

**EMERGING TIES BETWEEN RUSSIA AND
PAKISTAN: IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA**

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**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES,
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IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA**

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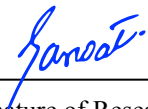
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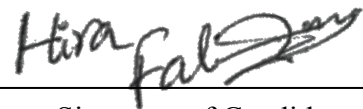
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved Father, Mother and Muhammad Hussain.

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AEP	Act East Policy
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa
CASA 1000	Central Asia-South Asia Power Project
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
DIC	Defense Industrial Complex
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EU	European Union
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
IGC	Inter-Governmental Conference
INSTC	International North-South Transport Corridor
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISIS	Islamic States of Iraq and Syria
JMCC	Joint Military Consultative Committee
LEMOA	Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAM	Non- Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NSG	Nuclear Supplier Group
Numl	National University of Modern Languages
OBOR	One Belt One Road
OGDCL	Oil and Gas Development Company Limited
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PoW	Prisoners of War
SAARC	South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SCS	South China Sea
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
TAPI	Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Pipeline
THAAD	Terminal High Altitude Area Defense
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
ZAB	Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

Abstract

Thesis Title: Emerging Ties between Russia and Pakistan: Implications for India

This study examines the status of emerging relationship between Pakistan and Russia, and its implications for India which is aspired to play a dominant role in the Asian region. Since Pakistan's internal conditions such as its security and economic issues are challenging, it needs the support of the global powers such as Russia. However, Pakistan's proximity to Russia is fraught with new challenges including India's hostile reaction. The research also analyses India's responsive measures towards growing Russo-Pak relations. To explain Russia and Pakistan rapprochement, the study uses the theoretical perspective of defensive realism. Pakistan and Russia's security and economic interests are intertwined and discernible as officials from both sides are participating in bilateral and multilateral forums to address their common concerns. In order to strengthen its relations with Russia, Pakistan needs to overcome the trust deficit which is due to their bitter past. Overall, empirical data related to the subject is defining the status of Russo-Pak relations in the recent times as well as in the past, and the possible challenges these relations can pose for the Indian hegemonic designs in the region. Consequently, the study concludes that Russo-Pak relations have been gaining momentum since 9/11 and it can cause a variety of repercussions for India in general, and to its regional hegemonic designs in particular.

Key Terms

Geopolitical dimensions, International Politics, Multilateral Approach, Hegemonic Designs, Regional strategies, Power Concentration.

INTRODUCTION

This study analyses the growing rapprochement between Russia and Pakistan and implications for India. Russia being a major power has potential to mitigate regional tension and can generate new economic ventures in South Asia. Therefore, Pakistan can benefit from Russia in different fields such as energy, technology and trade. Reciprocally, Pakistan is also an important country for Russia owing to its geographical location and nearness to vital sea and land routes. However, historical bitterness, mistrust and misunderstandings have been holding these two states back to get close to each other.

The historical distrust between Russia and Pakistan grew the roots when Moscow invited Pakistan's premier in 1949, but Pakistan used this offer as a bargaining tool to get an invitation from Washington.¹ Furthermore, Pakistan's move to join South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO)-1954 and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)-1955, and permitting the United States (US) plane to fly from Peshawar for espionage purpose in the former Soviet Union in 1960, made the relations between the two to hit rock bottom. Soviets shot down this plane and threatened Peshawar with rocket attacks.² At this point in time Pakistan opted to normalize its relations with Soviet Union and to cement further its ties with China.

In the wake of Indo-Pak war of 1965, a visible rift appeared between Pakistan and the USA; Pakistan started to see an alternate in former Soviet Union, which mediated the Tashkent Pact between India and Pakistan.³ This marked the beginning of an era of bilateralism in foreign policy of Pakistan. Other factors like the US-India nuclear deal, termination of Pak-US F-16 deal, and the US support for Indian inclusion in Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) further motivated Pakistan to go for Russia. The noticeable development in the relationship of Russia and Pakistan can be observed after 2008 when

¹ Hafeez-ur-Rahman Khan, "Pakistan's Relations with the U.S.S.R.," *Pakistan Horizon* 14, no. 1 (1961): 33–55.

² M. Ayub Khan, "The Pakistan-American Alliance: Stresses and Strains," *Foreign Affairs* 42, no. 2 (January 1964).

³ Tahir Amin, "Pakistan-Russia Relations and the Unfolding 'New Great Game' in South Asia," in *The Regional Security Puzzle around Afghanistan*, ed. Helena Rytövuori-Apunen, 1st ed., Bordering Practices in Central Asia and Beyond (Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2016), 191–206, doi:10.2307/j.ctvbkjzm0.13.

US-India civil nuclear deal was made. Unequivocally, the above-mentioned factors had given birth to security concerns for Pakistan.

Russia's political interest in Pakistan are becoming more pronounced than ever before due to its own changing position in the region. Moreover, Russia has a significant defence market; it needs buyers and avoids skirmishes in the region. The real power of Russia lies in its neighbouring states as these guarantee physical security to Russia. In this regard, Pakistan has a pivotal position to attract Russia. Even Russian scholars admit the fact that Pakistan is becoming indispensable for Russia, Vladimir Moskalenko and Petr Topychkanov expressed; "Russia has good reason to view Pakistan as a leading regional state, especially because Islamabad has been in the global spotlight for the last few decades."⁴ Conspicuously, Russia has started to supply defence products to Pakistan after 2010. In November 2014, Russia signed an agreement of military cooperation with Pakistan while they conducted joint military drills in September 2016. Code-named DRUBZA-2017, the joint military exercise is a continuation of the 'Friendship-2016' military drills that were conducted between the special forces of Pakistan and Russia.⁵ Yet both countries need to work together to resolve their differences, due to their sour history.

In retrospect, both Russia and Pakistan went through a period of political and economic eclipse yet their relations remained intact. The growth in their relations is visible in post 9/11 era amid changing geopolitical environment, regional integration and evolving economic linkages. Interestingly, Russia has great economic potential and holds pretentious oil and gas fields; it also seeks new regional markets. In this regard, South Asia appears more lucrative and in easy access of Russia's intended businesses. Moscow is desirous to make new alliances in the region and interested in speeding up its commercial activities in the region. Hence, it has shown interest in building gas pipeline

⁴ Vladimir Moskalenko and Petr Topychkanov, "RUSSIA AND PAKISTAN Shared Challenges and Common Opportunities," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, May 1, 2014, accessed June 20, 2020, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep13006>.

⁵ Muhammad Taimur Fahad Khan, "Pakistan-Russia Military Drills - A New Equation to Counter Terrorism," *Institute of Strategic studies*, October 4, 2017, accessed October 10, 2017, http://issi.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Final_IB_Taimoor_dated_04-10-2017.pdf.

in Pakistan and to link its Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) with China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).⁶ Apart from their commercial ties, Pakistan and Russia are common members of different organizations most importantly Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Accordingly, the evolving ties between Russia and Pakistan reflect the shift in regional politics. On the one hand Russia is coming close to Pakistan; on the other hand India is getting near to the US. The growing ties between India and the US are equally worrisome for Pakistan and China because of India's regional hegemonic designs. The changing international circumstances are providing Pakistan with an opportunity to reshape its alignment of foreign relations and to build strong associations with emerging powers like China and Russia.⁷

In this background, Pakistan needs to preserve its national interest and requires a comprehensive plan to designs its defence strategies and policies for tackling the Indian factor in the region. The present study envisages that Pakistan and Russia's mutual cooperation is possible in various sectors; however, the Indian hegemonic designs are posing risks. Therefore, Pakistan tends to join new regional allies, extends cooperation to Russia and wants it to join CPEC. Nonetheless, CPEC has become the key irritant for India and this has spurred tension between India and China too. The analysis of the above stated conundrum is the real motive of this study.

Considering the regional dynamics and change in foreign policies of the major regional powers, this study justifies the need to assessing the Russo-Pak relations and analysing the factors which are influencing the relations and triggering cooperation between them. The study also focuses on the implications for India due to the closer ties between Pakistan. The understanding of the Indian responsive measures will help Pakistan to act accordingly.

⁶ Franz-Stefan Gady, "Pakistan Receives 4 Advanced Attack Helicopters from Russia," *The Diplomat*, August 29, 2017, accessed October 10, 2017, <http://thediplomat.com/2017/08/pakistan-receives-4-advanced-attack-helicopters-from-russia/>.

⁷ Yashir Habib Khan, "Wanted: Pak-centric foreign policy", *Daily Times*, August 31, 2017, A6.

Problem Statement

Recently there has been a shift in Pakistan's foreign policy from Western bloc towards Eastern bloc, looking upon China and Russia for grabbing the opportunities to emerge as a competing power against India. Whilst India, in its quest for regional dominance, wants greater influence on the Asian affairs, particularly by having strong foots in Afghanistan after the US withdrawal from Afghanistan. Moreover, India has a large market for capitalist investment emerging as an economic power. India, in order to be dominant and influential in the region, is seeking support of the US. The complexity of the situation has made Pakistan apprehensive and it has been shifting policy accordingly. It appears that Russia and Pakistan have shared economic and security interests particularly after the announcement of CPEC. Thus, the emerging partnership between Pakistan and Russia generates hurdles for India which can have serious consequences for Indian hegemonic behaviour. This situation has given birth to a puzzle and present research revolves around it. The question arises how and why would the nexus of Russia and Pakistan affect India?

Significance of Research

This research is important as it in detail, analyses the Pakistan-Russia rapprochement in contemporary international politics as two countries had a very complicated history. The study also explores that how this unusual relationship will work and will it be effective for a longer period. Study also examines the impact of this unique development between Russo-Pak as both states are rapidly building their political as well as military relations. Pakistan and China are already enjoying good relations but this cooperation among these three countries will make this bond even much stronger as before. This study is useful as it covers the new era of Pakistan-Russia relationship, a shift from their bitter past to their reunion due to convergence of national interests. Furthermore, an effort has been made to fill the gap in existing literature that can help scholars and policy makers to conduct in-depth analysis on the subject as arguments are supported by empirical data. Many tables and charts have been used to validate the knowledge.

However, India and United States are strengthening their relations due to some shared interests by signing nuclear deals. This research critically explores that how Pakistan and Russia's alignment will impact on Indo-US partnership as this nexus may emerge as a challenge or a threat to Indo-US alliance. Secondly research will also help in exploring Indian response.

Key focus of this research is the changing dynamics of international power structure including re-emerging Russia and rise of China. This research is important as it is a defining factor for flourishing the region's future. It highlights the importance of CPEC which shows the deep rooted trust and harmony among Pakistan and China relations which is getting stronger with time and this cooperation is further enhanced by Russia's joining the Eurasian Economic Union with CPEC. The cordial relationship between China and Pakistan have been strengthened more with the CPEC project thus China's close alliance will ultimately help in boosting up Pakistan's economy and especially in countering India in Asian region.

This research further focuses on the factors of international political system that are tilting Pakistan's foreign policy towards other major powers, i.e. Russia and China. Moreover the interests of these three countries are collaborating with each other as global power concentration is shifting to the other (Eastern) bloc. The major aim of this research is to evaluate that how this cooperation would cause the chief threat to Indian agenda and her influence in the Asian region. Furthermore it also underlines the possible measures that India can take to counter this emerging nexus of Russia and Pakistan. This study aims to add to the existing literature as it has been conducted on a different aspect that sheds light on the implications for India due to the emerging ties between Russia and Pakistan. There is lot of research being conducted on this aspect in other countries but not much work is done in Pakistan regarding this issue so this research paper will be helpful for the researchers who want to conduct research on this topic.

Objectives of the Study

Following are the goals of this research study:

- To assess the tangible factors strengthening ties between Pakistan and Russia.
- To analyse the impact of Pakistan-Russia partnership on India who is trying to be a regional hegemon.
- To examine the responsive measures of India against Pakistan and Russia collaboration.

Research Questions

1. Why are Russia and Pakistan strengthening their ties with each other?
2. How would evolving relations of Russia and Pakistan impact on India?
3. How would India's reaction create regional in/stability in the coming years?

Hypothesis

The emerging ties between Russia and Pakistan would have political, economic and security implications for India and its responsive measures can cause new regional tension.

Literature Review

An effort has been made to fill the gap in existing literature that mainly focuses on bitter history of Pakistan and Russia relations and friendly relations of Russia and India. The Pakistan-Russia rapprochement is a new phenomenon in international relations; rare literature is available on the subjected issue. Therefore, the research tends to fill the gap by conducting in depth analysis of Pakistan-Russia emerging ties. The study also focuses on how the geopolitical realities of emerging world order are in constant change due to which the scope of conflict and cooperation has been transformed providing states with new opportunities for mutual cooperation, similar is the case with Pakistan and Russia. As this research topic is a current issue and not much books are available which take account of this alignment of Russia and Pakistan in particular; so journals, articles and newspapers from reliable sources are mainly taken into consideration for the review. Relevant books regarding relations between two countries are consulted in order to make this research paper more credible.

Abdul Sattar in the book “*Pakistan’s Foreign Policy (1947-2012): A Concise History*”(2013) explains that soon after the emergence of Pakistan, it searched for Military and Economic cooperation but USSR was not an appropriate option because of its devastated economy as it’s situation was not worthy to deliver aid to Pakistan. Pakistan’s leaders considered the communist system to be antithetical to Islamic religion. Thus Pakistan allied with US but US opinion began to swing within few years. By 1957 Eisenhower called this collaboration with Pakistan ‘a terrible error’. As USSR began assistance to India, US started to advocate economic assistance to India. Kennedy stated: “If china succeeds and India fails....the balance of power will shift against us”.⁸

Communist ideology was no more a threat to west and was replaced by economic rise of China. Thus Eisenhower with western leaders and President of World Bank started to enhance economic support for India. In response, Pakistan started to normalize relations with USSR which corroded Pakistan-US relations.

United States seemed to believe India could successfully compete with China for leadership of Asia. Pakistan’s Policy Vis-a-Vis US was changing thus Pakistan had taken certain measures to regulate relations with USSR and “allowed transit rise to USSR via Karachi”. This gesture was welcome by USSR and set the basis for Ayub Khan’s visit in 1965 to Soviet Union. The growing Indo-US relations disturbed Pakistan so Ayub khan in March 1965 visited China and spoke of lasting friendship and fruitful cooperation and after a month held talks with Brezhnev.

China, in 1965 war of Pakistan extended full support to Pakistan both directly and implicitly. Apart from providing arms, China was ready to give munitions through fighter air craft.⁹ US at this situation remained neutral and India used US supplied arms to fight Pakistan. US kept silent on this situation and field was left open for Soviet diplomacy to introduce a post war settlement between India and Pakistan. Thus Tashkent Pact remained a mile stone in history of building relationships between Russia (USSR) and Pakistan. Thus era of ‘Bilateralism’ started in foreign policy of Pakistan, the new policy

⁸ Ibid., 69.

⁹ Yashir Habib Khan, “Wanted: Pak-centric foreign policy”, *Daily Times*, August 31, 2017, A6. 108.

in effect sought to distance Pakistan from west and open windows to east so Pakistan embarked upon efforts to stabilize the relationship with USSR and China.

In the book “*South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances*” (2002), Teresita C.Schaffer describes in chapter 4 ‘*A Changing India*’ that “Russia remains India’s largest source of military supply and will remain so...., A revived Russia is unlikely to accept continued US dominance without making some effort to push back.”¹⁰ This fact cannot be ignored that India and Russia both continue to maintained good trade relationship but it is also true that Russia’s aggressive attitude towards Pakistan has also been transformed into cooperative partnership.

