

**PAKISTAN – INDONESIA RELATIONS:
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES**



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SUPERVISOR CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "Pakistan – Indonesia Relations: Challenges and Opportunities" is the original work submitted by Ms. Lia Nima Uqbaddar, a student of MS in International Relations in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences. This research work has been successfully done under my guidance and supervision. She has fulfilled all the requirements for the award for the MS degree ordinance at the University. This is important to certify that this thesis has not been submitted for the attainment of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, or Fellowship from any other university.

Dr. Noor Fatima

Dedication

To my beloved Parents and Faculty

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Alhamdulillah, the author gives thanks to Allah SWT. who has given His grace, guidance and blessings so that the writing of this thesis can be completed. This thesis is part of an academic journey in obtaining a master's degree in the International Relations program at the International Islamic University Islamabad with the thesis title "Pakistan-Indonesia relations: challenges and opportunities."

This thesis is a scientific work prepared and intended to fulfill the graduation requirements for MS International Relations, International Islamic University Islamabad. This thesis could be completed with support and assistance from various parties, therefore the author also does not forget to express his thanks.

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The author realizes that this thesis is still far from perfection in terms of data collection, data processing and presentation. The author hopes that this research can be useful for readers even though there are still many shortcomings in the writing. Therefore, the author is very open to receiving criticism and suggestions to improve this thesis.

Finally, the author would like to express his thanks to all parties who have provided guidance, input, assistance and support during the work process so that this thesis can be completed.

ABSTRACT

Pakistan and Indonesia are the two large Muslim countries. The mutual growth for both country through the engagement between these two countries can be multiple opened activities. Historically, Indonesia and Pakistan are interconnected since their births in 1947 and help each other's independent. Given that they are two of the world's most populous Muslim countries, they each want a stronger and more beneficial relationship. From the time that Indonesia and Pakistan officially realized bilateral relationship in 1950, two countries have been in cooperation on many different levels including; economic, political, cultural, or enlarged social issues. Various sectors as well as economic, trade and military cooperation have appeared in foreign policy in both countries. The Preferential Trade Agreement was signed in 2013. They also work together for security like joint military exercises as well as to address counter terrorism-related issues. The mutual exchange programs between the two countries have also enhanced social and cultural ties among the people of Indonesia and Pakistan. Economic factors, surrounding geopolitical dynamics, and vastly varying foreign policy priorities are just a few of them. Despite challenges to their relationship, Pakistan and Indonesia have an opportunity. These obstacles cannot obscure the great prospects for development of bilateral relations between the two countries and more space for cooperation still exists. Indonesia and Pakistan have had diplomatic and historiographic links throughout which has inclined the cooperation and common interest factor between them. To understand the details of this bilateral relationship, one needs to analyze the foreign policy agenda in the provided relationship. In order to determine the foreign policy goals, obstacles, and possibilities influencing the bilateral relationship, this research focuses on an in-depth examination of the intricacies within Pakistan-Indonesia relations and analyzing through the constructivism theory, because the constructivist approach helps us understand the dynamics of this bilateral relationship. Constructivism, which emphasizes the role of ideas, norms and identities in shaping interactions between states, can provide deep insights into how the two countries build and sustain their relationship. The diplomatic relationship between Pakistan and Indonesia, both historically and currently, provides an engaging context for analyzing major issues, points of agreement, and regions of collaboration or disagreement. Through comprehensive research methods, including qualitative analysis of policy documents and information through internet, this thesis seeks to provide nuanced insight into the foreign policy priorities, challenges and opportunities in the share history of both nations.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The historical and current diplomatic relationship between Pakistan and Indonesia has been characterized by mutual respect, shared Islamic identity, and efforts to strengthen ties through various diplomatic, economic, and cultural initiatives. Pakistan and Indonesia share a deep-rooted historical relationship dating back to the 1950s when they established diplomatic ties (Z. Asif, 2021). The bond between the two nations has been strengthened through various means including massive support from Pakistan during the Indonesian National Revolution (Wikipedia, 2023). Moreover, Pakistan extended its support to Indonesia during the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 and offered to militarily intervene in the conflict. The two nations have also signed a memorandum of understanding on defense cooperation, and their bilateral trade has reached a substantial value of US\$2.3 billion (Hanif, 2023). Both countries are members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and have collaborated on various international issues concerning the Muslim world (Ahmad Alqadiri, 2024.).

In addition to diplomatic ties, the two countries have engaged in robust economic collaborations, including a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) and increased bilateral trade (Pakistan Business Council, 2022). Moreover, cultural exchanges and people-to-people connections have been actively promoted, with Indonesia offering scholarships to Pakistani students and both nations working towards strengthening cultural and educational ties (*Indonesian Embassy, Pakistan*, 2020.). The strong diplomatic, defense, trade, and cultural relations between Pakistan and Indonesia reflect a mutual commitment to fostering understanding, cooperation, and partnership between the two nations (Z. Asif, 2021).

Overall, while the relationship has seen ups and downs, both Pakistan and Indonesia continue to seek ways to deepen their ties across various domains, reflecting the significance of their partnership in the Indo-Pacific region and the Muslim world.

Despite the historical and diplomatic ties, the current landscape presents both countries with challenges and areas that require further attention to enhance their overall engagement. One prominent challenge lies in the necessity to intensify cooperation in political, economic, defense, and security domains (Z. Asif, 2021). Both nations aspire to promote bilateral trade and investment, strengthen collaboration in areas such as health, education, science, and technology, and bolster parliamentary exchanges and people-to-people contacts (Z. Asif, 2021). Additionally, the deteriorating human rights situation in the Illegally Indian Occupied

Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) and its implications for peace and security in South Asia have surfaced as a pressing challenge. Pakistan and Indonesia seek to strengthen bilateral engagement at multilateral forums, including at the UN, OIC, ARF, D-8, and ASEM, amplifying the complexity of the challenges in the current relations (MOFA, 2022).

Amidst these challenges, there exist an array of potential opportunities for collaboration between Pakistan and Indonesia. Noteworthy among these are the avenues for trade, investment, and economic cooperation. The two countries have laid a strong foundation of diplomatic relations and have been working diligently to bolster their trade ties (*Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia In Islamabad, Pakistan*, 2023). Indonesia's encouragement for Pakistan to deepen its engagement with ASEAN underscores the potential for increased collaboration in diverse sectors such as commerce, industry, investment, environment, science and technology, and agriculture (Pakistan today, 2023). Furthermore, Indonesia's approval of 1000 scholarships for Pakistani students at its leading universities highlights the prospects for academic collaboration (Z. Asif, 2021). Conversations around direct flights between the two countries have also emerged as a means to fortify trade ties and promote economic exchange.

In conclusion, the Pakistan-Indonesia relations present a landscape with both challenges and opportunities, and efforts to address the challenges and leverage the potential opportunities are pivotal in shaping the future trajectory of the bilateral relationship.

1.1 Problem Statement

The contemporary diplomacy of Indonesia and Pakistan is a result of their time. By these historical events the basis for friendly and mutually beneficial relations between Pakistan and Indonesia has been set. It is these historical relations that have given rise to today's diplomatic relations and the resultant mutual respect, solidarity and shared history of supporting each other at hard moments (Alqadiri, Ahmad, 2024).

Indonesian and Pakistani histories not only establish diplomatic relations, but also encounter obstacles and regions in need of more care to improve their overall involvement. However, there are always chances for Pakistan and Indonesia to work together despite these obstacles. By employing extensive research methodologies, which encompass qualitative analysis of policy documents and internet-based information, this thesis aims to offer a nuanced understanding of the foreign policy priorities, challenges, and opportunities embedded in the shared history of both nations.

1.2 Research Questions

1. What are the foreign policy priorities of Indonesia towards Pakistan and Pakistan towards Indonesia?
2. Why Pakistan and Indonesia relations face challenges in their bilateral relations?
3. How does Pakistan-Indonesia identity and political dynamic can Impact on foreign policy towards each other?

1.3 Research Objective

This research aim to:

1. To analyze the foreign policy priorities of Indonesia towards Pakistan and Pakistan towards Indonesia.
2. To identify the cause of major challenges in the bilateral relations between Pakistan and Indonesia.
3. To explore the major opportunities that could further strengthen their relationship.

1.4 Significance of The Study

This thesis is significant as it will contribute to the existing body of knowledge on South Asian and Southeast Asian relations. Understanding the foreign policy priorities, challenges, and opportunities in Pakistan-Indonesia relations is crucial for policymakers, diplomats, and analysts to formulate strategies that can enhance cooperation and mitigate potential obstacles between the two countries.

1.5 Research Methodology

To address the research questions, this study will utilize qualitative research methods. This will entail an in-depth content analysis of policy documents, official statements and diplomatic activities between Pakistan and Indonesia. As well, due to historical analysis with dynamic resource allocation and geopolitical and case studies.

- a) Data analysis: The study will focus on data related to policy documents, official statements and diplomatic activities between Pakistan and Indonesia that can provide a deep understanding about the relationship in all perspectives.
- b) Analytical history: It will explore the chronological chain reaction of historical incidences, diplomatic interactions and cultural colonization which has formulated bilateral relationship between Pakistan & Indonesia over a while to comprehend enduring dynamics behind their relation.

- c) Geopolitical Analysis: This is necessary to comprehend the strategic priorities, regional platforms and power politics which affect Pakistan-Indonesia relations in general arena.
- d) Case Studies: These will involve in depth analysis of specific events, agreements or initiatives within the Pakistan - Indonesian relationship on various domains to grasp complexities and nuance as well as other issue areas.

1.6 Literature Review

There are several previous studies that serve as complementary and comparative material to become reference material for researchers. The following are some of the previous studies that became a research literature study:

Journal " The Constructive Turn in International Relations Theory" by Isa Erbas:

The journal provides a critical re-birth of constructivist thought in global political relations, focusing on norms and social structures rather than individualism or materialism. By emphasizing the extent to which norms and social structures - ideas, institutions, power relations; all those things that had been crucially missing from traditional IR models of global politics - constructionist scholars have successfully illustrated empirically both normalization (the causes are important) as well as significant examples. While constructivism has been empirically successful, it is also undertheorized and fails to provide a fully explanatory account of the origins and evolution over time or cross-nationally in social structures - norms, rules of state behavior; how these structure vary across states as well as their effects both on the preferences/perceptions/ identities that make up agents themselves. This paper highlights the gap and discusses why a stronger theoretical foundation, increased attention to agency in international relations studies (Checkel, 1998), as well as middle-range theorizing is required to make progress with constructivist research.

The constructivist perspective emphasized in the paper provides a useful complement to conventional international relations theorizing as it underscores the significance of norms and social arrangements to global politics. To a greater extent than either liberals or realists, however, constructivism asks questions about the nature of interests and the identities that inform them, which provides us with far more nuanced insight into how - as state actors - states interact on planet Earth than do individualistic-materialist explanations. This piece argues that taking up constructivism would enable us to push the scope of our inquiry far beyond. It compels scholars not only to explain how certain structures come into being, but also why these particular patterns endure or change over time and how substantive variation across different

countries happen. For scholars and practitioners in the field of international relations, this means acknowledging constructive insights regarding norms, social structures. and how they shape states as well against state. Overall, the practical implications of this paper point towards the importance of integrating constructivist perspectives into the study and practice of international relations to develop a more holistic and nuanced understanding of global politics.

Journal by Khold Bin Sayeed by the title "Southeast Asia in Pakistan's Foreign Policy"

The Journal highlights that Pakistan's foreign policy has historically been heavily influenced by its relations with major powers like the United States, China, and the Soviet Union, as well as the perceived security threat from India. It suggests that the limited attention given to Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia in Pakistan's foreign policy speeches and policy pronouncements indicates a lack of significant focus on these nations. This lack of emphasis on Southeast Asia could have practical implications for Pakistan's diplomatic and economic engagements in the region, potentially hindering opportunities for collaboration and partnerships with countries in Southeast Asia. Pakistan's efforts to focus on ties with much larger powers, or potentially related to its security with India, could counter the possible benefits of more rapidly building its relationship with Southeast Asia - seeing more results on things like economic development, trade, and regional cooperation. The paper, then, goes on to suggest that revising Pakistan's list of foreign policy priorities to embrace a more nuanced approach that incorporates a pivot toward Southeast Asia could be a more corrective procedural change that responds to broader economic opportunities and diplomacy in that region from Pakistan (K.B.Sayeed, 1968).

This journal provides a background to the historical background of the foreign policies of Pakistan, concentrating on significant power-led relationships especially USA, China, Soviet Union and provides a startling detail on the lack of engagement with the Southeast Asia countries. Malaysia and Indonesia in Pakistan's foreign policy worldview during the period. Analyzes speeches and policy statements of important decision-makers like Mr. Bhutto and President Ayub and attempt at locating the focus on Pakistan's foreign policy interests. It further deliberates on the minimal coverage of Southeast Asia in Pakistan's foreign policy and tries to explore answers by suggesting possible leads for further research argues that more historical exploration of the foreign policies of post-2001 Pakistan is warranted. From this journal the author may also investigate the viability of a more topical examination of Pakistan's foreign policy, looking at the geopolitical dimensions of decision-making in the nation and the

potential implications of global geopolitical shifts on the region's relations with countries like Indonesia, which may manifest strongly in Pakistan and have long-term implications for regional ordering.

Historical analysis of Pakistan's foreign policy - especially its relationships with major powers - is well-executed, but it would have been nice if some emphasis had been given to, say, Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia. This is largely to be done by reading key extracts from the speeches and policy pronouncements of relevant decision-makers like Bhutto, Ayub, etc - and using this as a basis to conclude on what the situation should have been in terms of foreign policy priorities for Pakistan. Others, like Bhutto and President Ayub, are keenly watched. When looking at Pakistan foreign policies of the past however, one must remember that the timeframe for this research held over a period covering 10 years on either side (1957-67). However, the paper tries to look into the possible reasons behind the lack of focus on the geopolitical, economic, and strategic dimensions of avoiding Southeast Asia from the angle of Pakistan's strategy, giving some leeway for further investigating underlying factors, and how they might impact Pakistan's foreign policy toward Southeast Asia.

Journal by Gede and Wahyu Wicaksana by the title " Islam and Sukarno's Foreign Policy, with reference to Indonesia- Pakistan Relations 1960-1965"

This paper investigates the factors influencing Indonesia-Pakistan relations during Sukarno's final years, specifically from 1960 to 1965. It explores whether Islamic solidarity or elite material interests were the primary drivers of Sukarno's foreign policy decisions during this period.

The central argument posits that Sukarno's foreign policy was primarily shaped by his political interests, which extended to Indonesia's international stance. The shifting geopolitical landscape created an opportunity for Islamic influences to impact policy agendas, notably seen when Jakarta supported Islamabad during the 1965 Kashmir conflict. The introduction outlines a two-part discussion: first, examining how Sukarno redirected Indonesia's relations with India and Pakistan to align with his ideological foreign policy goals, and second, analyzing Jakarta's use of Islamic identity to pursue strategic interests during the India-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir. By delving into these aspects, the paper aims to provide insights into the intricate interplay between political motivations, international relations, and the role of Islamic solidarity in shaping Indonesia-Pakistan relations under Sukarno's leadership (Gede & Wicaksana, 2013).

Its purpose is to contribute to ongoing scholarship on this topic, which aims to determine whether group-based identity, in our case Islamic solidarity, or elite material interests influence state foreign policy behavior. The story of how Sukarno formulated Indonesia's Pakistan policy underscores the central role of leaders' political interests in shaping Foreign Policy. It also shows how competing geopolitical forces can open a window for identity – in this case Islamic – to influence Jakarta's critical strategic decisions. In Indonesia-Pakistan relations during the Cold War, these conditions were present when the two countries were locked in conflict over Kashmir during the 1965 war. This case study builds on the existing research that examines the interplay between ideational and material concerns in Foreign Policy formulation. Third World states pursued demands rooted in their belief in anticolonial ideologies and support for the self-determination of peoples. Sometimes the geopolitical conditions were hospitable for these considerations to play a subordinate role. At other times, geopolitical changes opened a window for these ideational considerations. Case studies on these strategic interactions, like what is presented above on Indonesia's policy towards Pakistan, enhance our understanding of state behavior and demonstrate the navigational challenges that foreign policymakers negotiate when pursuing their national objectives in a complex world of conflicting strategic interests.

However, it is important to note that the paper's focus is restricted to Indonesia-Pakistan relations from 1960 to 1965, only for five years and only for two countries. Moreover, it looks at only two factors, Islamic solidarity and elite material interests, that might have influenced Sukarno's foreign policy decision-making. Therefore, the research paper might have overlooked many other contextual factors that could have affected Indonesia's relations with Pakistan as well as with other countries other than Islamic solidarity and political interest. Consequently, we can say that this research paper will not provide a comprehensive understanding of the historical, political and economic contexts that might have shaped Sukarno's foreign policy beyond Islamic solidarity and political interests. Furthermore, the research focuses only on the role of the two leaders but neglects to evaluate the perspectives of other key stakeholders, such as bureaucrats, military leaders, political elite, diplomats, etc, in shaping Indonesia-Pakistan relations during the time period under the study. This could have given us a more comprehensive understanding about the dynamics of relations between these two countries. Besides, the research evaluates only the short-term consequences of Sukarno's foreign policy decision-making with Pakistan and other countries without looking into the long-term implications of his decision-making towards Indonesia's diplomatic relations with

Pakistan as well as with other countries post-1965. This could have informed us about the enduring influences of Sukarno's foreign policy towards Pakistan and other countries.

Journal by Muhammad Asif Noor by the title "A history of Pakistan-Indonesia relations"

This journal contains various articles and news pieces related to different topics. It includes a commentary on the history of Pakistan-Indonesia relations, highlighting the challenges and milestones in their relationship. The article also covers the recent state visit of President Joko Widodo to Pakistan, emphasizing the congeniality of relations between the two countries. Additionally, there are news pieces related to world events, such as demonstrations in support of Palestinians and the grounding of Boeing MAX 9 planes for safety checks. The article also includes sections on lifestyle, culture, sports, and business (Muhammad Asif Noor, 2018).

Journal by Brilliant Windy Khairunnisa by the title "Bilateral Relations of Indonesia And Pakistan During President Joko Widodo's Occupation In The Analytical Framework of KJ Holsti"

This journal discusses that the presence of bilateral cooperation between Pakistan and Indonesia, notably in the fields of economics and tourism, under President Joko Widodo's leadership, is compatible with KJ Holsti's analytical framework. This happened as a consequence of President Joko Widodo's business expertise, and countless export transactions might be one of the reasons for the policy's issuance. One of the reasons for the issuance of policies on cooperation in the tourist sector is the similarity of culture and religion practiced by the people of the two countries. On the one hand, the strategic scenario in which Indonesia needs to strengthen its economy, as well as the continuing trade war between the US and China, have aided the policy's issuance. On the other hand, this is done to keep the economies of the two countries steady. However, a continuous thread in the leader's foreign policy may be discovered using KJ Holsti's analytical approach (Khairunnisa, 2021).

