaboration in counter-terrorism operations time and the militants are demanding independence. Pakistan and Iran have established a ownership over the local natural resources. Another insurgency is underway at the present defeated four insurgencies demanding unconditional autonomy, greater political rights, and supply, with royalties that are low. In 1948, 1958-59, 1962-63, and 1973-77, the army compensation. Baloch gas is responsible for a substantial portion of Pakistan's energy by the Baloch without recognition of their contribution to the nation or monetary Baloch concerns come from economic marginalization and resource exploitation (2012).

administration used a strong-arm approach, launching a full-fledged civil war (Z.A. Khan, in 2005. Instead of giving appropriate consideration to the frequent Baloch demands, the

The menace of Shia Sunni violence is not only a catastrophe for the Pakistani nation, but also a yardstick to measure the readiness and abilities of Tehran to act as a protector of the Pakistani Shia. The Iranian authorities go out of way to bear the mantle of the global champion of Shia Muslims. However, while the plight of Pakistani Shis has become a rallying cry for certain elements of the Iranian regime, Tehran's actual actions

sectarian attacks across the country (Vatanika, 2015).  
pledged national demon. Between 2003 and 2013, some 3,500 Pakistanis were killed in What began under General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq as a trend had mushroomed into a full-extremist groups inside Pakistan grew noticeably. Much of the violence was sectarian. is internal' (*Guardian*, 2003). During his nine-year rule, the frequency of attacks by Musharraf himself said that 'the greatest danger to [the Pakistani] nation is not external, it Islamabad has periodically banned militant Islamist and sectarian groups. President Since the 9/11 attacks and Pakistan's participation in the US led war on terrorism,

### 6.3.6 Iran and the Pakistani Shia

would receive roughly 85 mmsc (Sumita, 2008).  
million cubic meters of gas each day. Pakistan would receive 62 mmsc, whereas India a cost of roughly 8 billion dollars. In its first phase, the pipeline would flow more than 145 and political future. The IPI gas pipeline would have a total length of 2778 kilometers and The Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) initiative is critical in shaping the region's economic

reserves (Tehsin, 2014).  
energy-rich country. It has world's 2<sup>nd</sup> largest natural gas reserves and 4<sup>th</sup> largest oil

rarely match its most fanatical rhetoric about the suffering of Pakistan's Shia (Vatanka, 2015).

Iran and Pakistan must eliminate any elements that undermine their friendly ties. However, this would need diligent and professional leadership on both sides, who are aware of regional dynamics and the importance of their country's socioeconomic progress. In this new climate, both nations benefit from establishing a strong, deeper partnership in order to address the problems of the day. Since September 11, 2001, there have been new issues and challenges, as well as new situations, which have created a chance for stronger collaboration between Iran and Pakistan.

**Chapter 7:**  
**PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS**  
**MAJOR POWERS**



## Chapter 7:

# PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS MAJOR POWERS

In this anarchic world where no central authority exists to supervise and regulate the relations of states with each other, major powers exist with dominating character and influence the foreign policy relations of every country on this earth. Chapter six discusses about Pakistan's foreign policy towards major powers i.e., China, Russia and USA. China is located in the northeast border of Pakistan and is emerging as a superpower in the new multipolar world order. Pak-China relations are always regarded as friendly. Both countries have history of strong friendship.

Pakistan remained in indirect war with Russia in 1980s when Pakistan played leading role to disintegrate the Soviet Union during Afghan war, however, currently both states are trying to adjust their relations in friendly manner in the emerging multi-polar world order. This study focuses on the religious and other domestic factors influencing foreign policy of Pakistan towards Russia.

Pakistan and US have history of ups and down. Pakistan tilted towards US during cold war era in the early age of its creation in 1950s to 1980s and during the war on terror in post-9/11. However, currently Pak-US relations are not cordial in its nature. Although, Pakistan preferred to join the US camp since its inception in 1947 due to its hegemony, however public opinion of Pakistani nation did not mould Pakistan's relations towards the US.

## **7.1 Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards China**

### **7.1.1 Pak-China Relations – Historical Perspective**

In 1950, Pakistan recognized China at a time when the latter was isolated, as though Karachi (the-then capital) was anticipating the future, knowing that Beijing would have problematic ties with India, notwithstanding the strong connections between Nehru and Chou-En Lai at that time. Appreciating Pakistan's stance, China opted to trade coal for cotton, which had nowhere to go after Indian mills were shut off from the regions where this textile factory was manufactured. The diplomatic reconciliation between Pakistan and China was manifested in Karachi's decision to spare Beijing at the United Nations during the Korean War. Pakistan and China were accorded the status of most favoured country in 1963, and both countries' airlines were permitted to fly in other's territory and skies, which the Chinese officials enjoyed because it allowed them to go west through Pakistan (Jaffrelot, 2016).

Pak-China ties have been described as "higher than mountains", "deeper than seas" and "sweeter than honey" due to their strong collaboration spanning seven decades (1950-2020). The partnership is a shining example of peaceful cohabitation between countries with diverse social systems and cultures (L. Jian, 2010).

On the diplomatic front, China supported Pakistan as one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council on the Kashmir issue, while Pakistan assisted China in establishing relations with the US after Nixon made overtures to Beijing. Kissinger departed from Pakistan, escorted by high-ranking Pakistani officers, to pave the ground for Nixon's visit to China (Jaffrelot, 2016).

It is difficult to anticipate that Pakistan was able to get itself free from the hegemony of America and tilted towards China. China may be wary of alienating India, a rising country with significant trading ties. The Chinese may also be concerned about the relationship between Uyghurs and Pakistani jihadists. China is not agreeing to provide financial assistance to Pakistan in the same way that the US has. Beijing had only granted minor loans to Islamabad in 2008, when it was dealing with a severe economic crisis. But if China is not prepared to give aid to Pakistan, it has announced a massive investment of USD 46 billion in the framework of the "One route, one belt" project connecting China to central and west Asia (Jaffrelot, 2016).

Pakistan and China have locked friendly foreign policy towards each other. Both states are dependable friends, allies and partners at regional and global level. Their attitude, policies and same perspective on regional and international level made them trustworthy friends. China and Pakistan always backed each other in battles against India. A number of agreements are signed between both friends to further strengthen their mutual connections. Pakistan has high support and encouragement from China since 1971 in terms of moral, political, financial, diplomatic and military backing.

Since 9/11, the military and geopolitical relations between China and Pakistan have improved dramatically. The exchange of high-ranking officials, signing of military agreements, nuclear and missile cooperation, joint surveillance in the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea and development of Gwadar port has further strengthened their friendship. These engagements for decades between both the countries counterbalance growing supremacy and hegemony of India (Z.A. Khan & Ahmad, 2015).

China began anti-terrorist cooperation before the global war against terrorism. Xinjiang is Due to separatist uprisings in China's western region of Xinjiang, Pakistan and

### 7.1.2 Pak-China Friendship in the Context of Terrorism

million dollars out of 248 million dollars necessary (Azeemi, 2007). Gwadar Port Project Phase I began in March 2002, after China agreed to provide 198 of economic initiatives between 1999 to 2008, according to the report. Construction on the In addition to strategic cooperation, China and Pakistan collaborated on a number Pakistan (Fazal-ur-Rehman, 2002).

that Pakistan faced in making certain critical decisions, and voiced its sympathy with the area under any circumstances. China well comprehended the restrictions and pressures Pakistan that it would never allow any country to undermine Chinese strategic interests in regular exchange of high-profile visits between the two nations reinterred the position of alarmed China, and this was likely the first problem in the two nations' relations. However, Pakistan's decision to support the US and supply the base facilities originally ur-Rehman, 2002).

to General Musharraf and other authorities about the crisis that had risen as a result (Fazal-ambassador of President Jiang Zemin arrived in Islamabad after the 9/11 attacks. He spoke strength of these relationships (Fazal-ur-Rahman, 2009). On September 18, 2001, an geopolitical environment, but have also continued to grow steadily, demonstrates the relations have not only weathered all of the obstacles posed by a rapidly changing sovereignty, regional reliability, and economic affluence. The fact that Pak-China strategic Pakistan faced a variety of obstacles in the post-9/11 era, all of which threatened its

India tried to encash the situation at that time to flare up the tensions between China and Pakistan. It was propagated by the India that Jihadis in Kashmir and separatist movements were both sponsored by Pakistan to promote instability both in India and China. China submitted a strong protest with the then Interior Minister of Pakistan, Ch. Shujaat Hussain on January 6, 1999 when 16 Uyghurs separatists admitted that they got training in Afghanistan and Landi Kotal area of Khyber Agency of Pakistan' (Debata, 2007). The then Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif paid urgent

In Xinjiang, there were frequent acts of violence and skirmishes between police and rebels. In 1999, a special force from Beijing was dispatched to Urumqi and many cities were handed over to the army. Mainly, it was Afghanistan that was source of problems in Xinxiang province of China (F. Saleem, 2000). China also shifted its little policy on the issue of Kashmir from the movement of self-determination to neutrality. It was considered by China that if Kashmir Jihadi organizations would be successful then it would also be a source of motivation for Uyghur's separatists in Xinjiang (A. Memon, 2007).

In 1992, 22 people were killed in the riot near Kashgar. China blocked its border with Pakistan for several months as a result of this incident. China shut down the Karakoram Highway to send a strong message to Pakistan about its displeasure with the country's support for Islamic extremists (Haider, 2005).

(Baabar, 2008).

China's largest province, with a population of twenty million people. Urumqi was the capital of Xinjiang, and Kashgar, Xian, and Urumqi are among the province's major cities. Urumqi has the most Pakistanis, with the majority of them being traders with offices there

visit to China and made it clear in a news conference that Pakistan was not supporting or backing any group pursuing independence from China (Bhutt, 2007).

When the incident of 9/11 happened in New York and Washington, President General Pervez Musharraf decided to travel to China to discuss with the Chinese leadership about the security situation that arose as a result of the assaults (*Nawa-i-Waqar*, 2001). However, the President was forced to postpone his one-day visit after receiving assurances from China that it would back his government's stance in the battle against international terrorism (*The Nation*, 2001). Lu Shulin, the Chinese ambassador to Pakistan, met President Musharraf and addressed the security situation in Pakistan following the terrorist assault in the United States. Musharraf also informed him of his government's policies in this regard. Instead of Musharraf visiting China, President Jiang Zemin's special envoy landed in Islamabad on September 18 to see him (*Nawa-i-Waqar*, 2001). The Chinese government's support for Pakistan's principled approach of supporting the international coalition in its battle against terrorism was stated by the ambassador. China also stated that it will stand behind Pakistan in the problems emanating from the events of 9/11 (*Foreign Office Year Book*, 2002).

Between 1999 to 2008, terrorist attacks in Pakistan and China caused significant damage. Both countries put up enormous efforts to combat the threat of terrorism and extremism. General Pervez Musharraf implemented strong counter-terrorism efforts. Qin Gang, a spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said "the Pakistani government has done a lot to tackle terrorism since 9/11. Pakistan and China are now collaborating to combat three evils: extremism, terrorism, and separatism, by utilizing each other's expertise and capacities" (*The Nation*, 2005).

During the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict, China essentially supported Pakistan. China has not only warned India with severe repercussions, but has also stationed soldiers around the Indian border (Z. Mirza, 2006). In 2001, as part of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of

hallmark of Pak-China friendship" (*The Nation*, 2001).