Muhammad Asif in article “*Addressing Public Reaction to State’s Energy Crisis*” describes that “energy is crucial to existence of societies in present age. It is the backbone of the economic, industrial and social development of any country...; Pakistan faces the worst energy crisis of its history.” In his concluding marks of this writing he says that the first step taken to protect sovereignty is to prevent energy crisis” thus it can be achieved through CPEC.¹¹

P.R. Chari and Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema in the book “*Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia*” (2003) describe that Pakistan was becoming strategically marginalized. Islamabad’s value to US was declining because of Soviet defeat in Afghanistan and there was also growing friction over Pakistan’s nuclear program as US had imposed sanction on Pakistan.¹²

The strategic significance of Pakistan in the world is idiosyncratic due to its geographical location, proximity of great world powers like China and Russia and is a gate way for landlocked Central Asia. Having proximity with Strait of Hormuz and Persian Gulf, it provides transit route which has compelled China to develop Gwadar as it provides

¹⁰ Teresita C. Schaffer, “A Changing India,” in *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances*, ed. Dr. Michael Chambers (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2002), 48.

¹¹ Muhammad Asif, “Adressing Pakistan’s Reaction to State’s Energy Crisis,” *South Asian Journal*, .32 (June 2011): 105.

¹² P.R. Chari. et al, *Perception, Politics and Security in South Asia: The Compound Crisis of 1990* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 17.

shortest link to China and Central Asian states (greatly influence by Russia) for trade shipment with west and Middle East. The Indo-US nuclear deal has agitated a feeling in Pakistan that through this deal India aspires to acquire a global power status.¹³

In contrast to common view in west that China is the principle threat to India's security but India's biggest fear remains in concern that China is providing nuclear assistance to Pakistan and the strengthening ties of China and Russia makes the situation more vulnerable for India as pinpointed in the book "*Return to Winter: Russia, China and The New Cold War against America*" (2014) is emboldened by declining American military might. China and Russia have recently signed a historic four hundred billion dollar gas deal that will deepen the economic partnership.¹⁴

The emerging axis of Russia and China pose a real threat to US backed India; which has been trying to maintain a hegemonic posture in South Asia. Richard Weitz in his article "Super Power Symbioses: The Russia –China Axis" explains that the two countries have declared their identical views regarding Asia pacific security and their relation are at the best in history of their relations.¹⁵ This poses a serious blow to US presence in Asia as Emma Graham Harrison in The Guardian mentions in the article "China and Russia: The World's New Super Power Axis" mentions that both countries share a desire to limit American power; they enjoy bourgeon trade relationship and they have mutual interest in promoting an alternative model to western diplomacy and support the idea of multipolar world against American Dominance.¹⁶

Fazul ur Rahman in his article "Pakistan's Evolving Relations with China, Russia and Central Asia" writes that Russia and Pakistan's relations are advancing towards normalization and Pakistan's main interest in building ties lies in "buying Russian

¹³ Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, "Nuclear Issue: Current developments and future challenges for Pakistan" in *Pakistan in Regional and Global politics*, ed. Rajshree Jetly (New Delhi: Routledge Curzon, 2009), 55.

¹⁴ Douglas E. Schoen and Melik Kaylan, *Return to Winter: Russia, China and the new cold war against America* (New York: Encounter books, 2014), 318.

¹⁵ Richard Weitz, "Superpower Symbiosis: The Russia-China Axis," *World Affairs*, December, 2012 accessed from <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/superpower-symbiosis-russia-china-axis>.

¹⁶ Emma Graham-Harrison, "China and Russia: the world's new superpower axis," *The Guardian*, July7, 2015 accessed <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/07/china-russia-superpower-axis>.

weapons and expanding economic interaction”.¹⁷ Pakistan is strengthening ties with Russia as it wants to build up good ties with Central Asian republics which is “difficult to develop beyond a certain level without having improved relations with Russia first”.

Abdul Rahim in the article “Pakistan, China and Russia: New Great Game in South and Central Asia” highlighted that tense geostrategic transformation is taking place in Indian Ocean due to shared common interests of three states Russia, China and Pakistan in Indian Ocean in order to enhance their trade as shown through CPEC. Consequently the USA is backing India with the purpose to curtail developing relations between three countries, developing India is necessary on the part of US to maintain its influence in the region. In doing so, India has tried to build Chahbahar port to maintain its regional hegemonic postures but Iran has recently cut off its agreement with India and included China as partner in deal. Similarly China is enhancing its sphere of influence with the help of CPEC. Furthermore emerging partnership between Pakistan, China and Russia is also a symbol of “new great game”. He further adds that Russian and Chinese presence in the region is posing a threat to American interest.¹⁸

Harsh V. Pant in the article “A Russian Volte Face on South Asia” describes that “Russia is warming up to Pakistan and its real this time. There seems to be a reversal in Russia’s South Asia policy. With New Delhi and Moscow drifting apart, Russia is looking the region through the prism of its larger geopolitical struggle with the West and seems ready to join the China Pakistan nexus.” He further stated that Pakistan has emerged as an important player in this context where China and Russia are now converging to challenge a number of Western objectives.¹⁹

Saddam Hussein in the article “Russia and Pakistan’s Reluctant Romance” argue that in international relation no one is a permanent friend or a foe, the nature of relationship

¹⁷ Fazal ur Rahman, “Pakistan’s evolving relations with China, Russia and Central Asia,” *Eager Eyes Fixed on Eurasia* 1, no.16 (2007): 221.

¹⁸ Abdul Rahim, “Pakistan, China and Russia: New Great Game in South and Central Asia,” in *Global Village Space*, January 16, 2017, accessed from <https://www.globalvillagespace.com/pakistan-china-and-russia-new-great-game-in-south-central-asia/>.

¹⁹ Harsh V. Pant, “A Russian Volte Face on South Asia,” *The Diplomat*, January 23, 2017, accessed October 10, 2017, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/a-russian-volte-face-on-south-asia/>.

depends upon convergences and divergence of mutual interest between the states. Thus in the scenario of contemporary international and regional challenges, Pakistan and Russia are forging stronger ties. He further adds that for Russia Pakistan is strategically important because it bridges the Central Asia to Indian Ocean and Middle East. Thus Russia can easily connect to international market via routes from Pakistan. In the same way Pakistan can benefit from this partnership by having cheaper defence equipment than America's. He further describes that Moscow wants to assert its influence in the region, anticipating the departure of U.S. and NATO forces from Afghanistan. He also argue that Russia's signing of defence pact with Pakistan is indicating India to be cautious in its intimacy with U.S. Moscow will not let go the partnership with India easily but by developing its relation with Pakistan gives India a threat alarm that it has another option as well.²⁰

Rashid Siddiqi in his article "Prospects for Russia-Pakistan Rapprochement" stated that Pakistan and Russia had cold relations throughout the history but both states have taken certain measures to enhance their relationship through defence and economic pacts. The article scrutinizes this emerging trend in Pakistan and Russian relations in future perspective especially after 9/11 era. He further mentioned some common factors behind their warmth relationship that are India, China and Afghanistan.²¹

Moreover, Vladimir Moskalenko and Petr Topychkanov in their article *Russia and Pakistan Shared Challenges and Common Opportunities* stated that Russia due to its security threats originating from South Asian region such as Afghan conflict, nuclear security, cross border terrorism and organized crimes prioritize Pakistan as best partner in South Asia to address its security threats issues. This is the main reason for developing relations between them.²²

²⁰ Saddam Hussein, "Russia and Pakistan's Reluctant Romance," *The Diplomat*, February 25, 2017, accessed October 11, 2017, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/02/russia-and-pakistans-reluctant-romance/>.

²¹ Rashid Siddiqi, "Prospects for Russia-Pakistan Rapprochement," *Strategic Studies* 37, 2 (Summer 2017): 64.

²² Vladimir Moskalenko and Petr Topychkanov, "Pakistan Shared Challenges and Common Opportunities," *Carnegie Moscow Center* (2014): 7.

Muhammad Nawaz Khan in his article *Pakistan-Russia Relations Redux: From Estrangement to Pragmatism* maintained that as US had usually played a balancing role to calm the Indo-Pak rivalry but now its growing strategic partnership with India feared Pakistan that it might create instability in the region. The rapprochement between Pakistan and Russia has filled the gap as in 2017 Russia signed a joint statement at Six Nation Speaker's Conference in which it supported Pakistan on Kashmir issue.²³

Delimitation

The study covers Pakistan-Russia relations from 2007 till date. The study also delineates the responsive measures of India during this time.

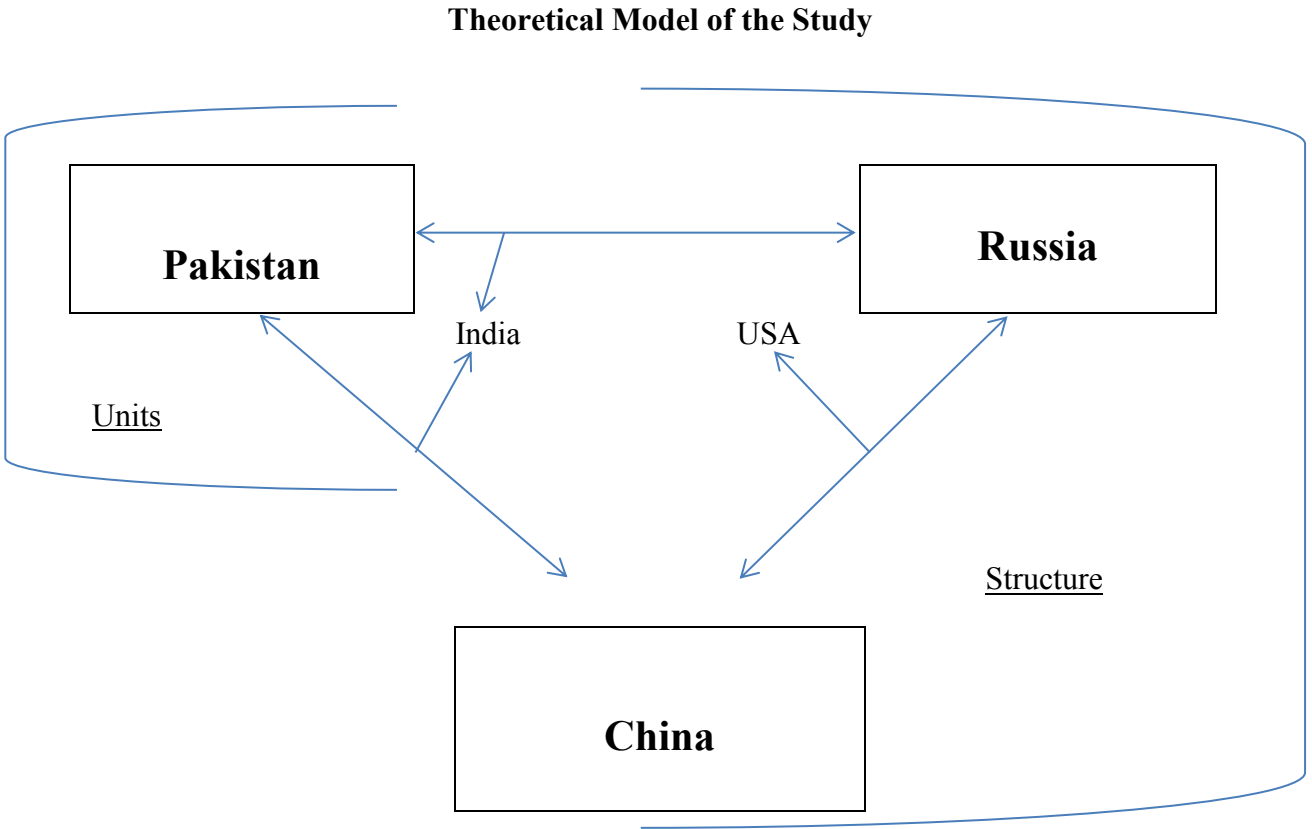
Research Methodology

Qualitative research design is selected for this study as it includes narrative and non-numerical data with regards to asymmetrical power equation in South Asia. The research uses descriptive and explanatory approach as it explores the relations of two countries in contemporary international order analysing the texts produced in form of official statements, articles, opinion and books which is not addressed before as a problem and demands focus to explain the related aspect in detailed manner. This approach is useful as it provides appropriate findings by analysing complex and interrelated phenomenon. The descriptive research aims to identify the factors and trends and their interrelation as to describe when and how the relations between Russia and Pakistan started normalizing and gained momentum. Primary as well as secondary data is included in the research. The research mostly comprises of secondary data for this; different articles, journals, newspapers and books have been used to support the arguments of this research. The websites of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India have been consulted to gather authentic information. Pakistan, India and Russia's newspapers such as Dawn, The Express Tribune, The

²³ Muhammad Nawaz Khan, "Pakistan-Russia Relations Redux: From Estrangement to Pragmatism," *IPRI Journal* XIX, no. 1 (2019): 77-78.

Statesman, Hindustan Times and The Moscow Times have also been consulted to add different perspective regarding the subjected issue.

Theoretical Framework



Defensive Realism

- In South Asian context, India is holding a prominent position due to its vast market and stable economy. Pakistan has always tried to equalize the power asymmetry in the region by building arms and making alliances with major powers.
- Current regional scenario is such oriented that Pakistan is building ties with Russia to balance the power against India as India in recent years has enhanced its ties with USA.
- Pakistan needed the support of great powers and Russia is the best option in addition to China.

- Pakistan has always enjoyed the cordial friendship with China and China has supported Pakistan against India at every stage be it wars of 1965, 1971 or the Kashmir issue. China cannot let India dictate the regional politics in South Asia.
- China-Pakistan ties are defensive in posture to refrain India from becoming the regional hegemon. As China is an economic power of the world and extending its influence into the other regions so the influence of USA can be reduced to a minimum extent.
- India is watchman of USA in South Asia and recent involvement of India with USA is indigestible to China and Russia. As Russia and China cannot tolerate USA's influence in the Asian region. Thus, refraining the foothold of USA in Asia is the ultimate aim of China and Russia collaboratively.
- Russia and China had been collaborating in economic fields and their bilateral relationship has been taken onto the next level of comprehensive strategic partnership and the agenda is to minimize USA's role in Asia pacific.

Thus, Pakistan having cordial relations with China is enhancing its ties with Russia to counter Indian factor in the South Asia and China, being neighbour to South Asia and a strategic partner of Russia, is curtailing Indian influence in South Asia. Russia and China are collaboratively curbing USA's influence in the region. This whole scenario is best explained in terms of defensive realism as states in anarchical structure tends to behave in certain manner in order to preserve their national interest and for this they make alliances. Concluding this whole situation regarding South Asia, it is evident that Pakistan is bandwagoning with Russia to balance the power asymmetry with India who is ambitious to become hegemon of the region.

Structural realism finds its roots in the theory of international politics presented by Kenneth Waltz. Waltz has this view point that not only individual states, ideology, moral values and economic issues are the basic factors behind states behaviour but the international system as well. Neorealism takes a system-oriented approach to explain behaviour of state in the global political system and put more emphasis on the international system. He explains that the international system is anarchic due to

aggressive behaviours of the states and states behave in a certain way because the international system compels them to do so.²⁴ According to him international political system has an influencing power on the states and they respond and behave according to it. It is distribution of power among the states which is the major factor that determines the nature of the structure of international political system.