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The relationship between Pakistan and Indonesia holds historical, cultural, and strategic significance. This thesis aims to explore the foreign policy priorities, major challenges, and major opportunities in bilateral relations between these two countries. By applying *Constructivism theory*, this study seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics shaping Pakistan and Indonesia relations. Utilizing constructivist theories will

provide valuable insights into the cultural, social, and identity-based factors influencing the foreign policy priorities, challenges, and opportunities between Pakistan and Indonesia.

1.7.1 Constructivism theory

Constructivism theories highlight the role of ideas, norms, and identities in shaping foreign policy and international relations. This framework emphasizes the impact of social and cultural factors on state behavior, including the influence of collective beliefs and shared values. States will have interest for each other when they know each other and when they share their knowledge (Isa Erbas, 2022).

In the study of international relations, constructivism is used to explain the phenomenon of the post-Cold War world. Where when the theory of realism or neorealism and liberalism or neoliberalism at that time only explained material things such as Power (bahraves, 2011). The emergence of constructivist scholars is due to dissatisfaction with the explanation of the previous theory in explaining the reality of international relations. Scholars at the time such as Friedrich Kratochwill, Nicolas Onuf, and Alexander Wendt, considered that theories that discussed Power did not contribute to peace but were more inclined to aggressive behavior (Zehfuss - *Constructivism in International Relations.Pdf*, n.d.). Constructivism in this case is described as an analytical framework where actors and factors are not given much attention by other international relations theories. One thinker named Weber said that changes in global politics are not only influenced by sovereign state actors, but there are other actors who can influence this such as individuals, elite groups, corporations, international organizations and so on. Constructivist thinkers look more at how the issue of the dynamics of international change will affect the country's foreign policy.

Constructivism states that everything in the world is a result of social construction, with the cultivation of ideas, norms, and values, which are constructed into a thought. Thought in this case becomes part of social construction, on the basis that what is happening today is the result of social construction that occurs so that this can change or not be absolute.

In constructivism, constructivists see the world in a different way from other theories. The concepts that form the basis of constructivist thinking to understand the world can also be fully said to be absorbed from sociology. Values, norms, ideas, rules and identity are some of the key concepts that constructivist thinkers can use in analyzing international realities that other IR theories are unable to explain.

There are three basic assumptions of constructivist thinking. First, interactions between people, including between countries, are determined by ideas rather than material factors. This idea is important because it determines the meaning of material reality. Second, these ideas are intersubjective, that is, they become a kind of 'shared understanding' between actors. Constructivists emphasize inter-subjectivity where this meaning is formed as a result of social interaction and not individual perception alone. Third, intersubjectivity shapes the interests and actions of actors. Unlike realists and liberals who view interests as exogenous - as drivers of action - for constructivists interests are a process of formation of ideas. Without ideas there is no concept of interest, without interest there is no meaningful action (IAF, 2024).

Constructivism thinking popularized by a number of big names, one of which is Alexander Wendt, in his writing entitled “Anarchy is What States Make of It” which challenges realist and liberal assumptions that international relations are more influenced by sociological dimensions rather than material. Alexander Wendt also stated that constructivism emphasizes ideas in understanding international behavior. Just as constructivism theory was born as a new theory that debates previous theories that only understand material situations, constructivism is present to believe that the existence of states, wars, international systems, and other forms that appear in the international world are the result of constructing ideas. As in his book “ideas all the way down”, Wendt states that ideas will affect the formation of the system with the behavior of its actors. Constructivism also believes that sometimes ideational factors (thoughts) have more power than material forces (Mengshu, 2020).

In Alexander Wendt's book, he explains that there are two main principles in constructivism, first, the structure of human associations is not only determined by material forces but shared ideas which are carried out by the interaction of actors. Second, that the identity and interests of actors are not built by themselves but are formed on ideas or ideas with certain goals (Theys, 2018). Wendt considers that upholding the role of identity is necessary as one of the factors shaping the interests of state behavior towards the dynamics of agents and structures. Another basic assumption of Wendt in “Social Theory of International Politics” explains that there are three main claims that are the essence of constructivism theory (Behraves, 2011) : “(1) state are the principal units of analysis in international political theory; (2) The key structures in the state system are intersubjective rather than material; (3) state identities and interest are important part constructed by these social structures, rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics”.

In the constructivism claim above, Wendt emphasizes the importance of socially constructed variables in the analysis of international relations phenomena. In other words, the identity formed through the process of interaction between countries is what then underlies the behavior of international political actors in determining a policy both domestically and abroad.

The development of constructivism is categorized into three major groups (Behraves, 2011), they are:

1. Systemic Constructivism

This approach adopts more of a neorealist view, which looks at interactions between international units/states. They ignore the existing structure at the domestic level. The focus of the study is how norms, values and shared identities emerge in the form of inter-state interactions such as cooperation in international organizations, regional cooperation and also conflicts between states.

2. Unit-level constructivism

This approach is the opposite of systemic constructivism. The focus of the study is the relationship between social entities at the domestic level with legal norms, identity and interests of a state. Where this school is represented by Peter Katzenstein in looking at the unit level here concentrates on the relationship between domestic social, norms, laws, identity and state interests and state security strategies. However, the unit level here as a state is not so important considering that ideational or individual norms can play a more important role in the domestic. In this case, individual characters can influence social interactions within the state. So that individuals can influence a country's policies.

3. Holistic Constructivism

In contrast to Systemic and Unit-level Constructivism, Holistic Constructivism does not separate the analysis of the domestic and international sectors. This school is represented by thinkers John G. Ruggie and Friedrich Kratochwil who bridged the international and domestic aspects. The main focus of the study is to analyze the changes that occur in the international system.

Constructivism theory in foreign policy is used to understand decision-making in a country's foreign policy that is influenced or constructed by the environment, norms, ideas and ideas, this theory is more focused on the social construction formed which refers to international relations activities.

Constructivism in analyzing foreign policy departs from the assumption that the world is only the result of the construction of dynamic actor interactions. In making foreign policy, there are at least seven assumptions (Behraves, 2011):

The first is that the motivation of the actions of actors in international relations is an important factor, because the social environment is generally the result of human construction so that it is intersubjective.

Second, constructivism emphasizes efforts to connect structures and institutions and agents that focus on theory. This is based on the assumption that structures and institutions have an interdependent relationship with each other.

Third, constructivism emphasizes the role of norms in the behavior patterns of people in the social environment, including the state in the international environment. This assumption is based on the achievement of foreign policies for the national interest of the country and also the importance of these policies to be accepted by the international community.

Fourth, the emphasis on the role of institutions in both formal and informal forms on the dynamics of international relations.

Fifth, constructivism theorists analyze everything related to the process of institutionalization of policies such as the development of socialization patterns in it.

Sixth, the assumption that this theory does not focus on interests because of its role as a mediator. Constructivists focus more on analyzing how interests and policies are made along with the role of institutions, norms, and ideas in the policy-making process.

Seventh, constructivism believes that understanding the identity, interests, and improvement of bureaucratic institutions accompanied by applicable norms is used as a communication tool for a discourse.

In addition to these eight assumptions, in the study of constructivism there are four major themes, namely the state, power, institutions and world order. In relation to foreign policy, constructivism theory focuses more on things that influence policy making, both individual and state actors, and explains why there is a change of direction in policy making in certain conditions and situations. Mentioned earlier in the development of constructivism sees that the individual level also has an important role in decision making, so that individuals can influence a country's policies.

Foreign policy is often associated with existing theories in international relations, such as realist, idealist, and constructivist theories. Some theories in the study of international relations are often used to analyze a country's foreign policy related to the interests of the country.

Constructivism theory seeks to understand changes in foreign policy based on the influence of ideas, norms, values and identity by the state or individual. Constructivism theory states that social constructions such as norms, ideas, ideas, and values in individual and state environments can influence the behavior or steps taken by an actor, be it a state or an individual. In realizing foreign policy, a country's foreign policy will always change according to conditions and needs.

1.7.2 Examining Indonesia-Pakistan Relations from the Perspective of Constructivism theory

Therefore, culture, social context and identity have to be taken into consideration as constructs when applying the constructivist theory to the study of the subject of the foreign relations between Pakistan and Indonesia, the tasks and challenges in this relation.

- a) Identity-Based Factors: This paper will rely on the constructivism to bring out the pictures of how identities impact the prospects and constraints in the relations between Pakistan and Indonesia. The theory can further elicit the policies of Pakistan's founder for Muslim soldiers during the Indonesian National Revolution and motivations based on Islamic brotherhood of defense ties, commerce, and educational cooperation.
- b) Cultural Factors: When it comes to cultural factors affecting the foreign policy agendas of both countries, it is possible to apply constructivist theory's principles. This is including the case of Indonesian's tendency to seek legitimacy in relation with the Islamic world and the overall sense of Muslim belonging between the two countries.
- c) Social Factors: Cognitive constructivist theory makes it possible to look at the social factors impacting the interaction between Pakistan and Indonesia in detail. This includes exploring how the two countries' Muslim population, academic interaction, and unofficial exchanges cultivate a religious and cultural connection.

Cultural, social, and identity factors that define the given country can be traced using constructivist approach, which would allow to examine the priorities of Pakistan and Indonesia's foreign policies.

Applying the constructivist paradigms will further explain the factors influencing the positive and negative interaction of cultural, social and identity variables in the two countries' relations. This entails complacent with the past and present factors that affect defense cooperation and relationship, trade, and development.

By applying constructivist theory, researchers can gain a comprehensive understanding of the intricate web of cultural, social, and identity-based factors that significantly influence the foreign policy priorities, challenges, and opportunities in the relations between Pakistan and Indonesia.

Constructivism Theory

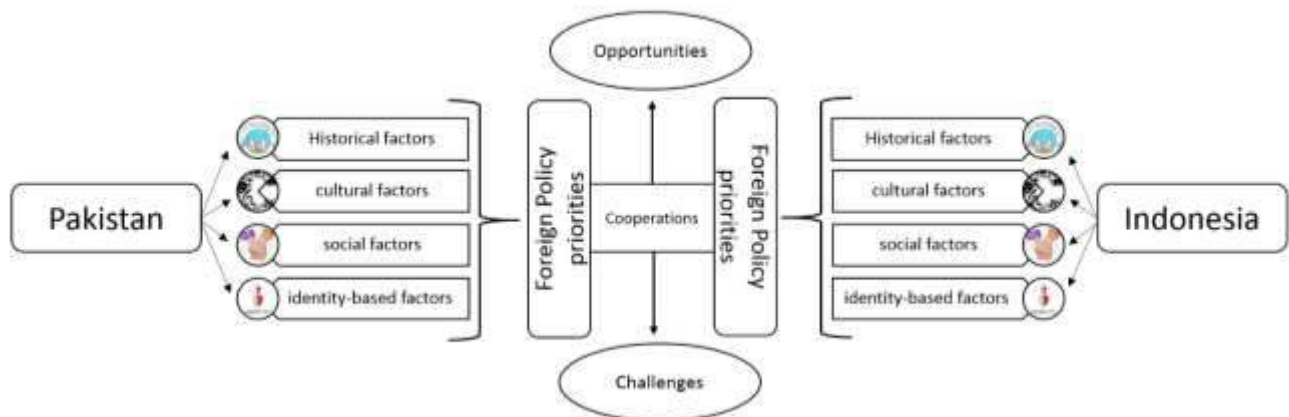


Figure 1 Constructing analytical framework for explaining the dynamic of bilateral realtions between Pakistan and Indonesia

1.8 Organizations of the Study

This research is divided into five main chapters which will then be discussed in more depth. In addition, this study also seeks to answer the research questions as the authors have described in the problem formulation sub-chapter.

I. Chapter 1: Introduction

In chapter one itself, the researcher discusses more about the introduction which contains a brief explanation in the form of the content and outline of this research. Then the research is continued with a discussion of the background of the problems that occur, research questions, the purpose and usefulness of this research itself, Literature Review, theoretical framework or thinking, as well as research methods and also techniques for collecting data itself.

II. Chapter 2: Identity and Foreign Policy of Pakistan and Indonesia

In this chapter, the researcher discusses the identity of each country and impact identity towards their foreign policy. Starting from the Identity of Pakistan, Identity of Indonesia, and diplomatic relations that has involved over time to encompass various area of cooperation and concern.

III. Chapter 3: Bilateral Relations of Indonesia-Pakistan

Furthermore, the author discusses the theoretical basis of this research. This research focuses more on explaining on how the background of both countries can affected in the foreign policy priorities towards each other. And the discussion in this chapter will be continuing by exploring the challenges and opportunities in the bilateral relations between Pakistan and Indonesia trough analysis of constructivism theory.

IV. Conclusions

In closing this research, the researcher discusses more about the conclusions and also the conclusion of the research that has been carried out by the researcher.

V. References

CHAPTER 2: NATIONAL IDENTITY AND FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN-INDONESIA

From a constructivist perspective, foreign policy is influenced by a country's identity. Identity is an invisible entity or variable but it is very important to understand state action. Wendt says that constructivism believes two things: the idea factor is more important than the material factor and the idea determines the identity and interests of international relations actors (Wendt 1999). State action from a constructivist perspective is not driven solely by clearly defined national interests, as the realist and liberal perspectives assume. The so-called 'national interest' is a product of conceptions of ideas in the form of either identities or norms. So identities/norms define national interests, national interests determine state action.

National identity is an important foundation in shaping a country's foreign policy. Indonesia and Pakistan, as two major Asian countries with predominantly Muslim populations, have strong national identities that influence diplomatic relations between them. This chapter will explore how Indonesia and Pakistan's national identities influence their foreign policies towards each other, highlighting aspects of their history, culture, religion and underlying political values.

National identity is a concept that not only reflects the distinctive features of a nation but also plays an important role in shaping its foreign policy (Vucetic, 2019). In the context of Indonesia and Pakistan, the national identities of these two countries are heavily influenced by the history of the independence struggle, cultural values, religion, and complex socio-political dynamics (Embassy of Republik Indonesia in Pakistan, 2021c). A strong national identity not only shapes the internal identity but also determines how the countries interact with the outside world, including each other.

Indonesia and Pakistan share many similarities that shape their national identities. Both are Muslim-majority countries, which influences the way they view the world and shapes their foreign policies. In addition, both countries were born out of a struggle against colonialism, which created a sense of solidarity and a common goal in building an independent and sovereign nation (Ahmad Alqadri, 2024).

In Indonesia, national identity is built on the foundation of Pancasila, which includes five fundamental principles: Belief in One Supreme God, Just and Civilized Humanity, The

Unity of Indonesia, Democracy guided by wisdom in the Consultative/Representative, Social Justice for the entire People of Indonesia. The preservation and promotion of Pancasila are seen as essential for maintaining Indonesia's identity and characteristics in the face of globalization. Pancasila is not only a state ideology but also a reflection of the values held by the Indonesian people. The diversity of ethnicities, languages and religions in Indonesia is united in the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which means “Diversity in Unity, Different but still one”. Diversity should be managed wisely because it is Indonesia's greatest strength. In the notion of Indonesia, every individual, community, and ethnic group is a stakeholder in Indonesia. This implies that the smallest group is equivalent to the greatest ethnic group (Utomo, 2012).

On the other hand, Pakistan's national identity is heavily influenced by Islam as the foundation of the state. Pakistan was founded with the aim of being a homeland for Muslims in the Indian subcontinent, and Islam became a major element in its national identity. The history of the struggle for independence from British colonialism and the prolonged conflict with India, especially over the Kashmir issue, also played an important role in shaping Pakistan's national identity. The conflict with India became an integral part of Pakistan's national narrative, reinforcing its identity as a sovereign state committed to the Muslim cause (A. Khan, 1999).

These strong national identities influence both countries' foreign policies. For Indonesia, the principles of Pancasila and the motto of Unity in Diversity encourage a foreign policy approach that emphasizes dialogue, cooperation, and peaceful conflict resolution. Indonesia is committed to the non-aligned principle, which means it does not favor any major power and prefers to play the role of a neutral mediator in international conflicts (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2023). This approach is reflected in Indonesia's active involvement in international organizations such as the UN, ASEAN, and OIC, as well as in promoting peaceful resolution of various global conflicts, including the Kashmir issue (Wikipedia, 2024).

While Pakistan's national identity is influenced by Islam and the conflict with India, it has shaped its foreign policy to be more proactive and sometimes confrontational. Pakistan often supports initiatives that benefit Muslims in international forums and participates in military and humanitarian operations in Muslim countries. International Islamic solidarity encourages Pakistan to establish close ties with other Muslim countries and play an active role in organizations such as the OIC (Cornell, 2006).

Despite differences in foreign policy approaches, relations between Indonesia and Pakistan are generally good and based on Muslim solidarity. Both countries cooperate in various international and regional organizations and conduct cultural and educational exchanges to strengthen bilateral relations. However, there are challenges that need to be faced, such as differences in foreign policy, regional geopolitical dynamics, and economic issues, differences in views on several international and regional issues. Because each country's internal and external factors differ, changes in foreign policy are inevitable. In this case, certain elements are required to achieve the goals of foreign policy, such as efforts to maintain the country's political and territorial integrity, strengthen and accelerate economic and social development, increase individual strength to create foreign policy security, and protect against the effects of power held by foreign countries that can harm the state. Where such prevention is possible, one method entails taking international conditions into account when allocating funds for foreign policy purposes. Nonetheless, there are many opportunities that can be utilized to enhance cooperation, especially in the areas of trade, education, and technology.

By understanding the influence of national identity on foreign policy, we can better understand the dynamics of relations between Indonesia and Pakistan. Through dialogue and collaboration, both countries can overcome common challenges and capitalize on opportunities for mutual progress. This thesis will further explore how these two countries' national identities shape their foreign policies towards each other, as well as the implications for their bilateral relations.

2.1 Nasional Identity of Indonesia

The foundation of Indonesia's formation as a nation-state was its variety of ethnicity and culture. In connection with this, the idea of national identity in Indonesia becomes vitally important to the structure of the nation-state, which is composed of two primary structures: political (state power, political system, government philosophy, state foundation, and constitution) and cultural and local wisdom (the acknowledgment of the culture in every Indonesian region, sense of belonging to the place of birth, sovereignty, cultural traditions, social norms, and beliefs). Politics-wise, national identity is also influenced by the *Uti Possidetis* concept. This method was used to define a newly independent country's territorial limits, ensuring that the borders matched the existing colonial bounds, in this case the Dutch East Indies (Loong et al., 2023). These two conceptions must be blended in order to establish the legitimacy of the state in the context of the contemporary nation-state.