Policy Studies, stated that "Self-Reliance in the field of defence production was the and ammunition. Mushahid Hussain, a former senator and the chairman of the Institute of Chinese assistance in the development of tanks, anti-tank artillery, aircraft, small weapons aided Pakistan's quest for self-sufficiency in defence manufacture. Pakistan received arms supplier to Pakistan. In times of dire need, this wellspring had not dried up. It also Western weaponry, their dependability, consistency, and low cost have made China a key military gear. Although Chinese weapons are not as technologically sophisticated as China had been one of Pakistan's most significant and dependable sources of

### 7.1.3 Expansion of Defence Relations

Afghanistan (*Dawn*, 2001).

and cooperation." Both were instrumental in achieving a just and equitable resolution in September 11, Musharraf stated, China and Pakistan have maintained close "consultation it clear that attack on America was a political issue rather than a religious conflict. Since not support any kind of terrorism and there is no link of terrorism with it. He further made discourage terrorism in its all form across the world. He also made it clear that Islam does despite Pakistan's role in the support to US in the war on terror. He raised the slogan to and leadership that the long-lasting relations of Pakistan and China would not be affected America attacked Afghanistan after the incident of 9/11. He reassured the Chinese officials President Pervez Musharraf travelled to China in December 2001 immediately after

China and Pakistan started another bilateral, historic, and most beneficial project of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) to develop and upgrade socio-economic, energy, industrial and trade growth relationship. It is a great game changer project which has impacted a lot on the regional and global politics. CPEC is not only a symbol of Pak-

across state borders.

Internal political peace and economic stability have become more important to a state's international engagement in the post-Cold War era. What counts most is a state's positive significance in a globalized international system that places a higher focus on privatization, free trade, and the free movement of commodities, services, and people

cooperating within a region reaps substantial economic benefits (H.A. Rizvi, 2014). power elite and politically influential segments of the populace learn from experience that technological areas of mutual interest. Such inter-state cooperation may be fostered if the be avoided by encouraging collaboration across state borders in socioeconomic and Traditionally, experts of International Relations believe that conflict and war may

#### **7.1.4 Relationship in Economic Arena**

as a terrorist attack on US soil. Missile Defence Program, which was initially rejected by China and later Pakistan, as well also occurred around the time when the United States revealed its USD 60 billion National commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Pak-China ties. These defence delegation exchanges Pakistan (April-December). These delegations reportedly came to Pakistan to between the two countries rose. In 2001, almost five Chinese defence delegations visited diplomatic bonds among Pakistan and China, a number of military delegation exchanges



Pakistan is also keen to see the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor completed. Islamabad's efforts to make it a success story are due to a number of causes. The first is to overcome the country's electricity shortage, which is preventing it from facilitating its public and private sectors. The country's shortfall has worsened, particularly after 2007, resulting in public discontent and lower industry output. CPFC covers a wide-range of energy projects, including hydropower generating, thermal plants, coal-fired power plants, wind power, and nuclear power. It is not only beneficial for the establishment of new job chances, but it is also important for industries to create more goods and enhance their quality. Pakistan's sagging economy will see quick expansion by attracting more foreign investment and collaborating with other governments on collaborative projects to boost

China has initiated CPFC which shows strong commitment to the developed and stable Pakistan, as a great friend. It rejected the propaganda of the international players and non-state actors regarding Pakistan's instable and cohesive democratic setup. China's confidence on Pakistan and its huge investment in the shape of CPFC is a true example of a good friend who stood with Pakistan in all weathers. Pakistan will become a hub of trade and commerce, with multiple trade and commercial zones, roadways, and railway facilities, as the CPFC is believed to be a game-changer for Pakistan. If the corridor will start functioning fully, it has the potential to improve economic and commercial cooperation in the region, which would help to achieve regional peace and stability (Sial, 2014).

China friendship, but it will also connect both the countries with Central Asia, Middle East, Western Asia and Europe. The CPFC is a complete package of interconnectedness of China with rest of the world through Pakistan via highways, railways, sea lanes, energy pipelines and electricity transmission lines (H.A. Rizvi, 2014).

exports. It will also close the present gap between China and the United States. Pakistan's uneven bilateral trade volume has shifted in favour of China (Afridi & Khalid, 2016).

Pakistan urgently needs infrastructure development to speed up work on connection projects such as roads, trains, bridges, pipelines, and fibre optic cables, as well as electric transmission lines, economic zones, and industrial zones. CPFC will construct dozens of economic and industrial zones along all three routes, which will change the region's destiny by offering employment opportunities, training facilities, skill-learning, and a high degree of industrialisation. Given the former's skill in building zones, China can genuinely help Pakistan in this area. On the one hand, industrial zones can be a large-scale production hub that directly serve the fast-growing middle class and the ever-accelerating urbanisation process. Local manufacturing can help lower prices and boost affordability in locations where tariffs or transportation costs are high. In regions where Pakistan has already decently established capability, injecting more modern technology would also assist in enhancing quality and decreasing environmental effect. Lack of needed industry standards is one of the causes for Pakistan's stagnating economy and lower productivity in industrial goods and export. These industrial zones would not only help Pakistan in improving its standard by converting raw materials and semi-manufactured commodities into high-quality finished goods for the worldwide market, but they will also increase the added value of its exports. More foreign direct investment can be attracted to help the country become a well-known competitor in the worldwide market (Tong, 2015).

The historic trade between the two nations consisted mostly of Chinese military gear being shipped to Pakistan. However, bilateral commerce has become considerably more diverse and commercially oriented in recent years. In 2006, the two nations signed a

Free Trade Agreement, which was strengthened in 2009. Pakistan and China have agreed to grow up their bilateral trade from USD 1 billion in 2001 to USD 7 billion and USD 12.4 billion in 2007 and 2012 respectively. Over the last decade, China has also invested in a number of Pakistani infrastructure and commercial projects. China and Pakistan also constructed a mega Chinese overseas economic zone at another country namely Haier-Rube, which is a major move made by China in this respect (Siddiqi, 2014). The current bilateral trade volume is increased to USD 15.36 billion in 2020 (Rafeq, 2021).

In October 1982, the Sino-Pakistan Joint Committee for Economic, Trade, and Technology was established to improve cooperation in this area (Gilani, 2003). However, the two countries' economic ties remained average and were given second priority (Cheema, 2001). The Pakistani business class has always looked to the West for collaboration, ignoring China. It is evident that China is close and trustworthy friend of Pakistan and Pakistani business community can get a huge margin on their investment from import-export to China (Subohi, 2003).

Pakistan was facing severe financial and economic crises when General Musharraf took charge of the government. There was no foreign investment as Pakistan was facing economic sanctions due to nuclear blasts. China came forward and assisted Pakistan, besides their profit and economic advantage (Najam, 2000). General Musharraf also provided a favourable and business-friendly environment to the foreign investors. He claimed in his book "In the Line of Fire: A Memoir," that Pakistan's foreign investment was dried up, with only USD 300 million in 1999. As a result, he chose to meet Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji to discuss the matter (P. Musharraf, 2006). Musharraf stated in a speech at Peking University on November 4, 2003, that when he assumed the presidency,

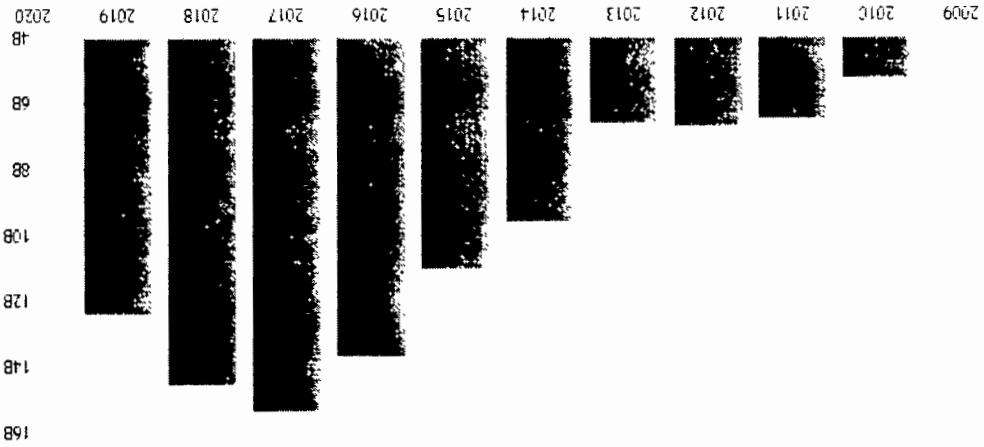
Pakistan was facing a historical lowest economic condition due to maladministration and corruption, therefore, his government decided to revive the economy, poverty mitigation through political restriction and good governance (G. P. Musharraf, 2003).

Pakistan's exports to China: (US\$ in Million)



Source: (*Pakistan Exports to China - 2009-2019 Data | 2020 Forecast, 2020*)

Pakistan's imports from China (US\$ in Billion)



Source: (Pakistani Imports from China - 2009-2019 Data | 2020 Forecast, 2020)

### 7.1.5 Cooperation of China in Energy Sector of Pakistan

Energy is the basis of all monetary operations. To manufacture or extract raw materials, basic economic activities require some form of power or energy. The transformation of raw material into produced material requires energy in secondary operations. Energy is utilised in tertiary operations to convey this created commodity to a market. If there is an energy shortage or other disruption in the provision of energy, the whole supply chain from raw material to processed material in the market is disrupted, affecting the economic growth of a region or the entire country. Pakistan has been suffering from an energy crisis for the past two decades. Fuel shortage and unplanned load-shedding is a nuisance. All business and economic activities in the country were halted due to a severe power deficit.

The paralyzed economic system resulted in inflation, poverty, unemployment, social unrest, and reliance on foreign debt. This power outage had a negative influence on international investments as well. Foreign investors were drawn to locations or countries where power was cheap and reliable, but Pakistan was unable to attract investors on this basis. Mismanagement, bad government policies, and a lack of understanding at the grassroots level have all been connected to the energy deficit (K. Khan, 2013).

China, under the CPEC and other investments initiated following major energy projects in Pakistan to uplift it in the energy crises:

(1) Suki Kinari Hydropower Project which is built on the Kunhar River in Pakhtunkhwa province will generate 870 megawatts (MW);

(2) Quid-i-Azam Solar Park built in Bahawalpur region, Punjab. An expected 1000MW power has been generated through this project;

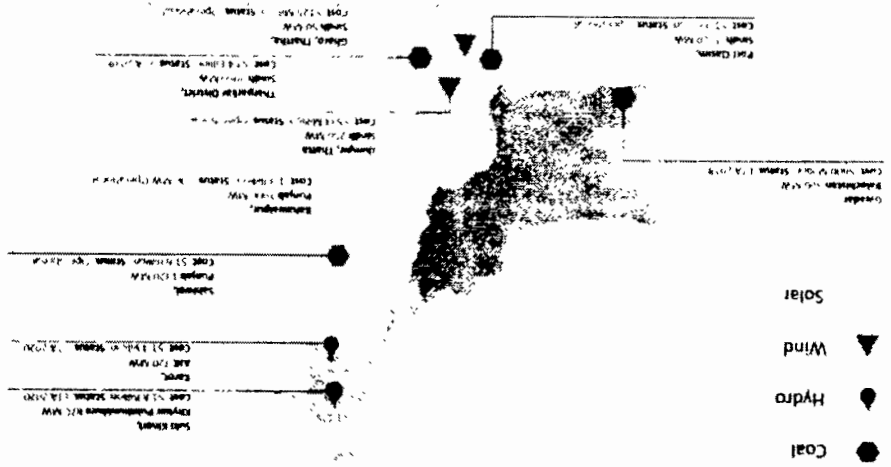
(3) Kohala Hydel Project which is under construction on the Jhelum River, 85 kilometers east of Islamabad will be a source of generating 1100MW power;

(4) Thar Mine Mouth; and

(5) SSRL Thar SEC Mine Mouth Power Plant is a coal-fired power project in Hub city, Balochistan, that is under construction and is expected to generate 1320MW power;

(6) China Power Hub Generation Company (CPHGC) Power Plant is being constructed in Hub city, Balochistan. Its power capacity would be expected as 1320MW power;

(7) Sahiwal coal-fired Power Plant in Sahiwal (Y. Ali et al., 2018) (Khetran & Saeed, 2017) (Chowdhary, 2015).



