

ASSIGNMENT No. 1

Q.1 Highlight the objectives of foreign policy of Pakistan in detail.

In the international political and strategic system where multiple world orders are contending for power and projection, Pakistan has sailed through the murky waters in the past seven decades of existence with ambitions set forth by its founding forefathers. It was a rollercoaster bumpy ride for the country over the years, adjusting itself with emerging changing strategic environment. Even being one of the largest Muslim nations, bordering Afghanistan, India, India, and China, Pakistan has remained as a key player in the Middle East and Asia. Although carrying along significant national assets that include strategic geographical location, complex historical past, size and nature of the population, abundance of national wealth, Pakistan has remained dependent upon external and internal actors and factors.

Our construct of relations with the countries remained also dominant by our quest for economic prosperity and cooperation subject to peace, security and stability at the domestic level. These themes have not only defined our past but will remain dominant in coming years as well. Moreover, the role, perception and style of leadership helped in shaping, designing and implementing the foreign policy and nature of relations in the international arena.

Over the years, Pakistan has managed to adjust itself with the changing geo-strategic and security environment of the international system through tough and tumultuous decisions. From isolation to integration, descent to ascent, compromise to cooperation, Pakistan's foreign policy translates trends of challenges, trials and prospects over the past seven decades.

Pakistan remained unable to adopt balanced foreign policy choices to achieve its strategic, political, security and economic interest as were desired. Now as the new democratically elected government is all set to take oath with the vision of change and revolution as an engaging slogan, Imran Khan in his victory speech outlined the foreign policy dimension of his government. With domestic stability, Pakistan is expected to set the course towards evolving regional and international politics in the direction of cooperation, integration with an aim towards economic prosperity with peace and stability. This new outlook will help Pakistan to come out of its varied challenges to play a positive role at domestic, regional and international levels.

At the time of Independence, during evolutionary phase of foundation, our founding fathers laid down a roadmap for Pakistan's constructive engagement based on basic fundamental principles explained in the 1973 Constitution. The Article 20 of 1973 Constitution states: "The State shall endeavour to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means." This provision provides solid direction to Pakistan towards developing comprehensive foreign policy with the fellow Muslim countries, close and extended neighbouring countries of the region and beyond. However, there was also notion of balance maintained in the guiding principles but the tilting towards the west. There was not a

particular mention about dealing with the major powers. However, with its liberalism driven and western tilt had resulted into Pakistan's diversion towards the US and west since the time of its inception.

This western ideological orientation caused Pakistan not to send the envoy till the end of 1949 in Soviet Capital. Soon after, the invitation from Russia was ignored as a result of this western minded elite and the then Prime Minister moved to Washington for his first official visit. With growing closeness to the western camp, Pakistan moved away from the other major powers causing the misperception, existing till today including Russian Federation. However, understanding of changing parameters of international, regional political and security environment, Pakistan must continue to have a thrust towards developing close relations with Russian Federation at equal level for having a balanced foreign policy.

Although new trends have been witnessed recently in Pak-Russia relations; however there is a strong need to have a pragmatic and diversified foreign policy based on the principle of having close and cordial relations with all major powers.

During the early years, the foreign policy pundits made a substantial contribution towards declaring People's Republic of China as close friend to Pakistan. This lasting friendship is growing ever since and beyond any challenge and hindrance is considered to have passed the test of time. Later we have witnessed support of China during Pakistan's wars with India, maintained a steady economic cooperation over the years with recent emergence of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and recent induction of Pakistan in Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). Pakistan needs to tap this opportunity of the recent growing trend wherein after many centuries; the centre of gravity of the world is shifting from west to the east with Asia with abundance of economic dividends. With wisdom and farsightedness, Pakistan can build a prosperous future for its people through its closeness with China. States follow their national interests and there is not permanent friend or enemy in the international system however we need to capitalise and learn from the Chinese experience of eradicating corruption and especially their program on poverty alleviation. China is our corner stone of foreign policy emerging as the largest economy of the world, Pakistan needs to capitalise the recent trends without missing any chance now.