Power maximization is the key factor that has led to the Russia-Pakistan rapprochement in the recent times. Russia is trying to extend its sphere of influence in order to balance the influence of USA and Pakistan is balancing the power asymmetry created by India in South Asia. Thus power maximization for defensive purpose is triggering Russia and Pakistan to set aside their cold past and emerge as strategic partners for security concerns. Bandwagoning is the best suitable approach for Pakistan in this regard where a potential aggressor like India is trying to execute its power in South Asia and Pakistan through the alliance formation with Russia is trying to contain the Indian hegemony in the region and resultantly balancing the Indian power in South Asia.

The anarchical structure of international system has allowed power to be distributed and to bring in one's interest. Power is the material capability that state possesses such as military and nuclear weapons but there is another kind of power termed as latent power that refers to socio-economic capabilities that add up in building military power. States need wealth, modernized technology and personnel to build arm forces and fight wars, so the latent power is the raw potential that a state can draw while competing with opponents. Thus this makes it clear that war is not the one and only tool to maximize power this can also be done by increasing their share of global wealth.

With the changing dimensions of international political, economic and strategic system, states are exposed to major changings ranging from their intra-state to inter-state levels. The technological advancement and the advent of lethal weapons have changed the entire outlook of security arena and created threat perception among various states Vis a Vis their rivals. Power maximization, armed race, security dilemma, threat perception though

²⁴ J. David Singer, "International Conflict: Three Levels of Analysis," ed. Kenneth N. Waltz, *World Politics* 12, no. 3 (1960): 453–61.

sound overlapping but are one of few important aspects to be ponder upon since they are shaping the international system today and for the future generations to come. Neorealist states take a positivistic approach and seek their national interest at any cost. Power must be entrusted to the state and must lead towards the balance of power. Balancing is the most important way to assess the aggression through deterring or fighting a potential aggressor by alliance formation or building up the military might.

Waltz argues that balance of power is the main thing for creating order in the international system. There are two kinds of balancing one by military build-up or by increasing economy and other by forming alliance with other units of international system. First and foremost national interest of any state is its sovereignty and survivability. Thus states enhance their own capabilities and prefer equal distribution of power to so that no state has superior power to dominate or suppress other state. Hence states create balance either by internal balancing or by external balancing.

Pakistan feels a security threat from India, now at two fronts that is, from the east from India as well as from the west from Afghanistan where India has a strong presence thus Pakistan has to secure its sovereignty and ensure its survival in this anarchic International System. Pakistan is changing its policies towards Russia as it has to achieve that much power which can guarantee its security thus Pakistan is aligning itself with two emerging powers in East, in order to counter India's stubborn behaviour in the region. Unequal power distribution creates a security dilemma between two nuclear arch rivals in South Asia. In order to get control over this security threat Pakistan is maximizing its latent power; means that Pakistan is building its economic power with help of China as it is collaborating with Pakistan on the economic forum and CPEC is a manifestation of that. Enhancing economy of Pakistan will ultimately lead to advance its military capability.

As Waltz put forwards that anarchical structure of international system compels states to maintain enough power which guarantees state's security and survival, so is the structure of south Asian region having power asymmetry which propels the security dilemma between India and Pakistan where Pakistan is trying to balance this power asymmetry in the region. This theory asserts that ensuring security is the ultimate goal of states and likewise Pakistan is, from day one securing itself by gaining enough power so as to limit

India for acting hostile in the neighbour. Defensive realism does not negate the occurrence of interstate conflicts and pin point towards structural modifiers like geography and security dilemma and threat perception and this South Asian region has always been a war zone since inception of India and Pakistan. Defensive realists argue if any state becomes too much powerful then, as a result, balancing would occur either by building up militaries or by forming a coalition by other states and looking upon the regional politics it is clearly visible that India's aspiration and its tactics to become regional hegemon and increase in its power is being balanced by Pakistan where Pakistan is trying to build-up the coalition with Russia. As international system is anarchic and there is no assurance of other state's intentions thus states think strategically about their survival in international system they thus seek such kind of policies that ensure their security and survival and the same is done by Pakistan in recent years. Therefore according to the defensive realism states need power to enhance defensive capabilities and pursue moderate kind of strategies thus, Pakistan's economic boost and its strengthening ties with Russia are enhancing its Power in the power equation with India.

India has been executing hegemonic behaviour in region since previous years and has tried to isolate Pakistan diplomatically and US has been backing India to play a leading role in Asian region as it wants to contain China which is an emerging global power by using India. US support to India makes this scenario worse for Pakistan as strengthening India is directly a security threat to it so Pakistan is trying to create a balance of Power with regards to influence of external powers such as United States, Russia and China and is aligning itself with Russia and China, which would guarantee National Security of Pakistan, in order to balance Indo-US alliance.

Organization of the Study

The study has six sections in total, including introduction and conclusion.

Introduction presents an overview of the research.

Chapter#1 Historical Perspective and Initiation of Bilateralism covers the relations between Pakistan and Russia in the Cold War era and describes the initiation of

bilateralism in Pakistan's foreign Policy. It also highlights the relations between Pakistan and China. Pakistan's strengthening ties with Russia because of involvement of China as mutual friend.

Chapter#2 Convergences in Pak-Russia Nexus: This chapter takes a brief insight of the subject explaining the strengthening ties between Russia and Pakistan. This chapter presents the details of factors bringing two states closer to each other.

Chapter#3 Russo-Pak Partnership and Implications for India in becoming Regional Hegemon: This chapter provides details of the impact of Russia-Pakistan's nexus on India. This emerging partnership has a pervasive effect on India and invites new Indian allies to be active against Pakistan in the region.

Chapter#4 Indian Response towards Pakistan-Russia Ties This chapter reveals India's response strategy; it includes the likely measures India would take against Pakistan.

Conclusion & Recommendations: this section encapsulates findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER 1

Historical Perspective and Initiation of Bilateralism

The chapter sheds light on the historical relations of Pakistan and Russia, their past interactions and future opportunities for mutual benefits. The chapter covers the detailed study that how Pak-Russia relations have been transformed in the recent years and how both states managed to say bye to their unfriendly relations by emphasizing more on cooperating sectors to develop their relations. Moreover, the chapter also analysis their relations from different domains such as military, economic, social, political and historical to look for the better opportunity and better ties in this region which will open new windows for both these countries.

Russia-Pakistan relationship has always been in a pattern of hot and cold in history and was expanding at a very slow pace. Their relationship has always been seeded by distrust and uncertainty. Especially, this distrust was increased during the Cold War period that had created distant relationship between them. The relations were became more strained when Pakistan agreed to assist Mujahedeen in Afghanistan. Furthermore, their bilateral interactions were effected by Pak-US alliance. However there seems a shift in their relationship in the recent past as both states are in constant struggle to open a new chapter to harmonize their relations. Although, their historical relations were hostile but has now been left behind as both states are trying to take pro-active measures to move their relations forward that would be mutually benefited. After the withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan from 2014, scenarios in the region have changed in such a way that both Pakistan and Russia will benefit if their relationship get better with each other. Keeping India's hegemonic designs in the South Asian region to control the security environment of the region after the withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan into consideration, Pakistan has to know the importance of its alliance with Russia.

1.1 Historical Analysis

Pakistan Russia relations were overshadowed due to strongly dominated relations between Pakistan and USA. The history leans back to an era where subcontinent was being ruled by Britishers and “Great Game” was played between Russia (under Tzars) and Britain. The relationship between subcontinent and soviet continued for quite a period of time where the Bolsheviks revolution in 1917 was one of the important events.²⁵ Britishers were quite shocked and insecure about infiltrations of communist in the subcontinent. One of the major parties (Congress) in the subcontinent was having close relations with Soviets. One of the major cause which shook Britishers was Peshawar conspiracy case.²⁶ The year 1947 was the year of the partition of the subcontinent which was viewed as contempt by the Russians and they were of the view that the Muslim league is a tool used by the Britishers to divide and rule.²⁷ As the ideology of the Congress was quite close to the communist resulting, no facilitation for newly born state Pakistan after the partition. It took Pakistan almost a year to build relations with Russians while in 1949 Pakistan’s first ambassador took charge in Moscow.²⁸ In 1950 first of Russia ambassador took charge in Pakistan but democratic relations were not properly operational for quite a bit of time as both countries were not clear about their future diplomacy with each other.

1.2 Political and Diplomatic Relations

Pakistan as a country faced multiple challenges on multiple fronts. The biggest challenge was related to finance as Pakistan at a time of partition was having almost nothing in hand. The other challenge was due to the geographical location where Pakistan

²⁵ Hafeez Malik, ed., *Soviet-American Relations with Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 186.

²⁶ Peshawar Conspiracy case is related to the Muslims taking interest in the Communist revolution of Russia. Many Muslims from Peshawar went to Moscow and started getting training related to Military and Communist regimes. When they returned to create disturbances, the Government caught them on the way and trialled them. Many of them were sentenced to long imprisonment.

²⁷ Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Facts are Facts: the Untold Story of India's Partition* (New Delhi: Vikas Pub. House, 1987), 14.

²⁸ Mansoor Akbar Kundi and Manzoor Khan Afridi, “Why Visit to Moscow not materialized: Myths and Realities,” *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 55, no. 1 (January-June 2018): 136.

was sharing borders with countries like Afghanistan and India which made it compulsory for Pakistan to have military assets. The third important challenge was the constitutional problem as a country run objective resolution initially. These problems forced Pakistan to rely heavily on different alliances which can provide them aid in teething problems. The key players internationally were Soviets and USA. India tried to have good relations with the USA as Nehru planned his trip to America in 1949. That was the point when the Soviet Union extended arm towards Pakistan's Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. This acceptance from Pakistan could have been a turning point in the relation between Pakistan and the Soviet Union but Liaquat Ali Khan rejected the offer and instead chose to visit the USA.²⁹ However, there was no clarification or explanation given by government officials regarding giving priority to USA invitation upon Soviets. Following are some of reasons for ignoring Soviet Union:

Firstly, lack of communication between Pakistan and Russia, both prior and post-independence. Furthermore, Soviets presumed success of British "Divide and Rule" policy by the division of subcontinent, the reason why Soviets did not recognize Pakistan. Resultantly, both the states distant themselves from each other.³⁰

Secondly, Pakistan's antipathy against communism was another reason of rejection. One of the reasons was that majority of Pakistan's population was against Soviet's communist ideology who considered communism as atheist to all other religions. To avoid any domestic turmoil government of Pakistan respected public opinion at that time.³¹

Thirdly, Pakistan had repeatedly requested USSR for financial assistance during war with India that was constantly ignored by USSR. Therefore, Pakistan opted for USA due to its technological and economic assistance to Pakistan.³²

²⁹ Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Facts are Facts: the Untold Story of India's Partition* (New Delhi: Vikas Pub. House, 1987), 14.

³⁰ Hasan-Askari Rizvi, "The Soviet Union," in *Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1993), 113.

³¹ Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, "Pakistan's Diplomatic Outreach: Proactive Engagement with the World," in *Neither a Hawk nor a Dove* (Karachi/Pakistan: OUP,2015), 702

³² Zahid Ali Khan, "New Trends in Pak-Russia Relations since 9/11," *JRSP* 48, no.2 (2011):127.

Moreover, Pakistan supported USA on two occasions in 1950 and 1951 rather than USSR.³³ This change of stance highly offended USSR that ultimately further worsened Pak-Russia Relation at that time. Resultantly, Russia supported India in UNSC when Nehru took the case of ‘intervention of Pakistan in disputed Kashmir territory’ to UNSC.³⁴

Pakistan overwhelming response towards the US opened the door for strong ties between India and the Soviet Union. Pakistan standing in line with western countries signed SEATO and CENTO in year 1954 and 1955 respectively making the alliance stronger.³⁵ The strong thought prevailed within Soviets that Pakistan is a friend of their enemy. As India was Pakistan’s enemy Soviets supported India on all issues including Kashmir. Pakistan Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy tried to build good relations with Soviets but due to a strong reliance with the USA has damaged the process of relationship building with Soviets.³⁶

USA used Pakistan against Soviets on a number of occasions where U-2 was an important incident which took place in which Pakistani airbase was used by Americans for spying missions against Soviets resulting Pakistan in a vulnerable situation. This U-2 plane was shot down by Soviets on May 1st, 1960 and Pakistan was labelled as partner of US plan.³⁷ The Soviet president threatened Pakistan that strict actions would be taken against Pakistan if any further such move would be initiated from their soil.

The important period of 1965 when the war between Pakistan and India took place, Pakistan was left in cold by the USA despite CEATO and SENTO were signed by Pakistan. The USA did not support Pakistan at all during the war whereas Russia provides India with all the weapons and emerged as the biggest supplier of military hardware to India during the war. After the war of 1965 the arms race between Pakistan

³³ “The foreign policy of Liaquat Ali Khan,” *Dawn*, October 17, 2010, accessed 20 June, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/881096>

³⁴ Hasan-Askari Rizvi, “The Soviet Union,” in *Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1993), 114

³⁵ Hasan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 2000), 77.

³⁶ Hafeez Malik, *Soviet-American Relations with Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, 193-198*.

³⁷ Sabir Shah, “A brief recap of the troubled Pak-Russia relationship” *The News*, October 4, 2012.

and India heated up at this point that made Soviet Union intervened as peace broker by concluding an agreement named as Tashkent agreement.³⁸ This was the second point where Pakistan and Soviet could have better relations but Pakistan was reluctant to knot ties with Russia as China was having tensions with USSR on versions of communism.

Pakistan was not happy with the role of the USA in 1965 war against India which further took them in shock during the war of 1971. The Soviet Union played an important role in 1971 Indo-Pak war where it openly supported India and ensured the presence of their naval forces in the region.³⁹ Soviet Union also played an important role in the creation of Bangladesh, having sympathies with Mukti Bahni. Later in 2012, this event was stated as “somewhat embarrassing for our relationship” by the Russian Consulate General in Pakistan.⁴⁰

The period of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was turning point in a relationship with the Soviet Union as he tried to build a strong and friendly relationship with them. He was persuaded to this stance of building good relations with Soviets because of betrayal by western allies especially the USA which caused Pakistan war of 1971. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto focused on a strong relationship with countries in the East and in this regard initiated policy of “Look East” an active “Bilateralism”.⁴¹ The tenure of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto witnessed quite an improvement in the relationship of both the countries as he was the first Prime Minister (PM) of Pakistan to pay a state visit to the Soviet Union. Thereafter, Soviet Union agreed for the financial investments in Pakistan in the industry of steel mill. This strong relationship was halted with the elections of 1977 and the golden era between both the countries ended.

USSR’s intervention in Afghanistan was a major turning point in the history of Pak-USSR relationship. The message was conveyed to Pakistan that there is no intention to

³⁸ Noor ul Haq, ed., "Positive Turn in Pakistan-Russia Relations" *IPRI Factfile*, (Islamabad Policy Research Institute) 14, no.11-12 (November-December 2012), 9.

³⁹ Hafeez Malik, *Soviet-American Relations with Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan*, 191.

⁴⁰ Consulate-General of the Russian Federation, "Russian-Pakistani Relations", Consulate-General of the Russian Federation in Karachi, December 21, 2012.