Source: Major power projects of CPFC (Nadeem, 2018).

#### 7.1.6 India-China Relations: Pakistan as a Factor

China is seen as a crucial pillar of South Asia's security framework, particularly given the region's generally difficult relationship between India and Pakistan, the two major powers. Beijing was initially intrigued by the anti-colonial position of the Indian National Congress leaders, who had pioneered India's independence campaign, and intended to work with New Delhi against the western 'imperialist' powers. Pakistan's early decision to align with western countries and subsequent membership in US-backed security pacts like the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) pushed China to choose India as a partner in the South Asian countries. As a result, in the early 1950s, China and India became closer and collaborated on policies addressing numerous Afro-Asian issues. Sino-Pakistan ties, did not remain very cordial and Beijing stayed wary of Pakistan's pro-Western foreign policy (Siddiqi, 2014).

The goodwill between China and India, however, did not continue and both countries broke a pact in late 1950s due to their continuous conflicts and demarcation on the border agreement. The two countries' worsening ties culminated in a direct armed confrontation in 1962. China reconsidered its South Asian policy and opted to court Pakistan — India's primary regional adversary. Pakistan and China both were frustrated with their allies as a large number of military and economic aid was provided by the west to India when western countries were observing Indo-China deteriorated relations. Pakistan was looking to make more options for its foreign policy to combat what it saw as an unreasonable Indian attitude in the region. Sino-Pakistani convergence on the regional situation resulted from a shared cause against India, and the two nations quickly managed to bond into military and diplomatic ties as an alliance like partnership (M. Ahmed, 1968).

### **7.1.7 Islamic Ideology as a Factor in Pak-China Relations**

The Muslim population is living in minority in China, and they maintain their separate identity from majority Han, owing to their religious connection. De Angelis argues that Muslims "remained alien to the larger culture, while their shared faith led them to identify deeply with the larger world community of Islam, the universal Ummah". Since they have a unique religious standpoint, they were ridiculed by Confucian culture and turned to their Islamic faith with more as a basis of their identity. Some of the parts of northwestern and southwestern China witnessed unrest during the last half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. When China declared it as People's Republic and the communist government took over the charge in 1949, the attitude of government officials towards the Muslim communities hesitated "between a policy of assimilation and one of autonomy resulted in hardship for the Muslims and their continued mistrust for the Han administrations" (Angelis, 2001).

Several separatist Muslim rebellions emerged in the early years after the communist took over, during the relaxation period of the Hundred Flowers era in the PRC. During China's Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, Muslims were subjected to horrors. As a result, many people migrated to Soviet Central Asia's Turkic territories. In 1967, the Shadian incident resulted in the closure of many mosques and the burning of Muslim holy texts. This episode was part of a wider effort by the government to eradicate the "Four Olds," or old beliefs, culture, traditions and habits. Muslims in China, like Marrano Jews in Spain during the Inquisition, faced persecution and "prayed in secret at home. Their children pursued their study of the Quran with their imams (Akhonds) in the evenings." Even fasting during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan was respected despite the oppression. When Muslims were forced to consume pork, tensions between the Han and Muslims escalated.



"Abhorrent acts of anti-religious compulsion were performed when hog bones were dumped into wells in order to irreversibly poison the drinking water". According to official accounts, in July 1975, 1600 Hui Muslims were killed and 4400 Hui houses were demolished. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) "employed not just firearms and artillery, but also air bombardment" throughout the rampage (Israeli, 1997).

After the fall of the Gang of Four in late 1976, the Chinese Communist Party decided to ease tensions with Muslims. A document was published by the government where it was admitted that the incident of Shadian should not be dealt with the policy of counter revolutionary rebellion strategy, instead it needs to be dealt through negotiations. The government also admitted that the people of Hui Nationality who were involved should immediately be rehabilitated and military force that was taken against them was a wrong and misperceived decision taken by the responsible. A scheme was initiated where widows and orphans were given financial assistance to cover up the consequences of the incidents. The government also revisited their policy against the leaders of the rebellions and exonerated them in 1987 by the party committee of Yunnan "from being treated as counter revolutionaries" (Israeli, 1997).

The promotion of Islamic government within one society or its export to neighbouring countries may be studied by using David Lake's and Donald Rothchild's concepts of "escalation" and "diffusion." According to these authors, escalation occurs "when a conflict in one country brings in new foreign belligerents — whether neighbours or great powers." Diffusion occurs "when ethnic violence in one state increases the probability of conflict in a second state" (Lake & Rothchild, 1998)

The cultural links between people of both the regions of China and Pakistan are as old as when traders, travellers, academicians, and mediators travelled from one country to another on camels or horses along the Silk Road (Chaudhri, 2001). Sindh and China have had cultural and commerce links for a long time, sharing many goods such as Chinese silk and Sindh cotton products, which were well-known around the world in ancient times, such as the Mohenjo-daro culture. Great China also had an old civilization (*The Nation*, 2001). Cultural links between the two countries were restored in the 1950s. The cultural links between Pakistan and China flourished significantly after Prime Minister Mohammad

**7.1.8 Cultural and Educational Bonds between Pakistan and China**

China's officials are concerned about the Taliban's doctrinal aspects. Their main fear is that the Taliban may be used as a spark for an Islamic revolution in Xinjiang, resulting in the province becoming another autonomous Islamic state in the area. Contacts and military training between Taliban factions, Tajikistan's IRP groups, Uzbekistan's RPP groups, and Xinjiang Province's Muslim separatists have been extensively publicized (Pringle, 1999).

in Central Asia and in Xinjiang.

Islamic orthodoxy — especially the preferences of a number of Sunni groups to eradicate the Shias (Pakistan and Afghanistan) and followers of the Ahmadiyya sect in Pakistan has also resulted in a high degree of turbulence and bloodshed in both the countries. Reasons underlying diffusion are the intense desires on the part of indigenous Islamic groups to establish Islamic governments in a number of Central Asian countries. The Taliban as a force of diffusion were actively involved in supporting the Islamist groups

In 2005, Wuhan University in China and the National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad signed an agreement to promote PhD education. Wuhan University and the National University of Modern Languages will collaborate to provide doctoral courses (*The Nation*, 2005). As part of efforts to develop direct interaction between the youth of both countries, President Hu Jintao granted 100 scholarships to Pakistani students

In the same year, the Pakistani and Chinese governments created a Joint Research Fund to enable the implementation of mutually agreed initiatives in many domains of research and technology. The Research Fund enabled cooperative research and development initiatives in mutually beneficial disciplines to be funded. This allowed Pakistan to receive Chinese know-how and experience in a variety of sectors, including biotechnology, microelectronics, space sciences, material sciences, industrial engineering, and other fields of mutual interest (*The Nation*, 2001).

An exhibition of Chinese artists Lili and Quchi's handicrafts was inaugurated at Al-Hamra Hall to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Sino-Pakistan friendship. The show featured roughly 70 handicrafts. A special exhibition was arranged in Beijing by the Pakistan National Council of Arts on the occasion of 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of diplomatic ties. The programme was arranged as gesture of goodwill to the Chinese (*The Nation*, 2001).

Ali Bogra of Pakistan and Premier Chou En-Lai of China met in person at the Bandung Conference in 1955. During the years 1955-56, barely a month went by without both sides exchanging delegations. Politicians, lawmakers, attorneys, entrepreneurs, journalists, artists, civil officials, and even religious leaders were among the delegations (Anwar, 1974).

A number of exchange of artists, scholars, writers, students, musicians, intellectuals, singers, and others took place between the two states to encourage cultural and educational connections. Several additional measures were also taken including signing of agreements, MOUs, scholarships for students and faculty through different exchange programmes. Besides both states have signed several agreements and exchanged information, their cultural relations are not as strong as they should be. More youth exchange programmes, media cooperation and engagement between the two countries, youth promotion of each other's languages, and the fulfilment of current cultural accords and Memorandums of Understanding can all help to enhance it. Language is one of the most visible aspects of culture. The language barrier is one of the major obstacles that both

In 2011, it was declared as "Year of China-Pakistan Friendship" to celebrate the 60th anniversary of friendly relations between both the countries and number of activities in the economic, trade, military, political, sports, education and cultural fields were organized. The friendship year's high point was the person-to-person and cultural interactions. Starting in 2011, the Chinese government granted 500 government scholarships to Pakistanis over three years, with the goal of passing on friendship from generation to generation (J. Jian, 2012).

Islamabad created the first Confucius Institute in 2007 (Azeemi, 2007). as exchange media and academic visits. The National University of Modern Languages in new heights. Both sides agreed to host "Cultural Week" and "Film Week" that year, as well of the 5th anniversary of diplomatic ties being established to push Pak-China relations to request of President Hu Jintao. During the visit, the two nations vowed to take advantage to study in China. President Musharraf visited China from February 19 to 23, 2006, at the

countries might overcome in order to strengthen cultural relations between the two countries.

### **7.1.9 The Post-9/11 Trends**

Following 9/11, however, regional and international events forced China to make some significant changes to its South Asia strategy. Unlike during the 1990s India-Pakistan disputes, China put deep interest in the peaceful behaviour in South Asia after the tragic incident of 9/11. China has also shown its deep concern over the post-9/11 India-Pakistan hostilities and has taken significant diplomatic measures to safeguard South Asian peace. This has been underlined during several post-9/11 crises between Pak-India, specially in 2001-02 predicament and the Mumbai incident that happened in 2008 (Siddiqi, 2014).

During the crisis, Beijing was a key player in the international effort to defuse regional tensions. China conducted active diplomacy during the 2001-02 crisis, as compared to its passive position during the Kargil conflict. Through regular reciprocal visits and telephonic chats, the Chinese and South Asian leaders developed a deeper relationship. Similarly, Beijing repeatedly stated during the crisis that it was concerned about the evolution of the situation in South Asia (*FM Spokeswoman on Clashes between India and Pakistan*, n.d.).

China also stressed upon India and Pakistan to go with peaceful resolution of conflicts via negotiation and encouraged maximum caution in the area. The Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji asked President Musharraf during his visit to China that both the countries need to restrain from taking any hostile measure in order to safeguard the regional and international peace, as it is in the best interest of both the nations and world community

as well (*Chinese Premier, Pakistani President on Pakistan-India Tension, 'Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Switzerland, n.d.*).