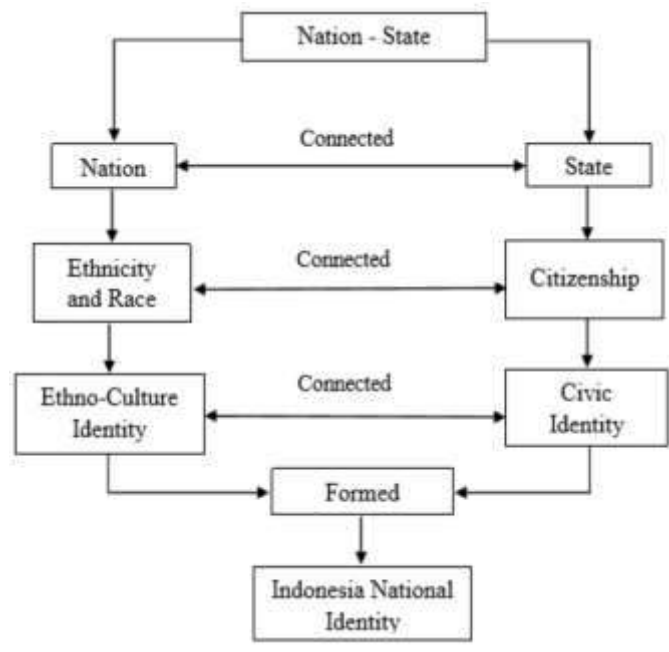


Figure 2: Concept of national identity in Indonesia "Nation-State"
 (by Dewantara, Sulistyarini, Prasetyo, Efriani, Riyanti, Afandi & Ulfah 2023)

Sub-tribes that were classified as ethnic groupings in Indonesia were historically constituted by national associations. Three interrelated elements must come together to form a "nation-state": the state and the country, citizenship in relation to a multiracial and multiethnic society, and ethnic-cultural identity in relation to citizen identity. A Dutch nationalist named Ernest François Eugène Douwes Dekker defined an Indonesian as someone who takes an oath of loyalty to the country, resides there, and is committed to the Indonesian state. Dekker's perspective is not the basis for a person to identify as an Indonesian citizen based on race or ethnicity (Tempo Team, 2013). As a result, numerous tribes, races, and ethnicities in Indonesia merge to form a single ethnic group. Examples of these include the Chinese ethnic group, the Melanesian ethnic group in Papua, and certain individuals who are descended from Arabic civilizations. Figure 1 illustrates how each ethnic group's culture, diversity of races, and ethnicities are integral parts of the Indonesian national identity. From a conceptual standpoint, they may be separated into political and cultural identities, which are all interrelated and create an Indonesian national identity.

The national identity of Indonesia is shaped by its long history of struggle against colonialism, its ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, and the principles embodied in Pancasila and Unity in Diversity. Pancasila as the state principle reflects the values of social justice, humanity, and unity that form the foundation of Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia is dedicated to the values of non-intervention, respect for sovereignty, and peaceful negotiation

as a means of resolving disputes in international relations. This process does not happen naturally, but through a series of complex social interactions and constructions. Here are some of the key elements that make up Indonesia's national identity (Utomo, 2012):

2.1.1 Historical Experience

Knowledge on how the concept of national identity affects the intents and decisions of countries' foreign policies will deepen the appreciation on the phenomenon of relations between Indonesia and Pakistan. Thus, the countries can solve the existing problems through cooperation and discuss the additional options for their development. Regarding this subject, this thesis will elaborate in detail on how the national identities of these two countries influence both the content as well as the direction of their foreign policy in respect to each other and for the prospects of the bilateral relations between them.

Colonization and struggle for independence played a major role in the process of nation building in Indonesia. Due to these events, a strong sense of nationalism and unity was garnered from the Indonesian people, and this sense greatly influences the vision and policies in the course of the nation up to present. Indonesian history formed a series of occurrences which thus defined Indonesia's character and its existence a sovereign nation. There are many complicated relations in Indonesia from the formation of early kingdoms to the fight for independence and development of the modern state. The evolution of Indonesian history from pre-colonial to current times will be examined in this article, with a focus on significant occasions that influenced the archipelago country.

Before the arrival of Europeans, the region today known as Indonesia consisted of various kingdoms and sultanates that had their own culture and system of government. The Srivijaya Kingdom (around the 7th to 13th centuries) was one of the influential maritime kingdoms, controlling trade in the Malacca Strait and spreading Buddhism in the region. Later, the Majapahit Kingdom (circa 13th to 16th centuries) was known for its glory and extensive influence in the Nusantara, and is considered an inspiration for the concept of unity and nationhood in contemporary Indonesia (Indonesia Investments Report, 2024).

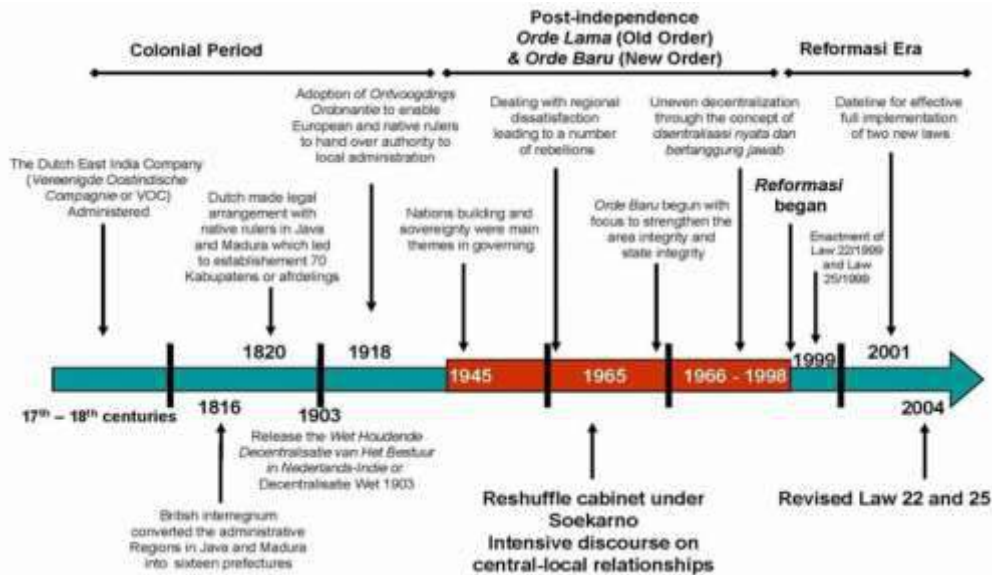


Figure 3: Timeline of Indonesia (Colonial Period - Reformasi era) by Hendra Yusran Siry

The arrival of Europeans began with Portuguese expeditions in the early 16th century, but the biggest influence came from the Dutch who founded the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) in 1602. The VOC dominated the spice trade and established trading posts in various parts of the archipelago. After the VOC went bankrupt in the late 18th century, power was taken over by the Dutch colonial government, which introduced a more structured system of colonial administration (Britanica, 2024). During the Dutch colonial period, various rebellions and resistance emerged in various regions, such as the Diponegoro War (1825-1830) and the Aceh War (1873-1904). These uprisings reflected dissatisfaction and resistance to colonial oppression as well as a desire for independence (Atlantic, 1956).

The early 20th century marked the rise of nationalism in Indonesia. Figures such as Tirta Adhi Soerjo, HOS Tjokroaminoto, and Soekarno led the nationalist movement through organizations such as Budi Utomo (1908), Sarekat Islam (1911), and the Indonesian National Party (1927). The culmination of this national awakening was the Youth Pledge on October 28, 1928, which affirmed the commitment of Indonesian youth to one homeland, one nation, and one language: Indonesian (Atlantic, 1956).

World War II brought major changes with the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942-1945). After the defeat of Japan, Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed Indonesia's independence on August 17, 1945. This proclamation initiated the period of the Indonesian National Revolution (1945-1949), during which Indonesia fought against Dutch attempts to recolonize the country (Atlantic, 1956). On 27 December 1949, the Netherlands finally recognized Indonesian sovereignty, marking the end of a long independence struggle. Soekarno

became Indonesia's first president, leading the new nation with the Pancasila ideology and a free-active foreign policy (Shenntyara Mirtha, 2016).

After a period of parliamentary democracy and unstable government, Soeharto took power through the New Order in 1966. The New Order brought political stability and economic growth, but was also characterized by authoritarianism and human rights abuses. Economic crisis and public pressure ended Soeharto's rule, and become start of Reformation era in 1998 (Shenntyara Mirtha, 2016).

Indonesia has undergone many changes and transformations in political and social aspects in the course of the Reformasi period. Other outcomes of this period are decentralization of power, more active involvement of civil society and legal changes. Free and fair elections let a more significant number of people engage in politics and improve human rights observance. This has placed Indonesia in the league of the largest democracies in the world with an assurance of pluralism tolerance (Shenntyara Mirtha, 2016).

To sum up, the history of Indonesia is full of a range of changes and, in general, it states that struggle is an inseparable part of any country's development. Traditional monarchies along with the latest decades all played their role in the accumulation of the multiple and multifaceted nature of the national identity. Understanding this history is important to appreciate the nation's journey and strengthen national identity in the future.

2.1.2 Pancasila

Pancasila, as the cornerstone of the Indonesian state, symbolizes the ideals shared by the Indonesian people, including divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice. Pancasila is more than simply a legislative text; it is the outcome of social interaction and understanding among Indonesia's various groups. Essentially, Pancasila serves as the foundation of the government system by operating and carrying out government-related operations in line with Pancasila. Pancasila is a collection of five noble core ideals that have existed and developed alongside the Indonesian people for a long time.

Pancasila was born out of an urgent need to find an ideology that could unite the Indonesian nation, which consists of various ethnicities, religions and cultures. As Indonesia prepared for independence from Japanese colonialism, the founding fathers Ir.Suekarno felt the need to formulate a state foundation that would reflect the diversity and aspirations of all Indonesians. Soekarno, in his speech before the Indonesian Independence Preparation

Investigation Board (BPUPKI) on June 1, 1945, proposed five principles that became known as Pancasila (Ipeka, 2021).

2.1.2.1 Five Principles of Indonesia

Pancasila is the basis of the Indonesian state, consisting of five essential principles: Belief in One Supreme God, Just and Civilized Humanity, The Unity of Indonesia, Democracy guided by wisdom in the Consultative/Representative, Social Justice for the entire People of Indonesia. Since Soekarno established Pancasila on June 1, 1945, it has served as the intellectual and ideological framework for Indonesia's national identity (Maulida et al., 2023). This essay will look at how Pancasila shapes Indonesia's national identity and what it means for national life.



Figure 4: The five principle of Indonesia (PANCASILA)

Pancasila has information in each principle that aligns with the ideas, ambitions, and expectations of the establishment of the Indonesian state. Here are the meaning of five principles of Indonesia that drown in figure 4 (Venita Januarie, 2023):

1. Believe in one Supreme God: The first principle of Pancasila recognizes the existence and importance of belief in God. the diversity of religious profile that there is Indonesia and it makes a point of calling for tolerance and accommodativeness in all religious beliefs. Therefore, owing to this principle the

latter promotes formation of a national identity that is receptive and tolerant of other religious preferences.

2. Humanitarian ideal: The second fundamental principle focuses on the role of mankind, justice and the values of civilization. Thus, it represents the Indonesian nation's concerns with human rights and social justice issues. Respect for human dignity and the building of humane and just national identity in the country increased.
3. The Unity of Indonesia: The third one is focusing on the unity of the given nation. Amidst the priceless ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity, this principle defines and holds the solid national identity of the country. Unity is one of the Indonesian's cherished values, which is supported by the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.
4. Democracy guided by wisdom in the Consultative/Representative: The fourth principle entails democracy and consultation in coming up with the conclusions. It also embodies the involvement of the people in common decision making processes as well as governance based on people's simplices. Relative to this principle sustains a democratic and participative culture of nationalism.
5. Social Justice for the entire People of Indonesia: Another principle is also highlighted, which is the principle of the welfare and justice of people in society. It reflects a commitment to poverty alleviation, economic equity and social justice. This principle helps shape a national identity that cares about the well-being and justice of all citizens.

2.1.2.2 Pancasila in Practice

Pancasila is not only the national ideology but also manifested in various aspects of the life of the nation and state. In education, Pancasila is taught as a compulsory subject to instill basic values to the younger generation. In the legal system, Pancasila serves as the foundation of the constitution and laws and regulations, ensuring that policies and laws made are in line with the values espoused by the nation (Salam, 2022).

In politics, Pancasila guides the practice of democracy in Indonesia, ensuring that the government works based on the principles of populism and justice. In addition, Pancasila also guides international relations, with Indonesia promoting principles such as peace, justice, and international cooperation in global forums (Maulida et al., 2023).

Although Pancasila provides a strong foundation for national identity, its implementation does not always go smoothly. Corruption, social injustice, and inter-religious and ethnic conflicts still pose challenges. However, Pancasila remains an ideal that continues to be fought for by various elements of society, government, and social organizations to create a better Indonesia.

Pancasila has shaped Indonesia's national identity through five principles that reflect the values of diversity, humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice. Despite facing various challenges in its implementation, Pancasila remains the philosophical and ideological foundation that unites the Indonesian nation and guides the country's journey towards a better future.

2.1.3 Bhinneka Tunggal Ika

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika or Unity in Diversity is the official national motto of the Republic of Indonesia. This motto means “We are of many kinds, but we are one.” The motto appears on the Indonesian national emblem Garuda Pancasila (the Eagle), on the scroll gripped by the Garuda's claws (Figure 3). Indonesia's national identity highly values ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity, which are integrated into one national unity. This concept was formed through a long process of social reconciliation and integration among various groups of people.

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika originates from Kakawin Sutasoma, an ancient Javanese literary work written by Mpu Tantular in the 14th century. Mpu Tantular used this expression to emphasize the importance of tolerance and harmony between Hindus and Buddhists in Java at the time. It was later adopted as Indonesia's national motto to reflect the spirit of unity amidst the nation's diversity (Rahmat Salam, 2022).

Indonesia, as an archipelago consisting of more than thousand islands and hundreds of ethnic groups, faces great challenges in building a strong national identity. The motto “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika,” which means “Different but still one,” is an important cornerstone of the country. This motto not only describes Indonesia's ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity, but also emphasizes the importance of unity amidst these differences. This thesis will explore how *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* shapes Indonesia's national identity, as well as its implications for social, political, and cultural life.

Indonesia consists of 17,000 islands, 38 provinces, 300 ethnic groups and around 700 local languages (AFS-USA, 2024). This diversity is a tremendous cultural wealth, but it can also be a source of conflict if not managed properly. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* plays an important

role in shaping an inclusive national identity by recognizing and appreciating these differences. Through this motto, every ethnic and cultural group in Indonesia feels recognized and valued, which in turn strengthens the sense of togetherness and unity (Rahmat Salam, 2022).

Indonesia is a country with a majority Muslim population, but also has Christians, Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists and Confucianists. The principle of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* explains the importance of interfaith tolerance and religious harmony. This is reflected in the daily lives of Indonesians who coexist peacefully despite their different faiths. The government also always try to maintain this tolerance through various policies that they made to support religious freedom and prevent discrimination (Rahmat Salam, 2022).

2.1.3.1 The Implications of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* for Social, Political, And Cultural Life of Indonesia

While diversity has been an important foundation in shaping Indonesia's national identity, there are still challenges to be faced. Enforcing equality through the emphasis of the cultural diversities as a part of the Indonesian identity remains a pertinent challenge at the country. Racism and sectarianism together with persecution still remain a leading issue in some regions. Hence, everyone, institutions, civil society and the government included, must strive and work together to improve the appreciation of this value.

The government needs to carry on with policies promoting Diversity and inclusion and be decisive on Discrimination and prejudice. Another reason means to focusing on the continued spreading of the platform and the education of the public on the significance of diversity and unity. Intercultural dialogue and protection of minority rights is also carried out by the support of civil society and non-governmental organizations. These are *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in Social and Political Life (Rahmat Salam, 2022)

In Education is a powerful medium through which this system incurs values, which will be passed down to future generations. This ecosystem at least teaches the Indonesian Youth, the importance of 'Unity in Diversity' with the subjects of History, Culture and religion taught in schools with the motive of build positive perception and respect to variety in Indonesia, thereby building a strong National Identity.

According to political scenarios '*Bhinneka Tinggal Ika*' is being widely used as a main reason to promote democratic inclusion among the citizens of Indonesia from different walks of life. Political Participation among different religion, ethnic etc. communities by their political representative to depicts government democratic policies reflect pluralism /

inclusiveness conductual. This picturized diversity and community interests are embedded in regional politics, as expressed in legislative representation and executive branch in government, and merged in decentralization policies to enable regions to adjust the management of their local policy in accordance of the discrepant conditions of immediacy.

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, in its social and cultural sense, extends inter-cultural dialogues and interaction where several cultural festivals, art exchanges, and local community happenings are usually seeped in the mist of multi-layered diversity of Indonesia. Mass Media and creative industries also contribute to the pursuit of concrete policy goals by influencing the formation, implementation, and output of public policies.

One can not cardboard jump two centuries, but Indonesia has been progressing all the time due to *Bhinneka Tinggal Ika* in education, politics and socio-culture, to give away their idea about strong unified nation promoting free education and public services for everyone - alongside with healthcare system too - though not fully implemented till date, but ideally it should be done asap results this year.

A broad sign recognizing and celebrating the country's ethnic, cultural and religious variety, balanced by declaring the importance of togetherness above superimposed others' judgment purviews, is undoubtedly emphasizing the necessity for building unity for Indonesia amid its peculiar compliant contrasts. Nonetheless, going deeper to the present challenges and the future, we are to keep in mind that these ideals, could be instilled into every individual through education, predominantly.

2.1.4 The Influence of National Identity on Indonesia's Foreign Policy

Indonesia's Foreign Policy is indivisible from the Indonesian National Identity, as acquired through historical, cultural and geopolitical circumstances. Indonesia's Ethnic, Religious and Cultural Identity Politics can be relatively destructive in dividing a united Indonesia's fabric. It could conceivably imperil the country's status. Ever since the day of its declaration of independence on 17 August 1945, Indonesia has sought the proper balance between its individuality vis-à-vis its international surroundings, even when extended to the ups and downs in a long line of alliances with global powers.