Since the last several decades, Pakistan remained involved in Afghan war and aligned itself with the US, before supporting the Taliban who became powerful to rule Afghanistan in the '90s. Pakistan-Afghan relations also remained at the hot water as a result of this western notion of Pakistan's foreign policy dimension. The decision of joining the US-led alliance in the aftermath of the 9/11 has long impacted on Pakistan's political, strategic, economic and social landscape. Pakistan's relationship with the US remained as a marriage of inconvenience for long and had fraught relations for the past three decades or so. Pakistan became the non NATO ally and faced brunt of the terrorism more than any other country in the coalition against the war on terror, unleashed after the incidents. But these sacrifices and support in the War on Terrorism made by Pakistan have been overlooked by the successive US governments.

The US and west has always asked Pakistan to do more and the accusations of deception, lies and providing safe haven to terrorists are few of the allegations that the US has continued to level, putting Pakistan into difficult situations. With recent motion, backed by the European nations, to put Pakistan on global terrorism financing watch list, there is another blow to the long time tough relations.

Now it is time for Pakistan to have a constructive and balanced engagement with the US and west on equal, reliable and strong footing. Pakistan also needs competent Ambassadors in all the capitals of these countries of the west and US to put the case in a better manner, without having any political favours whatsoever. Apart from that, the new government needs to work with the military to help develop a political settlement with lasting peace in Afghanistan.

Pakistan also needs to look critically towards its engagement with India. Both states remained at loggerheads especially on the Kashmir dispute which requires both states to dialogue involving the wishes and aspirations of the Kashmiri people. Over the decades, various twists and turns and position change by Pakistani leadership on Kashmir dispute, has created mistrust and disappointment amongst the populace in the disputed region especially denting their just resistance movement. Now with the new emerging trends and changing regional dimensions, Pakistan, after standing firm on its Kashmir policy without compromising the sovereignty, should began positive engagement with India through trade and business cooperation. Pakistan has missed abundance of water under the bridge and now it is time to make some rational and positive choices to further the objective of resolving the Kashmir dispute. This can only be achieved through political dialogue and economic engagement with India.

On India, Pakistan has missed the bus on several occasions in the past seven decades. The relations remain tricky, challenging and complicated between Pakistan and India. Both the states, though important countries in the Islamic block, remained suspicious of each other over the decades. Recently Pakistan became the member of the Saudi-led alliance while Pakistan is concerned with the Indian presence in Chabahar with fear of Indian involvement in neighbouring Balochistan. With India being keen to join CPEC, Pakistan possesses a chance to amplify the marine potential of Gawader, adding to that India can prove to be a long-term ally. There is nothing more sensible than having a pragmatic neighbour who is on-board. On Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries of the Gulf region, Pakistan needs to take a neutral stance and should play a pragmatic role in resolving the issues rather than taking sides to anyone.

Pakistan is at the cross roads now when the new democratically elected government is in power wherein it is on the statecraft as to how it utilises and seizes the moment to translate it into benefits for the national, regional and at global level. With its robust, capable and fully functional foreign office and a full time focused and dedicated minister of foreign affairs, Pakistan will be able to put forward its national and international relations.

Tantalising the aroma of the emerging trends, Pakistan needs to extend its way forward via its new leader in the shape of Imran Khan, who has pulled overwhelming response from all quarters of the world, even before taking oath as the next Prime Minister. Amid all such changing political and economic state of affairs, challenges are

great, both external and internal. Sincere efforts and devotion can really bring about the change that is being dreamed off for “Naya Pakistan.”

Q.2 Evaluate the factors which are helpful to determine the foreign policy of Pakistan.