Beijing also held an interactive dialogue with major international actors during the crises between both the hostile nations in South Asia. Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jia Xuan talked with the US Secretary of State, Collin Powell over telephone on January 3, 2002, and voiced China's grave worry about the tensions in South Asia (Zhuging, 2010). Tang also reviewed the deteriorating situation with his US and British colleagues after the May 14, 2002 assaults in Srinagar, and stated that "his government would spare no effort to encourage reconciliation between India and Pakistan" (*Chinese, US FMs Discuss India-Pakistan Situation by Phone, 2002*). Tang said during a news conference during a session of the National People's Congress that "Beijing will continue to play a unique constructive role in handling the South Asian issue, highlighting China's rising presence in the region."

In response to the deteriorating situation in the sub-continent, Beijing launched the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and other related forums. The SCO Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Beijing on January 7, 2002 ended with a common communiqué expressing "deep concern about the development of tensions between India and Pakistan" (*Joint Statement by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member States of Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 2002*).

#### 7.1.10 Conclusion

The data show that the relationship between Pakistan and China has been significant in South Asian affairs. As a shared opponent of both countries, India prompted nuclear cooperation between Pakistan and China when it became a nuclear power. In the

twenty-first century, amid shifting regional and global dynamics, past defence collaboration provoked bilateral cooperation in different trade, commerce and technological industries as well. So, Pakistan and China have expanded bilateral cooperation prospects to further promote their friendly ties. In the post-Cold War era, Pakistan and China had limited economic links but it was in favour of Pakistan to maximize the trade with, whilst India concentrated on strengthening its economic ties with China as both nations' relations normalised. It is therefore, economic cooperation with China that is needed to be expanded by Pakistan.

Despite differing religious systems and cultures, Pak-China relations exemplify peaceful cohabitation, non-interference, and mutual collaboration. In regional and global politics, both countries backed each other. While the US encourages dependency in weaker countries, China prefers a strategy of self-reliance, highlighting the disparity in their approaches. Unlike the United States, China has supported Pakistan unconditionally while staying out of its domestic issues. Pakistan, on the other hand, received no compensation from the US and solely suffered losses as a result of the partnership. Whereas ties between Pakistan and China have been constant and China has helped Pakistan by maximizing its own resources.

## **7.2 Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Russia**

### **7.2.1 Pak-Russia Relations – New Dimensions**

The globe has entered an age of economic interdependence and collaboration since the conclusion of the Cold War. In today's global world, no country can survive in isolation.

For the majority of its existence, Pakistan's foreign policy was India centric. The early competition with the Indian National Congress, sectarian rioting during partition, territorial problems such as Kashmir, and the 1948 war all contributed to this approach.

## 7.2.2 Security Concern

Russia has rethought its role in the international politics and tried to adjust its foreign policy with the major powers and other regional powers in order to claim its due place in the international politics. It also focused to frame its foreign policy regional-wise towards South Asian countries and left the earlier one which was country specific approach. Pakistan also realized that it cannot achieve its national security goals by relying on single country rather it needs to make friendly relations with other major powers to achieve foreign policy objectives, and that it must broaden its list of nations with whom it can rely for support and maintain strong ties. Over the previous decade, the bilateral relationship between Pakistan and Russia has begun to develop, with both nations engaging into several agreements in the military, politics, and economy. Pak-Russia through learning their past experiences and hostile approach towards each other, realized to learn from their mistakes, and built principle of positive and bilateral cooperation for their mutual benefits and welfare of the South Asian region (M. T. F. Khan, 2019).

Pakistan and Russia spent a long period of unfriendly relations and foreign policy towards each other during the cold war era. However, both the countries realized their foreign policy and tried to have ties with different countries, regionally and internationally to have a cordial and friendly relations to achieve their goals and objectives. Both Russia and Pakistan also realized that bilateral trade and cooperation is necessary to achieve their national security and foreign policy goals.



Pakistan's worldview was and continues to be focused on collaboration, peace, and goodwill towards other nations, as seen by the country's non-alignment policy during its early years (1947-1953) (R. M. Khan, 2015). However, the year of neutrality of Pakistan's foreign policy was short-lived. Pakistan needs to enter with the regional and major powers and different alliances due to security threat from India. Pakistan was required to overcome the security threat for its survival as a nation state to overcome several difficulties which it

Eden" (Waltz, 1979).

of the society depends entirely on the former, an utopian thought impractical this side of and incentives, deterrent threats and punishments. Eliminate the latter two and the ordering of a hostile neighbourhood: "The web of social and political life is spun out of inclinations part. Kenneth N. Waltz effectively describes Pakistan's persistent sense of fear as a result lens of security governed, examined, and assessed foreign policy decisions for the most strategists and policymakers have made national security their top concern. The limited to improve its defence and military power and, is aware of this objective truth. Pakistani a challenge to the national security goals. Pakistan, by feeling insecurity from India tried Pakistan's foreign policy has been evolving around India since its independence as

India and enemy of Pakistan (N. Haq, 2007).

was perceived by the political and military leadership of Pakistan that Russia is a friend of and India during the time established bilateral relations with the former Soviet Union, it Pakistan became increasingly integrated into the US camp and alliance of western powers its superior competitor neighbour, which has influenced its relations with Russia. As Whatever the reasons, Pakistan has a strong desire to preserve the balance of power with

was facing through social economic and political problems. India and Afghanistan were the primary sources of these dangers.

Since Pakistan's independence in 1947, bilateral relations with the Soviet Union remained tense. Pakistan signed its first defence deal with US on May 9, 1954 and western bloc in early 1950s (Ayub, 1964). The situation became hostile when Pakistan signed South East Asia Treaty Organization in January 1955 (Lubna, 2007). Actually, SEATO was formed to combat and minimize the expansion of communist bloc which Russia was pursuing harshly towards the South Asian countries. Russia considered the act of Pakistan for joining western bloc as an ally in the SEATO angrily. When Pakistan joined SEATO, Russia made its position in the cold war era and for a long time, both the states were considered as competitors in the international politics.

### **7.2.3 Economic and Trade Relations**

Pakistan's economic links with the Soviet Union have remained tepid from the country's founding. In the early 1950s, the Soviet Union and Pakistan developed economic connections when the Soviet Union agreed to purchase cotton, jute, and leather from Pakistan. In the summer of 1952, the Soviet Union acquired Pakistani jute in exchange for 150,000 tons of wheat, quoting food crisis in Pakistan (H. Malik, 1987). Pakistan and Russia eventually formed Pakistan Oilfields in 1958 and expressed interest in developing the country's first steel factory. Russia also offered a loan of 27 million Rubles to explore oil and gas reserves in 1961 (*Company History*, Available at *Www.Ogdcl.Com Accessed on December 17, 2020*, n.d.).

Pakistan would welcome Russian investment in Pakistan's energy industry. In order to satisfy its energy demands, the latter may tap into the knowledge of the former's energy behemoths, such as Rosneft and Gazprom. Russia has previously presented to Pakistan an offer to export 5000 MWe via the Kyrgyzstan-Afghanistan route, as well as offers of collaboration in transnational energy projects such as the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline (Abbas, 2016). Russia is trying to explore other markets for sale of its energy sources because of western embargoes. Pakistan has the potential to be a large market for Russian energy supplies, as well as an outlet for Russian energy and

In 1972, the Soviet Union granted technical assistance and a USD 200 million loan to Pakistan for the development of Pakistan Steel Mills, which Pakistan intended to repay in kind. Some Pakistani enterprises damaged the agreement by over-invoicing low-quality items, and the Soviet Union finally refused to follow through. In the Russian Federation, the overdue loan remained a sore point relations with Pakistan (H. Malik, 1987). In 2012, the Russian Federation committed to fund the upgrade of Pakistan Steel Mills once more. In 2012, bilateral commerce between Pakistan and Russia increased from USD 80 million to USD 542 million (N. Hussain, 2012b).

In the realm of business, Russia agreed to build a USD 2.5 billion gas pipeline in Pakistan that will run from Lahore to Karachi (M. T. F. Khan, 2019). Since 2011, Russia has also assisted Pakistan in the following projects: i. Karachi Steel Mill Expansion ii. Taxila, Pakistan's Heavy Mechanical Complex, is being upgraded. iii. Electric power plant upgrades and expansion in Guddu and Muzaffargarh. iv. Coal project development in Thar ("Helping Hand: Russia Pledges \$1 Billion for Steel and Electricity," 2011).

can be transmitter of energy to other regional powers which needs energy such as Iran, India, and other South Asian nations.

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is another avenue for building mutually beneficial relations between Pakistan and Russia. Pakistan has extended an offer to all regional nations to join the CPEC project, including Russia. Pakistan's strategic placement at the crossroads of north-south and east-west pathways is critical. Pakistan and China also invited Russia to be a part of the CPEC to strengthen the significance of Gwadar port for Russia. Russia might get access to the Indian Ocean by becoming a participant in the CPEC, which would be tremendously economical and cost-effective. Through these arrangements, Russia will be able to link itself with Gwadar and other neighbouring states. It will strengthen Pakistan's economic and developmental condition, as well as increasing connection, interdependence, and regional solidarity (M. T. F. Khan, 2019).

Pakistan could provide Russia incentives to encourage investment in energy production and import projects, steel mill development, infrastructure development, and agricultural, including water management. In 2013, commerce between Pakistan and Russia totaled USD 865 million. In 2018, however, it remained at USD 532 million ("Pakistan, Russia Trade Lower than Potential," 2019). Pakistan should send a Commercial Counsellor to the Pakistan's Embassy in Moscow. Both nations should encourage private enterprises to increase bilateral commerce in proportion to their current potential. Pakistan and Russia have signed agreements in the past, but this time Pakistan has to do something substantial. Recent agreements must be implemented quickly.

Pakistan must make a long-term and gradual change in its foreign policy. It should keep diversifying its foreign connections and cultivate positive relationships with all major states. This will benefit regional stability and prosperity. Pakistan should realize the US that its friendly relations with Russia would not jeopardize American strategic objectives in the area. It should also persuade Russia that the two nations can work together to achieve

Pakistan has made significant progress in aligning its foreign policy with its geopolitical destiny as the "Zipper of Eurasia" (Korybko, 2015). Pakistan is in need to grab this chance of developing and expanding its existing connections with other regional countries, particularly Russia. Although there are few and minor obstacles to an Islamabad-Moscow collaboration, the objections and uncertainties raised in the preceding section must be addressed in order to create a long-term and sustainable relationship.

security" (Tikhonova, 2017).

Terrorism is another issue that has to be addressed. Since 9/11, terrorism and extremism have become a worldwide threat with detrimental consequences for regional and national politics. Today, violent terrorism and extremism pose a danger to Pakistan and Russia's national security and stability. Both countries have suffered greatly as a result of terrorism, therefore, they can work together to deal with this threat. Pak-Russia can also work on intelligence sharing and joint operations to tackle terrorism. They need to form an "anti-terrorism superpower alliance," as Andrew Korybko stated during the DRUZBA 2017 Joint Military Exercises: "Taken together and, in the context of contemporary threats and challenges, the joint military collaboration between Russia and Pakistan can lead to the two countries becoming anti-terrorist superpowers and greatly enhancing Eurasian

#### **7.2.4 Terrorism as a factor of Cooperation**

an early peace in Afghanistan. China has built good relations with Russia over the years and will support the expansion of Pakistan-Russia cooperation. Pakistan should also make efforts for long term bilateral relationship with Russia and make it a commercial partner and military supplier.

Other countries, particularly Russia, are already interested in Pakistan. Pakistan must therefore "balance" its relations with various partners. To do this, it must increase the number of its partners by perusing its foreign policy objectives and make new friends, like Russia in order to achieve its foreign policy goals and national security objectives via collaboration, trust, and mutual respect.