For Indonesia, its national entity has a considerable impact on foreign policy. This directly linked to it being a self-a country and its firm relations with world countries. Ideas are conceptualized within the boundary of national identity formation and as a free, sovereign

country .One of the things that comes to mind is Indonesia's Foreign Policy formulation based on it's own identity, created in the nation's daily interactions.

One concrete example is the “Independent and Active” policy that has been implemented since the Soekarno era (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, n.d.-b). This policy reflects Indonesia's national identity that wants to place political relations with other countries based on mutual respect. Indonesia's anti-colonialist and anti-imperialistic national identity is also an important factor in determining Indonesia's foreign stance, especially regarding the Palestine-Israel issue (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2023).

In addition, Indonesia's identity as the world's largest Muslim country also influences its foreign policy, although it is not a major factor as it is in Malaysia. The moderate Islamic identity underlined by President SBY is also part of Indonesia's national identity which is then articulated in foreign policy (Khairunnisa, 2021). In a broader context, Indonesia's national identity, which is linked to Pancasila, ideology, strategic culture, and the conception of the national role in the international system, also shapes the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy. Here are some of the ways in which Indonesia's national identity influences its foreign policy:

- a. **The Non-Aligned Principle:** Based on colonial experience and the values of Pancasila, Indonesia emphasizes the non-aligned principle in its foreign policy. Indonesia seeks not to be involved in major power blocs and prefers to play the role of a neutral mediator in international conflicts (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2023).
- b. **Multilateral Diplomacy:** A national identity that values diversity and collective cooperation is reflected in Indonesia's commitment to multilateral diplomacy. Indonesia is active in various international organizations such as the UN, ASEAN, and OIC, and often encourages conflict resolution through international dialogue and cooperation (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, n.d.).
- c. **Promotion of Humanitarian Values:** The values of humanity and social justice in Pancasila encourage Indonesia to actively promote human rights and justice on the international stage. For example, Indonesia often takes positions that support peaceful resolution of international conflicts and promote sustainable development (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, n.d).

Based on constructivism theory, an examination of Indonesia's national identity reveals that social interaction and social construction play a complicated role in the formation of this identity. Strong national identity is formed by the principles found in Pancasila, the motto

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and common historical experiences. This national identity in turn shapes Indonesia's foreign policy. We can better comprehend Indonesia's interactions with the outside world and how it formulates its foreign policy to represent its national interests and values by looking at national identity creation through the constructivist lens.

2.2 National Identity of Pakistan

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is a country of 245 million people of which 98.19 percent are Muslims. In 2024, Pakistan will officially replace Indonesia as the largest Muslim population in the world (Widya, 2024). Various religions and cultures have entered the country, but it is the influence of Islam that has taken root the most. The Islamic religion and way of life has given the country a special identity (Mashad, 1996).

As a result of this identity, Pakistan was historically a unitary territory with India, but due to religious differences that were integral to the two great religions and cultures of Hinduism and Islam, the Asian subcontinent was divided into two countries, Pakistan and India. History records, although initially Muhammad Ali Jinnah with his Muslim League tried to cooperate with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Ghandi and his Congress party, but in the 1940s Ali Jinnah and his friends became increasingly suspicious of Hindu groups who tended to be dominant. Jinnah eventually called for two Indian nations, Muslim and Hindu, which had different social orders and were two civilizations whose ideas were largely contradictory and impossible to unite (admin, 2002). On August 14, 1947, the Indian subcontinent was forced to split into two parts, Pakistan with a Muslim majority and India with a Hindu majority (Holt et al., 1977).

Unlike most countries in the world whose formation was based on territory, race, language, and ethnic background, the establishment of the State of Pakistan was based more on a common religious community to become a Muslim nation (Symonds, 1976). Therefore, Pakistan's national identity is rooted in Islamic ideology as the country was founded to be a homeland for Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. Pakistan's history is characterized by struggles for sovereignty and independence, as well as prolonged conflicts with India especially over the Kashmir issue. Pakistan's national identity emphasizes Islamic solidarity and the importance of defending national sovereignty, which is reflected in its proactive foreign policy in the Islamic world and often confrontational towards India.

However, due to various problems, where the issue of national identity was eclipsed by basic issues of national security, the Pakistani nation in the early years of its independence did

not devote attention to the realization of Islamic identity, but focused more on political issues that ensured the survival of the state. This was mainly due to four factors (Mashad, 1996), *first*, the untimely death of Pakistan's founding and unifying architect Muhammad Ali Jinnah on September 11, 1948 (admin, 2002). *Second*, the assassination of the first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan on October 30, 1951. *Third*, the lack of a clear consensus between the conservatives and the secular modernists on the positive issue of state ideology. The conservative faction wanted a relationship between religion and the State with sharia guidelines, namely integrated Islamic law that regulates all aspects of life. The secular modernists wanted a nation state based on Western legislation; *fourth*, Pakistan's leaders were not well-educated in their orientation towards a modern Islamic state. On the one hand, educated and Western-oriented political leaders lack understanding of Islam, especially in defining a State. On the other hand, religious leaders with religious educational backgrounds were less responsive to the challenges of reform and modernity.

Thus, the main difficulty Pakistan faces is in accepting the responsibility of not simply replicating or following an Islamic ideal of the past or the secular realities of the present, but of a new basic overhaul, a basic framework for a modern State and society that incorporates and derives Islamic sentiments, ideals and values based on popular support for Pakistan's independence. In other words, since Islam is not an ideology, but should be used as a source to form an ideology for Muslims, they must be able to harmonize the teachings of Islam with the challenges of modern society.

From this, it is clear that whatever developments take place and whoever is in power in Pakistan, be it a military or civilian regime, Islam remains an unavoidable factor in the politics of the State of Pakistan. Because Pakistan's national identity is a multidimensional construct created by a combination of historical, cultural, religious, and political influences. Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has faced the difficulty of developing a coherent national identity despite ethnic and linguistic diversity. This research delves into the fundamental components that form Pakistan's national identity, including the history of Pakistan, the role of Islam, the influence of ethnic and linguistic diversity, and the continual struggle for national cohesiveness. Here are some of the key elements that make up Pakistan's national identity:

2.2.1 History of Pakistan

The experience of the fight for independence from British colonialism and the protracted confrontation with India had been shaping Pakistan's national identity, especially

over Kashmir. Pakistan's national narrative was shaped by the battle with India, which served to further solidify Pakistan's status as an independent nation dedicated to the Muslim cause (Symonds, 1976).

The history and long journey struggle for independence of Pakistan is filled with political, social, and cultural dynamics. Pakistan independent is not only the result of a struggle against British colonial rule but was also born out of the strong desire of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent to have an independent state. They were fight for living their social, cultural and religious lives without discrimination. In this chapter, the researcher will explore historical journey of Pakistan to fight the colonial era to get their independence, as well as the important figures and key events that played a role in the process.

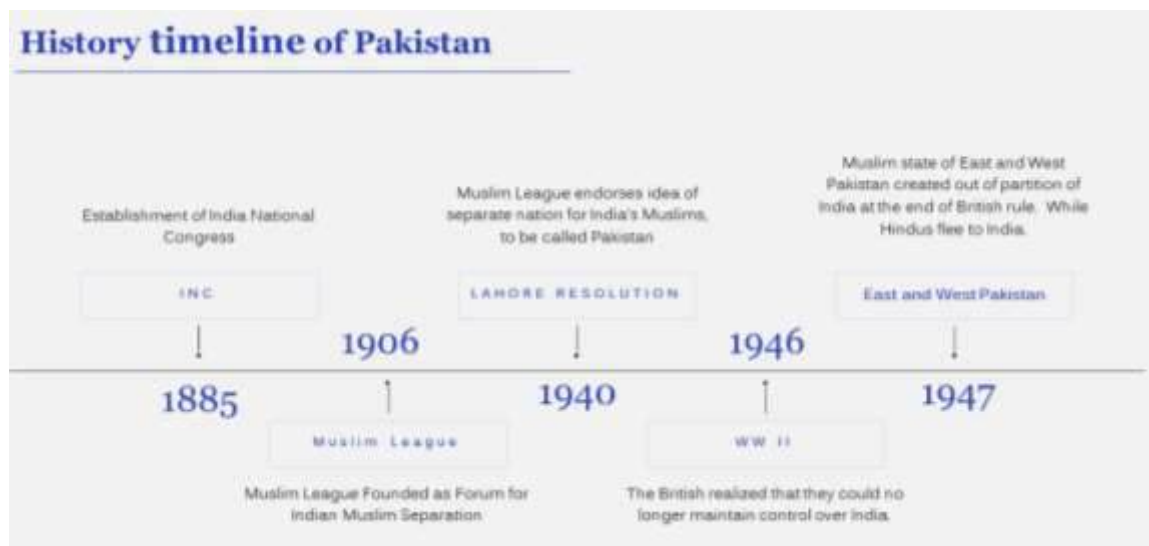


Figure 5: History of Pakistan

India was part of the British Empire since the 19th century. British domination of India brought about major changes in political, economic and social structures. Under colonial rule, Indians experienced various forms of exploitation and discrimination. In addition, the British implemented a “divide and rule”. This policy was used to keep the Indians divided so that they would be easier to control. policy that often exacerbated tensions between different ethnic and religious communities in India (Wynbrandt, 2009).

It was in this context that the Indian nationalist movement began to grow. Initially led by the Indian National Congress (INC) founded in 1885, this nationalist movement fought for reforms and greater rights for the Indian people (Wynbrandt, 2009). However, over time, there was a realization among Indian Muslims that their interests were often neglected in the Hindu majority-led struggle. This led to the formation of the Muslim League in 1906 led by figures

such as the Aga Khan and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who later became key leaders in Pakistan's struggle for independence (FamilySearch, 2024).

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a central figure in Pakistan's struggle for independence. Jinnah, who was initially a leading member of the Indian National Congress, later decided that Muslims in India needed their own political party to protect their interests. Under his leadership, the Muslim League fought for the political rights of Muslims and promoted the idea of the “Two-Nation Theory”. This theory held that Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations with different ways of life, traditions, and religions, and that Muslims needed a separate state (Zakaria, 2004).

Jinnah led political efforts to gain recognition of the need for an independent Muslim state. In 1940, at a Muslim League session in Lahore, Jinnah put forward a formal demand for the establishment of Pakistan as a separate state (BBC News, 2011). This Lahore Resolution became an important milestone in Pakistan's struggle for independence.

The struggle for independence was not an easy process. In 1942, the British launched the “Quit India Movement” supported by the Indian National Congress, while the Muslim League remained focused on their demand for a separate Muslim state. Tensions between Hindu and Muslim communities increased, often sparking communal violence (Wynbrandt, 2009).

In 1946, after World War II, the British realized that they could no longer maintain control over India. In an attempt to end the chaos and find a peaceful solution, the British sent a Cabinet Mission to India to negotiate the independence process (Y. Khan, 2017). However, the differences between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League over the structure of India's future government were too great to bridge.

Finally, on June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, announced a plan to divide India into two independent states: India and Pakistan. On August 14, 1947, Pakistan officially became an independent state, followed by India on August 15, 1947. Pakistan's independence was marked by the separation of the Provinces of Punjab and Bengal, which led to massive displacement and communal violence on both sides of the border (Y. Khan, 2017).

2.2.1.1 Post-Independence Challenges

After independence, Pakistan faced numerous internal challenges. One of these was overcoming communal violence and massive population displacement. The new country also

faced significant economic challenges, including building infrastructure, developing industries and improving people's welfare. In addition, the integration of various ethnic and religious groups into one country was also a major challenge.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as Pakistan's first Governor General, worked hard to stabilize the new country. However, his death in 1948 left a significant leadership vacuum. Over the following decades, Pakistan experienced various periods of military and civilian rule, as well as prolonged conflict with India, including the wars of 1947-1948, 1965, and 1971 that led to the partition of East Pakistan into the nation of Bangladesh. This period was often characterized by political instability and conflict between ethnic groups (*Ian Talbot, 2024*). Despite these challenges, the spirit and dedication of the Pakistani people to build a strong and independent state remained steadfast. Here are the post-independent challenges:

a. The Partition of Bangladesh

One of the most significant events in Pakistan's post-independence history was the separation of East Pakistan into the country of Bangladesh in 1971 (Office of the Historian, n.d.). Tensions between West Pakistan (now Pakistan) and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) have long existed, mainly due to cultural, linguistic and economic differences. Although East Pakistan had a larger population, they often felt neglected and treated unfairly by the central government in West Pakistan.

In 1970, general elections were held, and the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won the majority of seats in East Pakistan. However, the central government was reluctant to recognize the election results, which sparked protests and tensions that escalated into armed conflict. Military intervention by the central government in West Pakistan in March 1971 resulted in a civil war, which led to the declaration of Bangladesh's independence on March 26, 1971. With Indian military support, the war ended in December 1971 with victory for both Bangladeshi and Indian forces, and international recognition of Bangladesh's independence (Y. Khan, 2017).

b. The Kashmir Issue

The Kashmir issue has been a long-standing source of conflict between Pakistan and India since their independence. Kashmir is a Muslim-majority region contested by both countries. At the time of India's partition, the ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh, decided to join India, which triggered the first armed conflict between India and Pakistan in 1947-1948.

The conflict mediated with a UN-mediated ceasefire and the de facto division of Kashmir into Indian-held and Pakistani-held areas (*Jammu and Kashmir Dispute*, n.d.).

However, the status of Kashmir remains a highly sensitive issue and has sparked several wars and armed conflicts between India and Pakistan. Both countries claim the territory in full and have sought to control it through various diplomatic and military means. The conflict has also fueled tensions and nationalist sentiments in both countries, impacting diplomatic relations and regional stability.

2.2.1.2 The Impact and Influence of History in shaping the country's identity

Pakistan's historical experience and struggle for independence has shaped the country's national and political identity. The struggle for independence instilled values of freedom, equality and justice in Pakistani society. These all are still affect on the relation of Pakistan towards its neighbors, especially India.

Subsequent impact of the nature of independence on governance structures and political dynamics in Pakistan. Once again, in Pakistan, the experience of independence had an implication in the context of internal national governance systems and politics. The process of democratization was marked by factionalism, which hindered the development of a stable and democratic political culture. In addition to mainstream politics, the movement saw several political parties forming. However, the struggle for sovereignty among those who waged the war of resistance also fostered the culture of unity.

History of Pakistan independence struggle is a story of courage, brave fighting steadfastness, and unswerving determination to achieve our noble objectives for the freedom and justice of the liberation from colonial bondage

a lot of other heroes and heroines of the different times also contributed their might to nation building struggle. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League organized a powerful struggle against the Indian Congress and the British imperialism and achieved their goal of creating an independent homeland from Muslims of the South East Asia, however Pakistan was faced with extraordinary problems that have posed constant threats to founder's dream of a strong democratic nation. The Pakistani nation is deeply committed to unity and development, despite facing various trials and tribulations throughout its history as an independent state.

2.2.2 Role of Islam

Pakistan was created to provide Muslims who resided in the Indian subcontinent a place of their own. People's state that achieved through the political struggle waged by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League. After gaining independence in 1947 from British colonial rule Islam to have served as root for Pakistan's national and political identity. Pakistan was formed to build a country or a state for the protection of Muslims within the Indian subcontinent and Islam as a way of life, and as they follow the Islamic culture. The advanced idea of developing an Islamic state has both a religious and a political feature, making Pakistan's internal and bilateral politics deeply associated with each other. This study which is a work in progress will try to track back, how the transformation as a result of a revolution from Islam set Islamic flag as the state ideology of Pakistan and as Islam plays as a consensus value in politics and society (Cornell, 2006).

The history of Pakistan's founding cannot be separated from the struggle of Muslims in India for their political and social rights amidst the dominance of the Hindu majority. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, played a key role in fighting for a separate state for Muslims. Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory argued that the Muslims and Hindus of the Indian subcontinent were two distinct peoples with different ways of life, traditions and religions, requiring separate states (Zakaria, 2004).

2.2.2.1 Religion and Culture Factors in the Formation of Pakistan

The main factors that led to the creation of Pakistan were religion and culture. This factor became the main reason for influencing the lives of Indian Muslims and their daily lives and finally decided to become an independent state. Due to religious and cultural factors, the Muslim and Hindu communities had a totally different basis in terms of law, philosophy, culture, and social structure. They lived together but never united (Burki, 1991).

Hindus are sociologically divided according to the caste system. In Hindu society cows are sacred as well as the Brahmin caste which is the highest caste. The lowest level of society is Sudra. In the next development, the highest caste class considers people who are outside Hinduism are included in this Sudra group, including Muslims. The Sudra caste community has always been victimized by those of higher caste. On the other hand, Islam teaches equality, regardless of race, color, ethnicity and language. From the eighth century to the early nineteenth century, before all Islamic rule collapsed in 1857, although the two communities were kept separate, no serious clashes occurred. When Islamic rule fell and the British came to power,

Muslims became the main target of the British. It was also during this period when Hindus were always hostile to Muslims in India until India's independence, Hindus continued to wage hostilities in every aspect of life which later became a confrontation between Islam and Hinduism in religious, cultural, educational, economic and political fields.

Under British rule, Hindus were used to ridicule the Muslim faith. Under British rule, Muslims were divided in aspects of their lives such as education, economics and politics. This condition caused most Muslims to become poor, while Hindus dominated almost all fields of life (Ganguly, 1994).

In an analysis by Richard Symon, there were major disturbances between the 1920s and 1940s. These were riots between Muslims and Hindus that were punctuated by short periods of peace. According to Symon, the cause of the chaos and unrest was religious and cultural. Muharram ceremonies performed by Muslims conflicted with Hindu celebrations, temple bells or Hindu marriage ceremonies disturbed Muslims who were praying in the mosque, the sacrifice of cows by Muslims on Eid al-Adha offended Hindu sentiments because cows for them are very sacred animals. And also caused by writings that cornered certain religions which then ignited anger and hostility (Abbott, 1968).

These stark differences in terms of religion and culture are undeniably one of the important factors that lead to tensions that lead to social unrest that occurs between Muslims and Hindus, and this factor is also one of the factors that makes most Indian Muslim leaders and communities want to have freedom and equal social justice, especially for Muslims. In turn, this led to the desire to secede from India and form a country with its own sovereignty. This had an impact on the economic, educational and political factors of Indian Muslims:

1. The influence of religion and culture on the Economy: The contrasts in economic life between Muslims and Hindus were so stark that it created social jealousy among Muslims.

During the time of Islamic rule in India, Hindus were given their rightful place in the military, administration and revenue collection. However, after the fall of the Mughals, Muslims were targeted by the British and Hindus. The Hindus were given a good place in government offices. They also dominated in the business world. Some important factories became joint ventures between the Hindus and the British (Robinson, 1997). For this reason, the Muslim economy became drastically weakened.