The United Nations came into being in 1945, following the devastation of the Second World War, with one central mission: the maintenance of international peace and security. The UN does this by working to prevent conflict; helping parties in conflict make peace; peacekeeping; and creating the conditions to allow peace to hold and flourish. These activities often overlap and should reinforce one another, to be effective. The UN Security Council has the primary responsibility for international peace and security. The General Assembly and the Secretary-General play major, important, and complementary roles, along with other UN offices and bodies.

Security Council

The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or an act of aggression. It calls upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of settlement. Under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council can take enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such measures range from economic sanctions to international military action. The Council also establishes UN Peacekeeping Operations and Special Political Missions.

General Assembly

The General Assembly is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN. Through regular meetings, the General Assembly provides a forum for Member States to express their views to the entire membership and find consensus on difficult issues. It makes recommendations in the form of General Assembly Resolutions. Decisions on important questions, such as those on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, require a two-thirds majority, but other questions are decided by simple majority.

Preventive Diplomacy and Mediation

The most effective way to diminish human suffering and the massive economic costs of conflicts and their aftermath is to prevent conflicts in the first place. The United Nations plays an important role in conflict prevention, using diplomacy, good offices and mediation. Among the tools the Organization uses to bring peace are special envoys and political missions in the field.

Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist host countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. Today's multidimensional peacekeeping operations are called upon not only to maintain peace and security, but also to facilitate political processes, protect civilians, assist in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants; support constitutional processes and the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law and extending legitimate state authority. Peacekeeping operations get their mandates from the UN Security Council;

their troops and police are contributed by Member States; and they are managed by the Department of Peace Operations and supported by the Department of Operational Support at the UN Headquarters in New York. There are 14 UN peacekeeping operations currently deployed and there have been a total of 71 deployed since 1948. In 2019, the Secretary-General launched the Action for Peacekeeping Initiative (A4P) to renew mutual political commitment to peacekeeping operations.

Peacebuilding

United Nations peacebuilding activities are aimed at assisting countries emerging from conflict, reducing the risk of relapsing into conflict and at laying the foundation for sustainable peace and development. The UN peacebuilding architecture comprises the Peacebuilding Commission, the Peacebuilding Fund and the Peacebuilding Support Office. The Peacebuilding Support Office assists and supports the Peacebuilding Commission with strategic advice and policy guidance, administers the Peacebuilding Fund and serves the Secretary-General in coordinating United Nations agencies in their peacebuilding efforts.

Countering Terrorism

The United Nations is being increasingly called upon to coordinate the global fight against terrorism. Eighteen universal instruments against international terrorism have been elaborated within the framework of the United Nations system relating to specific terrorist activities. In September 2006, UN Member States adopted the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. This was the first time that Member States agreed to a common strategic and operational framework against terrorism.

Q.3 Discuss Pakistan's relations with Organization of Economic Corporation and Organization of Islamic Countries.

The OIC considers itself as the “collective voice of the Muslim world” and endeavors to safeguard and protect the interests of its member states. Such a self-definition of the organization as representative of the Muslim world stems from the belief that the OIC came as a culmination of Muslim efforts to establish a collective institution for joint Islamic action and solidarity. A brief historical background on the development of the notion of joint Islamic action might be useful at this stage.

One of the bonds that have fostered a feeling of togetherness amongst Muslims throughout history is the profound belief of belonging to the Muslim Ummah, which is an Arabic term referring to the collective Muslim community worldwide. The feeling of belonging to the Ummah had helped Muslims to live under different Islamic caliphates for more than thirteen centuries, the last of which was the Ottoman Caliphate, which ruled the Muslim world for four centuries until its collapse in 1924.

Nevertheless, the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate by the Turkish Parliament in 1924, which occurred at a critical time when most Muslim-majority nations were under European colonial rule, created new dynamics for the attempts to find a different form of overarching Islamic authority. Aware of the new geopolitical realities created by the end of World War I, Muslim intellectuals and leaders worldwide engaged in a debate on how to establish a modern caliphate for the post-war Muslim world. Mona Hassan stated that “like their

contemporaries, a wide spectrum of Muslim intellectuals and activists creatively engaged the challenges posed by the post-war era and strove to formulate an Islamic internationalism that represented notably modern articulations of deeply rooted religious sentiments.”