⁴¹ Look East policy meant to look towards the non-western powers, especially USSR, China and the Arab World. The active bilateralism was to ensure country’s relations on mutual interests of two countries without the involvement of third party.

cross the Durand Line and if Pakistan stays neutral it will be considered as positive. Pakistan, on the other hand, supported Mujahedeen in dismantling Soviets in the Afghan war. Most scholars are of the view that this support was in reaction to what happened to Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 wars by the Soviet's as they openly supported India on both occasions.⁴²

Pak-Russia relationship was in disarray for quite a period of time after the Afghan war. In the year 1994-95 during Benazir Bhutto's tenure, there was an opportunity to revamp and restructure the ties between both the nations but unfortunately, the opportunity was lost as Pakistan was in favour of Afghan Taliban's to govern Afghanistan government as according to Pakistan they were most legitimate to form a government.⁴³ Not only was this Pakistan not interested to resolve issues of Prisoners of Wars (POW)'s of Soviet Union. In April, 1999 PM of Pakistan Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif visited Moscow which was warmly welcomed by the Russian Federation. It was the visit of any Pakistani PM after 25 years which was an important event in improving cold relationship between both the states.

The region of South East Asia is linked up with important events of the history which impacted the foreign policy of the region severely. The 9/11 was one important event happened in the USA which has a greater impact on Pakistan and Afghanistan. Russia stayed out of any alliance after the happening of 9/11/. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) were formed which operated in Afghanistan to fight against Taliban and Mujahedeen's which were linked up with 9/11 attack. Russia only worked with ISAF force on operations against smuggling of narcotics.

After a long gap, another presidential visit of Moscow was made by President Pervaiz Musharraf in 2003. In result, the joint working relationship was developed to work against terrorism and counter-terrorism group was formed. The group also worked in coordination to combat narcotics trade.

⁴² Haq Nawaz Akhtar, *If Truth be Told, An Alternate History of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 2007), 333.

⁴³ Hasan Askari Rizvi, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Overview 1947-2004" 20.

Pakistan played an important role in catching terrorists from Pak-Afghan border which were involved in terrorism and were Chechen terrorists. Pakistan handed over these terrorists to Russia in 2004 which was positive in developing the relationship between Pakistan and the Russian Federation. The results of 2004 were ripped in 2007 when Russian PM Mikhail Fradkov visited Pakistan and became the first PM of the Russian Federation to visit Pakistan.⁴⁴

In 2011 Pakistan was willing to join Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Russia openly supported Pakistan in this aspiration, and this favour of Russia was returned by Pakistan when they supported Russia for Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) membership.⁴⁵ In 2013 Pakistan and Russia celebrated 65 years of diplomatic relationship, also focusing on strategic ties and dialogue on bilateral issues in the future. A year later under the leadership of Chairman Senate of Pakistan parliamentary committee visited Russia which further improved the relationship with the Russian Federation and it was endorsed by Russian Foreign Minister.⁴⁶

1.3 Trade Relations and Economy

Since 1947, economic relations between Soviet Union and Pakistan have always been tepid. It took Pakistan almost 3 years after the independence to start the trade with the Soviet Union. In 1950 first trade deal was signed between Pakistan and Soviet Union for the import of jute, cotton, and leather from Pakistan. In 1952 when there was a fear of food shortage in Pakistan, Soviet Union bought jute from Pakistan and in exchange gave Pakistan 150,000 tons of wheat.⁴⁷ In addition, both states started an oil association in 1958 and Soviet was showing interest in Pakistan Oilfields. For the exploration of gas and oil in Pakistan, 27 Million Rubbles were given as loan to Pakistan which became the

⁴⁴ Hasan Askari Rizvi, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Overview 1947-2004" 20.

⁴⁵ "Russia endorses full SCO membership for Pakistan" *Dawn*, November 7, 2011.

⁴⁶ "Visit to Moscow: Bokhari for Closer ties with Russia" *The Express Tribune*, April 28, 2014.

⁴⁷ Hafeez Malik, *Soviet-American relations with Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan*, 188.

foundation of oil and gas industry in Pakistan and the creation of Oil and gas Development Organization (OGDCL).⁴⁸

The intriguing aspect of their relation is the time when Soviet Union helped in the creation of Pakistan Steel Mill and provided Loan of 200 million Dollars and technical expertise in 1972. But unfortunately, due to the corruption the deal was cancelled by Soviet's as some companies in Pakistan were overpricing for the products which were worst in quality. This unpaid loan has also created a drift in the relation between Pakistan-Russia relations.⁴⁹ But in 2012 Russia again showed an interest in the up gradation of Pakistan Steel mill.⁵⁰

Pakistan gets many trade opportunities with Russia but Pakistan only account for 0.0866% of total Russian trade in 2016 which is better from 2015. Pakistan imports from Russia account for 0.0466% of total Russian Exports and Russian imports from Pakistan account for 0.1492% of total Russian Imports.⁵¹ There is a decrease in exports from Pakistan due to the lack of professionalism in Pakistan, the quality of products is very low and many democratic hurdles but there is still the future prospect of exports from Pakistan in the industry of textile, fruits, leather goods, and vegetables.

Russian Federation has also shown many good gestures for the betterment of the relationship between the two countries. Russia decreased to custom on product from Pakistan up to 35% after the 2010 floods. Many trading houses are also opened in Russia to promote trade of Pakistani products. "Business Council for Promotion of Trade with Pakistan" was also established to increase trade between two countries. To increase tourism PBRF Pakistan Russia Business forum was established in 2009.

Besides, Russia is investing in many power projects in Pakistan such as expansion of Tarbella dam, up gradation of Gaddu, Diamer Bhasha Dam, Jamshoro power plant and

⁴⁸ 'Company History' available at www.ogdcl.com accessed on December 27, 2014.

⁴⁹ Hafeez Malik, *Soviet-American Relations with Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan*, 191

⁵⁰ "Russia and Pakistan: Prospects of Interaction, Commemorating the 65th anniversary of Bilateral relations, H.E.

⁵¹ Federal Customs Service of Russia, "Russian Foreign Trade with Pakistan " <http://en.russian-trade.com/reports-and-reviews/2017-02/russian-trade-with-pakistan-in-2016/> accessed on April 28, 2019.

Central Asia South Asia (CASA)-1000.⁵² Russia helped Pakistan Steel Mill to increase their production from 1 to 3 million.⁵³

1.4 Cultural Relations

Since 1950 cultural and social activities have been shared between Pakistan and Soviet Union. Soviets not only help Pakistan in technical development but also help to develop the social sector by providing technical and economic support in agriculture, flood control, and soil erosion. Soviet also help to establish Pakistan biggest radio station by making a broadcasting station that can broadcast 100kW wave. Until the discontinuation, in 1982 magazine name Tulu was published from Karachi that was a Soviet magazine.

Karachi was the hottest tourist spot for Russians till 1990. To accommodate a high number of tourist 8 flights were being daily operated between Karachi and Moscow which deteriorated with time due to the security situation in the city. Pakistan receives many mountaineers enthusiastic from Russia who comes to climb K-2 every year. “Gandhara” is one of the poshest restaurants in Moscow. “Gandhara” is a Pakistani restaurant which serves Pakistani cuisines it is famous for having a Buddha statue from times of Gandhara civilization. Russia also has a large Muslim community which has empathy towards Pakistani Muslims.

There is an Urdu faculty available in Moscow university similarly NUML, Islamabad also have Russian faculty. Punjab University has signed an agreement with Moscow University for the student exchange program as well.⁵⁴ In Moscow a Pakistan study Centre is also established and a community with the name of “An Association of Pakistani Graduates Russia and Commonwealth of Independent States” is also very active in Pakistan.

⁵² “Address of Trade Representative of the Russian Federation in Pakistan, Mr. Yuri M. Kozlov, Activities of the Russian Federation in Pakistan” *The Diplomatic Insight*, 6 (2013): 8.

⁵³ “Putin Keeps Pakistan Alive”, *Pravada*, November 8, 2011.

⁵⁴ Punjab University, Government of Pakistan, [http://pu.edu.pk/del/MOUsigned byPU\(international\).pdf](http://pu.edu.pk/del/MOUsigned%20byPU(international).pdf) Accessed on May 20, 2013

To end the language barrier between Pakistani and Russians first Russian-Urdu dictionary was written by Dr. Tashmirza Khamirev.⁵⁵ Similarly a program name “Voice of Russia” is broadcasted in Pakistan and website by similar name is run as well. In December 2013 “All Pakistan Voice of Russia conference” was also held in Lahore.⁵⁶ Shashlik a Russian dish is also very popular in Pakistan.

1.5 Defence and Military Relations

Due to the Pakistan geographical location, Pakistan is always looking for a strong alliance with the country that can provide Pakistan with the Weapons and help Pakistan improve its defence forces. Soviet Union was willing to fund the construction of “Heavy Electrical Complex (HITEC)” at Taxila in 1967. But unfortunately, it could not happen. Pakistan tried to make strong military ties with the Soviet Union but Pakistan was never be able to achieve its desire due to politics involved in Cold War and South Asian alliance system. Russia also agreed to launch Badr a Pakistani satellite on 10th December 2001 from its launch station in Baikonur for lowest charges possible.⁵⁷

To increase the military ties with Russia, in 2012 both Pakistan Military Chief and Pakistan Air Force Chief visited Russia that was considered as a big step in the Pakistan-Russia relations after the USA announced the withdrawal from Afghanistan in a decided time span. A great interest is shown by Pakistan in buying equipment for JF-17 such as engines and helicopters such as MI-17 and MI-35. In April 2013, for the first time to discuss defence deals, Russian Air force commander visited Pakistan.⁵⁸ Russia started negotiating a deal with Pakistan to sell them MI-35 helicopters, as a strategic moved, lifting a ban on Pakistan to sell Pakistani arms which was not taken pleasantly by India a very old ally of Russia.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ “Urdu-Russian dictionary launched” *The News*, August 3, 2012.

⁵⁶ “Pakistani listeners of The Voice of Russia run conference in Lahore” available at www.voiceofrussia.com of December 15, 2013.

⁵⁷ “Satellite Badar-II launched” *Dawn*, December 11, 2001.

⁵⁸ “Commander-in-Chief, Russian Federation Air force visits PAC Kamra” *Dawn*, April 17, 2013.

⁵⁹ Zachary Keck, “Russia ends arms embargo against Pakistan,” *The Diplomat*, June 4, 2014.

It appears that Russia is searching for prospective markets where it can sell its military equipment and transport its gas. In 2009, General Ashfaq Pervaiz Kayani the then Army Chief of Pakistan paid his visit to Russia and in 2011 President Asif Ali Zardari visited Russia followed by many government officials and the Chief of Army Staff, General Raheel Sharif.

1.6 Spanning the Insufficiency

In the past, Pakistan and Russia lacked confidence in bilateral relations. Since Pakistan's creation, its colonial heritage has had a significant impact on foreign policy. Pakistan's elite, feudal system, bureaucracy and military are even more westernized, which has always affected the foreign policy towards former Soviet Union.⁶⁰ Until the collapse, after the Bolshevik revolution, communist ideology dominated Soviet politics. Russia and Pakistan have also tried to repair the fence, but when the Taliban replaced the Afghan regime, an undesirable incident occurred, triggering opposition to the fence. However as the time passes the ideological struggle reflecting the foreign policies of the both countries disappeared. Putin's planned visit to Pakistan was cancelled in 2012, which shows that the two countries have never reached a certain degree of comfort. India has always been the backbone of the Soviet Union's political, diplomatic and economic efforts in South Asia, which is another important reason for the lack of confidence between Pakistan and Russia. Moscow has always been guided by its friendly policy towards New Delhi.⁶¹ To reduce mistrust, high-level political and military contacts between Pakistan and Russia in bilateral and multilateral forums are seen as a joint effort to improve relations.

1.7 Limited Link

Pakistan and Russia have limited cultural exchanges and opportunities for the two countries. This is the main obstacle to understand the culture, traditions and values of

⁶⁰ Nazir Hussain, "Pak-Russia Relations: Lost Opportunities and Future Options.," *Journal of Political Studies* 19, no. 1 (2012).

⁶¹ "Russian Policy Towards South Asia," accessed February 5, 2020, <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-nov9-9.html>.

others. Diasporas in every country are restricted, which limits the level of social interaction. Language barriers between the two countries play an important role in restricting cultural exchanges between the two countries. The Russian consulate in Karachi is expected to establish a Russian Centre. The National University of Modern Languages (NUML) provides facilities for learning Russian.⁶² However, language barrier can be eliminated by encouraging Pakistani and Russian students who wish to learn Russian in Pakistan and Urdu in Russia. The cultural activities of the two countries are very limited. However, the Russian consulate in Karachi is very active in carrying out some cultural activities,⁶³ Due to limited cultural activities; residents of the two countries have limited knowledge of the country's traditions, values, music, and behaviour. If both Russia and Pakistan expand academic links and also increase cultural activities between them, the people of both countries will be able to understand the historical and cultural aspects of each country. In addition to the interaction between government officials and parliamentarians, interpersonal relationships and communication between journalists can also promote further improvement of the relationship.

1.8 Pakistan and Russia Relations after 9/11

For the first time in decades, there are clean signs and symptoms of development in Pakistan-Russia members of the family, with the two international locations forging a partnership that turned into perhaps in no way expected in the Nineteen Eighties and 1990s.⁶⁴ The first important improvement changed into completed in 2001, before the 11 September assaults in the US, whilst President Pervez Musharraf sent ISI Chief General Mehmood to Moscow as his unique interlocutor. During this visit, both countries signed an agreement to sale 16 Russian MI-17 army helicopters.⁶⁵ Since then, Pakistan and Russia had been worked together to enhance bilateral relations. There were severe high-

⁶² "NUML UNIVERSITY | Program | NUML," accessed February 5, 2020, <https://www.numl.edu.pk/programs/program/123>.

⁶³ "Russian Consulate to Start Free Language Course - Newspaper - DAWN.COM," accessed February 5, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1460287>.

⁶⁴ Muhammad Owais, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Economic and Political Dimensions," *Pakistan Institute of International Affairs* 60, no. 2 (April 2007): 130.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

degree interactions among the two nations with delegations going back and forth. An important manifestation of the growing trust between the two countries is the current established order of large institutions, namely the Strategic Stability Advisory Group (the strategic group was formally established in 2002), and the agreement diplomacy through the cooperation of the two institutions in the field of local stability Affairs, Aziz consultations on monetary, political and commercial affairs. A Russian commercial enterprise delegation got here to Pakistan in early 2002, due to which, the Pakistan-Russia Business Forum was created. In the year 2002, a Pakistan-Russia Business Council was set up in Moscow comprising three leading businessmen each from each international location. The Joint Business Council targets a turnover of 1 billion bucks' well worth of alternate and funding in the coming years.⁶⁶ According to sources aware of the Council, 30 Russian groups are geared up to invest in Pakistan and 300 greater agencies have proven their hobby. The most important step in the development of relations between the two countries was President Musharraf's visit to Moscow in February 2003. This is a historic visit by President Musharraf and Russian President Putin in Almaty and Kuala Lumpur helps a lot in psychological hangover.⁶⁷ The emphasis all through the meetings become on the emerging geostrategic realities in the region and the problems of not unusual situation to each the countries. Russia and Pakistan have signed three diplomatic agreements, to solve issues visas and immigration and increase diplomatic ties. A fourth settlement for debt rescheduling couldn't be finalized due to differing versions about the fantastic amount. Pakistan also sought a mutually useful change balance with Russian delivery supplies of 71 million bucks out of the full annual exchange extent of seventy eight million dollars.⁶⁸ In mid-2004, the Government of Pakistan decided to build strategic reserves of wheat. In order to accomplish that, Pakistan bought 150,000 lots of wheat at a completely cheap rate of 198 bucks in step with ton. This price was offered via a Switzerland-based totally Russian

⁶⁶ Ibid.,131.

⁶⁷ Muhammad Ramzan Ali, "Pakistan-Russia relations in the regional context: Prospects and potential," *Journal of European Studies* 21, no. 2 (2005): 67.