2. Religious and cultural influences on education: Before British education, Muslims had their own education system. But after the British occupation, Muslims were not allowed to enter higher education. In schools, Hindu and Muslim students could not mix together because Hindus viewed Muslims as inferior. Muslims were not given the opportunity to opt for a more professional education. The replacement of the Islamic education system and Persian language with the English system and language hindered the progress of Muslim culture and education. Muslim parents were reluctant to send their children to English schools. They feared the Christianization efforts of the British. During 1880-1881, the number of Hindu students studying in British schools was 36,686, while the number of Muslim students was only 363. In 1878, there were 3155 Hindus who completed their studies compared to only 57 Muslim students (Ahmad Basuni, n.d.).

Since the education system was British, and Hindus had a high place in the eyes of the British government, Muslim education was underdeveloped.

3. The influence of religion and culture on Politics: Since the collapse of the Mughal Empire, Muslims have been politically disintegrating. After 1857 Muslims no longer had political power. In 1885, the Indian National Congress was formed. But it was dominated by Hindus. So in the interest of Muslims, the Indian Muslim league was formed. Hindu political leaders like Ghandi, Nehru and others never accepted Muslims as a nation, hence they had no political power. In 1928, Nehru reported a total rejection of recognizing Muslims as a nation. Finally, they allowed Muslims to think about their political existence for a state of their own. The culmination of the Muslims' political agreement finally led to the path of the process towards independence on August 14, 1947, when Muslims demanded a separate state. However, religious, cultural, educational and political factors made strong the two-state theory that led Indian Muslims to independence and made Pakistan an Islamic state (Hunter, 1988).

The factors above are graduatively the causes of the formation of the State of Pakistan, which has an Islamic ideology. In this case, Muslims in relation to Hindus, after the British occupation of India, suffered great losses in the aspects of life of Muslim communities in India, especially in terms of economy and politics. In addition, religious and cultural factors that are quite contrary to Hindus and even contradictory are also important factors. Because, this difference has triggered riots, hostilities and even wars that have not taken a few victims. Based

on these factors, Indian Muslims wanted to separate themselves from India and create their own state which was finally realized on August 14, 1947 through a long process of Muslim struggle.

2.2.2.2 Islam as Ideology of Pakistan

On August 14, 1947, Pakistan achieved independence as a Muslim-majority country. In his maiden speech, Jinnah emphasized the importance of a state that was based on Islamic principles but also respected the rights of minorities. Although Jinnah himself often emphasized the importance of secularism in government, the influence of Islam as a state ideology began to take root in Pakistani politics and society (Zakaria, 2004).

Constitution and Islamic Law; The role of Islam as a state ideology was further emphasized with the drafting of Pakistan's constitution. Pakistan's 1956 constitution established the country as an Islamic Republic. In 1973, a new constitution, in force until now, further strengthened the position of Islam in the life of the state. This constitution states that all laws must conform to the teachings of Islam and must not contradict the Quran and Sunnah (*In the Light of the Country's Laws*, n.d.). To implement Islamic principles in the legal system, Pakistan established various institutions, including the Council of Islamic Ideology, which is tasked with reviewing laws and ensuring their conformity with Islamic teachings. In addition, the Federal Shariat Court was established to handle cases related to Islamic law.

Influence in Politics and Society; Islam as a state ideology has a great influence in Pakistani politics. Islamic political parties, such as Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, play an important role in the country's political scene (M. Khan, 2024). They often influence government policies and the legislative process to ensure that laws and public policies are in line with Islamic teachings. In society, Islam is the cornerstone of everyday life and national identity. Religious education is an important part of the school curriculum, and Islamic values are taught at various levels of education. The media and popular culture are also heavily influenced by Islamic teachings, reflecting the country's strong religious identity.

Although Islam as a state ideology has broad support, its implementation is not without challenges. The conflict between conservative Islamic groups and more secular or liberal elements of society is one of the main challenges.

Radicalization of society is another significant issue. Pakistan's social landscape has been plagued by extremist groups espousing violence motivated by religion for long time.

Aside from taking the fight to militants, the government in Islamabad must push to counter radicalization while adhering to moderate and inclusive Islamic principles.

The 1971 transfer of power from Pakistan center to the new nation of Bangladesh also exposed ethnicity and language as major issues in Pakistan. Ethnicity and language are sources of strength but also conflict. Pakistan needs to reconcile its nationhood integrating its multiple ethnicities and languages under an Islamic rubric.

Islam the state religion of Pakistan is no longer a third rail in politics. It becoming the largest challenge to the Pakistan constitution. The principles of Islam are the foundation on which the country was built, ever since independence from the British. These principles have shaped politics and society in Pakistan. But the implementation of this ideology has its pitfalls, with ongoing social divides causing divisive conflicts between conservatives and liberals, infiltration of violent extremist cells in Pakistan, radicalization which is caused by weak recruitment restraints and the propagation of radical ideas by extremists and ethnic and linguistic disputes. But the dream of a nation which is established in line with Islamic principles and values is still that which unifies Pakistanis in anticipation of tomorrow.

2.2.3 The Influence of National Identity on Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Pakistan's national identity is grounded in Islamic ideology because it was established to provide Muslims in the Indian subcontinent with their own country. The struggle for sovereignty that has been a defining characteristic of Pakistan since its founding, along with the associated but extended conflict with India, has shaped Pakistani history. Pakistan's national identity underscores Islamic unity and the value of safeguarding national sovereignty, a mandate that has translated into its engaged foreign policy in the Muslim world and its adversarial approach toward India.

Pakistan's foreign policy is largely dependent on its national identity. Pakistan was created as a separate country for Muslims, and it has transformed into a constitutional democracy that incorporates a number of different regions, tribes, and Islamic sects into its political system. Pakistan's radical Islamic credentials have inhibited its position on many issues, in particular those regarding Kashmir. Since then, all Pakistani governments have seen the reinvigoration of nationalism and the creation of a shared national identity as critical.

Pakistan's national identity as an Islamic state was formulated by prioritizing its Islamic and regional cultures alongside Pakistan ideology. Consequently, its foreign policy goals have included expanding relationships with Muslim countries while at the same time continuing to

position Pakistan as an Islamic power. Moreover, the role that tribes have played in national politics has strongly skewed Pakistan's foreign policy designs. Finally, the daunting nation-building process that began after the country gained independence also posed many obstacles to Pakistan as they sought to weave a unified national identity out of their many diverse cultural identities.

One way to understand the national identity is through constructivism, which affects the priorities of a country. This constructivist approach to viewing a nation is crucial when studying a country's foreign policy. Below are some ways of how Pakistan national identity plays an important role in its national interest, and its foreign policy is influenced by it.

Policy Towards India; The conflict with India, predominantly around the Kashmir region, has been the defining feature of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan's national identity, which has been defined by a history of conflict and struggle in the name of Islam, led them to take a firm stance on Kashmir openly supporting the Kashmiris' right of self-determination and strongly criticizing across the border Indian policies. This reflects their identity as a state that inspires towards justice for Muslims.

Religion respects/loyalties; In general, Pakistan may, additionally to global passivity and sabotage, much rather liaise with Muslim countries by operating from an angle of international Islamic unity vis-à-vis religious bonds, which partly entails the sharing of zones of influence.

Multilateral diplomacy; Pakistan is a member of various international organizations e.g. the UN and OIC, and contributes to global peacekeeping. A national identity defined by notions of solidarity and justice, which favors Muslims, urges Pakistan to play an active role in resolving conflicts and other global challenges like climate change or poverty eradication through multilateral diplomacy.

Defining national identity through constructivist theory demonstrates how this identity is not something that exists naturally, but is shaped by interaction and social construction . Thus, strong national identity is the result of Islam's role as a source of political values, shared historical experiences, and affiliate with Muslim countries and then leads to its implications for Pakistan's foreign policy.

We can understand Pakistan's relations with other states and its overall shaping of foreign policy by understanding its national identity and how it was constructed. By understanding national identity formation through the lens of constructivism, we can better understand how

Pakistan interacts with the world and shapes its foreign policy to reflect its national values and interests.

CHAPTER 3: CONSTRUCTIVISM ANALYSIS IN PAKISTAN-INDONESIA BILATERAL RELATIONS

Bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Pakistan offers an interesting example to analyze through the lens of constructivism theory in international relations. Constructivism, which emphasizes the role of ideas, norms and identities in shaping interactions between states, can provide deep insights into how the two countries build and sustain their relationship. With strong cultural and religious backgrounds, as well as a long history of cooperation in various fields, the constructivist approach helps us understand that the dynamics of this bilateral relationship go beyond material and strategic interests.

Pakistan and Indonesia, as two of the world's largest Muslim-majority countries, have a relationship based on shared religious and cultural values. Therefore, the two countries can provide many opportunities to grow together for mutual benefit through partnership. Historically, Indonesia and Pakistan share close fraternal ties and strong diplomatic relations based on shared religious, cultural and social values. As two of the world's most populous Muslim countries, both countries continue to enhance more productive and mutually beneficial cooperative relations. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1950, the two countries have cooperated in various fields such as economy, politics and culture. The friendship and solidarity formed through international forums show how their respective identities influence the foreign policies of both countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan).

In the early days of independence, relations between Indonesia and Pakistan were strengthened through various international forums, one of which was the Asia-Africa Conference in 1955 in Bandung (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 2015). This conference was an important turning point in the history of relations between the two countries, where they jointly promoted solidarity and cooperation among the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa.

In the economic sector, both countries have signed various trade agreements aimed at increasing the volume of bilateral trade and reducing tariff barriers. The Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) signed in 2013 is one of the significant steps to strengthen economic relations by expanding market access for products from both countries (PBC, 2022b). This economic relationship includes not only trade in goods, but also investment in important sectors such as energy, infrastructure and agriculture.

Cooperation in security is a significant aspect of the bilateral ties. Both governments frequently hold joint military exercises and work together on counter-terrorism and other regional security problems (ISPR, 2019). This shows the equal desire to maintain stability and security in South Asia and the Southeast Asia region.

In addition, social and cultural relations between Indonesia and Pakistan continue to grow through various cultural, educational and academic exchange programs. Scholarship and student exchange programs between universities in both countries have opened up new opportunities for cooperation in education and strengthened people-to-people relations (Embassy of Republik Indonesia in Pakistan, 2021a).

However, like any other international relationship, the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Pakistan is not free from challenges. Foreign policy differences, regional geopolitical dynamics, and economic issues are some of the factors that need to be managed wisely by both countries. The future possibilities and the way forward in Indo-Pak bilateral relations are still bright. There is still tremendous potential for cooperation in various fields, and bilateral and cooperation agreements with international and regional organizations could be signed by both to rationalize cooperation and achieve common purposes.

The research sets out to demonstrate and investigate the Indo-Pak relationship, identifying key constructs that utilise an ideal constructivist approach. The principal goal of this paper is to show how positive identity and social norms contribute to develop foreign policy. Both countries tend to affect their national policies with the role that played in their states, basing my arguments of two Muslim countries like Indonesia and Pakistan, I am considering Muslims identity play essential feature in shape of policies and actions. An example from this is that Islamic countries tend to support each other on issues at the international front. This may include backing Palestine and coordinating against terrorism (Embassy of Republik Indonesia in Pakistan, 2021).

This is a constructivist approach to look into shared norms and identities that show that they generated cooperation on certain issues and directed the two countries' understanding and responses towards global concerns as well. By contrast, diplomatic agendas, and even more so international behavior, taken by Pakistan and Indonesia frequently evoke Islamic reference. Constructivism sheds light on how changes in international norms - human rights, say, or sustainable development - are apprehended and inculcated in their bilateral policy frames.

This research aims to undertake an exploration of bilateral relations in the Indo-Pak setting, stretching between Pakistan and Indonesia, making sense of and elaborating the identities social norms affecting foreign policy. We endeavor to do this so we can understand better than hitherto possible why countries cooperate and the challenges they must overcome respectively, entrusted as they are with securing their individual futures. This analysis will also help in formulating strategies to strengthen bilateral relations in the future, by capitalizing on the strength of shared identities and existing norms. This research will explore the history of Indonesia-Pakistan relations and analyze Indonesia-Pakistan bilateral relations.

3.1 History of Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and Pakistan

Pakistan and Indonesia have long-standing ties based on mutual respect and support at both the regional and global levels. Pakistan began diplomatic ties with Indonesia in 1950. In 2020, both nations commemorated the 70th anniversary of their diplomatic ties. Pakistan places a high value on its connections with Indonesia, which were established by late President Soekarno and Pakistan's current leadership, including Quaid-e-Azam. During the 1965 India-Pakistan War, the late President Soekarno gave unparalleled military backing to Pakistan (Pakistan Embassy in Indonesia, 2023).

Diplomatic ties between Indonesia and Pakistan were formally established in 1950, shortly after both nations earned independence from colonial domination (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, n.d.-a). Indonesia obtained independence from the Netherlands in 1945, while Pakistan broke away from British India and became an independent state in 1947. Both nations have comparable historical experiences in the fight against colonialism, which formed the foundation of their early diplomatic relations.

Pakistan and Indonesia have historically close ties as reflected in Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's call for support to around 600 Muslim soldiers in the British Army stationed in the region (Indonesia, Malaysia) in 1945, who later participated in the Indonesian War of Independence under Sukarno. Furthermore, in the 1965 War between India and Pakistan, two Indonesian naval submarines and their crews were deployed in support of Pakistan which held Karachi for nearly two months. Defense cooperation between the two countries is regular, friendly and diverse. (Rumahkedua, 2023).

This relationship was further strengthened by state visits and meetings between the leaders of Indonesia and Pakistan. In 1955, Indonesia sponsored the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung, which was attended by leaders from both nations and was a turning point in the building of bilateral ties. The meeting not only reinforced anti-colonial unity, but also signaled the start of greater collaboration between Asian and African nations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 2015).

During the Cold War era, relations between Indonesia and Pakistan experienced various dynamics influenced by changes in global geopolitics. Indonesia, under the leadership of Soekarno, took a more neutral position by becoming one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement. The movement sought to maintain neutrality amidst the rivalry between the Western and Eastern blocs, focusing on sovereignty and non-intervention. Meanwhile, Pakistan tended to be closer to the Western bloc, forging alliances with the United States and other Western countries to counter threats from India and the Soviet Union. Despite their different political orientations, Indonesia and Pakistan maintain close diplomatic relations. They often coordinate in international forums such as the United Nations (UN) and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Cooperation in education and culture also flourishes, with student exchanges and scholarship programs strengthening ties between the two countries' peoples (Ahmad Alqadri, 2024c).

Post-Cold War, relations between Indonesia and Pakistan entered a new phase characterized by increased economic and security cooperation. Both countries faced new challenges such as globalization, terrorism, and regional political changes that affected the dynamics of their bilateral relationship. In the 1990s and early 2000s, Indonesia and Pakistan strengthened their economic ties by signing various trade and investment agreements. The Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) signed in 2013 was one of the important steps in increasing trade volume and reducing tariff barriers between the two countries (PBC, 2022b). In addition, cooperation in the energy, infrastructure and agriculture sectors is also growing rapidly. In the security sector, Indonesia and Pakistan collaborate on counter-terrorism and regional security. To address increasingly complex security challenges, both nations conduct cooperative military exercises and exchange intelligence on a regular basis (ISPR, 2019). This collaboration shows a shared desire to maintain peace and security in South and Southeast Asia.

3.2 The Dynamics of Indonesia-Pakistan Bilateral Relations

Constructivism theory in international relations emphasizes the role of ideas, norms, and identities in shaping state behavior (Checkel, 1998). The analysis of bilateral relations between Pakistan and Indonesia through the lens of constructivism shows how historical, cultural and religious similarities influence interactions and cooperation in various fields.

Pakistan and Indonesia are both known for having the world's largest Muslim population. This identity informs both their domestic and foreign strategies. Because of their shared religious and cultural beliefs, both countries view each other as natural and strategic partners. This close fraternal tie is founded on similar religious, cultural, and social ideals, which frequently serve as the foundation for support and collaboration in international organizations like as the OIC and the United Nations.

Indonesian President Joko Widodo's state visit to Pakistan in 2018 was a meaningful step in improving bilateral relations. The visit not only demonstrated political commitment but also brought concrete results in economic, trade, investment, education and defense cooperation. The establishment of the Joint Ministerial Committee (JMC) in December 2022 shows how strategic dialog and communication mechanisms are being used to strengthen cooperation (Radio Pakistan, 2022). The JMC and the Indonesia-Pakistan Security Dialogue (IPSD) show how diplomacy and security norms are strengthened through bilateral institutions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, n.d.).

Both countries also face complex global and regional challenges. Strengthening cooperation on international issues such as peace, security and global development shows how Pakistan and Indonesia not only respond to international norms but also seek to influence them. Active engagement on issues such as support for Palestine and cooperation in countering terrorism reflects their commitment to Islamic principles and global Muslim solidarity.

Bilateral cooperation in the economic field between Indonesia and Pakistan generally runs quite well and smoothly. Although trade relations between Indonesia and Pakistan are currently not optimal, if seen from the existing potential, the economic relations between the two countries are promising. Because the trade balance has developed quite well, the two countries signed cooperation in the economic sector, namely the Indonesia-Pakistan Preferential Trade Agreement (IP-PTA). Until now, PTA cooperation continues to be updated

to achieve mutually beneficial trade (Fawad Maqsood, 2019). This reflects the adaptive norm in showing efforts to expand and diversify economic relations.

Student and academic exchange programs and joint cultural activities strengthen ties between communities. The increasing number of Pakistani scholarship recipients studying in Indonesia demonstrates a commitment to education and cultural exchange. Indonesia's humanitarian aid between Pakistan and Indonesia demonstrates humanitarian solidarity based on Islamic and humanitarian values (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, n.d.-b).

This research shows that shared religious and cultural identities and values play an important role in bilateral relations between Pakistan and Indonesia. Productive cooperation in the political, economic, trade, defense, and socio-cultural fields is based on mutually beneficial norms and ideas. Constructivism theory helps understand how shared identity and social norms influence the foreign policies of both countries. Further research can reveal how these factors can be utilized to strengthen political, security, economic, social and cultural cooperation, as well as analyze the challenges and opportunities in bilateral relations between the two states.

3.2.1 Economic Cooperation:

One of the main priorities of Indonesia-Pakistan bilateral relations is economic and trade relations. Over the years, Indonesia-Pakistan have developed a strong economic partnership, which has been further strengthened through various trade agreements and initiatives. One of the key milestones in the economic cooperation between Indonesia and Pakistan was the signing of the Indonesia-Pakistan Preferential Trade Agreement (IP-PTA). Since the implementation of the IP-PTA in 2013, the volume of bilateral trade between Indonesia and Pakistan has witnessed a significant increase. Economic diplomacy has been maximized to enlarge market access for national export products through the expansion of PTA into Trade in Goods Agreement (TIGA) and then Free trade Agreement (FTA) to expand networking cooperation (Zohra Asif, n.d.).