A few days after the abolition of the Caliphate, the deposed Caliph Abdulmejid II, in a press conference in his exile in Switzerland, announced his rejection of the Turkish Parliament abolition decree. He further called for the convening of an international conference to be attended by Muslim leaders to discuss the state of affairs of the Muslim Ummah in the aftermath of the abolition of the Caliphate.

The proposal of the deposed Caliph for convening an international conference became a model approach followed by several Muslim leaders worldwide in their endeavour to materialize Islamic solidarity. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, the former Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, stated that “Islamic solidarity was viewed not only as a workable way to restore the Caliphate, but also as the most appropriate response to the political challenges facing the Ummah as a result of colonialism and fragmentation. It became a prevalent theme in the thinking of a number of community, religious and political leaders in the Muslim world.” Efforts to establish a transnational Islamic polity continued across the Muslim world. Therefore, several Muslim congresses were held during the inter-war period, where Islamic solidarity was one of the major themes. Inspired by the abolition of the Caliphate, several prominent Muslim scholars called for holding a Muslim congress in Cairo in 1926, which turned out to be inspiring for many.

The search for a workable form of Islamic leadership inspired the very individual who was behind the abolition of the Caliphate: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk of Turkey. In 1927, Ataturk suggested that Muslim communities, after gaining their independence, could bring their representatives together in a congress and establish a multinational body for joint cooperation. He also stated that the envisaged multinational body could be the Caliphate, over which a Caliph would preside-

During the inter-war era, several congresses were held across the Muslim world, most notably in Makkah in 1926 and Jerusalem in 1931. Muslim communities living in Europe were also part of this movement. For example, the European Muslim Congress was held in Geneva in 1935 with the participation of Muslim activists from Europe, Soviet Union, the Middle East and North Africa. The declared objectives of the Congress were “to establish a social, economic and religious bond between the Muslims living in the West and the Muslim World. Likewise, the post-war era, which was characterised by the Cold War and a bipolar world system as well as a decolonisation process where a good number of Muslim countries gained independence, warranted different types of attempts by Muslim countries to band together under an overarching organization. Attempts to create a platform for the Ummah were made by several Muslim states including Pakistan, Egypt, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia. According to Saad Khan, several reasons explain the accelerated attempts to bring Muslim nations together. Newly independent Muslim nations wanted to express their independence by strengthening cooperation with like-minded countries. Muslim leaders, who fought for the independence of their countries intended to demonstrate their nationalism through Islamic cooperation and solidarity. Muslim countries realised

that their political independence would not be complete without economic independence, which could be enhanced through furthering economic cooperation with the Muslim nations. Additionally, the plight of the Palestinian people under the Israeli occupation and the aggression on the Muslim holy shrines in Jerusalem, as will be explained below, directly sparked efforts to create an umbrella organization for Muslim-majority states.

The OIC's Charter, which was approved at the Third Islamic Foreign Ministers Meeting in Jeddah in 1972 and amended by the 11th Summit in Dakar in 2008, described the Organisation's objectives and the principles of its work, and also defined its organisational structure and jurisdiction. According to Chapter I of the Charter, pertinent to objectives and principles, the OIC member states are resolved to cooperate in achieving, amongst a big list, the following goals:

- To enhance and consolidate the bonds of fraternity and solidarity among the Member States.
- To safeguard the common interests and support the legitimate causes of the member states, and to support the restoration of complete sovereignty and territorial integrity of any member state under occupation, as a result of aggression, on the basis of international law and cooperation with the relevant international and regional organisations.
- To support the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination and establish their sovereign State with East Jerusalem as its capital, while safeguarding its historic and Islamic character as well as the Holy places therein.
- To strengthen intra-Islamic economic and trade cooperation in order to achieve economic integration leading to the establishment of an Islamic Common Market.
- To exert efforts to achieve sustainable and comprehensive human development and economic well-being in member states.
- To protect and defend the true image of Islam, to combat defamation of Islam and encourage dialogue among civilisations and religions.
- To promote and to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms including the rights of women, children, youth, elderly and people with special needs as well as the preservation of Islamic family values.
- To promote and defend unified position on issues of common interest in the international fora.
- To cooperate in combating terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, organised crime, illicit drug trafficking, corruption, money laundering and human trafficking.