⁶⁸ Rizwana Zeb, "Russia and South Asia," *Regional Studies* XXXII, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 67.

wheat firm which was very low in comparison to the charges supplied via its conventional wheat suppliers - Australia and the USA.⁶⁹

1.9 Recent Development in Relations

Russo-Pak reconciliation officially begun after 9/11 episode, when Pakistan joined the United States of America War on Terror in opposition to Al-Qaeda and Taliban in the soil of Afghanistan. The situation became worst when U.S. president George W. Bush threatened Pakistan to collaborate with the United States of America operation against Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. These situations compel Pakistan to bring some changes in its foreign policy. Pakistan president Musharraf visited Russia in the year 2003 and tried to organize and develop a framework for developing good relationship with Moscow.⁷⁰ In 2007, the bilateral relationships turned into new opportunity when Russia's Prime Minister, Mikhail Fradkov came to Pakistan and conducted detailed negotiations to build good relations between Pakistan and Russia.⁷¹ The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2011 is another hallmark in Pak-Russia relation⁷² when on Pakistan's request; the Russian president recommended some changes in its foreign policy toward Pakistan by realizing the significance of Pakistan in South Asia affairs.

Due to these developments, Russia further expressed its support for assistance in various projects in Pakistan such as Steel Mills, Muzaffargarh and Guddu power plants and most importantly Thar Coal project. These developments became less attractive when the Russian President cancelled his Pakistan tour, although foreign minister of Russian visited Pakistan and briefed the official regarding the call off of the President Putin

⁶⁹ Muhammad Owais, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Economic and Political Dimensions," *Pakistan Institute of International Affairs* 60, no. 2 (April 2007): 131.

⁷⁰ Almas Haider Naqvi and Yasir Masood, "Rejuvenating Pakistan-Russia Relations: Discernable Trends and Future," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad* 37, no.4 (2017): 21.

⁷¹ Khurram Abbas, "Russia's Revival: Opportunities and Limitations for Pakistan," *IPRI*, February 4, 2016, accessed December 24, 2019, <https://ipripak.org/russias-revival-opportunities-and-limitations-for-pakistan/>.

⁷² "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Challenges and Prospects," *Centre for Pakistan and Gulf Studies*, December 15, 2013, accessed December 26, 2019, <http://cpakgulf.org/2013/12/15/pakistan-russia-relations-challenges-and-prospects/>

tour.⁷³ Such development in the bilateral relations gave an impression that still there are some hurdles in developing their cordial relations. The Russian foreign minister denounces the drone attacks in the tribal area of Pakistan and said that these attacks are against the international law, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan. Despite the lack of contact at higher level, Russia and Pakistan continued their support and contacts in all sectors. Due to this progress and development in the bilateral relations, Russia lifted arm embargo and expressed the temperament for producing Mi-35 (Hind E) attack helicopters, this deal was changed into military cooperation and the agreement was signed in year 2014⁷⁴.

⁷³ Almas Haider Naqvi and Yasir Masood, “Rejuvenating Pakistan-Russia Relations: Discernable Trends and Future,” *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad* 37, no.4 (2017): 22.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

Convergences in Pak-Russia Nexus

This chapter explores the areas of cooperation including security, economic and political spheres between two parties Russia and Pakistan. The section of research has primary objectives of investigating and analysing the areas of convergences between the two concerned states that extend from internal factors of bilateral trade, energy cooperation, defence agreements and counter-terrorism to external factors 'China' as a mutual friend of both Russia and Pakistan and Afghanistan's security concerns for Pakistan and Russia. Both Russia and Pakistan have mutual understanding regarding many issues and both countries prefer nonviolent means for the settlement of international issues especially which are related to the region including South and Central Asia.

Waltz states the 'balance of power' to be the main element for creating order in the anarchic world and forming alliance to balance the power is one tool towards ensuring the security of a state. As Pakistan has security threat from hostile India in the neighbour thus it tries to make alliance with Russia for minimizing the power imbalance in the region and for this purpose Pakistan is enhancing its steps towards collaboration with Russia on many fronts.

Russia and Pakistan also support a multipolar world where major power plays a constructive role in solving the international disputes and work for peace and prosperity around the globe unlike hegemonic single power which dictate all the international issues. Both countries are of the view that UN should play an active role and oppose any unilateral act and use of pressure or power for changing the world order. Both the countries additionally share percentage aims almost Afghanistan situation and the nearby security balance.⁷⁵ Russia also recognizes Pakistan's sincere intentions and its part in combating terrorists. Entering into the strategic speak, each international location

⁷⁵ Sarfraz Khan and Noor-ul- Amin, "An Overview of Pak-Soviet/Russia Relations," *Central Asia*, no. 71 (2012), accessed January 2, <http://www.asc-centralasia.edu.pk/>

(Afghanistan, Middle East, Asia Pacific) tends to minimize disagreements and finds common platforms for mutual gains. Likewise, Pakistan has also recognized the role Russia plays in world affairs and significant in fostering stability and peace in this region. Both countries Russia and Pakistan are actively participating in the fight against terrorism. The two countries have reached an agreement of Inter-Governmental Commission (IGC) and a Joint Working Group for strategic stability with the sole aim to counter terrorism.⁷⁶ Moreover, to infer stability in Afghanistan both states are in collaboration with the USA to find out the political solution to the issue. Pakistan, Russia and China, all are in trilateral dialogue to address their local issues since 2016. Pakistan also supported Russia's move towards initiating intra-Afghan meetings to curtail Afghan issues in 2017.⁷⁷

Factors in Growing Relationships

There are various factors which enable both the states to work and support each other rooted in the economic and geo-political transformation of the region. Following are the main factors;

2.1 Internal Factors

Russia's South Asia policy revolves around the following basic factors:

- a) Russia has a very strong regional and domestic encounter with the religion Islam. In the Transcaucasia and Volga-Ural Basin, more than 60 million Muslims are residing. While Russia has large Muslim population, approximately 6.5 per cent (more than fourteen million Muslims) residing in areas such as Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, etc.
- b) Russia has a forceful internal urge for asserting regional and international authority; by extending itself and interceding abroad, claiming 'sphere of

⁷⁶ Muhammad Nawaz Khan, "Pakistan-Russia Relations Redux: From Estrangement to Pragmatism," *IPRI Journal* 19, no. 1 (2019).

⁷⁷ Almas Haider Naqvi and Yasir Masood, "Rejuvenating Pakistan-Russia Relations: Discernable Trends and Future," *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad* 37, no.4 (2017): 24.

influence' in Asia and Eastern Europe, backing allies and supporting friendly client countries, upholding and maintaining international law, and persevering for hanging on to the nuclear hegemonic position.

- c) Russia's natural gas and oil resources have also been the major sources for deriving its policy in order to increase its exports internationally.
- d) Russia's geographical location connects it to Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran via Central Asian Republics which could give her close access to Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean.

In essence, the result of these ideological and domestic factors of Russian policymaking helped somewhat in improving Pak-Russo relations in the post-Cold War era. Firstly, shift in Russia's Foreign Policy during the post-Cold War era from the *atlantcists* to nationalists motivated Moscow to focus South Asia. Secondly, the gradually weakening strategic partnership between the USA and Pakistan in the wake of Soviet disintegration created a space for Russia to revisit its Pakistan policy. Thirdly, logic was building for interaction between Pakistan and Russia when the former started keenly looking for other potential supporters after being abandoned by the USA in the post-Cold War era. Lastly, the 9/11 which impacted the overall structure of the global world provided strong reasoning for building closer ties.

2.1.1 Bilateral Trade

Healthy trade relations are considered to be the hallmark of excellent relations among states. Russia and Pakistan never tried to improve the inconsiderable economic relations between them. During the Musharraf era, bilateral ties between both states were slightly improved, whereas attempts were made to enhance economic relations in the post-Musharraf era. Consequently, in 2013, bilateral trade volume reached maximum level i.e. \$484 million. But the bilateral trade never increased consistently and the figure achieved in 2013 remained the highest until now.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Russian side has always

⁷⁸ Muhammad Taimur Fahad Khan, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Russia: New Directions," *Strategic Studies* 39, no. 3 (2019): 89–104, doi:10.2307/48544312.

been getting more benefits from this trade than Pakistan as there was an imbalance with constant increase in Russian exports to Pakistan and vice versa.

Table 1: Pakistan-Russia Bilateral Trade (\$ millions)

Year	Pakistan Exports	Pakistan Imports	Bilateral Trade
2017	\$131M	\$311M	\$442M
2016	\$145M	\$258M	\$403M
2015	\$161M	\$170M	\$331M
2014	\$188M	\$230M	\$418M
2013	\$207M	\$277M	\$484M

Source: <https://www.tdap.gov.pk/word/Russia-Final-report.pdf>

2.1.2 Pakistan Exports to Russia

In 2017, Pakistan exported products of \$131 million to Russia (see Figure 1). This figure also helps understanding that Pakistan’s exports to Russia started increasing during the Zardari tenure. It reached the maximum level in 2013 i.e. \$207 million and subsequently started to decrease in 2017 to \$131 million. During these four years, Pakistan’s exports to Russia decreased by 36.7 per cent mainly due to the non-price factors. Such factors may include the unfavourable international trade conditions, economic sanctions on Russia, unavailability of diverse products, exporters oblivious of market demands and requirements, quality issues, energy crisis, and diversion of exporters to Europe because of the introduction of GSP plus in 2014. In 2017, Pakistan’s export share to Russia was only 0.60 per cent of its total exports which lagged far behind as compared to that of China, the US, and the UK which were in billions dollars.⁷⁹ In 2017, Pakistan exported the following major products to Russia:

⁷⁹ “Pakistan Exports to Russia - 2009-2019,” accessed June 25, 2020, <https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/exports/russia>.

- Fruits and nuts, amounting to \$33.29 million (25 per cent share),
- Cotton, amounting to \$21.85 million (17 per cent share),
- Textile products especially apparel articles of \$13.86 million (11 per cent share),
- Animal gut, leather, and travel goods that valued \$13.49 million (10 per cent share of total exports to Russia).⁸⁰

In the current scenario when Russia is losing export markets as a result of weakening relations with Europe, Pakistan can act as a substitute. However the international sanctions imposed on Russia in the wake of Ukrainian secession had been disturbing trade with Russia, but both countries through Joint Working Group on Trade can forge mechanism for enhancing bilateral trade.

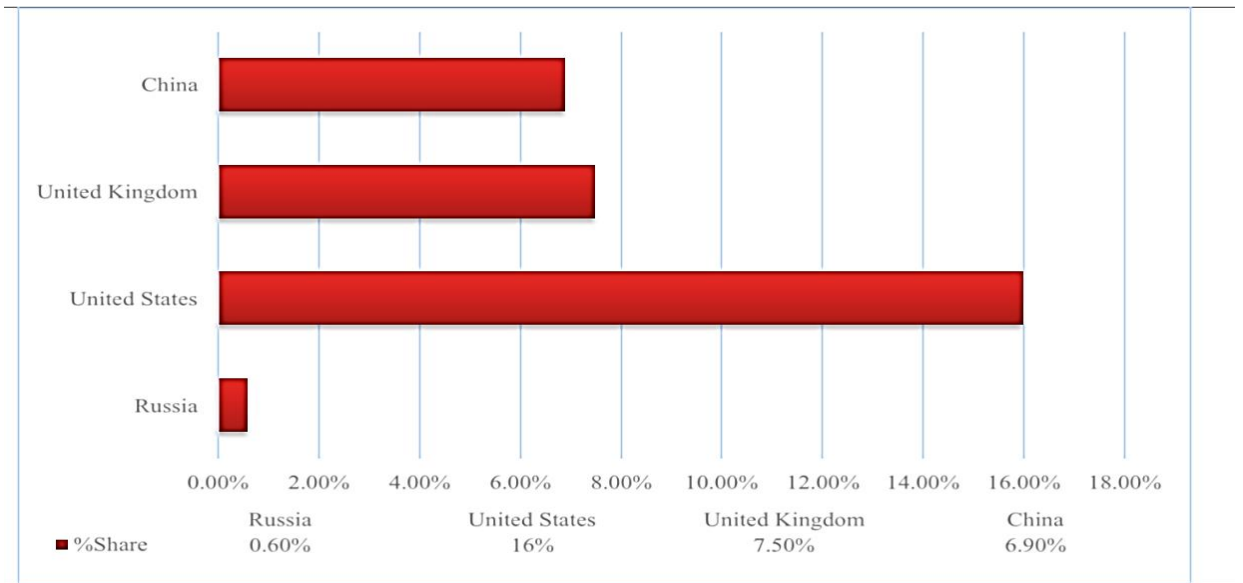
Figure 1: Pakistan Exports to Russia (2008-2018)



Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/exports/russia>

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Figure 2: Pakistan's % Export share to major countries (2017)



Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/exports-by-country>

Table 2: Pakistan's Export to Major Countries (2017)

Country	Value
Russia	\$0.131B
United States	\$3.56B
United Kingdom	\$1.63B
China	\$1.51B

Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/exports-by-country>

2.1.3 Pakistan Imports from Russia

As mentioned in Figure 3, in 2017, about \$310.94 million worth of goods were imported to Pakistan from Russia. The graph showcase that there is an inconsistency in the rise and fall of the imports from the Russia. In year 2009, \$323 million worth of goods were imported from Russia, which was the highest number till date, but in the very next year 2010, imports were decreased on \$157 million. Later in 2013, increase in the Russian import was observed as the import goods reached up to \$277 million. But it does

not showcase any major issue as spike was observed in the exports to Russia from Pakistan as mentioned in the previous topic. Unfortunately, since 2012, there has been an increase at a much higher rate. Total import in 2016 was of \$258 million which increased up to 21 per cent in 2017 when the imports reached up to \$311 million. There are price factors as well as non-price factors which affect the imports. The price of goods had fallen in the global markets too which caused increase in the demand, resulting in increase in the imports in past decade.

According to **Figure 3**, Pakistan imported goods valued \$310.94 million from Russia in the year 2017. The bar-graph shows that imports from Russia follow an inconsistent pattern of increase and decline. The maximum goods were imported in 2009 amounting to \$323 million which then dropped to \$157 million in 2010. It again saw an increase in 2013 amounting up to \$277 million. Since 2015, Pakistan's imports from Russia have been increasing at a very high rate unfortunately. There was a 21 per cent increase from \$258 million in 2016 to \$311 million in 2017. Increase in imports rely on both Price and non-price factors. Internationally, commodity prices had fallen due to which quantity of demand had increased thereby increasing imports in the last 10 years.

Besides, domestic industry couldn't get revitalized by the governments of Pakistan in order to deliver the public at grass root level with basic routine goods. In order to avoid the vulnerability of Pakistani products as compared to Russian products, the local industry sector needs to be mitigated. The Russian rubble currency had to face the trade sanctions which caused it devalue and ultimately increased the exports of Russian products. So Pakistan needs to impose tariff on Russian products and on the other hand, increase the exports to Russia so that import bill can be controlled and both countries can equally gain benefit from the bilateral trade.

Moreover, Pakistan has failed to revitalize its domestic industry to provide basic routine goods to public locally. It is important to mitigate this sector in order to avoid vulnerability to Russian goods. Another reason may also be the effects of trade sanctions on Russian Rubble which had been devalued thereby increasing Russian exports. So in order to control the import bill, it may be necessary that Pakistan imposes tariff on

Russian goods and increases exports to Russia so that both states can benefit from bilateral trade equally.