The reason these two countries are willing to cooperate in the economic field is to increase efficiency by reducing costs. In addition, countries involved in economic agreements usually facilitate and reduce trade barriers. Therefore, the entry into force of the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) between Indonesia and Pakistan is expected to have a major impact on the export growth of both countries. And in this way, it is expected that Pakistan and Indonesia can

utilize the strategic geo-economic potential as a trade hub for business expansion of both countries to nearby regions, especially in land-locked Central Asia. And the Indonesian archipelago is geographically located between the Asian and Australian continents, as well as the Indian and Pacific oceans. As a result, Indonesia's territory is located at a crossroads between industrial and developing countries, which has significant implications for the global economy. For example, Japan, Korea, and the People's Republic of China collaborate with nations in Asia, Africa, and Europe.

A special factor that is the reason for Indonesia and Pakistan to conduct trade cooperation is because there are several similarities. For example, Indonesia and Pakistan are both developing countries that do not want to depend on the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) provided by large countries such as the United States, but the same concept as GSP can be obtained with even developing countries such as Pakistan through a Preferential Trade Agreement (PBC, 2022).

To the current day, the relationship between Indonesia and Pakistan remains strong and based on strong principles, not affected by the political figures or parties in power in either country. Both countries have been consistent in continuing existing agreements and negotiations agreed by the previous governments, even when there has been a change of government.

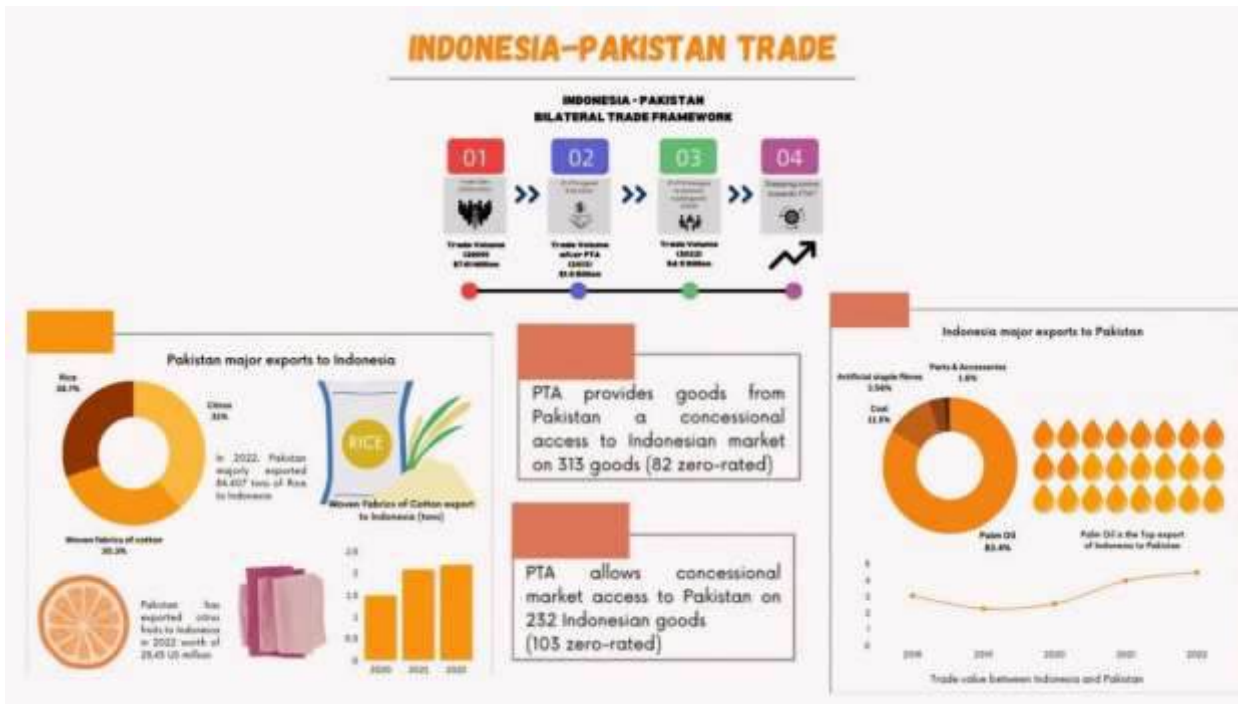


Figure 6: Indonesia-Pakistan Trade (Kementerian Perdagangan)

This data shows that Indonesia and Pakistan have a bilateral trade system that has evolved over time. Their trade volume was \$741 million in 2009, but climbed to \$1.6 billion following the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) in 2013. In 2022, trade discussions increased the trade volume to \$1.5 billion. According to the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) between Pakistan and Indonesia, commodities from Pakistan receive preferential status when exported to Indonesia (Pusat Data dan Sistem Informasi Kementerian Perdagangan, n.d.). This implies that some Pakistani items can be exported to Indonesia with reduced taxes or other trade benefits than commodities from nations without a trade agreement with Indonesia.

Indonesia's major exports to Pakistan include parts & accessories, artificial staple fibres and the main product is palm oil. While Pakistan's major exports to Indonesia are citrus fruits, woven fabric of cotton. In 2022, Pakistan exported 84,407 tons of rice to Indonesia, making rice its main export to Indonesia (OEC, 2022). Overall, the trade relationship between Indonesia and Pakistan has seen significant growth, with both countries benefiting from increased exports and imports.

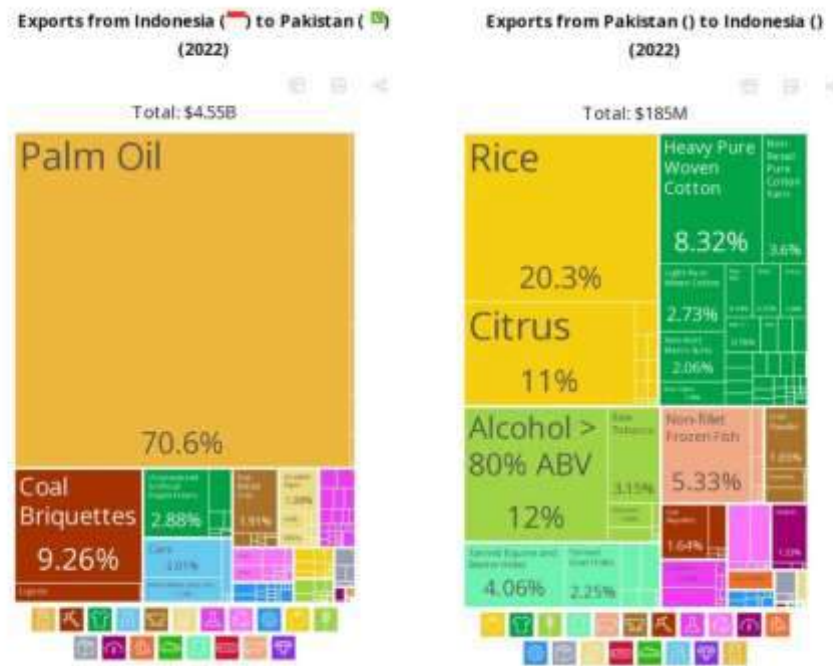


Figure 7: Indonesia-Pakistan Exports Data (The Observatory of Economic Complexity)

Indonesia-Pakistan Trade: In 2022, Indonesia exported \$2.51 billion to Pakistan, a significant increase from \$119 million in 2017, representing an annualized growth rate of 84% over the past 5 years. The main products that Indonesia exported to Pakistan in 2022 were Palm Oil (\$3.21 billion), Coal Briquettes (\$421 million), and Unprocessed Artificial Staple Fibers (\$131 million). Indonesia did not export any services to Pakistan in 2022.

Pakistan-Indonesia Trade: In 2022, Pakistan exported \$250 million to Indonesia, up from \$92.8 million in 2017, an annualized growth rate of 21.9% over the past 5 years. The main products that Pakistan exported to Indonesia in 2022 were Rice (\$37.6 million), Alcohol > 80% ABV (\$22.1 million), and Citrus (\$20.4 million). Pakistan did not export any services to Indonesia in 2022.

Data shows that over the past 5 years, Indonesia's exports to Pakistan have grown at a remarkable annualized rate of 84%, increasing from \$119 million in 2017 to \$2.51 billion in 2022. Increased demand for main Indonesia's exports like palm oil, coal briquettes and unprocessed artificial staple fibers in Pakistan's market. Indonesia's exports to Pakistan have increased by 47.8% compounded annually, a notable increase from 2017 when they totaled \$304 million. More specifically, Pakistan's shipments to the country rose at a more moderate 21.9% average annual rate from \$92.8 million in 2017 to \$250 million in 2022. Such relatively

slower growth can be instigated by limited recognition of Pakistani goods among Indonesians in addition to non-tariff impediments and connectivity problems. Shrinking value share effect: A fall in the average value share can partly account for the different annualized growth rates in the Pakistan-Indonesia trade flows (OEC, 2022).

The differences in the annualized growth rates between the two countries' trade flows can be attributed to several factors:

1. Economic growth and demand conditions: land bulged Indonesia's larger economy and growing demand for imports may have boosted exports while the high prices of agricultural commodities on the global markets which affect India/Pakistan from releasing power significant effect.
2. Trade policies and agreements: The Indonesia-Pakistan Preferential Trade Agreement (IP-PTA) in force since 2004 has provided preferential market access for some products and possibly improved the competitiveness in countries which haven't signed any agreement at this time - for example, Indonesia's exports.
3. Competitiveness and productivity: Indonesia's higher technological exports as a percentage of manufacturing exports are more than Pakistan i.e. it is efficient than the other country which is not evident in terms of its labor productivity.
4. Connectivity and Logistics: Connectivity and logistics issues – the challenges these impose on operations leave no room for prospering inter-need industries to augment bilateral trade figures through exported commodity indents; they also serve as a brake on Pakistan exports which should otherwise have caught-up due lack focus regional.
5. Awareness and marketing: The lack of awareness of Pakistani products in the Indonesian market and limited marketing efforts may have constrained Pakistan's export growth.

Reflecting on this experience, the Government of Pakistan is paying special attention to the export policies and production of Indonesian and Malaysian palm oil. There is also hope that Indonesian investors will invest in the construction of refineries in Pakistan. To maintain the market share of palm oil, Indonesia regularly disseminates the positive value of palm oil products in supporting the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), progress in environmentally friendly palm oil production methods, and the latest information on the health benefits of palm oil products. Efforts to foster and mobilize cooperation in the positive

campaign of palm oil are carried out with the University of Agriculture Faisalabad (UAF), which is one of the leading public universities in the field of agriculture in Pakistan.

3.2.1.1 Efforts made to strengthen bilateral trade:

Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) between Indonesia and Pakistan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia); The PTA between Indonesia and Pakistan came into effect in 2013. A review process was initiated in order to maximize Pakistan's benefits from this agreement. As a result, in March 2019, Indonesia published a notification on modifications to the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) between Pakistan and Indonesia, which permits Pakistan to import an extra 20 tariff lines duty-free. Mangos, rice, ethanol, denim fabric, bedding, knitted clothing, and other items are all covered by these additional tariff lines. Both sides also agreed to begin discussions to extend the PTA to an FTA. The first round of discussions took place in Islamabad on August 8-9, 2019. Dates for the second round of discussions are being determined.

B2B web platform to promote Indonesia-Pakistan trade; Cooperation between the Indonesian Embassy and E-Commerce Gateway Pakistan, will enhance economic diplomacy. According to province minister for commerce and industry Mian Aslam Iqbal, trade collaboration between Indonesia and Pakistan helps private enterprises in both nations and is crucial to Pakistan's centralization of growth. During the Indonesia-Pakistan B2B Portal opening, Punjab Industry Minister Mian Muhammad Aslam stated, "As the largest countries in the Islamic world, Pakistan and Indonesia are united for mutual progress and prosperity." Adam Mulawarman Tugio the Ambassador of RI, Minister for Industry Punjab, Mian Muhammad Aslam, PBIT CEO Dr. Erfa Iqbal, and President LCCI (Lahore Chamber of Commerce & Industry) were among the public and private sector representatives who attended the opening. The website is a ground-breaking effort to foster commercial relationships and strengthen economic cooperation and brotherly ties between the two parties, particularly as a "new normal" strategy amid the Covid-19 epidemic." (Business central, 2021).

ASEAN Trade Desks at ICCI and RCCI; To improve economic links between ASEAN and Pakistan, two ASEAN desks were set up at the offices of the Islamabad Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ICCI) and the Rawalpindi Chamber of Commerce and Industry (RCCI). Establishing this desk with the primary goal of strengthening Pakistan's commercial connections with ASEAN nations and concentrating on regional trade Given that the ASEAN

nations represent sizable markets for trade and investment, the Pakistani business community is anticipated to concentrate on these nations for trade and exports. Speaking at the event were ambassadors from Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar, and ASEAN, who urged Pakistan's business sector to take advantage of these prospects for economic partnerships (Newswire, 2022).

Indonesian Trade Desk at LCCI; The establishment of the Indonesian Desk at Lahore Chamber of Commerce & Industry (LCCI) and ASEAN Trade Desk at ICCI and RCCI, as examples of how 2022 continues to be a very effective year in maintaining mutually beneficial trade relations. These desks will provide Pakistani businesspeople and investors with vital information on the trade and investment environment in the emerging ASEAN region, particularly Indonesia as a trade hub. The Pakistan-ASEAN trade value of around USD 11 billion (2022) can still be increased given the existence of several complementary products. ASEAN's large population (650 million) and Pakistan's (240 million) are large markets yet to be optimized. In comparison, India-ASEAN trade value exceeds USD 110 billion and China-ASEAN exceeds USD 700 billion per year. For this reason, Pakistan-ASEAN trade promotion is focused on using Indonesia as a Trade-Hub for Pakistan's export-import expansion to the region (Report, 2022).

3.2.1.2 Challenges and Opportunities

To understand challenges and opportunities we can analyze through constructivism theory. In economic cooperation between Indonesia and Pakistan, perception and reality play an important role. Perceptions about market potential and investment opportunities can influence the political and economic decisions of both countries. For example, if Indonesia and Pakistan have positive perceptions of political stability and investment opportunities in each other's countries, then it will be more likely for them to increase economic cooperation.

However, economic realities such as differences in economic structure, infrastructure and regulation can be barriers to the implementation of economic cooperation. These differences can affect perceptions of the likelihood of success of economic cooperation and influence the political decisions of both countries.

The country's economic activity is vulnerable to domestic and external shocks resulting in a decline in economic activity. This reflects the accumulation of a number of domestic and

external factors including flooding in Pakistan in 2022, restrictive policies on imports and capital flows, domestic political uncertainty, surging world economy, commodity prices, and tighter global financing. The economic crisis due to rising energy and food prices, and low incomes has significantly increased poverty. This affects the form of bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

Outside of palm oil exports, export activities to Pakistan in Fiscal Year¹ 2023 slowed down due to import restriction policies and Letter of Credit issuance and this condition is expected to continue for Fiscal Year 2024 (July 2023 - June 2024). In addition, the increase in trade occurred due to rising prices of export commodities, while export volumes tended to remain flat year-on-year. This suggests that the palm oil market share seems to be approaching saturation point, so it is necessary to find alternatives by diversifying export products or by using Pakistan as a trade hub strategy to expand palm oil exports to Central Asia and the surrounding region.

In addition, Pakistan's high trade deficit against Indonesia has been a concern for many within Pakistan and is one of the factors that has reduced the Government of Pakistan's appetite to continue negotiations to upgrade the Indonesia-Pakistan Preferential Trade Agreement (IP-PTA) to the Indonesia-Pakistan Trade in Goods Agreement (IP-TIGA). The recurring issue of importing kinnow oranges into Indonesia every year and mangoes that have not been able to penetrate the Indonesian market has frustrated Pakistani businessmen and influenced Pakistan's policy to continue the IP-TIGA negotiations.

However, both countries continue to show interest in enhancing bilateral economic cooperation with each other. Several factors include socio-economic development. Indonesia is considered successful and Pakistan wants to learn from Indonesia's success in coming out of 3 crises. Pakistan is the country that imports the most palm oil from Indonesia, so economic cooperation with Pakistan is an opportunity for Indonesia. Pakistan also showed interest in learning about the policy of issuing sovereign wealth funds, sharing best practices on competition supervision, and exploring the mechanism of Local Currency Settlement (LCS) Rupiah and PAK Rupees for the settlement of trade transactions between Indonesia - Pakistan.

¹ Fiscal Year is a period of time used by companies to organize and report their finances for 12 months.

3.2.2 Political cooperation

Indonesia-Pakistan relations are influenced not just by their status as the world's two largest Muslim countries, but also by a variety of strategic and political reasons. Both nations have key geopolitical locations, with Indonesia being Southeast Asia's largest country and Pakistan on the border of South and West Asia. Indonesia and Pakistan have created collaboration in a variety of regional and international settings, with both actively supporting peace, security, and global economic cooperation.

Political collaboration between Indonesia and Pakistan is impacted by national identity, international conventions, and complicated regional concerns. Indonesia-Pakistan Relations and Includes Bullets Made-Up of- "The country's wholeness in diversity with principles of unity seclusion represent our personality. Cordial relationships amongst our diplomats, and the values that we and they stand for the love we share for each other as Islamic States on which the Trust and friendship be drawn. Also both countries have similar values (common identity) and norms which make them more favoring beached to each other friendly neighbors. And showing his affinity-muscle as a step ahead, Indila offered helped to draw She of the Pakistan if Beijing guaranteed not to interfere in affairs of Indonesia.

3.2.2.1 The Policy to strengthen political relations between the two countries

Politic Bilateral Consultations: In 2000, The Memorandum of Understanding to create a Consultative Forum at the level of Additional Foreign Secretaries was signed. The Forum's debut meeting was conducted on July 11 and 12, 2017, and reviewed all facets of ties, including planning for the Indonesian President's upcoming visit to Pakistan. The second BPC was place in Islamabad on November 26, 2018, with Ambassador Desra Parcaya, DG (Asia Pacific and Africa) leading a 12-member Indonesian team to Pakistan. Mr. Imtiaz Ahmed, Additional Secretary (Asia Pacific) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led Pakistan's delegation. The next round is expected this year. The third Bilateral Political Consultations was held on Bali in 2022 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 2022).