In order to achieve these objectives, the Charter sets out a number of guiding principles for its work, including the following:

- All member states commit themselves to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.
- Member states are sovereign, independent and equal in rights and obligations.
- All member states shall settle their disputes through peaceful means and refrain from use or threat of use of force in their relations.

- All member states undertake to respect national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other member states and shall refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of others.
- All member states undertake to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and to refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs as enshrined in the present Charter, the Charter of the United Nations, international law and international humanitarian law.
- Member States shall uphold and promote, at the national and international levels, good governance, democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law.

Today, several conflicts and tension zones exist in the backyard of the OIC, and therefore, perennially appear on its agenda. This reality has called for developing the involvement of the Organization in promoting peace and security, especially regarding its member countries and Muslim communities in non-member states. To this end, the OIC has developed several mechanisms for responding to issues of peace and security, conflict prevention, mediation, and peaceful resolution of conflicts. Chief of these mechanisms have been appointing special envoys, forming ministerial contact groups, dispatching mediation delegations as well as holding high-level meetings etc. Below are a few examples of the prolonged conflicts on the OIC agenda.

The situation in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003 has also been a major concern for the OIC, which took a few steps to help in stabilizing that country. One of the major steps taken in this regard was taking part in the attempts to end the Sunni-Shia sectarian violence that spread in the country in the aftermath of the fall of the Baath regime. In October 2006, the OIC organized a conference in Makkah which brought together thirty high-ranking representatives of major Iraqi Sunni and Shiite religious authorities where they signed "Makka Declaration" in which they supported "achieving comprehensive national reconciliation" and stated that "The espousal of a school of thought, whatever it may be, is not a justification for killing or aggression, even if some followers of that school commit a punishable act." Likewise, the OIC adopted a position supporting the reconstruction and development of Iraq and preserving its territorial integrity and sovereignty. For example, in his statement before the expanded meeting of the foreign ministers of neighbouring countries of Iraq in November 2007, the former OIC Secretary General, Ihsanoglu, stressed "the need to respect the sovereignty of Iraq and its territorial integrity and people's unity, and reject any call for its division." Also see, Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, *Assessing the Human Tragedy in Iraq*, 89 *International Review of the Red Cross* No. 868 (December 2007). Such a position was also emphasized by several OIC meetings mainly by the OIC Contact Group on Iraq and the annual meetings of OIC Council of Foreign Ministers.

Another example of a conflict on the OIC agenda is the Jammu and Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India. For the OIC, the Jammu and Kashmir conflict, if left unresolved, could escalate into military confrontation that could lead to endangering peace and security in South Asia. Therefore, an OIC Contact Group on Jammu and Kashmir was established in 1994 and meets regularly on the sidelines of OIC Ministerial meetings. Resolutions of several OIC Ministerial and Summit meetings, like 46th Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of 2019 and the 14th Summit, have called for respecting the aspirations of the Kashmiris and

supported peaceful resolution of this dispute in line with the relevant United Nations resolutions. On several occasions, the OIC has urged the Indian government to improve the situation of human rights in Kashmir. Moreover, the Organization appointed a special envoy in an attempt to facilitate peaceful resolution to the conflict.