Figure 4 represents that the imports of Russian products to Pakistan were 0.55 per cent of the total imports in 2017 to Pakistan. To draw a comparison, it is noteworthy to mention that 37 per cent Pakistani imports are received from China in for of major commodities. United Arab Emirates stands on the second rank as it provides 13 per cent of imports and United States of America provides only 5 per cent of the imports of Pakistan. This comparison explain two major factors: 1) Although imports from Russia are not huge but still it is necessary to increase the exports to Russia in order to amplify the bilateral trade quantity, and 2) Pakistani exports to China are extremely low as compared to import from China (in the case of USA it is exactly opposite). Therefore, this huge trade deficit affects the economy due to increase in imports.

In 2017, some important imports were as following:

- About 19 per cent of imports consisted upon vegetables and certain roots & tubers which cost about \$59.45 million, and 18 per cent imports were consisted upon Steel & Iron commodities of worth \$56.93 million. About 14 per cent of imports were regarding articles of pulp, paper board & paper whose worth is estimated about \$44.51 million.
- In 2017, Russian imports to Pakistan were 0.55 per cent of total imports to Pakistan as shown in **Figure 4**. Comparatively, Pakistan imports its major commodities from China valued up to 27 per cent of total import share. Other top countries from which Pakistan imports include United Arab Emirates providing 13 per cent of total imports and United States of America catering to 5 per cent of total import share. This explains two things: One, Pakistan does not import huge quantity of goods from Russia, yet low volume of exports to Russia need to be reconsidered and overall the bilateral trade quantity should be amplified. Second, Pakistan's export to China are less than the import intake from China (which is exactly opposite in case of the US). Hence, Pakistan faces huge trade deficit due to rise in total imports.

Few important imports in the year 2017 have been:

- 19 per cent share have been of edible vegetables and certain roots and tubers amounting to 59.45 US\$ million, 18 per cent imports have been Iron and steel commodities valuing up to \$56.93 million, and
- Paper and paperboard, & articles of pulp carried 14 per cent import share i.e. US\$ 44.51 million.

Figure 3: Pakistan imports from Russia (2008-2018)



Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/imports/russia>

Table 3: Pakistan’s Imports from major countries (2017)

Country	Value
Russia	\$0.311B
China	\$15.38B
United Arab Emirates	\$7.52B
United States	\$2.84B

Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/imports-by-country>

2.1.4 Energy

Another converging factor between Russia and Pakistan to build resilient ties is the energy sector. From 2010-15, Russia was the world’s 3rd largest primary power generator with above 55 Quadrillion BTU production in 2015. The same year, Russia was recognized as the world’s 2nd largest producer of natural gas and petroleum with 22 and 23 Quad BTU respectively.⁸¹ In the face of energy crisis, Russia can be the viable option for Pakistan in her quest to overcome the crisis by employing diverse options. The other options for Pakistan are the USA and China but their resources are not as much potential as of the Russian. The reason is that the USA and China are the huge energy consumers as compare to Russia which consumes a small portion of the total energy it produced. It is clearly mentioned in the figures 5 and 6 that in 2015, China produced 103 Quad BTU of energy but consumed 120 Quad BTU. Likewise, the USA consumed 93 Quad BTU whereas its energy production was just 84 Quad BTU in 2015. Thus it can simply be noted that Russia can be a durable energy supplier to Pakistan with vast resources of natural gas and petroleum products. Similarly, Indian energy production in 2015 was 14 Quad BTU and its domestic demand and consumption was 25 Quad BTU, which she fulfilled from China, Russia and Middle East. Pakistan has also been consuming one Quad BTU more energy than its production in 2015. Pakistan locally produces a small

⁸¹ Jack D. Sharples, “The Shifting Geopolitics of Russia’s Natural Gas Exports and Their Impact on EU-Russia Gas Relations,” *Geopolitics* 21, no. 4 (2016): 880–912.

share of oil; 50 per cent of its energy consumption is petroleum or crude oil which is imported from Middle East mainly Saudi Arabia and covers the major energy import share of the country.⁸²

Russia had offered its services for connecting Turkmenistan's natural gas reserves to South Asia's energy consuming countries by setting up Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (TAPI) pipeline project. This \$7.5 billion pipeline project would enable South Asian countries to daily receive 3.2 billion cubic feet of natural gas from Turkmenistan. A formal agreement was signed by the heads of all the stakeholders, including Pakistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in 2010.⁸³ Had the political infeasibility and instability not stricken the region, this project would have been completed by now, as it was planned initially to make the project operational by 2013-14.

Moreover, Gazprom, a Russian firm which deals in energy was also interested in making partial investment in Pakistan's side of the Iran-Pakistan Pipeline.⁸⁴ However, the regional and global circumstances such as the USA influence and deteriorating US-Iran relations were not favouring the project; therefore, it has not been materialized yet, even when Pakistan made sincere efforts for realization of this project. Moscow had also offered a funding of \$500 million to Pakistan for the World Bank's CASA1000 (Central Asia-South Asia) project. This project aimed at importing electricity from Central Asian states to South Asia specifically 1000-1300 Megawatts from Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.⁸⁵

Besides that a Russian company, Rosgeologiya, was interested in providing seismic data interpretation and other modern technology and training to Pakistan for exploring oil and gas reserves. Also, another Russian organization, RusGaz Engineering, was agreed to provide Pakistan with infrastructure for oil refining, as well as LNG gasification units and

⁸² "Analysis & Projections - U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA)," accessed June 26, 2020, <https://www.eia.gov/analysis/index.php>.

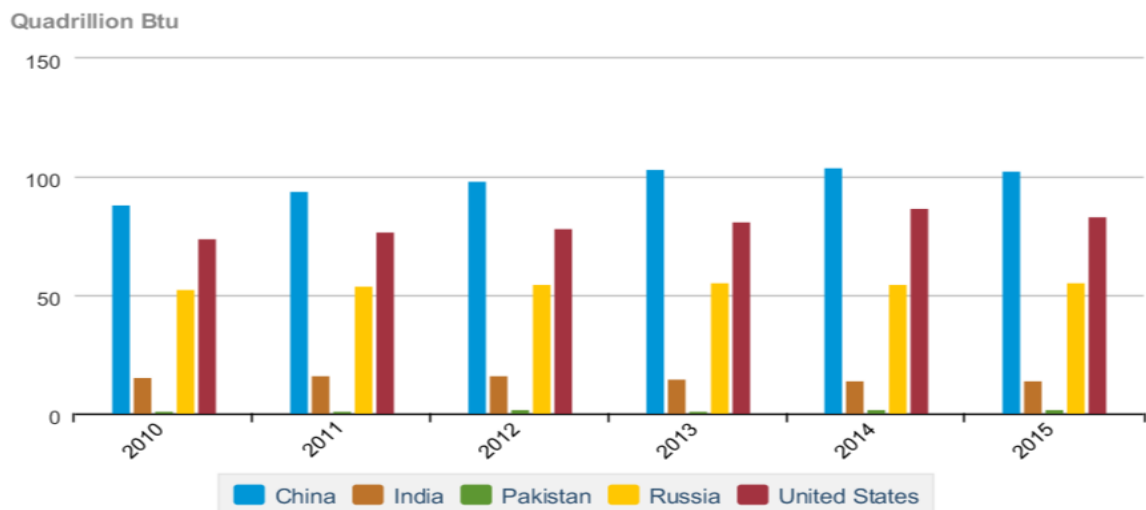
⁸³ Mirza Sadaqat Huda and Saleem H. Ali, "Energy Diplomacy in South Asia: Beyond the Security Paradigm in Accessing the TAPI Pipeline Project," *Energy Research & Social Science* 34 (2017): 202-13.

⁸⁴ Muhammad Munir, Muhammad Ahsan, and Saman Zulfqar, "Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline: Cost-Benefit Analysis," *Journal of Political Studies* 20, no. 2 (2013): 161.

⁸⁵ Rashid Siddiqi, "Prospects for Russia-Pakistan Rapprochement," *Strategic Studies* 37, no. 2 (2017): 58-73, doi:10.2307/48537546.

recovery plants. Russia had also extended offers for cooperating in the energy sector of Baluchistan and Sindh. Additionally, Pakistan can also get benefits from Russia in terms of energy supply by supporting the aspirations of Vladimir Putin to set up an ‘energy club’ within the Shanghai Corporation Organization.⁸⁶ This club would be consisting of energy producing member countries like Russia, CARs, and Iran, and potential energy consumers such as India, China and Pakistan. Nonetheless, the USA factor matter greatly in this regard, as good Indo-Russo and Pak-Russo relations would be a prerequisite for making this club a success while the USA can influence the bilateral relations between them.

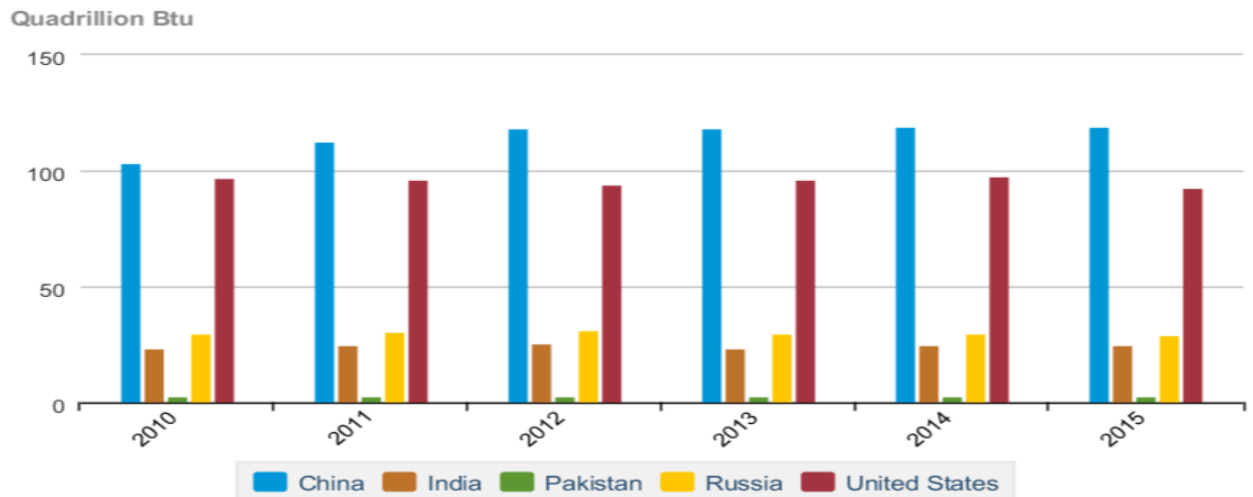
Figure 5: Total (Primary) Energy Production from 2010-2015



Source: <https://www.iea.org/data-and-statistics/charts>

⁸⁶ Almas Haider Naqvi and Yasir Masood, “Rejuvenating Pakistan-Russia Relations,” *Strategic Studies* 37, no. 4 (2017): 18–38, doi:10.2307/48537570.

Figure 6: Total (Primary) Energy Consumption from 2010-2015



Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/265619/primary-energy-consumption-worldwide-by-fuel/>

2.1.5 Military Cooperation

The anarchic structure of the international system and the potential threats from hostile forces compel the states to invest momentarily into military infrastructure and gain relative power for ensuring their survival. Pakistan has been facing the same situation owing to the antagonistic policies of its neighbour, India. As a defensive measure, the country has been longing for strong allies and closed military cooperation with major powers. Same is the case with Russia, which has also been looking for making new alliances to counter the moves of its arch rival, the US. Therefore, both countries came closer in the post 9/11 era and established stronger links through the military channel.

In 2017, Pakistan's defence budget was \$10378 million, which amounted 3.5 per cent of its GDP whereas Russia's military share was 4.3 per cent of from its GDP i.e. \$55327 million.⁸⁷ During the last decade, Pakistan's military budget was increased at a rate of 13

⁸⁷ N Tian et al., "Trends in World Military Expenditure, 2018," Fact Sheet (SIPRI, 2019).

per cent where the Russian defence budget witnessed an increase at the rate of 30 per cent. This tendency proved that both countries have alike military symmetry and philosophy which could be a potential factor for further improving Pak-Russo ties. However, this is not an easy task to achieve as Russia is the second largest arms exporter from the top 10 arms exporters of the world which contributes 22 per cent arms to the total international share of the arms exports. On the other hand, Pakistan ranks nine among the top 10 arms importers of the world by receiving 2.8 per cent of the total international share of the military imports.⁸⁸ In this scenario, Pakistan and Russia could gain more from stronger defence cooperation where the former could import arms from the latter, but practically it is not possible as Russia have been selling arms to India since the Cold War while Pakistan has never built good ties with Russia due to its rivalry with India and the alliance with the USA during the Cold War.

From 2007 to 2017, Russia imported arms of up to \$24486 million to India which was 34 per cent of its total export, whereas Pakistan received only 0.5 per cent share, amounting to \$364 million. By this way, India received almost 35 times larger military transfers than Pakistan. The interesting fact among this triangle was that Pakistan's exports share had remained constant for most of the time while India's share increased first in 2008, reached the highest level in 2012-13, and then started declining in 2014. Pakistan's exports from Russia started increasing in 2010. This fluctuation in Russia's exports to India and Pakistan can be better explained in the light of Indo-US Strategic Deal-2008 which was the main reason behind the increase in Indian imports in 2008, and the coming years as Russian was trying to cut off the US. However, when India went on proliferating ties with the US, Russia increased its exports to Pakistan in 2010 to avert Indo-US bonding, and in 2014, finally minimized its exports to India. Even then, the overall export share of Indian (34 per cent) was far greater than that of Pakistan (0.5 per cent).⁸⁹ But there are greater chances of improved military ties between Pakistan and Russia, as Pakistan requires diverse military resources to strengthen its defence, while Russia looks

⁸⁸ Ume Farwa, "Russia's Strategic Calculus in South Asia and Pakistan's Role," *Strategic Studies* 39, no. 2 (2019): 33–47, doi:10.2307/48544298.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

for alternative markets to boost its economy and they both signed a defence deal in 2015 through which Russia delivered four Mi-35 attack helicopters to Pakistan.⁹⁰

2.1.6 Drug Trafficking

According to a survey carried out by the United Nation Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC), production of drugs in Afghanistan has been increasing since 2015 at a very higher pace. In 2017, area of the land allocated for cultivating opium increased by 63 per cent due to which the opium production was increase by 87 per cent. This led to an increase of 323 per cent (\$6.6 billion) in illegal opiate economy in 2017. 98 per cent of this drugs production was exported to Iran, Pakistan, and CARs from where it was dispersed to the USA and Europe.⁹¹

Russia gets more than 25 per cent of the total drugs coming out from Afghanistan which is used by three million drug addicts residing in Russia.⁹² On the other hand, Pakistan also hosts 6.7 million drug addicts which is a big challenge for the country.⁹³ So Pakistan and Russia both faces the dilemma of drug trafficking which is primarily created by Afghanistan. Moreover, both countries also want a stable and peaceful Afghanistan where the opium money is being used to finance terrorism. Drug trafficking, terror financing through opium exports, and rehabilitation of drug addicts are serious concerns for them. Under such circumstances, it is inevitable for Russia to stop blaming Pakistan for allegedly involved in the drug trafficking and join hands with her for finding a way out. Convergence of mutual interests is mandatory for both the states to fight the drug challenge where the bilateral relations among them can develop more easily and rapidly.

⁹⁰ Franz-Stefan Gady, "Pakistan Receives 4 Advanced Attack Helicopters From Russia," *The Diplomat*, August 29, 2017, <http://thediplomat.com/2017/08/pakistan-receives-4-advanced-attack-helicopters-from-russia/>.