### **7.3 Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards US**

#### **7.3.1 Pak-US Relations in Post-9/11 Era**

Pakistan's foreign policy has faced serious obstacles since its beginning on the international map. Without a doubt, the difficulties of the twenty-first century have put Pakistan's state and foreign policy in jeopardy. The incident of 9/11 and its aftermath; war on terror on its border, international terrorism, insurgency in FATA and Balochistan, extremism and terrorism within its own boundaries, drone strikes, economic collapse and many other internal issues were major contributors to foreign policy ineffectiveness. The international community and the media have painted Pakistan as a hotbed of terrorism (Kakar & Kasi, 2015).

Pakistan was pursuing its affairs with layered obstacles until the incident of 9/11 happened and international politics shook the world. Pakistan was facing several economic and military sanctions related to General Pervez Musharraf's coup in 1999, nuclear tests in

1998 and many other allegations including missile proliferation etc. US President Clinton visited the sub-continent and spent five days in India, while he flew for only few hours to Pakistan in 2000. Clinton declined to shake hand with General Pervez Musharraf on his visit to Pakistan at the time and lectured the military ruler on the necessity of democracy. Previously, Pakistan was among the few nations that recognized Taliban regime. It had also a long history of allegedly supporting non-state actors by the fall of 2001. So much so in 1993, Pakistan was on the verge of being recognized as a state that supports terrorism by the US government (Fair, 2014). However, all that was happening with the support and help of US. During the Cold War with Russia, the US forced terrorism and support for the Taliban.

When US President George W. Bush addressed Congress nine days after the 9/11 attacks about his intentions for the War on Terror, he made it clear to all countries, specifically Pakistan and Afghanistan that they must choose one side, either they will be fighting “with the US or against the US”. Pakistan was facing diplomatic isolation during last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century and it was the time to readjust its position with some significant western countries especially with the US to gain its own benefits. As a result, Pervez Musharraf vowed allegiance to the United States. Pakistan gave four airports to US forces for logistical help in the months following 9/11: Dalbadin, Pasni, Jacobabad, and Shamsi (Kharan) (Asghar, 2015). Similarly, Pakistan assisted the US in spying efforts, including airspace and runways for its planes in North and South Waziristan, the Hindukush, Zhob, Chitral, and the border area between Afghanistan and Balochistan. In addition to this, tracking devices were also allowed to be installed and utilized in numerous areas to monitor activity in border zones. Pakistan was playing its full-fledged role as an ally to curb the

influence of al-Qaeda and its network from around the world in addition to providing staging area and space for soldiers of the allied forces of NATO and ISAF at border area of Pak-Afghan (Shahzad, 2004).

Pakistan's internal situation was a mess. It had a shaky institutional structure, instable political situation following a military coup, weak economy, poor education system and growing internal tensions as a result of rising Islamist radicalism. Pakistan was in a "situation of severe vulnerability," according to the World Bank, due to its massive debt and faltering economy, as well as an anorectic public education system that resulted in a 44 percent literacy rate, which facilitated the spread of Islamic extremism (Fair, 2004).

Pakistan played a key role as a regional ally of US in the cold war and war on terrorism. Nobody can doubt that Pakistan is extremely reliant on US help. Both nations' relations will continue to be significant for a long time. However, ties between the two nations have deteriorated, and there is mistrust between them on a number of subjects (Z. ul A. Malik et al., 2018).

### **7.3.2 Cultural Aspect**

The American notion of encouraging variety and multiculturalism both domestically and internationally has always elicited varied emotions. The assimilationist and monocultural approach of Americanizing foreign cultures is primarily influenced by the concept of high culture, which characterized European cultures four centuries ago. Because America is a multicultural country, cultural variety exists even inside its boundaries, diluting the definition of American culture. This would refer as American



culture and how Americans saw Muslim immigrants and specially Pakistani immigrants period to and after the incident of 9/11 (T. Khan & Awan, 2017).

Prior to September 11, Pakistanis and other Muslims in US lived a routine life where every community was treated equally in pursuit of the American ideal. Communities engaged socially, culturally, socioeconomically, and spiritually without stereotypes alienating one another. It was expected by the first and second generation of Pakistani-Americans, to be possibility of their own country where they grew up believing multicultural and multi-religiosity country, where class divisions were a thing of the past but not the future (Wilson, 2001). A departure from the way of life in cultural and social situations has made young Pakistanis, in particular, a target of scrutiny that they did not face throughout their formative years (Fine & Sirin, 2008).

In the United States of America, around six million Muslim immigrants live, which is although a small portion of the overall population, but after 9/11, these immigrants are being considered as “other” by American system and their civil rights are under threat, thanks to Islamophobia that grew following the 9/11 attacks. Based on the features of the 9/11 perpetrators, the American media has reinforced the impression that Muslims are hardliner and Islam is a serious threat to the American country. There are two clichés which have been described by the American media that male as terrorist and females as suppressed and weak segments of the society of an Islamic community (Ammar, 2000).

Most groups across the world that want to achieve domination have racial superiority doctrines. When the Pakistani population settles in America, there is a strong tendency to exaggerate the host culture's inferiority. Because Pakistani immigrants have

been subject to increased monitoring after the September 11 attacks, they prefer to congregate in small groups and establish a narrative of supervisor culture to others (Purkayastha, 2005).

The culture's supremacy is founded on Islamic beliefs, which are based on the notion of perfect beginnings. Families utilize religion as an ethical ground to advise their wards that they should follow, even if they live in a nation that teaches other ideals. Maira saw that via the lectures, families were able to preserve customs that were fading at home, a phenomenon she called cultural fossilization (Maira, 2002).

While attempting to break free from established social and economic difficulties, Muslims in America encounter significant and difficult hurdles. Many Muslims have been and continue to be drawn to America in search of the American ideal. If new entrants are to profit from the possibilities offered in America, public activism must attempt for acceptance that Muslim immigrants encounter severe hurdles. Advocacy organizations have attempted to solve the issues encountered by immigrant populations by reaching out to the host community in order to fix abnormalities. Socialization to American culture would be tough, based on previous experiences with the American social framework, but either side should vow to bridge the gap that causes the two groups to have a tense relationship (Barry, 2005).

### **7.3.3 Terrorism**

Pakistan faced both short and long-term consequences as it entered the US-led alliance in the war on terror. Pakistan was aided by the alliance to overcome sanctions, obtain economic and military support, and reduce its international isolation. It also received

the position of non-NATO ally and frontline state, demonstrating that it is the best ally for a country facing severe economic crises. It also restored its Commonwealth membership, which had been suspended following the October 1999 military coup. Pakistan, on the other hand, is paying a high price in socio-strategic areas. In the worldwide fight on terror, it has incurred deep losses. It faced serious foreign policy challenges, including the need to reform its Afghan strategy and difficulty in diplomacy, while supporting the Kashmiri freedom fight. The fight against terrorists and militants within the country exacerbated institutional instability and exacerbated societal issues that still continue to plague the country. As a result, Pakistan is seen as one of the global system's economic and geopolitical losers since 9/11 (Rabbi, 2012).

Pakistan's foreign policy after 9/11 brought home and specifically to FATA nothing but violation of Pakistan's sovereignty; set back to Kashmir cause because United States did not discriminate between struggle for self-determination and terrorism (S. Akhtar, 2010); drone attacks; several military operations; destruction of socio-cultural fabric; issues of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs); socio-economic deprivation; destruction of agricultural sector; and devastation of infrastructure etc. Before the incident of 9/11, Pakistan faced US economic and military sanctions such as Pressler, Glenn and Symington amendments aimed against Pakistan, but all this was washed from Pakistan's memory in the wake of war on terror led by US (Collins, 2008).

After 9/11, President Musharraf's decision to join the US in the war on terror led him to change Pakistani policy towards different armed organizations operating from the country. Pakistan has pursued al-Qaeda terrorists relentlessly at times, killing or arresting more top al-Qaeda commanders than any other country. Islamabad has also reined in

Kashmir-focused groups at times in recent years, but it has struggled to effectively shut them down, even when some have turned against the Pakistani state. The fact that these militant groups enjoy some popular sympathy for their philanthropic activities in education and health care adds to the difficulty of restraining them (Armitage & Hamilton, 2008).

In the post-9/11 era, the bilateral diplomatic relationship between Pakistan and the United States has been related to counterterrorism. The US has consistently asked Pakistan "do more" and take severe action against extremists, dissidents, such as Taliban and al-Qaeda workers, notably in Pakistan's Northern provinces. However, there are many diversified and different dynamics of internal and social structure of both the countries, therefore, Pakistan has played by considering all these local conditions. By considering ground realities, Islamabad used both hard and soft powers to curb terrorism, however, this approach was not admired by the US administration, and they always stressed on "do more" policy. The lack of confidence between both the countries, widened divide, and strained ties between the two countries.

Between 2001 and 2019, the bilateral Pak-US relationship remained cordial and dramatic at the same and different times. Most of the bilateral relations between Pakistan and US remained in the area of counter terrorism on Pak-Afghan border area. Pakistan always took clear position on the war on terror because its own sovereignty was put at stake due to this gorilla war inside the territorial boundaries. Pakistan permitted the US-led military to undertake operations against terrorists from the Jacobabad, Dalbandin, and Shamsi bases.

All forms of terrorism were denounced by the Islamabad government. In this framework, military operations such as Al-Mizan (Justice) to Radd-ul-Fasaad have been accomplished (2017). Pakistan, during the war on terror, remained in a state of turmoil under the American umbrella being non-NATO ally and an important and key player in the global anti-terrorism war. This war on terror was fought by majority of the world countries under the direct influence of US against the terrorist organizations, their safe havens and specifically area of Pak-Afghan boundary in north-western border of Pakistan.

As per the Economic Survey 2016-17 of Pakistan, it was narrated that Pakistan suffered an estimated economic loss of USD 123.1 billion from 2001 to 2017. Pakistan's economy, commerce, imports, exports, foreign investment, social structure, tax collection and societal fabric damaged drastically by this war on terror. Pakistan made serious efforts in bringing peace in the region and a number of operations were held by Pakistan army including Zarb-e-Azab, Raddul Fasaad, Swat operation and action taken in North Waziristan which resulted in casualties of more than 490 troops (I. Khan, 2017).

#### **7.3.4 Change in Policy**

“One step forward two steps back,” this idiom is the key reflection of Pak-US relationship during the current era. There are several ups and downs witnessed in the bilateral relations between both the countries. Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) organized a two-day national conference on the theme of "Irritants in Pakistan-US Relations: Way Forward". Former ministers and ambassadors shared their perspectives, emphasising the urgent need to end mutual mistrust and to strengthen collaboration between the two nations. They stated before the meeting that in order to reduce distrust and improve collaboration, it is necessary to discuss comprehensively on the major irritants

that sabotage relationships, to comprehend each other's security concerns, and to work on common ground (A. Hussain, 2018).

### **7.3.5 The Afghan Cause**

The Pakistan army has fenced the 2611 km long Durand Line between Pakistan and Afghanistan to decrease the possibility of instability and intimidation in the region. The 1200 km barrier is more sensitive, thus it was built first, and over 900 km had been finished to maintain peace (Asif Ghafoor, 2019). Pakistan's activities in respect to the US war in Afghanistan are well-known around the world. President Trump's careless social media outbursts and blame game have weakened the Pak-US relationship. The factors of distrust and disregard for Pakistan's involvement have resulted in tense relations between both the nations.