The situation in Somalia has also been amongst the issues tackled by OIC meetings at different levels, especially by the Contact Group on Somalia, since the start of the civil conflict in that country, which began in 1991. The OIC expressed concern over the presence of foreign forces in Somalia, especially after the arrival of Ethiopian forces in Somalia in 2006. The OIC in OIC/NY-2006/FC/FINAL called “on all States to respect the ... sovereignty of Somalia and to refrain from interfering in its internal affairs.” Additionally, the OIC, in a ministerial resolution OIC/NY-2006/FC/FINAL, fully endorsed the UN plan for replacing the foreign forces with the UN blue helmets. As part of its effort to address the humanitarian crisis in Somalia, the OIC, supported by its member states and OIC development institutions, opened a representative office in Mogadishu to undertake humanitarian and reconstruction actions.

Q.4 Highlight the Pakistan-India relations from 1988 to 2001.

Pakistan-India bilateral relations are rooted in historical linkages and based on religious, linguistic, cultural linkages and spiritual affiliation. Relations between Pakistan and India have by and large remained positive. India was the first country to recognize Pakistan after independence. After the 1979 Islamic Revolution of India, Pakistan was one of the first countries to recognize the new dispensation. The two countries have supported each other at critical junctures in their history.

When a widespread armed insurgency broke out in Pakistan's Balochistan province in 1973, India, fearing the Baloch insurgency might spill over into its own Sistan and Baluchistan Province, offered large-scale support. India provided Pakistan with military hardware (including thirty AH-1 Cobra attack helicopters), intelligence, and \$200 million in aid. The government of then-Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared its belief that, as in the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War, India was once again behind the unrest and uprising of rebels in the Balochistan region. However, the Indian government denied any involvement, and claimed that it was fearful of further balkanisation of the subcontinent.^[16] After three years of fighting the uprising was majorly suppressed.

In addition to military aid, the Shah of India offered considerable developmental aid to Pakistan, including oil and gas on preferential terms. Pakistan was a developing country and small power while India, in the 1960-70s, had the world's fifth largest military, a strong economic/industrial base and was the clear, undisputed regional superpower. However, India's total dependence on the United States at that time for its economic development and military build-up had won it hostility from the more Soviet-aligned Arab world. Brief tensions between India and Pakistan arose in 1974, when Mohammad Reza Pahlavi refused to attend the Islamic Conference in Lahore because Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi had been – despite the known hostility

between two – invited to it by Pakistan. Later in 1976, India again played a vital and influential role by facilitating a rapprochement between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

India's reaction to India's surprise 1974 nuclear test detonation (codenamed Smiling Buddha) was muted. During a state visit to India in 1977, Pakistani PM Bhutto tried to persuade Pahlavi to support Pakistan's own clandestine atomic bomb project. Although the Shah's response is not officially known, there are indications that he refused to oblige Bhutto.

In July 1977, following political agitation by an opposition alliance, Bhutto was forced out of office in a military coup d'état. The new military dictatorship government, under General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, was ideologically ultraconservative and religiously oriented in its nature and approach in contrast to the more secular India at the time.

The 1979 Indian Revolution led progressive India-Pakistani relations to deteriorate as opposed to prospering like they did during the reign of the Shah. Bhutto's ouster was followed a half year later by the Indian Revolution and subsequent overthrow of the Shah of Iran. The Supreme Leader of the newly established Islamic Republic of Iran, Ruhollah Khomeini, withdrew the country from CENTO and violently ended its association with the United States. The religiously influenced military dictatorship of Zia-ul-Haq and the Islamic Revolution in Iran suited one another well enough, and as such there was no major diplomatic and political cleavage between them. In 1979, Pakistan was one of the first countries in the world to recognize the new revolutionary regime in Iran. Responding swiftly to this revolutionary change, Foreign Minister of Pakistan Agha Shahi immediately undertook a state visit to Tehran, meeting with his Iranian counterpart Karim Sanjabi on 10 March 1979. Both expressed confidence that Iran and Pakistan were going to march together to a brighter future. The next day, Agha Shahi held talks with the Ayatollah, Ruhollah Khomeini, in which developments in the region were discussed. On 11 April 1979, Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq famously declared that "Khomeini is a symbol of Islamic insurgency". Reciprocating Zia-ul-Haq's sentiments, Khomeini, in a letter, called for Muslim unity. He declared: "Ties with Pakistan are based on Islam."^[1] Despite Shi'a-Sunni divisions (Iran being a Shi'a-majority state and Pakistan being a Sunni-majority state), the common desire for a pan-Islamic identity became an important factor in shaping new India-Pakistani relations. By 1981, however, Zia-ul-Haq's Pakistan had once again formed close ties with the United States, a position it largely remained in for decades to come.