⁹¹ "Afghanistan Opium Survey 2018: Challenges to Sustainable Development, Peace and Security," Survey (United Nation Office on Drugs and Crimes, 2019), https://www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/Afghanistan_opium_survey_2018_socioeconomic_report.pdf.

⁹² Ekaterina Stepanova, "Russia's Afghan Policy in the Regional and Russia-West Contexts," *Russia. NEI. Reports* 23, no. 2018 (2018): 27.

⁹³ "UNODC Pakistan," accessed June 28, 2020, <https://www.unodc.org/pakistan/index.html?ref=menutop>.

2.1.7 Counterterrorism

Both Pakistan and Russia are the victims of terrorism who have been suffering from this menace for a long time. Pakistan is the world's 5th most terror affected country whereas Russia ranks 33rd on the list of most terror affected countries.⁹⁴ Terrorism activities in Russia have been gradually increasing from 2002 to 2016 with a total of 2254 terrorist attacks during this period.⁹⁵ The areas where Russia had been experiencing terrorism are Dagestan, Chechnya and Ukraine which share borders with Russia. Russia considers that the terrorism activities in Eurasia were a result of spill over from Afghanistan and Pakistan through Central Asia. She also claims that the above mentioned external forces are behind the rise in extremism and separatist tendencies within the Russian jurisdiction. Additionally, Russia experienced an increase in Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) attacks and found a handsome number of ISIL affiliates on its territory. Disappointingly, Russians builds eight per cent of the total ISIL foreign fighters who are responsible for most of the terrorist attacks in Russia.⁹⁶

In this context, Russia aims at securing its hotspots and CARs from the terror spill over of Afghanistan as it is already facing problems from ISIL. Pakistan is also among the victims of terrorism who has suffered the most. She suggested Russia that the menace of terrorism could only be eradicated by holding peace dialogue with Afghan Taliban rather than backing anti-Taliban factions, as in the case of militancy in Chechen which was supported by Afghan Talban in a counter move for alleged support of Russian to the anti-Talban groups.

Hence, counterterrorism is another domain where both Russian and Pakistan are cooperating because their goals are common, i.e. to bring stability in their regions. In this regards, *Druzhba 2016* and the military exercises of 2017 were major developments

⁹⁴ "Global Terrorism Index 2019: Measuring the Impact Of Terrorism" (Sydney: Institute for Economics & Peace, 2019).

⁹⁵ "Russia Terrorism Index | 2002-2018 Data | 2019-2020 Forecast | Historical | Chart," accessed June 28, 2020, <https://tradingeconomics.com/russia/terrorism-index>.

⁹⁶ "Where Are ISIS's Foreign Fighters Coming From?," *National Bureau of Economic Research*, accessed June 26, 2020, <https://www.nber.org/digest/jun16/w22190.html>.

towards counterterrorism.⁹⁷ They can also use the formal institutions of cooperation such as Joint Working Groups on Counter-Terrorism and Strategic Stability for developing anti-terrorism strategies, and can conduct joint intelligence operations to better counter the terror offensives. Additionally, SCO membership can pave way for Pakistan to build stronger ties and cooperation with Russia and construct strong basis for conflict resolution in Afghanistan, and curtail terrorism in the region.

2.2 External Factors

The external factors which enable both the states to work and support each other can be studied under the following headings:

2.2.1 Growing Russia – China Relationship

As Defensive realism puts forward that states need to build alliance so as to balance the power with the rivals. Russia and China are strengthening strategic ties in order to minimize the role of USA in Asia. Sideways, this collaboration of both countries is halting the Indian designs of exhibiting its hegemonic role in South Asia. India is seen as a watchman of USA in the region so the collaboration between Russia and China lays a rigid ground for India. Secondly, the consolidation of Russia and China is advantageous for Pakistan as it Pakistan has cordial relations with China and with Russia; Pakistan is establishing healthy relations so the support of these two countries is of much benefit for balancing Pakistan's position in South Asia.

On the global platform, USA is being challenged by the two major powers i.e. Russia and China. China being the economic power and Russia resurging as military and political power are proving to be obstacles in the policy making of US.⁹⁸ Strategies of Russia and China in their arenas of policy making may not the stand on the same ground and their strategies of expansion may differ accordingly. But the present role of both countries in

⁹⁷ "Russian Troops Arrive in Pakistan for Third Joint Military Drill," *The Express Tribune*, October 21, 2018, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/1831201/1-russian-forces-arrive-pakistan-third-joint-military-drill>.

⁹⁸ Andrea Kendall-Taylor and David Shullman, "A Russian-Chinese Partnership Is a Threat to US Interests. Can Washington Act Before It's Too Late?," *Foreign Affairs*, 2019.

world politics may not directly compliment to each other but is assured to their common interests.⁹⁹

The economic collaboration of Russia and China in current scenario is a potential and significant factor on the stage of international system. Russia and China's political and economic partnership is framed on certain defined rules of mutual trust, benefit and equality for the succession of their strategic alliance. Plans for China's BRI integration with Russia's EEU uplifted the position of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in a significant manner. SCO is seen as politically and economically dominant organization of Eurasia in the world. Now, Pakistan and India are members of SCO which implies that this organization is going to play vital role in the south Asian region. Russia in SCO summit of 2016 proposed a free trade between SCO member states. Russia and China are expanding their cooperation in other areas such as Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation to endorse regional economic growth. The main reason is to curtail the effect of USA led Trans-Pacific partnership agreement for free trade in the Pacific Ocean.¹⁰⁰

Russia and China sited their targets in the bilateral relations starting with the strategic partnership in 2012 and advancing it to another level in 2014 intensified their relations.¹⁰¹ The 2014 partnership included a 40-years gas supply agreement to build up the Russia-China collaboration in energy sector. Further it was strengthened with another deal for supplying the oil from Russia to China in order to become China's chief oil supplier.¹⁰² Another deal between Central Bank of Russia and People's Bank of China held for currency exchange of \$24 at a time for enhancement of bilateral trade. China has invested directly in Russia and it is among the top five countries in which it is investing and the trade volume has been expanded so far.

Both countries have strengthened their political ties in recent years. The announcement of integration of EEU and BRI in 2015 was a paramount progress in their relations. BRI

⁹⁹ Julia Gurganus and Eugene Rumer, "Russia's Global Ambitions In Perspective," *Carnegie Moscow Center*, February 20 (2019).

¹⁰⁰ "TPP's Death Hurts America and Helps China + Russia," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://money.cnn.com/2016/11/23/news/economy/tpp-trump-america-china-russia/index.html>.

¹⁰¹ Bob Savic, "Behind China and Russia's' Special Relationship'," *The Diplomat* 7 (2016).

¹⁰² Ibid.

encompasses the development of infrastructure for trade which is ought to connect Europe, Africa and Asia whereas EEU is focused on inward network of trading between Russia and other countries like Kazakhstan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Belarus. Russia's willingness to join EEU with CPEC (part of BRI) will give an advantage to the Russia's strategy of regional integration and this will be beneficial for Pakistan as well as for CARs and Russia.

This partnership of Russia and China in the neighbouring India is not welcomed as it has serious perils for Indian aspirations of dominating the region. Pakistan is taking the advantage of this Russo-China partnership and with the long lasting friendship of China; it is also establishing good relations with Russia in order to secure its survival in the presence of a hostile neighbour India. Pakistan is looking forward to the integration of EEU with CPEC and if this aspirations leads to reality then that will be the turning point of changing power asymmetry in South Asia. Pakistan is also in dire need of energy so acquiring energy from Russia with China's help will be a breakthrough for Pakistan's energy sector.

Russia and China have been cooperating in the defence field as well in order to protect their geo-strategic interests and this is also in Pakistan's favour as in the presence of China in the neighbourhood India cannot stay hostile with Pakistan even as China is Pakistan's iron friend and has been supporting Pakistan in the history. Secondly, Russia's tilt towards China and Pakistan is weakening India's position in the region due to the fact that India is engaged with establishing ties with USA.

Russia-China relations have multi-layered connections, not just confined to governmental policymaking but also includes regional policy designing and civil sectors.¹⁰³ Recent Russian tilt towards East and China's support to this agenda is a clear sign of eliminating USA dominancy from the region by halting the emergence of a key player India in the regional politics who is ultimately supported by USA to tackle emergence of China.

¹⁰³ Silvana Malle, "Russia and China in the 21st Century. Moving towards Cooperative Behaviour," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 8, no. 2 (2017): 136–50.

2.2.2 USA Withdrawal of Forces from Afghanistan

Peace talks in Afghanistan includes two main parties i.e. Taliban and US. The Afghan Government is considered to be a puppet in hands of USA by Taliban so they have been pushed forward to the ground where they can directly put forward their demands to USA in order to bring about the stability and peace in Afghanistan.

The main issue that restricts the peace process is the mistrust from both sides. Taliban want USA to completely withdraw its allies and forces from Afghanistan and in turn USA needs surety from Taliban that Afghan soil would not be used for terrorist activities in future.

Recent peace talks were initiated in 2018 between Taliban and USA in Qatar where Russia also played its role in bringing Taliban and Afghan government on one page. Further peace talks were enhanced in the year later which was seen productive in terms that both parties agreed upon certain terms and conditions. But unfortunately the statement from President Donald Trump stated that he cancels the peace talks.¹⁰⁴ Taliban reacted to this and affirmed USA of the consequence of ending the talks.¹⁰⁵ Another attempt in February 2020 to bring the peace process between the two concerned parties was made and an agreement was signed. The main point put forth by Taliban was to draw USA and its ally forces from Afghanistan and in return Taliban would not provide safe heavens to the terrorists.

Pakistan has been performing its role as a facilitator and because of its strategic location Pakistan is playing a vital role and has become a stakeholder in the Afghan scenario. As Afghanistan is adjacent neighbour to Pakistan and peace in Afghanistan is ultimately required to bring stability in Pakistan. Pakistan shares its longest border with Afghanistan and it requires the peace and prosperity in Afghanistan because terrorists can penetrate into Pakistan via Durand line which ultimately is a threat to security in Pakistan.

¹⁰⁴ “Afghan Peace Deal: Trump Says Taliban Talks Are ‘dead’ - BBC News,” accessed January 1, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-49642655>.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

Russia supported the removal of Taliban government but in long term the presence of international forces is constant danger to its national interest in the region. To protect its interests in the region, it is very important for Russia to play an effective role in geopolitical and economic activities of the subjected region. From political, economic and military perspective the region remains a key factor in shaping Russian foreign policy historically. The current development may undermine its national interest because of the greater involvement of other states particularly the United State and its ally in the region i.e. India.

The pertaining political system and stability in Afghanistan is a huge concern for Russia. The recent development and USA Taliban negotiation shows that United State may withdraw its forces from Afghanistan while they also interested to build a permanent military base in the country. These both options may worry the Russian policy makers because the complete withdrawal may lead to instability and Taliban control which is a threat to Russia's national security interests. The second option of permanent military base in Afghanistan will enable the USA to closely monitor the region. That's why it is very uneasy situation for Russia to maintain and expand its interest in region.

The Russian Special Representative in Afghanistan, Zamir Kabulov, recently said that the possible withdrawal of USA troops may lead to political turmoil and uncertainty in the country. Such a statement attests to his concern about the future of Afghanistan. Then he said: "If things go like this, it's likely to cause confusion."¹⁰⁶ He is concerned about the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, but he is also deeply concerned about the establishment of a permanent base, which has caused concerns and problems for Russian politicians. Russia want a clear policy statement from the USA regarding the permanent military base while on the other hand, it discourages such move because they think that permanent military base could become a threat to regional stability.¹⁰⁷

One of the main factor behind the growing concerns and worries of Russia is the spill-over effect of instability to the neighbor states such as Tajikistan and other Central Asian

¹⁰⁶ "There's Still Hope for Afghanistan – Russian Envoy," *Russia Today*, December 11, 2011, accessed January 23, 2020, <https://www.rt.com/news/afghanistan-recovery-russian-envoy-525/>

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

States. Political instability and uncertainty in Afghanistan is a direct threat to Central Asia and indirect threat to Russia that's why it is keenly observing the political and security development in Afghanistan. The continued presence of military base in Tajikistan is another major concern for Russia. These concerns of Russia are clearly highlighted in official statements as President Putin said in 2013 that Afghanistan's growing situation was a "This is directly related to our national security."¹⁰⁸ Russia also desires to have its military foothold strong in the region such as it has modernized its military hardware in Tajikistan. In 2016, the Russian Deputy Defense Minister said while visiting Tajikistan that the situation in Afghanistan has a direct impact on the country, he further said that "In view of the problems caused by Afghanistan, our friends and brothers in Tajikistan face new challenges and threats."¹⁰⁹

Russia believes that when the USA no longer confirms dialogue with Taliban leaders, a gesture of goodwill and the importance of establishing friendly relations with the Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan are important. This is especially the case after the emergence of brand new disturbance factors in Afghanistan, that is, after the arrival of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Russia regards ISIS as the greatest threat to the Middle East. In this case, Kabulov believes: "There is no doubt that ISIS is purifying the Russian militants in Afghanistan as part of their efforts to expand the scale of Central Asia."¹¹⁰ Due to the Taliban approach adopted, Russia emphasized The Taliban movement itself was attacked by many terrorist incidents¹¹¹. He also believes that the Islamic State's influence in Afghanistan is increasing, so he believes that "the interests of the Taliban are objectively in line with our interests." He also emphasized: "Everyone in Pakistan Afghan and Taliban claimed not to recognize Daisha and did not realize that leader Daisha [Abu Baq] Baghdadi was" highly "criticized as a caliphate. Russia also

¹⁰⁸ President of Russia, "Security Council Meeting," May 8, 2013, accessed January 25, 2020, <http://eng.kremlin.ru/news/5381>

¹⁰⁹ Franz-Stefan Gady, "Russia Reinforces Tajikistan Base with 100 New Armored Vehicles," *Diplomat*, June 16, 2016, accessed January 26, 2020, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/06/russiareinforces-tajikistan-base-with-100-new-armored-vehicles/>

¹¹⁰ Javid Ahmad, "Russia and Taliban Make Amends: Moscow's New Ally in Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, January 31, 2016, accessed January 27, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2016-01-31/russia-and-taliban-make-amends>

¹¹¹ "There's Still Hope for Afghanistan – Russian Envoy," *Russia Today*, December 11, 2011, accessed January 23, 2020, <https://www.rt.com/news/afghanistan-recovery-russian-envoy-525/>

announced that it is in contact with the Taliban Establish a "transaction information channel"¹¹².