President Donald Trump when outlined his Afghan war programme, he rebuked the Pakistani government. The already tense relationship was further intensified by these charges. Pakistan expressed assurance that the Taliban-US negotiations will bring an end to the crises and hostilities. Dr. Muhammad Faisal, a former spokesperson for the Foreign Office, expressed support for discussions between Taliban and other parties, so that a peaceful solution is emerged for the Afghan crises (Shafqat Ali, 2018).

### **7.3.6 The Economic Diplomacy**

Dr. Ashfaq Hassan Khan, former adviser to the Minister of Finance, GOP mentioned that "Pakistan's economic relation with the United States has been declining for the past 15 years, as its share in exports, remittances and direct foreign investments have been drastically reduced (Rana, 2017)." Under the Trump administration, the rift between

Pakistan and the United States was widening. Trump's administration utilised economic deterrence against Pakistan, minimising its participation through accusations, withholding funding, and straining ties. The US shut off the USD 330 million Coalition Support Fund, citing Pakistan's refusal to give anything in exchange for falsehoods and deception. It is critical to recognise that Pakistan will never be able to frame and define its independent foreign policy unless it is economically self-sufficient (AHMED, 2018).

Pakistan has supplied a huge logistical and military support to the US during this war on terror, but it has received USD 2.4 billion in foreign aid from the US. To eliminate Pakistan's USD 35 billion external debt in 2003 and move the economy into the industrialised world, a sum of USD 10 billion to USD 15 billion was required (Sharif, 2003). Pakistan's real GDP growth averaged 3.1 percent in the three years following 9/11 (2001-2003), it was much lower than the average economic growth during 1980s, when it was consistently producing 6.1% annual growth which was a “boom” period of Pakistan’s economy (*Economic Survey 2002-2003*, 2003).

Pakistan could not manage and raise its FDI to the considerable level which was dropped to 66.5% in 2001. Immediately after the attack on Washington and New York in America, Pakistan lost billions of rupees in terms of import and export during first three months of the incident i.e. October-December 2001, which caused its worst current account imbalance and increased unemployment at highest rate of the time (A.H. Khan, 2001).

### **7.3.7 US AID and Pakistan**

Following the September 11 terrorist attacks, many wealthy donor countries realized that foreign aid to developing countries is more crucial than previously thought. If

developing countries are kept out of the global tide of commerce and economic expansion, they are at risk of falling into the clutches of religious and ideological radicals.

A new age of economic help began because of the changing paradigm of international politics. Pakistan has been a trail blazer in the fight against terrorism, collaborating with the US to counter the Taliban threat in Afghanistan and subsequently halt the growth of extremists at home. Pakistan's resolve to assist US and NATO forces in defeating the Taliban in Afghanistan resulted in a swift and well-planned victory. The benefit of allying with Afghanistan's militarily superior neighbour resulted in a major victory for the US and its allies. Both countries paid a high price for their achievements. Pakistan suffered a USD 1.8 billion losses within three months after the incident of 9/11 happened and General Pervez Musharraf decided to support US as a regional ally. This included a drop in net export and a decrease in general company confidence (A.H. Khan, 2001). This included a USD 500 million trade deficit because of trading partners putting the country on high alert, as well as increase in trade insurance and transportation expenses.

### **7.3.8 China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: US Indian Factor**

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is an initiative of China, which is part of its mega project of One Belt One Road, she has started globally. This project will connect China with rest of the world, and it will be beneficial for not only Pakistan but also other neighbours and non-neighbouring countries, including Central Asian countries. With public connection, the CPEC will upgrade the road, rail, and air transportation systems. CPEC will be a compound and composite of academic, regional knowledge and culture, they are all its important components. CPEC is a trade and commercial initiative that will



result in regional connection, shared destiny integration, peace, and progress in a globalised world. (*Introduction | China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Official Website*, n.d.).

The Trump and Modi era began with the finest of US-India relations. These ties eroded US confidence in Pakistan and vice versa. India is constantly attempting to harm Pakistan's worldwide image by using its close ties with the United States. India is spreading disinformation regarding Pakistan's economic efforts both directly and indirectly. Pakistan sees CPEC as critical to its progress and prosperity, thus India is not only attempting to derail it, but also persuading the United States to oppose it. Pakistan sends a clear message to the United States through its representatives, telling them that CPEC is beneficial to the whole region, not just India. The authorities also stated that the US should deal with Pakistan on its own merits, rather than tying it to other countries and concerns.

During his visit to the United States, former Pakistani Interior Minister Ahsan Iqbal responded to former US Defence Secretary James N. Mattis statement that CPEC travels through disputed territory and we cannot ignore this reality, saying that CPEC is not a plot against anybody. It is an economic development strategy, not a security plan, with investments in energy, infrastructure, and other critical areas. According to Ahsan Iqbal, the US should not view CPEC through the lens of India, but rather as a source of regional peace, stability, and development. CPEC has the potential to deliver much-needed stability to an area that has been ravaged by strife for decades (A. Iqbal, 2017).

China's soft power and its emerging bilateral trade policy has been seen as a beacon of hope by all the developing and underdeveloped countries. The total worth of Belt and Road initiative would be around USD 900 billion. CPEC will be a joint venture and

collaborative project between China and Pakistan. Because China has long been a trusted ally of Pakistan, Pakistan is allowing China to thrive economically, which is counter to American interests (T. Khan & Awan, 2017). Our region is currently in the centre of a power war between major forces. The United States is plotting against CPEC in order to control China's economic rise. CPEC has a USD 60 billion Chinese investment. CPEC runs through Pakistani controlled Azad Kashmir, but India opposes it because of its position on Pakistani Administered Kashmir (F. Shah, 2018).

### **7.3.9 Anti-Americanism Approach in Pakistan**

Due to hostile approach of US towards Pakistan during the Afghan war on terror, anti-American attitude exists in Pakistan. This is due to US drone assaults in the FATA region. According to one estimate, 60% of Pakistanis believe United States to be their adversary (Shahid, 2006). The Raymond Allen Davis incident sparked animosity, and Pakistanis are opposed to CIA activity in the country. The Salala tragedy, which killed 24 Pakistani troops on November 26, 2011, drew widespread condemnation in Pakistan ("Pakistan's Flood Victims Give USAID Chief an Earful," 2010).

### **7.3.10 Trust Deficit**

There has always been a trust gap between Pakistan and US through the history. The Abbottabad incident further increased this trust deficit when US on the report of secret intelligence conducted an operation against Osama Bin Laden and reportedly killed him on May 2, 2011. Pakistan has a strategic location and all its neighbours are direct or indirect affectees of US. So, these neighbours also remained important factors of Pak-US relations. Pakistan maintains a cordial relationship with China, which has strained relations with the United States. Similarly, Washington has favourable relations with Kabul and Delhi but is

opposed to Islamabad. The collision of interests between the two countries is the second cause of mistrust. US has also signed a Nuclear Pact with India which is a point of mistrust between Pak-US relations.

Similarly, CPEC is another point of concern where China has invested heavily in Pakistan which is against the interests of US. The United States has traditionally opposed China's Gwadar project in Pakistan. Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) pipeline project was halted by the US. This was a very beneficial project between all the three countries, however, Iran's nuclear issue was main cause of conflict between Iran-US relations. Although, US offered liquefied natural gas but Pakistan did not accept it and Iran and Pakistan reached on an agreement to implement the two-states pipeline project (Islam, 2011). Pakistan consistently misinterprets US dealings with Afghanistan and India. Similarly, the United States misreads Pakistan's ties with Iran and China. State and non-state actors play equal role in this misperception. People in Pakistan are likewise suspicious of the United States due to decades of US interest-based policies. If the trust gap between the two countries is reduced, the war on terror can be won.

#### **7.3.11 Nuclear Issue**

The nuclear issue also remained a key concern of mistrust and manipulated bilateral ties. The United States has always opposed Pakistan's nuclear programme, which began during the Bhutto administration. Despite continual pressure by the US and international community, Pakistan followed India's nuclear tests in May 1998 and conducted its nuclear explosions on May 28, 1998. In 1998, the United States reversed a two-decade campaign in South Asia to prevent nuclear proliferation. Under Section 102 of the Arms Export

Control Act, President Clinton placed non-humanitarian limitations. After the 9/11 attacks, these sanctions were relaxed for both Pakistan and India in October 2001.

The United States has pushed both countries to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), but neither has done so. According to a 2002 news source, Pakistan has been providing South Korea with uranium enrichment material and technology since the 1990s. Pakistan has denied the media claims. If such claims are true, non-humanitarian help from Pakistan will be required under US law. Under these circumstances, the Bush administration ruled that sanctions could not be levied. Then in 2003, a second press statement claimed that Pakistan's nuclear development benefits Iran and Libya as well.

The subject was looked into, and it was revealed in February 2004 that a nuclear scientist Dr. A.Q. Khan was involved in selling the nuclear technology to Libya, Iran and North Korea. However, by taking a lenient view and keeping in view of his outstanding services to the nation, Dr. A.Q. Khan was let off by the-then President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf. It was informed to the US by the Pakistani state that government was not taken on board and the act was taken individually by the concerned scientist. US was engaged in the war on terror, therefore, consequent upon his own interest of its foreign policy, the US turned a blind eye to this situation. The pardon of A.Q. Khan was seen as a Pakistani internal affair by the United States. The spread of nuclear weapons by A.Q. Khan was a major issue for the United States. The US administration always stressed upon the security of nuclear weapons of Pakistan which causes friction in bilateral ties. China, being a friend of Pakistan wanted to extend help, it offered Pakistan to build two nuclear reactors

in Pakistan, however, US forced Beijing to defend this project before the international organizations (S. Akhtar, 2012).

### **7.3.12 Increasing Islamic Militancy**

Since 9/11, rising Islamic militancy has been seen as a major cause of concern, and danger for Pakistan, grew in 2007 and 2008. Pakistan was ranked third among nations affected by terrorism this year, behind Afghanistan and Iraq. In Pakistan, 59 suicide bombs were recorded in 2008, although just two suicide bombings were reported in 2002 ("Pakistan's Nuclear Surge," 2011).

To curb the suicide bombs, Pakistan Police was equipped with the new tools and an appealing wage plan (Kronstadt, 2009). In 2008, Islamic militancy grew to the point where it penetrated Pakistan's tribal territories and into the NWFP, which is today KPK and Peshawar. The terrorist operations increased after the July 2007 Lal Masjid incident and the killing of Benazir Bhutto in December 2008.

The origins of Islamic militancy may be traced back to the Afghan war of 1979. As a policy of the state, religious parties and groups were supported for Jihad, so role of madrassahs and militant organizations rose to the prominence. It was the era of 1980s when Islamic militancy was seeded by General Zia regime to push them in the war of Afghanistan. The concept of madrassahs grew further as a result of financial contributions from Arab nations and Afghan refugees in Pakistan (Mufti, 2008). These operations pose a bigger danger to Pakistan's security, and the United States is concerned about them. Because only stability in Pakistan allows the United States to complete its mission in Afghanistan.

According to a 2017 study on global public opinion, 67 percent of individuals see Taliban actions as a danger to Pakistan's security, up from 38 percent in 2007. Swat was primarily under Taliban control in KPK, and more than a million population of Swat was liable to live in the tents as IDPs in 2009. The United States has faulted Pakistan for failing to contain this threat, and the US has serious suspicions about Pakistan's ties to the Haqqani Network. One of the rifts in Pak-US ties is the rise of Islamic militancy (S. Akhtar, 2012).