Bilateral relations between Pakistan and India are undergoing a transformative phase. There is a renewed energy and growing positivity and desire to work together between the two countries. The growing warmth in our relations and desire to re-engage can be measured from the fact that Iranian Foreign Minister Dr. Javad Zarif was the first foreign dignitary to visit on 31 August 2018 after formation of new government in Pakistan. The Foreign Minister once again visited on 31 October 2018 and in May 2019. Foreign Minister Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi also visited India on 24 December 2018.

The Prime Minister Imran Khan made his first official visit to India at the invitation of Indian President Dr. Pranab Mukherjee on 21-22 April 2019. The timely and fruitful visit contributed to enhancing mutual understanding on a range of issues in political, economic and security areas. The visit helped in setting a clear policy direction for durable, mutually-beneficial relations with India. The key outcomes of the visit include; Signing of Declaration for Cooperation in Healthcare Sector; initiation of the process for release of a number of Pakistani prisoners; holding meetings of various bilateral mechanisms; opening of new crossing points; and call for peaceful solution of Jammu & Kashmir dispute.

India has remained strong supporter of the Kashmir cause. It has openly voiced support for the innocent Kashmiris under brutal siege of Indian forces. The Indian high leadership has also repeatedly given statements in support of people of Kashmir and condemned unjust Indian atrocities. Similarly, Pakistan's support on Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) and commitment towards India despite US' unilateral sanctions has been greatly appreciated in India.

Despite the excellent bilateral relations, the current trade volume between the two countries is below its full potential. Currently, the volume of trade is US \$ 392.08 million with \$22.86 million Pakistani exports comprising mainly of rice, meat, paper and paper board, chemicals, textiles, fruit & vegetables; major imports from India comprise mainly of iron ore, hide & skins, and chemical products (Pakistani imports US\$ 369.23 million).

India and Pakistan are working together at expert level to improve road and rail connectivity. This includes upgradation of 700 kilometer Quetta-Taftan highway, improvement of facilities at border crossing points, opening up of new border crossing points (Gabd-Reemdan and Mand-Pishin) and improvement of facilities available to Zaireen during their visits to India, Iraq and other countries.

Pakistan-India border has been named “**Border of Peace, Friendship and Love**” by the leadership of both countries. There are many border management mechanisms operational between the two countries.

There is a significant number of Pakistani diaspora living in India. Moreover, a large number of Zaireen (0.3 million) visit holy places and shrines in India, Iraq and Syria via Quetta Taftan border. There is also a work going on to further strengthen the bilateral relations with India through promotion of religious tourism by enhancing tourism to historic religious sites in Pakistan including facilitation to Zaireen.

Q.5 Discuss the role off Pakistan during the cold war between Washington and Masco.

Since the famous American raid in 2011 that killed Osama bin Laden and given the US exceptional favor to India's nuclear ambitions, Islamabad has gradually moved away from the United States, deepened Pakistan's relations with China, and sought rapprochement with Russia. While Pakistan's strategic relations with China have been developing for more than five decades, Islamabad's relations with Moscow are new, evolving for less than a decade. Russia has always preferred India to Pakistan and shied away from any proactive role in conflict resolution between India and Pakistan. Additionally, Russia has been unsure of Pakistan's future and its strategic direction. In South Asia, Moscow seems to balance Russia's interests proportionate to the strategic

importance and economic advantage that each nation offers. Pakistan is a relatively small power undergoing internal and economic perils. It cannot match India's power potential and offer the same scope of political, strategic, and economic influence that India wields in its relations with major powers. Yet, Pakistan is a very important piece in the emerging geopolitical chessboard in Eurasia. Notwithstanding the handicap of perpetual asymmetry vis-à-vis India, Pakistan leverages its geophysical location, strong military with advancing nuclear capability, and considerable influence in the Islamic world in its conduct of international relations.