Cooperation in the Multilateral Context: Both nations work closely together to assist one another's candidacies in international forums. Both are members of international and multilateral organizations such as the United Nations, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Non-Aligned Movement, G-77, Afro-Asian Conference, and the D-8 (Muhammad Asif Noor, 2018). According to Ministry of foreign affair of Indonesia, on global and regional concerns

like as nonproliferation and nuclear disarmament, the two nations are in agreement and work closely together. Pakistan, Indonesia, India, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka are the founding members of the Afro-Asian Conference. Indonesia backs Pakistan's bid for Full Dialogue Partner status in ASEAN. Indonesia also supports Pakistan's membership in the UN Human Rights Council for the year 2021-2023.

Policy Planning Dialogue: In 2006, the two Foreign Ministries convened their first Policy Planning Dialogue in Jakarta to examine measures to enhance bilateral ties. The second round took place on July 10, 2018, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Islamabad. The third round of Policy Planning Dialogue took place in 2022.

The Indonesian Delegation to the Dialogue is led by the Head of the Centre for Policy Analysis and Development of the Asia-Pacific and African Region, which is part of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Centre's mandate is to conduct research on major regional and worldwide topics and give policy recommendations to the government. The Additional Secretary (Asia Pacific) leads the Pakistani delegation (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 2022).

3.2.2.2 Challenges and opportunities

The two countries share a common history, culture and other commonalities that provide many opportunities to grow together for mutual benefit through partnerships.

Cooperation in various regional and international forums such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) provides a platform for both countries to promote peace, security, and global economic cooperation. The shared identity as the largest Muslim country provides a strong basis for solidarity and cooperation on global issues relating to the interests of Muslims.

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the establishment of the Consultative Forum at the Foreign Ministerial level in 2000, as well as numerous policy meetings and dialogues, demonstrate the commitment of both countries to strengthen political cooperation. These consultations cover all aspects of the relationship and establish plans for future visits and cooperation.

Mutual Support Cooperation in supporting each other's candidature in international forums. expands areas of cooperation and serves to deal with global issues, as well as regional issues closely related to them, such as Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Disarmament. Indonesia endorses Pakistan for full dialogue partner status in ASEAN, which will increase the significance of considering Pakistan's membership in the United Nations Human Rights Council. In summary, our mission and joint to ensure that mutual understanding and promotion of human rights may promote Indonesian-Pakistani cooperation and enable Pakistan to develop as a prosperous, united, and democratic state. However, the challenges go beyond the two countries.

Indonesia and Pakistan share some similar challenges; Due to complex regional problems like South Asia and the Middle East, there might be a spillage of politics amongst Indonesia and Pakistan. The current geopolitical position of Pakistan bordering on South and West Asia is most of the time beset with political and military pressures, thus making the stability of cooperation with Indonesia at risk.

Policy Implementation; There are many efforts to strengthen cooperation within the policy framework, but the implementation is another story. For example, the implementation of the Indonesia-Pakistan Security Dialogue (IPSD) has been delayed several times since 2021, indicating that technical and logistical challenges can hinder the implementation of cooperation plans.

Differences in National Priorities; Despite many similarities, differing national priorities in foreign policy can be a challenge. Indonesia, with a focus on regional stability in Southeast Asia, and Pakistan, with a heavy focus on security on its borders with India and Afghanistan, may have different approaches to certain issues.

3.2.3 Military cooperation

For more than seven decades, bilateral relations between Indonesia and Pakistan have been well established. A solid historical foundation was laid by the close relationship of the "Founding Fathers" of the two countries with a commitment to support each other when each country faced armed resistance at the beginning of independence. The common vision in maintaining global peace and security, development, and Islamic solidarity has made

Indonesia-Pakistan cooperation stronger in various forums such as the UN and its subsidiary bodies, the OIC Organization and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

Pakistan's strategic geographical location in South Asia makes it one of the key actors of peace in the region. Pakistan plays a major role in the dynamics of the PRC-India border conflict, the normalization of US- PRC relations and in the Afghan peace and reconciliation process which has the potential to have global ramifications given the presence of radical and fundamental Islamic groups. In this section, there is a strategic interest for Indonesia to contribute to the Afghan peace process. In this regard, it is expected to increase mutual visits at the level of high-ranking officials of the two countries to exchange views on various global issues and especially on the issue of Afghanistan (Oleksandra Mamchii, 2023).

Similarly, Indonesia, as the country with the largest population in Southeast Asia, has a very important role in the development of the ASEAN organization. Indonesia, as one of the five founding countries of ASEAN in 1967, has played a key role in shaping ASEAN's vision, direction and goals, as well as in promoting regional integration, security and stability in the Southeast Asian region. And security cooperation between ASEAN and Pakistan made good progress in countering terrorism and Counter-Violence Extremism (CVE) and in promoting peace and security in the region (Embassy of Republik Indonesia in Pakistan, 2021).

In security cooperation, the dynamics of national identity and security norms play a significant role. Indonesia's national identity that emphasizes independence and regional solidarity influences its approach to regional security issues. On the other hand, Pakistan's identity rooted in Islam and the need to protect their national interests influence their approach to regional security.

Despite their different identities, Indonesia and Pakistan often have similarities in their perception of regional security threats. They share concerns about terrorism, armed conflict and political stability in the South Asia and Southeast Asia region. These shared perceptions can strengthen security cooperation and enable them to respond more effectively to common security threats.

1.2.3.1 Efforts to strengthen security or defense:

Military cooperation; Forms of cooperation in this area consist of participation in joint exercises, military student exchanges, mutual visits by military officials and defense equipment

cooperation. Some of the prominent ones are the Air Force Staff Talks and separate Army Talks that have been held on a rotating basis since their launch in 2020. Both countries also participate in joint naval exercises where Pakistani Navy participates in Komodo Exercise (2023) and TNI Navy participates in AMAN² International/ Navy Exercise in Karachi every two years. In 2021 the Navy is represented by the Indonesian warship Bung Tomo-357 and in 2023 by the Indonesian warship Raden Eddy Martadinata (REM-331). Meanwhile, the Indonesian Army represented by the Special Forces Command (Kopassus) collaborated with the Pakistan Army Special Service Group (SSG Pakistan Army)³ in the Exercise Planning Conference (EPC) Latma Shaheen Strike (2021) in Indonesia (Consulate General of RI, 2021).

Participation in joint training activities provides an opportunity for mutual visits between the military leaders of the two countries. In addition, visits are also carried out in the context of exploring the purchase of defense equipment. Both countries also send cadets/military officer students to participate in education and training. So far, both countries can only send one military academy student each year to the Indonesian Army Staff and Command School (Sesko TNI) for the Army, Navy and Air Force and the Joint Staff and Command School (SESKOGAB) for Pakistan and the National Security and War Course (NSWC) and Air War College (AWC) for Indonesia. Apart from this, the TNI Commander has also virtually attended and participated as a speaker at the third Islamabad Security Dialogue (May 2023) giving an indication of the recognition of the important role of the Indonesian military in the maintenance of world peace (K. Asif, 2023).

The Joint Working Group (JWG) was established to combat international terrorism: In December 2003, during President Megawati Soekarnoputri's visit to Pakistan, an agreement was signed by both parties to this effect. The JWG met for the second and third times, in December 2010 in Jakarta and October 2011 in Islamabad, respectively. It was also decided by both parties that the JWG meeting will take place every two years. The Working Group will hold its fourth meeting soon. On December 18, 2019, a fifteen-person team from the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT) met with the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) for bilateral consultations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan).

² AMAN (Urdu: امن, 'Peace') is a series of multilateral naval exercises hosted by the Pakistan Navy, with amiable regional and international navies to improve communication and cooperation. The biennial event includes professional exercises and seminars, social events, and sports matches between participating nations.

³The Pakistan Army Special Service Group (reporting name: Army SSG) is the special operations forces of the Pakistan Army. They are also known by their nickname of "Maroon Berets" due to their headgear.

Preliminary Meeting of 2019 Security Dialogue: On October 8, 2019, Ambassador Lutfi Rauf, Deputy Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, led a seven-member team to Pakistan for preliminary security discussions at the Ministry of Defense. The two sides also signed a "Pakistan-Indonesia Security Dialogue Framework" agreement, which will organize subsequent interactions between the Pakistani Defense Minister and the Indonesian Coordinating Minister aimed at exploring cooperation in areas such as security, countering terror financing, violent extremism and radicalization, maritime security, cyber security, intelligence cooperation, anti-narcotics cooperation, measures against human trafficking, and defense cooperation (Pakistan Embassy in Indonesia, 2023).

Proposed Security Dialogue: Pakistan's Minister of Defense has asked Indonesia's Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs to attend the inaugural meeting of the 'Security Dialogue' in Pakistan in 2020. Accepting the invitation, Indonesian Minister Prof. Moh. Mahfud MD expressed his eagerness to visit Pakistan. The visit had to be canceled owing to the Covid-19 epidemic. A fresh timetable is being prepared (Pakistan Embassy in Indonesia, 2023).

Defense Cooperation MoU: In 2010, the two nations inked an agreement on cooperative activities in the defense sector. The MoU created a ministerial-level Joint Defense Cooperation Committee (JDCC). A preliminary meeting took place in 2017, followed by a successful first round of discussions in Pakistan in September 2018. The second round took place in Jakarta in September 2019. A third round is presently scheduled (Pakistan Embassy in Indonesia, 2023).

3.2.3.2 Challenges and opportunities

One form of military cooperation that has potential economic value is in the field of defense equipment (procurement). Pakistan is interested in using Indonesian strategic industrial equipment from CN-235 aircraft & procurement of spare parts, and assault weapons. Currently, Pakistan is also exploring interest in procuring Anoa APC and Komodo combat vehicles.

Negotiations between Pakistan and PT Pindad are still ongoing regarding the procurement of the two vehicles and ammunition. The financial crisis that has hit Pakistan in the past year has become an obstacle to the continuation of the planned export of Ranpur and ammunition products of the archipelago's strategic industry. On the other hand, the Indonesian

Navy is also interested in purchasing ammunition of the 12.7 x 108 mm type of Pakistani products (API / APIT).

3.2.4 Cooperation in social and cultural sectors

Socio-cultural relations between Indonesia and Pakistan are based on cultural affinity and a long history. Both countries share common cultural values, as both of the countries remained integral parts of the great Buddhist and Hindu civilizations and then gradually came under the influence of Islam. In addition, the presence of Pakistani communities living in Indonesia and vice versa has also strengthened the relationship between the two countries. This is an opportunity to increase Pakistani tourist visits to Indonesia and vice versa so that it can have an effect on the country's economy. cooperation in the field of education is expected to deepen bilateral relations and cooperation through people-to-people contact.

Both Pakistan and Indonesia have grown into the nation with rich and deep civilizational heritage. Both have very beautiful natural scenery such as rice fields, beaches and hills in Indonesia as well as Indonesia. Agriculture is very important as Indonesia also as Pakistan globally has a very rich cultural heritage and lush green mountains such as the Himalayas, Kashmir of Swat valley. But tourism opportunities between Indonesia and Pakistan are also still not fully explored. By developing tourism between the two nations, it can increase the exchange of culture, which will further strengthen the relationship between people of Indonesia and Pakistan.

Moreover, Pakistani universities are an attractive destination for Indonesian students and vice versa. Many universities in Pakistan offer quality study programs in various fields, ranging from science and technology to social sciences and humanities. And also studying in Pakistan can provide valuable learning experiences for Indonesian students, while expanding their networks and cross-cultural understanding.

3.2.4.1 Efforts to Enhance Cooperation Between the Two Countries

The socio-cultural relationship Indonesia and Pakistan, national identity and cultural norms play an important role in shaping perceptions and interactions between the people of both countries. A strong national identity encourages a sense of pride and solidarity among people, while cultural norms such as tolerance and hospitality facilitate harmonious relations between the two countries.

One of the actions that used to maintain the cooperation is by cultural exchanges, such as cultural festivals, art performances, and student exchanges. So, it will strengthen the bonds between the people of Indonesia and Pakistan. Showing one and another's cultures, languages and traditions, help build a deeper understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity in both countries.

a. Cultural Promotion

Indonesian Embassy of Indonesia that exist in Pakistan and Pakistan Embassy that available in Indonesia can help both countries actively promote each other's culture to improve the limited information and misconceptions of one and another. With the support of social media, book publishing workshops and other events organized by both countries.

b. Bilateral aid assistance

Friend in need is friend indeed. Both countries also help each other when facing humanitarian disasters. Pakistan experienced the largest flash flood in history in 2022. The floods killed more than 1,700 people and affected 33 million people. The floods submerged a quarter of Pakistan's landmass and declared a state of emergency on August 25, 2022. The floods caused economic losses of around USD 15.2 billion. In response to this and as a form of solidarity, the Government of Indonesia sent humanitarian assistance including cash, basic needs to health services. In addition, the government also sent health workers (health workers) to provide health care assistance for disaster victims in Pakistan. Dompot Dhuafa collaborated with the Indonesian Embassy in Islamabad and the Indonesian Consulate General in Karachi, the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture and the National Disaster Management Agency to support the construction of 12 temporary shelters for flood survivors in Pakistan (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2022).

The people of Pakistan showed solidarity with the tsunami victims in Aceh by donating 7 million rupees, equivalent to Rp 1.2 billion, through the account of the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia (KBRI) opened specifically in Islamabad. The monetary donations collected were intended for the victims of the tsunami disaster in Aceh and were then transferred to the official aid distribution agency of the Indonesian government. Aid for the people of Pakistan in the form of medicines, clothes and blankets was sought through a fast and cheap delivery mechanism, exploring the possibility of using Indonesian Aerospace aircraft for delivery from

Pakistan to Indonesia. The Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman Foundation, along with well-known artists in Pakistan, raised funds for tsunami victims in Islamabad, with an enthusiastic response from the Pakistani people, leading to extended shop opening hours and a fundraising march through the city. The Pakistani government also sent a C-130 Hercules aircraft with around 165 military personnel, including a Medical Team, to Indonesia to help the victims of the tsunami earthquake in Aceh (Detik News, 2005).

c. Education Cooperation

In the field of education, both countries continue to encourage and facilitate the establishment of academic cooperation between universities of both countries with a focus on the exchange of lessons learned and best practices in both teaching and research and learning processes. The MoU between Budi Luhur Cimahi College of Health Sciences (Stikes) and The University of Faisalabad (TUF) for the development of a nursing academy and the MoU between Airlangga University and the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) (Admin, 2021).

The Government of Indonesia approved scholarships to 23 Pakistani students at various Indonesian Universities and Institutions in 2019 (12 seats at Masters level) at some of Indonesia's leading Universities in the fields of Entomology, Microbiology, Pharmacy, Biology, Biomedical Engineering, Clinical Pharmacy, Information Technology, Psychology, Electrical Engineering, and Informatics and Computer Engineering. The students started their studies in September 2019. Airlangga University, Surabaya also regularly offers scholarships to Pakistani students including Ph.D., Masters, and MBBS programs. About ten other students are already studying at Universitas Airlangga Surabaya on scholarship. Several other students are also currently studying at various universities in Indonesia including ITB (Bandung), Gadjah Mada University (Yogyakarta), and University of Indonesia (Jakarta).

The Indonesian government is also actively engaging academics in dialog and promoting Islamic moderation and interfaith tolerance in society through the role of education. The Indonesian Embassy delivered a speech at a joint discussion on 'Opportunities for educational institutions to be the driving force behind madrassa reform in Indonesia and Pakistan' held at the International Islamic university Islamabad (IIUI) on July 29, 2021. The Indonesian Ambassador praised IIUI for its services to the Muslim world, adding that the university is a great source of attraction for Indonesian students. He also emphasized the importance of the

revival of the Islamic economic system, calling on universities to form think tanks and launch joint efforts to revive Islamic heritage in response to the challenges of changing times (IIUI Portal, 2022).

The Pakistani government also offered scholarships to Indonesian students studying MBBS, BDS, and engineering under the Pakistan Technical Assistance Program. In addition, several Pakistani universities, such as the International Islamic University Islamabad and the International Center for Chemical and Biological Sciences (ICCBS) in Karachi, provide scholarships to Indonesian students and researchers. More than 200 Indonesian students are presently enrolled in these universities on their own expense.

The Pakistani government annually offers Indonesian officials the National Management Course (NMC), Senior Management Course (SMC), and Mid-Career Management Course at National Management College and National Institutes of Management in Lahore. Regular visits are made by NMC, NDU, AWC, NWC, and AMC (Pakistan Embassy in Indonesia, 2023).

d. Pakistani and Indonesian communities

In Indonesia, there are several hundred families of Pakistani origin. Many of them are business owners of hand-knitted carpets, textiles, precious stones, restaurants, and herbal treatments. Pakistani foreign nationals living in Jakarta have important roles in multinational companies and many United Nations agencies. They support the development of our two nations.

In Indonesia, over a thousand Pakistani expats live in Pakistan. Many of them are married and are studying in Islamabad. The Indonesian government empowers and protects Indonesian people in Pakistan. Because they are one of the actors who assist Indonesia establish positive ties with Pakistan.

3.2.4.2 Challenges and opportunities

Social and cultural cooperation between Pakistan and Indonesia has great potential to strengthen bilateral relations between the two countries. With similarities in religion, history and culture, both countries have a strong basis for expanding this cooperation. However, there are also a number of challenges that need to be overcome to maximize these opportunities.

Cultural and Religious Similarities Indonesia and Pakistan are both Muslim-majority countries, which creates similarities in social and cultural values. This common ground provides a strong foundation for cooperation in areas such as religious education, arts and culture. Collaborations of cultural festivals and religious events can support strengthen the bonds between the people of the two countries.

Educational and Academic Exchange The exchanges between undergraduate students and universities in Pakistan and Indonesia have the potential to broaden the horizons of education and culture between both sides. scholarship or student exchange programs provide a wealth of opportunities and insights into our shared futures of both Indonesia and Pakistan. These sorts of activities also help build lasting connections amongst researchers, serving as pathways for bringing more people – with more various perspectives – into conversation and collaboration. These kinds of partnerships can undoubtedly lead to richer and more informative teaching, learning experiences as we navigate misunderstanding. These contacts can also further develop in the future at an ongoingly deeper level. Because exchanging perspectives can be carried out through infrastructure such as workshops and other hands-on training events.

The potential of arts and culture in reproducing social structures and consolidating identities undeniable. For instance, through joint art showcases or dance and music performances we can both present and celebrate culture together with the General Public. This also links through Television programs and films, providing an effective medium to bolster the social ties between our people by acquainting them with our respective cultures.

Tourism Sector One of the best ways to maintain social and cultural cooperation is through tourism. The promotion of tourist destinations and the organization of cultural festivals would attract people from both nations. Tourism provides direct contact for people to exchange cultures, knowledge and a better insight in each other's lives and customs.