In order to bring peace in the region, Pakistan and the United States must establish a trustworthy, sincere, and devoted partnership, as well as maintain their strong position against global challenges such as nuclear non-proliferation, strengthen the economic condition, resolve environmental issues and terrorism. To deal with rising geostrategic concerns which are affecting the bilateral relations between both the countries, it is critical to create an atmosphere of collaboration, dialogue, and understanding. To defuse many social and psychological misperceptions, the Islamabad and Washington administrations must reduce anti-Pakistan and anti-American attitudes. A suitable policy for the area is essential, particularly in relation to the challenges of Afghanistan, Kashmir, nuclear non-proliferation and deterrent, global terrorism and economic development of the region. The US urgently needs to comprehend the distinction between Jihad and terrorism, as well as Pakistan's critical role in combatting terrorist activities, promoting peace, stability, and world harmony. Instead of focusing just on military efforts, Pakistan and the US must urgently strengthen economic and social ties.

Another essential responsibility of Pakistan is to improve coordination and contact with the US about Pakistan's nuclear programme. Pakistan desires an equivalent American reaction and relationship in regard to the peaceful use of its nuclear weapons. Both

countries need to maintain contact with one another. There is a pressing need to eradicate inequalities, variety, and distrust in various parts of their mutual connection, notably in the fight against terrorism. The United States is one of the largest aid providers to Pakistan in terms of economic and military support, therefore, Pakistan would never raise any unwanted dispute with the US.

**Chapter 8:**  
**CONCLUSION**



## **Chapter 8:**

# **CONCLUSION**

### **8.1 Findings**

The study revolves around three questions:

First question was related to the identification of domestic factors which influenced the foreign policy of Pakistan in post-9/11 period. Second question focused on the political elite, military and pressure groups that influenced the foreign policy of Pakistan and the last question was an effort to seek the recommendations to all engaging neighbours and major powers for a successful foreign policy of Pakistan. After careful observation, analysis of data obtained from primary and secondary sources and literature review, this study comes up with findings, which would help to address the research questions but this study will also generate further debate on the subject to have further research and inquiry.

Foreign policy of Pakistan is intricately linked to its domestic factors and policies similar to any other country of the world and internally, Pakistan experienced a number of crises and challenges since its inception, from 1947 which may never be experienced by any other country in the world. The record observed that a lot of literature is available about it, which has been written by the western writers but most of the time it has been misperceived. The real picture is not the same as it has been portrayed by many of the scholars. No doubt, the record of Pakistan's bad luck involves costly wars and continuing conflicts with India, fall of Dhaka, territorial obstacles, political instability, military take-overs, economic crises, social structure, communal chaos and interruption, and a culture of

violence and extremism. Pakistan has also experienced proxy wars that were fought on its soil. At many occasions, sectarianism has damaged its society massively. At a number of occasions, holy places of worship were also blooded with sectarian killings. Besides this, Pakistan came out of this turbulence every time very successfully.

The study comprises both on primary and secondary data. As per initial plan, population was selected from different communities including academia, politician, military personnel, religious figures, think tanks and foreign officials to seek their point of view about foreign policy of Pakistan and influence of its domestic factors. In order to get data, both open and close-ended questionnaires were designed. However, it has been observed that most of the religious leaders are not well aware of the facts and do not even comfortably talk about the technicalities of the foreign policy affairs. Only those religious leaders were able to respond who are associated with political parties.

The study reveals that following internal factors contributed in the foreign policymaking process of Pakistan. Each factor has been discussed and analysed.

#### **8.1.1 Military and its Involvement in Political Affairs**

Pakistan's foreign image and reputation has deteriorated due to decades of political uncertainty caused by extended military rule, institutional inaction, bad administration, socio-economic unrest, unchecked offence and dishonesty, and overall resentment to the law and order. The country is regarded as both, a problem and a solution. There cannot be many alternatives for a nation as risky and unstable as Pakistan on the domestic front. But it is evident that Pakistan, besides many compromises on human, economic, social structure and infrastructure damage in the post-9/11 period, emerged as key player in the talks

between Taliban and US. Today, world is looking towards Pakistan to play its significant role in the progress and development of Afghanistan.

In the end, although the difficulties are not completely external, the obstacles are also inside. Getting its house in order is the most pressing issue at the moment. Pakistan must overcome its own weaknesses by reaching a political solution and restoring national trust. The country must return to real and inclusive democracy, constitutional dominance, rule of law and good governance, and a culture of political stability and institutional dependability, as well as a culture of political stability and institutional reliability. As an important member of the community, this is how it will improve its image and expand its regional and worldwide impact. Pakistan will be able to pursue its aims and objectives only if it will work under a democratic civilian government, strong and stable institutions working under the prescribed mandate. This will make Pakistan a more sensible, more reliable, more successful, and suitable partner of this free world. In terms of Pakistan's foreign relations, it would be preferable to follow Hafiz Shirazi's advice of "kindness to friends, respect to foes," while also believing in Allama Iqbal's message of "self-pride, self-confidence, and dignity." Pakistan requires a low-key foreign strategy that focuses on home improvements (S. Ahmad, 2013).

### **8.1.2 Impact of Extremism and Terrorism**

Pakistan's terrorism-related challenges have put it on the global radar screen in the post-9/11 era, earning it the unpleasant characteristic of being one of the epoch-making frontline states in the war on terror. Today, Pakistan is being seen with fear and concern by the international community, so it needs to improve its image. Pakistan's role in the Afghan crises, its internal dynamics of extremism and terrorism has put it on the radar in the region

and globally. Pakistan has been facing a lot of challenges, including new regional formation, Afghanistan crises, Indo-US nexus, the emerging economic and strategic importance of India in the region and globally, Balochistan insurgency and unrest in the border area with Afghanistan have no doubt complicated Islamabad's problems. Pakistan's borders are no longer peaceful on both sides. Pakistan's domestic problems have severely limited the country's foreign policy options.

### **8.1.3 Islamic Ideology and its Role in Foreign Policymaking**

Pakistan was created on the basis of two-nation theory and religion has very strong binding with the existence of Pakistan. So, it is a natural phenomenon that Islamic ideology has been key factor, which force Pakistani population to think and act accordingly. Pakistan's relations with India are seen in the context of a Muslim and a Hindu state. Whenever, Muslims face trouble in the Indian Territory, it is considered that people of two religions cannot live together. Similar kind of views rest with the Hindu minorities living in Pakistan. However, as per the facts narrated in the previous chapters about role of Islamic Ideology, it remained a meagre factor in foreign policymaking process. Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran have common religion and Islamic ideology, however, they have never seen cordial relations. In contrast, Pakistan and China have nothing common in their religion as well as ideology, but both countries have been enjoying very deep and ideal friendship since Pakistan got independence.

The foreign relations experts have also expressed in their interviews that Islamic Ideology has never been so influential and strong factor in the foreign policy process. Pakistani establishment devised and moulded the foreign policy, whether it was in the early ages of the creation of Pakistan, or it was the era of the Afghanistan war in 80s or the case

of post-9/11, every time Islamic ideology was never considered as a strong and influential factor.

#### **8.1.4 Impact of Poor Economy**

Economy is one of the most influential factors of foreign policy of any state. The whole model of foreign policy and diplomatic relations revolves around the protection of territory of any state and uplifting its economic condition. Pakistan's economic model can be distributed into two broader spectrums. First phase consists upon the early age of Pakistan till 1990s when economy of Pakistan was moving quite rapidly. The GDP of Pakistan crossed in double figures during 1960s. Pakistan's economy was considered as progressive policy. However, from the end of the 1990s till 2022, Pakistan's economy is under immense pressure. Many of the democratic governments were removed on the allegations of decreasing trend in the economy. The latest legislations about State Bank of Pakistan are one of the consequences of its poor economy.

The other major problem that remained with the economy of Pakistan was enmity with India and its involvement in the war on terror. Pakistan has been spending a huge financial resource on its defence budget. Pakistan has currently external debt of USD 127 billion. This huge debt compromises the decision of the state about its foreign policy process towards other nations.

#### **8.1.5 Inconsistency in the Democratic Governments**

Political instability is one of major reasons of the third world countries, when sustainable development is compromised due to inconsistency of the democratic governments. Pakistan is one of such countries where democratic governments were

created, established and demolished. The prospective governments did not own the development of its predecessor government model, therefore, most of the projects were compromised. The establishment used to involve in creating governments which may be influenced by them.

The history of Pakistan reveals that only two political governments (2003-2008) and (2008-2013) successfully completed their term of five years. Although, the previous government also completed its term, but it was majorly compromised. The democratic government was time and again put in trouble including PTI's sit-ins or the Panama scandal which badly affected the development of Pakistan.

#### **8.1.6 Role of Governance**

Pakistan has adopted parliamentary system of government from its independence and the existing English model of governance was adopted in the country. However, it was devised and implemented by the British to rule over the sub-continent. It was time and again tried to overhaul with new system of presidential style, non-party system of local governments introduced by General Zia or District Nazim system which was introduced by General Pervez Musharraf. However, none of the above systems proved successful and progressive system of government.

#### **8.1.7 Corruption and its Impact on Foreign Policy**

Corruption is not an issue of a single country. It has been widely accepted by the public office holders in most of the underdeveloped and developing countries. Main causes of the corruption could be less income and more powers entrusted to the office holders. However, it has also been spreading to enhance and increase wealth to safeguard the

personal satisfaction. Corruption depicts the weak system of the institutions in any country. Pakistan is also not exempted from the bad practices of the corruption.

The study reveals that corruption does not have direct link with foreign policy of Pakistan. However, corruption is considered as one of the prime variables which affects the economic development of any country and economy has direct link on foreign policy, therefore, corruption in Pakistan is also weakening the public institutions. Pakistan cannot be a progressing country unless it proactively controls the abuse of corruption. The recent study of Transparency International has revealed that Pakistan has weakened its position in eradicating corrupt practices, and it is placed at No.140 in the international Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). Pakistan earned only 28 scores out of 100 in CPI (2021 *Corruption Perceptions Index - Explore the Results*, n.d.). As per primary data obtained from the foreign policy experts, it reveals that 60% considered corruption as hindrance in the development and making strong foreign policy of Pakistan.

#### **8.1.8 Role of Political Leadership**

The individuals always play a key role in the governmental system to implement their decisions and policies. In the case of Pakistan, only a few political leaders were able to influence the foreign policy of Pakistan. Most of the time, establishment makes the critical and active decisions of foreign policy, especially towards the neighbouring countries and major powers. Only Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had somehow tried to formulate the foreign policy of Pakistan towards Muslim bloc, however, rest of the time, either the case of Afghan-Soviet war and later on post-9/11, the foreign policy of Pakistan was devised by the establishment. During the democratic government of Pakistan Muslim League (N), Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif tried to adjust its relations with Muslim world and China.

He managed to formalize the CPEC project. However, he could not independently enforce his personal influence. The respondents of primary data, however, did not agree to give any negative marks to the political leadership. They were of the view that establishment will be responsible for good or bad of the foreign policy.