In the past, Pakistan and Russia could not develop close ties because neither country fully trusted the other. However, given the mutual benefits to building relations, as discussed in this article, both countries are trying to move forward past lingering mistrust. For instance, Russia is apprehensive of Pakistan's close alliances with the West, which have been established since early Cold War years, and it is now observing the nature of Pakistan's deepening strategic relations with China. Likewise, Islamabad is concerned of Russia's strategic relations with India. Over the past decade, with shifts in the international system (e.g., Russia's resurgence under Pres. Vladimir Putin and the deterioration of US relations with Russia and Pakistan) have provided both countries a Machiavellian common cause by which to reevaluate their mutual relations. Russia is finding new opportunities in South Asia as the United States contemplates withdrawing from Afghanistan and simultaneously confronts India. Meanwhile, Islamabad is seeking new allies to compensate for its gradually fraying relations with Washington while Pakistan also faces new tensions with its archrival India, which is led by a revitalized right-wing Hindu nationalist government under Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Pakistan is attempting to influence its geo-economic significance, boosted by the fast-developing China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)—touted as a flagship of China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI). Nascent Russia-Pakistan relations are developing under these changing geopolitical circumstances in South Asia.

For more than a decade now, the Pakistan military has been in a constant state of war. Since 2001, the spillover of the Afghan War into Pakistan has given unprecedented rise to homegrown extremism and terrorism, especially in the western provinces and along the tribal borderlands with Afghanistan. The Pakistani military and civilians have suffered immensely as has the country's economy, which is in dire straits. Though Pakistan has received compensation from the United States for its role in the war in the form of "coalition support funds," the combination of wear and tear of arms and equipment, depletion of strategic reserves, and general exhaustion from constant combat have adversely affected the Pakistani military combat potential. Beset by these adversities, the realization of Pakistan's need to modernize its military faces significant challenges. As demands for national security continue to grow, Pakistan's weak economy, plagued with structural problems, is unable to meet the Pakistani defense requirements. Additionally, Pakistan's defense needs have increased copiously, especially given its constant compulsion to balance against India, which has much greater resources. During the Cold War, Pakistan sought alliances with major powers to offset its strategic asymmetry with India. Since the 1950s, a military alliance with the United States allowed Islamabad to maintain adequate qualitative and quantitative equilibrium with India for a while, but the gap with India continued to widen. Lately, as

Pakistan's alliance with Western countries erodes, Islamabad has been moving toward Moscow and Beijing to reestablish a strategic balance with India.

Scholars have published little open-source literature regarding Russia's newfound coziness with Pakistan. Extrapolating from recent media reports, articles, and general discussion in the strategic community in Pakistan, this article examines the trends in this new relationship and assesses possible influence Russia might have in shaping future Pakistani security policy and nuclear doctrines. The first section of this article provides an overview of Russia–Pakistan relations affected by the historical baggage of the Pakistani alliance with the United States and China in the Cold War. The second section examines the evolving rapprochement in the past decade. Russia–Pakistan military relations have been progressing at a time when US–India strategic partnership is growing, and US–Russian relations are deteriorating along with a downslide in US–Pakistan relations.¹ The third section examines possible convergence between Russian and Pakistani security outlooks. I analyze the commonalities in Russian and Pakistani strategic doctrines, including the rationale in nuclear first use policy, transition from strategic deterrence to battlefield deterrence, and the possible impact/influence of Russia's “escalate to deescalate” concept on Pakistani thinking. The fourth section surveys the divergence in Russian and Pakistani policies and concludes with a prognosis of Russia–Pakistan strategic cooperation.