But still there are challenges that become assignment of both countries. Problematic differences in language, as of now, continue to be a challenge in the area of social and cultural resonance between Pakistan and Indonesia. Different languages Urdu and Indonesian can pose an entanglement in communication and comprehension, thus work needs to be done in order to improve foreign language skills in both countries. Promotion is required there by organizing related courses and education for learning foreign languages.

Lack of Awareness & Knowledge; Despite sharing similarities in culture and religion, there is still a general lack of information and acquaintance among masses for their other counterparts. Conducting more intense awareness campaigns should be helpful to initiate such programs which will make it known to the masses about different cultures and civilizations of any nation.

Political and Security Issues; Political stability and security are crucial areas in the growth of extending social and cultural cooperation. Political tensions or an unstable security situation can impede the promotion of cultural exchanges and cooperation programs that are developed. Therefore, involvement of both governments to maintain stability so that conducive environment should be there for safe and sustainable cooperation.

Bureaucracy and Regulation; The complex bureaucratic processes as well as the application of the hard rule and regulations can sometimes be the barrier of the smooth execution of the co-operation programs. The simplification in the visa procedures, the work permits, and other kinds of regulations that relate to the free movement of people and things can boost the social and cultural cooperation of both countries.

MAJOR FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

Findings

In shaping the destined course of bilateral relations between Indonesia and Pakistan, a myriad of factors played its own role which has been more or less evident in the aftermath. To begin with, the government of Indonesia and Pakistan needs a basic click on many issues. In addition, there is greater potential for both Indonesia and Pakistan for higher level exchanges, investments, trade and economic cooperation in general.

Historically, and in the future as well, elements of sheer national character decide the bilateral relationship e.g. Muslims-for Indonesia & Pakistan being an Islamic state on principles of Islam. These two nations have enjoyed a religious brotherhood since time immemorial, when Islam was founded. This causes both parties to cooperate and show genuine respect for each other. There are high hopes and expectations, and they are already one stepping stone ahead in reconciling shared perspectives in a number of policy areas that both countries might pursue.

Secondly cultural similarities and history also form a strong base for better ties between nations. Although once enemies, as they came out from British colonization around World War II hundred years ago, today, Indonesia and Pakistan stand side-by-side as close partners in democracy. But sometimes, cultural diversities and domestic politics seem to stand in the way of bilateral relations.

In previous sections, the security dimension of Pakistan-Indonesia relations was discussed but this will not be considered in what follows except on the specific issue of religious radicalism. which also has important implications for human security and counterterrorism. India enjoys prominence in economic, political and UN voting arenas by consequence of its relative economic power and size, but most domestic political decisions are made by local issues-most idle projects in its metropolises, feeding inflation, partial shakes that recur approximately periodically.

The cornerstone of Indonesian-Pakistani cooperation had been the great arch of powers and geographical location facing the challenges of an uncertain and rapidly shifting international system. They also believe that there are many common threats and challenges that confront them. What is currently happening between Indonesia and Pakistan can only be symbolic if their feelings are not sufficiently deep toward them.

Along with strategic dialogues, security concerns are closely inter-wined with both Indonesia and Pakistan as they proceed to take great interest in increasing their strategic security cooperation given the complex security environment in South and Southeast Asia, marked by ongoing regional conflicts and the scourge of terrorism. They hope to break of the past's legacy of often competing for power while exploring other ways they can work together without the historical suspicions of both countries interfering with common interests.

Constructivist perspective takes into account the interaction of various aspects including ideology, identity, culture, security, economic factors and history between the two nations, which the international relation on a very dynamic level making it more interactional. In other words, it helps to normalize what is not and de-normalize what is with the purpose of generating potential alternatives for understanding international developments. To strengthen bilateral relations, collaboration and dialogue based on mutual respect, happiness and safeguard understanding are the key rules for both states to understand the whole picture of different variables in the context of which they exist and to act accordingly in the same way in this light in their foreign policy agenda, inducing a dialogue such as north south dialogue to create a new regional framework.

➤ **Pakistan's Foreign Policy Priorities towards Indonesia:**

Pakistan and Indonesia established diplomatic ties in 1955. Establishing friendly relations, sharing the same principles, and refusing to bow down to any kind of coercion and intimidation have further broadened mutual endeavors of Pakistan-Indonesia and full friendship. Both people leaders of the two countries should have lymphatic effects. This conspiracy, though not openly veiled, but a factual secret, with sincere friendliness and harmony under the guidance of God Almighty, would expect the emergence of a happiness-packed, beautiful Muslim society along with a strong and growing economic community, equal opportunities, and harmony on the one hand. Two centuries have passed in the name of peace today. In the beginning of the new year, the two girls sent best wishes to the people of Israel and welcomed 2009. It is prudent who has a scope, level-headedness, and clear understanding but beyond the question of certain perceptions.

For Pakistan, the top three foreign policy priorities with respect to Indonesia are — first, to further strengthen economic and trade relations as Pakistan has signed a Preferential Trade Agreement with Indonesia in 2012, which has been revised several times to include more products, hence both aim for more bilateral trade and economic cooperation in the future.

Second, Pakistan and Indonesia enhance their defense and security cooperation. They together have signed a Memorandum of Understanding on defense cooperation. Pakistan and Indonesia interchange their military personnel for training on a regular basis. Pakistan has had a high number of Indonesian student enrollments, as well as a collaborative effort to promote tourism in both countries. All of this contributes to people-to-people ties, with the with decades of historical relations, including Pakistan's support to Indonesian independence struggle, having helped underpin close peoples-to-people links.

Third, the two ASEAN countries (Pakistan and Indonesia) are members of Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) as well as the Developing 8 (D-8). Being part of the same international organizations and civil society platforms enable Indonesia and Pakistan to work together or coordinate positions overtime. For example, on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Finally, based on Indonesia's influence in Southeast Asia, Pakistan also sees its "indispensable partner" there, a partner to have stronger diplomatic presence as well as closer economic relations in the region. A more engaged Islamabad can help Indonesia shape broader security dynamics in the region.

➤ **Indonesia's Foreign Policy Priorities towards Pakistan**

Indonesia's foreign policy priorities regarding Pakistan revolve around maintaining the strong historical and cultural ties between the two, as well as increasing economic and political ties. The linkages are historical and deeply embedded in our cultures and everytime that we start trading together, the bond become another strand that ties it all up.

1. Strengthening mutual trust and confidence: Indonesia considers its relations with Pakistan to be based on "mutual trust and confidence in each other." The rapport between the two parties is unique and historic.
2. Economic Prosperity and Trade Growth: Indonesia and Pakistan have a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) and there are ongoing efforts to expand trade and commercial relations between the two countries further and try to enhance the export of Palm oil to Pakistan.
3. Defense and Security Relations: Indonesia has signed bilateral defense pacts with Pakistan to enhance cooperation in defense sphere. The agreements, included consensual mechanisms operationalized through joint military training and cooperation.

4. Cooperation on Strategic and Global Matters: Indonesia and Pakistan collaborate in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) for multilateral cooperation with a view to act as an agent of change for global peace and security, including Palestine related issues.
5. Seizing the strategic location that Pakistan sits in: Indonesia understands the geostrategic importance of Pakistan, a crossroads between South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East, which can develop access for Indonesian products to markets, partners.
6. People to People Connection: Indonesia keeps the historical connection between the two countries regard Pakistan's contribution during Indonesia's struggle for independence and aspire to expand social and academic linkage.

In conclusion, through constructivist analysis, this research provides a deep insight into the dynamics of bilateral relations between Pakistan and Indonesia. It is hoped that these findings can make a positive contribution in strengthening cooperation between the two countries and building a mutually beneficial relationship in the future.

Recommendations

Both Pakistan and Indonesia must continue to strengthen their relationships by supporting one another at all levels for the mutual benefit and good, not just for the Muslim world but the whole Asian region. Both have the strength and capacity to shift regional dynamics toward common goals of peace and development; both nations can work together to eradicate conventional and nontraditional security concerns via democracy and engagement as a real partner in global peace. Because both nations play a crucial role for South Asia and South East Asia, the bilateral relationship between Indonesia will effect not only Indonesia and Pakistan but also the connections with other countries.

In conclusion, Bilateral relations between Indonesia and Pakistan have great potential to continue to develop in various fields. By utilizing strategic-political values, economic-business opportunities, and socio-cultural closeness, the two countries can strengthen their cooperation and provide great benefits for both parties.

Conclusions

It was found out through the research that in accordance with the views and identities of the two states, cooperation, and engagement is possible. This essentially refers to how both nations interact with each other in a bilateral manner. Constructivism is a lens used to explain how states effectively share same norms and thus perceptions about the interactions within an international system are influenced by action that comes from an individual or nation. For example; one's realization may lead them to join together at the frontlines against another state if this threat affects peace in their area. With a focus on the constructivist methodology of the study, this paper examines the impact of diverse social constructionist causes on cooperation or conflict between Pakistan and Indonesia. Through understanding social construction's role within bilateral relationships both nations will be in a better place to engage with one another in terms of fostering relationships, addressing challenges, and improving ties with one another. We have to bear in mind as well that both countries have cultivated deep bilateral relationships over a number of years, and cooperate in various spheres – ranging from talks about economic interest escalation to more measures such as defense social and cultural area agreements. Relevance of study can be as a whole understood in the perspective of common problems between the two countries that had to be solved mainly in area of common trade.

The study on political relations between Pakistan and Indonesia yielded that perspectives and identities of each nations tended to influence cooperation and engagement - highlighting that the bilateral relationship reconstructed tends to assume the idea that each stakeholder considers bilateral cooperation an ideal scenario. The constructivist perceptive within this research concludes that both entities create mutual awareness, norms of behavior and identities in influencing their bilateral interactions. This research employs a constructivist methodology to address the ways social constructs, discourses and power interact between Pakistan and Indonesia where these result in cooperation and antagonism. In perspective, while it is not disputable that regional states are creatures of transaction and circumstances, albeit poorly recognized by conventional means, the social mapping of stakeholders on the field operates to ex ante assessments establishing pre-conditions that shape their perceptions and bargaining positions.

In bilateral relations, an approach that acknowledges social construction can be helpful for both Indonesia and Pakistan to benefit from it, as it can help build cooperation, help address the problems by understanding social constructs and ties between both countries. Pakistan-Indonesia have established bilateral relations for many years, and they have been taking

cooperation in diverse areas including economic, defense, social and cultural. This paper also elucidated some of the enabling factors for Indonesia to join the coalitional efforts which previously lacked interest from Islamabad; the different strategic flash points driven by western influence within Southeast Asia in addition to the Straits of Malacca which have thus motivated Asian Maritime Powers to work together contentiously against destabilizing forces posed by increasing regional hostility.

The research leads that it is a matter of the perspective of the nation that also determined the identity to be so in the field of bilateral relations. It is the recent confrontative nature always subjects bilateral or any other direct or indirect contact into conflict dealing with revolution among other gives way into conflict revolutions resulting to confrontation. Despite assured support through human ethics purposes, discipline for unity in action is an objective that the university system thus adheres to for the publicly open universities. One study highlights how various social science schools of thought, such as constructivism, posit that all their relevant outcomes are driven by international relations actors and environment.

In this regard, to use constructivist methodological tools has been the cornerstone of illustrating that how the social constructs, debates, and the power relations impact cooperation and conflicts in the Pakistan – Indonesia non-security areas. Nevertheless, by keeping the social construction thing, there is no doubt that cracking on the difficulties which are faced by the two countries allows more collaboratively and across bounds.

Regarding bilateral connections, Pakistan and Indonesia also have been linking together for years and have been cooperating in economic, defense, social and cultural cooperation. My thesis helps everyone to understand how the various elements have combined to facilitate this kind of cooperation that began with Indonesia-Pakistan and also to examine the current and future agenda of both countries.

List of Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and Pakistan

No	Pakistan-Indonesia Relations
1.	Indonesia-Pakistan Friendship Treaty, Jakarta 21 April 1953.
2	The Government of Indonesia and Pakistan Cultural Agreement, Jakarta, 10 December 1960.
3	Trade Agreement between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 23 July 1964.
4	Protocol to the Trade Agreement between the Governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Indonesia, Jakarta, 11 January 1965.
5	Concurring Minutes of the Conference on Economic and Cultural Cooperation between Indonesia and Pakistan, Karachi, 1-8 March 1965.
6	Joint Declaration of the Governments of Indonesia and Pakistan, Communiqués Issued at the First Session of the Indonesia-Pakistan Economic and Cultural Cooperation (IPECC), Jakarta, 19 August 1965.
7	Joint Communiqués: Mr. Adam Malik, Presidium Minister of Foreign and Political Affairs, Visits Pakistan, Karachi, 06 November 1966.
8	An agreement on cooperation between Radio Pakistan and Radio Republic of Indonesia was signed in Dhaka by the governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, December 1966.
9	A draft agreement pertaining to cooperation between Pakistani and Indonesian television networks is being negotiated between the governments of Indonesia and Pakistan.
10	A draft of the proposed agreement between the Associated Press of Pakistan and the Indonesian news agency Antara, Jakarta, 08 August 1967.
11	The Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia are collaborating technically on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, Jakarta, 09 April 1980.
12	Joint Statements on President Soeharto of Indonesia's State Visit to Pakistan, 28TH November - 1st December 1980.
13	Concurring Minutes of the Pre-IPEC Conference Held in Jakarta on 23-26 February 1981.
14	The Pakistan Agricultural Research Council and the Agency for Agriculture Research and Development Indonesia have an agreement for technical and scientific cooperation in the field of agricultural research and development, Islamabad, 21 May 1981.
15	Indonesia-Pakistan Joint Statement Released in Honor of the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan's State Visit to the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta 25 October 1984.
16	The Municipal Authority of Islamabad and the Government of Jakarta, Indonesia's Capital City, jointly declared themselves to be Sister Cities, Pakistan, Jakarta 25 October 1984.
17	Protocol of the Eleventh Meeting of the Indonesia-Pakistan Minister Commission and the Organization for Cultural Cooperation, Medan 13 December.

18	An agreement to prevent fiscal evasion and avoid double taxation with regard to income taxes was made between the governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Islamabad, 7 October 1990.
19	An agreement for air services between the governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia that extends beyond their own territories, Jakarta 25 May 1993.
20	An agreement on the promotion and protection of investments between the governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta 08 March 1996.
21	An agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta 08 March 1996.
22	Agreement on Economic and Commercial Cooperation between the Organization of Islamic Conference, the Rawalpindi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Middle East, Jakarta 20 May 1996.
23	The Federation Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI) and the ASEAN Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ASEAN-CCI) have an agreement, Singapore, 14 October 1997.
24	Agreement on the Creation of the Pakistan-Indonesia Consultative Forum between the Governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta 30 March 2000.
25	An agreement pertaining to reproductive health and family planning between the governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 30 March 2000.
26	For the record, vaccination research is being conducted in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Indonesia, Geneva, 15 May 2001.
27	Joint Statement on Comprehensive Economic Partnership (CEP) from the Ministers of Industry and Trade of the Republic of Indonesia and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan's Government, Islamabad, 21 Augustus 2003.
28	Memorandum of Understanding on the Creation of a Joint Commission for Bilateral Cooperation between the Governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Islamabad, 17 December 2003.
29	Memorandum of Understanding on Combating International Terrorism between the Governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Islamabad, 17 December 2003.
30	Trade Arrangement between the Governments of Pakistan and Indonesia, Islamabad, 16 December 2003.
31	Joint Statement from the Islamic Government of Pakistan and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, Islamabad, 16 December 2003.
32	Memorandum of Understanding on the Cooperation in Combating Illegal Trafficking in Narcotics, Drugs, Psychotropic Substances, and Precursors between the Governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Islamabad, 17 December 2003.
33	Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Partnership (CEP) between the Governments of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Islamabad, 24 November 2005.

34	Letter of Intent, Islamabad, 24 November 2005.
35	Joint Declaration of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia, Islamabad, 24 November 2005
36	Indonesia-Pakistan Preferential Trade Agreement (IP-PTA), 3 February 2012
37	In order to improve bilateral commerce, the Jakarta Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) and the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) signed a Memorandum of Understanding, 21 October 2013
38	Jakarta Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) and Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) signed a Memorandum of Understanding for mutual cooperation to enhance bilateral trade, 26 August 2014
39	The second Bilateral Political Consultive, Islamabad, 26 Nov 2018
40	The 2nd round of Policy Planning Dialogue held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad, 10 July 2018
41	NACTA and a fifteen-person team from the Indonesian National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) had bilateral consultations, 18 December 2019.
42	Initial security discussions on October 8, 2019, at the Ministry of Defence. A "Framework of Pakistan-Indonesia Security Dialogue" was also inked by the two parties, providing a framework for future discussions between the Indonesian Coordinating Minister and Pakistan's Defense Minister.
43	The first round of talks to extend the PTA and eventually reach an FTA was conducted in Islamabad, on 8-9 August 2019.
44	The MoU's second round, which involved a ministerial-level Joint Defence Cooperation Committee (JDCC), Jakarta, September 2019
45	The RI delegation traveled to Islamabad to have an Extraordinary Meeting on the Afghan issue, 19 December 2021
46	Participation of the Supreme Court of Pakistan in the 5th World Conference on Constitutional Justice (WCCJ), Bali, 15-17 September 2021.
47	Indonesia also supported Pakistan for the UNHRC membership for the term 2021-2023.
48	The third Bilateral Political Consultations to sign the signing of the MoU for the establishment of the Joint Foreign Ministerial Commission between the Pakistani Prime Minister was held in Bali in 2022.
49	Research on significant national, regional, and global issues will be conducted as part of the third cycle of the Policy Planning Dialogue, which will produce policy recommendations for the government was held in 2022.
50	Bilateral Consultation Forum and Policy Planning Dialogue (PPD), Bali, 25 May 2022
51	The establishment of a Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC) led by the two countries, December 2022.
52	Pakistan's Industry and Production Minister, Makhdoom Syed Murtaza Mahmud visits in connection with the opening of an Indonesian Palm Oil export crane to Pakistan, 12-14 June 2022.
53	The 48th Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers (CFM) was chaired by Dirjen Aspasaf, March 2022.

54	The Chairman of the Senate of Pakistan who attended the Organization of Islamic Cooperation's (OIC) International Meeting of Speakers of Parliaments, Bandung, 24-26 October 2022.
55	Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration in the Sharing of Financial Intelligence Associated with Money Laundering and Terrorism Monitoring Unit (FMU) Pakistan for Joint Ventures in Counterterrorism Cooperation, 6 June 2023.
56	Upon arriving in Indonesia, Foreign Secretary H.E. Dr. Asad Majeed Khan held a meeting with President Joko Widodo, 14 July 2023.

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