#### **8.1.9 Media Portrayal**

Media has emerged as a most powerful tool in the modern nation states. It is considered as fourth pillar in a democratic setup. Today's world is completely different from previous centuries due to technology and advancement. The power of technology is visible in all fields of life, including politics. Social media is most powerful tool in the emerging political and social structure of the world politics, besides electronic and print media. Media in Pakistan also highlights not only domestic issues but foreign policy as well. However, it does not bend any considerable effect on the foreign policy due to the fact that political leadership has never been seen on the driving seat, while devising foreign policy. Pakistani media frame different perspectives of foreign policy. The mainstream media normally behaves different when it talks about Pak-Sino relations, while totally different in the case of Pak-India relations. Similarly, it propagates positivity in the case of Pak-Saudi relations. However, social media behaves quite differently. It has more affect as compared to the control media of electronic and print media. However, study reveals that Pakistani media never influenced the decision-making process of Pakistan towards other nations.

#### **8.1.10 Public Debates and Impact of Public Opinion**

It is a matter of fact that public is considered as most important variable in the democratic setup and their opinion do matter in domestic and external affairs. In the



advanced countries public influence, the political leadership, however, it has been observed that mostly wars were fought by the Europeans and Americans against the will of public. Such kind of decisions were made by their think tanks and states took decision in their political and economic interests. The public pressure is only considered in the case of Pakistan's foreign policy towards Israel. If it is any discussion about Israel, it has been witnessed that public come with strong resistance. This study reveals that Pakistani public never put any pressure on the political or dictatorship governments on account of devising foreign policy towards other countries. Since most of the foreign policies are devised by the establishment, therefore, it creates an environment to attract the public as per their will and wish. The role of media and civil society is somehow considered better in the current and last democratic governments, but still it will take time to mature the media to talk about the voice of the public. Most of the foreign policy of Pakistan was moulded and devised according to the given situation and circumstances. In that scenario, public was never taken into consideration to seek their opinion.

## **8.2 Recommendations**

### **8.2.1 Increased Role of Academia in Foreign Policy**

It is a matter of fact that academia can devise more futuristic and dynamic foreign policy of Pakistan. It is always busy in searching grey areas though publishing articles, conducting seminars and conferences and come up with some tangible and flexible way forward to devise an opportunistic approach in foreign policymaking process. However, at the state level, it has not been giving due weightage. The recommendations of the seminars and conferences are usually dumped in paperwork. The policy is bulldozed by individual personalities or individual institutions. Although, Pakistan has small number of institutions

of higher learning, having well-equipped experts of international relations and political affairs, but there is need to establish a desk in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where a team of experts may engage academia of country-wide higher educational institutions, analyse the data and submit concrete recommendations to the Parliament for debate, discussion and policymaking.

There is gap between foreign office and academia. There is no mechanism to bridge this gap. The establishment of think tanks is a good initiative in the past two-three decades, and they are working for discussing and providing good ideas on foreign policy process. There is a dire need to make panels to discuss the issues and to institutionalize the things. There should be sustainability and consistency in such matters. A good thing which has been observed is that there is little bit realization, and it is encouraging.

### **8.2.2 Research and Development in High Technology Areas**

Foreign policy of any state is totally dependent upon its economic condition, technological advancement, defence capabilities and social structure. Most of the advanced countries are focusing on smart technologies to enhance their base lines. Japan, Germany and many other countries have shifted their routine production unit of existing technologies into China and many other developing countries. However, they are working on smart and artificial technologies to speed up their GDP and influence the world order. Pakistan also needs to increase the annual budget of higher institutions and invest a reasonable percentage of its GDP in the research and development sector.

### **8.2.3 Activate the Role of Pakistan Chairs Abroad**

The current era is considered as 5<sup>th</sup> generation war fare. Previously, the wars were fought on borders through swords and weapons. It was further progressed by weapons of mass destruction through missiles and aircrafts. However, all the existing technologies are being absolute. Now, there is war of narratives. The nation which will present its narrative more affectively, that will lead the world. Pakistani chairs can play a very positive role in spreading soft image of Pakistan into the rest of the world. Pakistan can sell its narrative through these chairs in the friendly and non-friendly countries.

Pakistan established many chairs in different universities abroad to interact with the students, faculty and policymakers of the other world. However, most of these Pakistani chairs are lying vacant since long. These chairs should be intact and filled. They can be source of promoting soft and pure image of Pakistan in the outer world.

### **8.2.4 Adoption of Proactive Approach**

The study reveals that Pakistan has to come out from reactive approach to proactive in foreign policymaking process. Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO to boost up its economy when it felt threat from India in its early age of formation. It rushed towards Muslim bloc when incident of East Pakistan emerged in 1971. Pakistan again joined western bloc when Russia invaded Afghanistan. It got quite independent in its decision-making in the last decade of twentieth century, however, it again joined USA when tragic incident of 9/11 happened. Pakistan moulded its foreign policy against the reactive approach of all the above incidents. Pakistan has never given any foreign policy objective proactively to safeguard its sovereignty and national interest. Now it is time to engage all

the stakeholders and devise a long term and dynamic foreign policy in order to achieve the set goals.

#### **8.2.5 Prioritize the Influential Internal Factors**

It has to prioritize its external and internal factors which usually influence the foreign policy process of any state. There is need of the time to give due weightage to the internal factors and prepare five years plan for each individual factor. The study reveals that Pakistan has to focus on strengthening its economy, defence capabilities, control over the extremism and terrorism and adopt consistency in the democratic setup. It needs to minimize the role of military in the foreign policymaking and Parliament should be given mandate to devise the foreign policy towards its neighbouring countries and regional and major powers.

Moreover, the role of think tanks and academia should be taken into consideration while devising and planning foreign policy. The proactive thinking approach needs to be adopted at institutional level and all relevant stakeholders should be taken into consideration while devising short-term and long-term policies.

#### **8.2.6 Strengthening of Institutions**

Foreign policy needs to be devised by civilian governments and state should protect the institutional and organizational framework. Military has to come out from the leading role of foreign policymaking process instead foreign affairs, and on the recommendations of national think tanks and academia should develop and execute the foreign policy with major powers and neighbouring states. The foreign policy must be prepared by the institutions rather than individual political or military players.

Although Pakistan needs to devise a balanced approach to frame its foreign policy by considering military policy, domestic and foreign policy. In the normal days it can be devised but on any incident like Russian invasion and American's attack on Afghanistan, Pakistan needs to respond according to the situation and given circumstances. It can devise such policy in theoretical perspective, however, practical and given circumstances always devise and mould the foreign policy. Every country normally responds to such international events.

A good foreign policy is always considered the one which has been devised by its public. Although little difference of opinion about foreign policy can be there in any state, however, parliament can devise good foreign policy by considering the views of public. This should be the prime task of the Parliament of Pakistan.

Pakistan can make a dynamic and assertive foreign policy by looking at the ground realities of national and international importance, also to give due respect and rights to public opinion, to make political system stronger and also to have civilian rule and democracy in Pakistan.

Foreign policy of Pakistan should be independent. The military has more influence on foreign policy which should be reduced. It should be in the hands of the professionals. Think tanks should be encouraged to work independently and suggest tangible and concrete way forward, so that Pakistan could ascertain its fruits.

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## Appendix-I

### CLOSE ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE

#### Topic

#### Role of Domestic Factors in Shaping the Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Critical Analysis of Post 9/11 Era

#### PhD Scholar

(Rustam Khan)

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Dear Sir/Madam,

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Designation: \_\_\_\_\_

This questionnaire has close ended with specific answers provided against each. You can tick (✓) one or more against each.

Q.No.	Question	Strongly Agreed (1)	Agreed (2)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
1.	Foreign policy of Pakistan achieved its set goals during post 9/11 period					
2.	Pakistan's foreign policy can be classified as successful in post 9/11 period towards its neighbouring countries and major power					
3.	Pakistan's internal factors influenced its foreign policy more than external factors in post 9/11 era					

Q.No.	Question	Strongly Agreed (1)	Agreed (2)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
4.	Domestic factors of Pakistan did not contribute most in shaping foreign policy in post 9/11 period					
5.	Military interventions remained key factors which adversely affected the foreign policy of Pakistan					
6.	Political leadership of Pakistan is incompetent to formulate strong foreign policy					
7.	Bureaucracy of Pakistan could not be able to present soft image of Pakistan before international community					
8.	Poor economy of Pakistan is most influential factor in devising strong foreign policy towards neighbouring states and major powers					
9.	Islamic ideology is a powerful internal factor which influenced foreign policy of Pakistan towards its neighbouring states					
10.	Poor governance is one of the key factors thus Pakistan could not formulate a dynamic and flexible foreign policy					
11.	Social structure of Pakistan could not develop yet that's why Pakistan's foreign policy towards its neighbouring states is under immense pressure					
12.	Media has played dominant role in formulating Pakistan's foreign policy in post 9/11 era					
13.	Media has played negative role whenever Pakistan tried to formulate a powerful foreign policy					
14.	Opinion of the public remained dominant factor in shaping foreign policy of Pakistan					

Q.No.	Question	Strongly Agreed (1)	Agreed (2)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
	towards neighbouring countries and major power					
15.	Pakistan could not find dynamic leadership which can devise a more realistic foreign policy in post 9/11 period					
16.	Corruption is one of the major domestic factors which remained hindrance in shaping stronger and diversified foreign policy towards neighbouring countries and major power					
17.	Extremism and terrorism remained dominant factors in post 9/11 period though Pakistan could not concentrate in formulating more flexible foreign policy Pakistan towards neighbouring countries and major power					
18.	Pakistan remained successful in devising foreign policy in the best interest of the state					
19.	Pakistan could not devise any potential and independent foreign policy in post 9/11 era					
20.	Pressure groups influenced the foreign policy of Pakistan towards its neighbouring countries and major power					

## **Appendix-II**

### **OPEN ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE**

#### **Topic**

#### **Role of Domestic Factors in Shaping the Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Critical Analysis of Post 9/11 Era**

#### **PhD Scholar**

(Rustam Khan)

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Dear Sir/Madam,

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Designation: \_\_\_\_\_

You don't need to answer all the questions. You can answer as per your own convenience/expertise. Keeping in view of your busy schedule, I am not expecting long answers.

- Q.No.1:- Do you find that domestic factors much influenced the foreign policy of Pakistan towards its neighboring countries and major powers in post 9/11 era?
- Q.No.2:- How do you see political upheavals towards foreign policy making?
- Q.No.3:- What are the most influential internal factors which affected the foreign policy of Pakistan towards its neighboring states in post 9/11 history?
- Q.No.4:- What do you say about pressure groups and their influence in the foreign policy making process?
- Q.No.5:- Can you explain about Islamic ideology and its relevance to the foreign policy making? How much it influenced our foreign policy process after 9/11?

- Q.No.6:- Pakistan has faced many military interventions. Do you see that foreign policies of Pakistan were stronger or weak during these periods?
- Q.No.7:- What do you say about role of poor economy of Pakistan in its foreign policy making?
- Q.No.8:- Media has been classified as one of the strongest pillars of modern nation states. What has been role of Media in the foreign policy of Pakistan in post 9/11 period?
- Q.No.9:- In the democracy of any country, public opinion contributes a lot in the foreign policy process. What do you say about contribution of Pakistani people in formulation of foreign policy in post 9/11 era?
- Q.No.10:- Pakistan has faced a big challenge of extremism and terrorism in post 9/11 period. what would you say it's impact on Pakistan's foreign policy towards its neighboring states and major powers?
- Q.No.11:- It is matter of fact that executives play key role in formulation of foreign policy of any country. What was the role of political elite during this period for making influential and stronger foreign policy of Pakistan?
- Q.No.12:- Can you suggest some tangible recommendations, how Pakistan can formulate diverse and more flexible foreign policy all engaging its neighbors and major powers?