Russia is highly concerned regarding the situation inside Afghanistan and considers Pakistan as significant player in bringing peace and stability inside Afghanistan. This is the main reason of Russia's huge deference to Pakistan because Russia is facing complex security problem arising from Afghanistan. On USA withdrawal from Afghanistan, Russia ponders Pakistan as a main actor in maintaining peace in Afghanistan and believed that "Without the active participation of Pakistan and Iran, the situation in Afghanistan cannot be resolved."¹¹³

This is why Afghanistan has always been the main source of exchanges between Pakistan and Russia. The military agreement signed in 2014 clearly shows that the two countries share the same views on the development and commercial development of Afghanistan.¹¹⁴

2.2.3 Pakistan amid USA-Russia Tension

The relationship between the USA and Russia has been tense for many years. Russian policies regarding several issues are inconsistent around the globe. The reason is that the USA plans to deploy a missile defence system against the Russian opposition in Eastern Europe. There are currently divergent opinions regarding the response to the nuclear program of Iran and crisis in Syria. In Syria USA wants military operations on unilateral basis to support opposition groups and impose much harder sanctions on Iran. Russia hopes to resolve these two issues by conducting bilateral negotiations or by using multilateral forums under the patronages of the United Nations. The USA demands that other countries should strictly abide by the Charter of the United States and international

¹¹² Javid Ahmad, "Russia and Taliban Make Amends: Moscow's New Ally in Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, January 31, 2016, accessed January 27, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2016-01-31/russia-and-taliban-make-amends>

¹¹³ Vladimir Radyuhin, "Still Waiting for the Bear Hug," *Hindu*, September 28, 2012, accessed January 28, 2020, <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/still-waiting-for-the-bearhug/article3943960.ece>

¹¹⁴ Joy Mitra, "Russia, China and Pakistan: An Emerging New Axis?," *Diplomat*, August 18, 2015, accessed January 29, 2020, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/08/russia-china-and-pakistan-anemerging-new-axis/>

law.¹¹⁵ Valery Gerasimov, Chief of the General Staff of Russia, said: "If the United States continues to implement a global anti-ballistic defense system, Moscow may withdraw from the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) agreement signed in 2010¹¹⁶. He added: " We will not Hiding our waterway due to the negative impact of the USA global missile defence system. The United States is balancing Russian nuclear power plants.¹¹⁷ When Hillary Clinton and the Russian Secretary of State announced in March 2009 to "restore" relations between the two countries, the future looked bright. However, in the past years, relations between the two countries have worsened significantly.

In this scenario of Russia and USA relations, that are not appropriate enough to be called as healthy relations, Pakistan gained a geo-strategic significance due to the tension between USA and Russia and drew attention from Moscow. Pakistan is crucial for Russia in providing path to enter into the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf region, entrance to Iran, as a pipeline project route. Pakistan can also help the United States gain a foothold in the region.

In order to stabilize situation of Central Asia and Afghanistan, Russia is developing strong economic relations and strategic partnership with Pakistan that would otherwise had not been possible. After 2012, Pakistan and Russia's intergovernmental committees are working together to encourage economic trade. Russia Considered Pakistan as an important consultant hoping that Pakistan would participate in the SCO summit and will actively play its role in regional security and peace process.

Russia believes that the friendship between Pakistan and the United States will be broken if the United States exerts excessive pressure on Pakistan for its more involvement in the war on terrorism that will provide Russia an opportunity to make its ties close with Pakistan that will ultimately help Russia to gain a strong influence in Central and South

¹¹⁵ "Russia, China Say Bypassing UN Rules Is 'Impermissible' — RT Russia News," accessed January 30, 2020, <https://www.rt.com/russia/russia-bypassing-un-inadmissible-189/>.

¹¹⁶ "Obama, Putin Exchange Letters amid Troubled US-Russia Relations — RT Russia News," accessed January 29, 2020, <https://www.rt.com/russia/putin-obama-message-patrushev-669/>.

¹¹⁷ Ibid

Asia.¹¹⁸ To gain more influence Russia will also enter the Indian Ocean through the Arabian Sea and circumventing Iran into the Strait of Hormuz. US, due to its many years of strategic relations with Pakistan, might not digest the developed relations of Russia and Pakistan.

The foreign policy of Russia supports the modern collective security system, which was established by supporting the balanced economic and social progress of all states. Russia also hopes to support the economic development of the least developed regions and countries in order to solve the problem of difference in development.¹¹⁹ Therefore, Russia did not consider too many geopolitical restrictions when implementing its free-trade economic policy. It realizes its potential as a donor and pursues active and detailed international development policies both bilaterally and multilaterally. Russia aimed to strengthen economic and trade investment relations with all countries. Therefore, Pakistan will effortlessly develop economic relations with Russia. Resultantly, Pakistan will be able to balance the power equation with India.

2.2.4 Russia, China and Pakistan in SCO

China as a founding member of SCO is trying to keep its member states in a mutual trust and support to each other. Friendship, Cooperation and exchanges between the governments and safety measures for maintaining the security is the ultimate goal of the organization. The main agenda behind this is the security for all including security cooperation and the elimination of extremism and terrorism.

China through BRI trying to enhance the cooperation between the states and merging of Russian EEU depicts that it clearly draws towards the economic integration of the region.¹²⁰ China is trying to create the feasible trade routes in the Asian region and for this it has a strong platform of member states of SCO. China is trying to establish the

¹¹⁸ “Pakistan Can Make Russia Queen of Asia,” accessed January 29, 2020, https://www.pravdareport.com/russia/122006-pakistan_russia/.

¹¹⁹ “Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation,” accessed January 29, 2020, https://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptlCk6BZ29/content/id/122186.

¹²⁰ Fabio Indeo, “The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative on Central Asia: Building New Relations in a Reshaped Geopolitical Scenario,” in *China’s Belt and Road Initiative* (Springer, 2018), 135–53.

Subnational mechanism of cooperation. Now China is looking forward to begin the Development Bank of SCO and many other projects for the connectivity of the region.

Another lift-up of SCO is the cross border cultural exchange to encourage the people to people interactions in fields of media, environment, tourism, technology and sports and for this it urges to build a university in which students can interact with each other.

Taking into account all the respective policies and China's close relations with certain countries, it can be easily stated that Sino-Pakistan relations have an upper hand over Sino-Indian relations and because of the recent investment of China in Pakistan and Russia's consent to join CPEC creates an upper edge of Pakistan in SCO than India. China's support to Pakistani stance over Kashmir on international forum is somewhat problematic for India and ultimately it gives Pakistan an upper hand over India because of closer relations of China and Pakistan.¹²¹

As China is Russia's strategic partner in the Asian region and Russia's role in current politics is seeking attention of Pakistan because Pakistan is looking for an ally to equalize India's alliance with USA. When Russia backed Pakistan's inclusion in SCO, it opened the new path of friendship ties between the two countries and the prospects for collaboration are widened. SCO is a platform from where Pakistan can build its cordial economic relations with other countries like Central Asian states and eastern European states. Another benefit Pakistan can take from Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) of SCO is to erode the evil of terrorism and secure its survival. On the other hand, Russia by strengthening the ties with Pakistan can get benefit of accomplishing its vision of Pivot to Asia and Eurasian integration by connecting to CPEC.

¹²¹ "China's Xi Backs Pakistan on Kashmir Ahead of Meeting with Modi - Bloomberg," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-10-09/china-s-xi-backs-pakistan-on-kashmir-ahead-of-meeting-with-modi>.

CHAPTER 3

Russo-Pak Partnership and Implications for India in becoming Regional Hegemon

The chapter takes insight of the implications that India is facing due to Pakistan and Russia's growing interference in the recent years. Russia-Pakistan engagement has acquired momentum in contemporary times owing to the dynamics of regional politics. Joint concerns of Russia and Pakistan for security in Afghanistan, operationalization of CPEC and Russia's quest for regional integration, Pak-Russia defence deals and Russia's search for an alternate arms receiver in South Asia have carved the way for closeness of both the countries. Resultantly, India is receiving negative vibes due to the rapprochement between Pakistan and Russia.

Ever since division of the Sub-Continent, India has been relentlessly trying to prove wrong the 'Two Nation theory', destabilize Pakistan, isolate it internationally and hasten its breakup through economic, diplomatic and military adventurism. It has successfully applied this model in 1971 by creating and fuelling internal dissensions in erstwhile East Pakistan, isolating Pakistan diplomatically from its strategic ally the United States and with full military backup of Soviet Union.¹²² The dismemberment of Pakistan was evitable with this triad of force (internal strife, diplomatic isolation and military muscle) applied. Pakistan's nuclear capability and strong mutual relationship with China, thwarted re-application of this Indian instrument again, despite Pakistan's strained relationship with US. India's growing economy and quest for military hardware offered USA an ideal partner in South Asia to counter China and side-line Russia. Afghanistan provided an ideal test ground where US-India strategic partnership, kept Russia and China at bay and marginalized Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan.¹²³ The USA has very successfully cajoled India, into believing that it is going to control South Asia and Indian

¹²² Muhammad Nawaz Bhatti, Muhammad Waris, and Sher Muhammad, "Indian Policy to Isolate Pakistan at International Forum and the Way Forward," *Review of Economics and Development Studies* 5, no. 4 (2019): 703–712.

¹²³ Sumeera Imran, "Sino-US Involvement in Afghanistan," *Strategic Studies* 39, no. 3 (2019): 53–72.

Ocean after the full withdrawal of USA forces from Afghanistan, as USA policeman or hegemon.

Russo-Pak growing relations are proving the theory of defensive realism to be true. Kenneth Waltz argues that maintaining the power balance is the best way to safeguard the status quo and secure the state.¹²⁴ However, India is apprehensive because of Russia's new direction towards the region. On the other hand, Russia is fully cognizant of India's strategic tilt towards USA and West, preferring to buy Rafale multi-role fighter aircrafts from France and a variety of drones and helicopters from the USA. The US-India arms sale is increasing phenomenally but India has very wisely kept Russia engaged by agreeing to buy over \$14.5 billion of military hardware including \$5 billion worth S-400, Surface to Air missile defence system.¹²⁵ Recently, Pakistan's growing relevance to US/West owing US-Taliban talks, dynamic leadership of Prime Minister Imran Khan and his close relationship with Saudi Arabia, Gulf Countries, Iran and Turkey have posed serious diplomatic challenges to India.¹²⁶ India's one-time strategic partner, Russia too is keen to have a friendly relationship with Pakistan, offering limited military hardware and keen to link up with CPEC.¹²⁷ The relationship between countries is impacted by several factors; the changing global geo-political situation compelling strategic shifts, change in leadership and mutual national interests which each country wants to safeguard.

¹²⁴ Kenneth N Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979): 126.

¹²⁵ India's Russian Arms Purchases Hit 'Breakthrough', The Moscow Times, September 5, 2019, accessed February 21, 2019. <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/09/05/indias-russian-arms-purchases-hit-breakthrough-145bln-official-says-a67153>

¹²⁶ "Diplomatic Challenges from the Muslim World," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/diplomatic-challenges-from-the-muslim-world-11585154238694.html>.

¹²⁷ Tasneem Sultana, Sahar Afshan, and Zobi Fatima, "PAK-RUSSIA RELATIONS IN THE EMERGING GEO-STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT," *Journal of European Studies* 35, no. 1 (2019): 36–53.

3.1 Changing Geo-Political Landscape

At the turn of 21st century, world witnessed a unipolar world lead by USA with Russia close to losing its relevance even as a major power¹²⁸. This was owing to wrong policies followed by the Russian leadership since demise of the Soviet Union. Vladimir Putin, in his last twenty years at the helm of affairs in Russia has helped Russia re-emerge as a global power.¹²⁹ Putin aimed at keeping his country united and bringing it back to the centre stage of the world politics. Russia initially tried desperately to form part of the European alliance distancing them from USA and building a greater Europe. He wished Russia to be part of NATO and European Union (EU) but failed. Rise in fuel prices in 2000s however helped Russia achieve economic sovereignty.

Rise of Asian economies compelled Russia to look eastward and foster better relations with these countries. Russia and China also resolved their border issues amicably and Russia aimed at improving relations with Japan, South Korea, India and other ASEAN countries. Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), launched in 2009 was a step in this direction.¹³⁰ Russia consolidated its relationship with many countries under the umbrella of bilateral and multilateral formats like the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization), BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and RIC (Russia, India and China).

Russia strengthened its position in the Arabian Peninsula when military operations started in Syria and Russia deployed its forces there to support a long-time friend.¹³¹ This was the first time, since collapse of Soviet Union that Russia challenged combined interests of

¹²⁸ Gordon Adams, "A New World Is Dawning, and the US Will No Longer Lead It," *The Conversation*, accessed May 1, 2020, <http://theconversation.com/a-new-world-is-dawning-and-the-us-will-no-longer-lead-it-98362>.

¹²⁹ "Putin's 20 Years in Power: Russia's Re-Emergence as a Global Power - The Week," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.theweek.in/news/world/2019/08/22/Putins-20-years-Russias-re-emergence-as-a-global-power.html>.

¹³⁰ '20 Years of Vladimir Putin: How Russian Foreign Policy Has Changed', *The Moscow Times*, August 27, 2019, accessed February 21, 2020, <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/08/27/20-years-of-vladimir-putin-how-russian-foreign-policy-has-changed-a67043>

¹³¹ "In Syria, Russia Is Pleased to Fill an American Void - The New York Times," accessed January 1, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/15/world/middleeast/kurds-syria-turkey.html>.

US, Turkey and KSA. Despite differences with Turkey, Russia was able to sell its S-400 surface to air missile system, invoking USA wrath for Turkey.¹³²

Russia has changed its foreign policy for good; instead of exporting its ideology to other states it now seeks opportunities to promote its economic and political interests disregarding classical friends and foes.¹³³ It is in this wake, that we see a comparative stagnation of relationship between Russia and India and Russia's renewed interest in Pakistan. Russia's reduced interest in India is largely owing to India's seeking USA favours and military hardware and Russia's preference of China over India.

The new geo-political landscape offers new challenges and opportunities to the countries in South Asia, specially India and Pakistan. The rapprochement between Pakistan and Russia owing to the current scenario of power politics is the manifestation of "there is no permanent friend or foe in the international relations". In present scenario Russia's main concern is Afghanistan's security state of affairs. As Pakistan is playing its part to stabilize the security condition in Afghanistan so Russia ultimately sees Pakistan as an ally for this purpose. Russia and China both are supporting Pakistan's initiative for peace talks of USA with Taliban.¹³⁴ Russia is also interested in restraining the Islamic radicalism in Khorasan and Russian isolation in International world because of Ukraine crisis has led Russia to look for the new friends so the tilt towards Pakistan can be seen as a strategy of Russian policy. Another main concern of Russia is the implementation of its 'Pivot to Asia' policy and for this it is trying to maintain good relations with South Asian countries but there is something which bothers Russia in maintaining its ties with India and that is India's tilt towards USA and Russia cannot implement its strategies in presence of a US- policeman (India) thus it needed to reselect its partner in South Asia

¹³² "Turkey Bought Russian S-400 Missiles Designed to down NATO Planes. For the US, That's a Problem - CNN," accessed January 1, 2020, <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/07/13/europe/turkey-russia-missiles-nato-analysis-intl/index.html>.

¹³³ Gurganus and Rumer, "Russia's Global Ambitions In Perspective."

¹³⁴ "Afghanistan: China, Pakistan, US, Russia Participate in Virtual Discussion on Afghanistan Convened by UN - The Economic Times," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/china-pakistan-us-russia-participate-in-virtual-discussion-on-afghanistan-convened-by-un/articleshow/75199961.cms?from=mdr>.

and it has no other choice than Pakistan which can fulfil all the required interests of Russia.

3.2 Geo-economics of South Asia

The proximity of Pakistan to China, South Asia and Central Asia is very much important in the world politics because it connects the main players of world politics to the concerned regions.¹³⁵ The initiation of CPEC project is seen as an alternative route to Arabian Sea and Russia's quest to reach warm waters is likely to be fulfilled through CPEC and this is the prime cause that Russia is interested to join with CPEC.¹³⁶

3.2.1 CPEC and Russian Interests

Russian company Inter RAO Engineer is willing to initiate various power projects in Pakistan and is going to put up almost \$2 billion investment.¹³⁷ The rapprochement between Russia and Pakistan and beginning of strategic partnership between the two states shows that this collaboration is going to create a lasting print on India's face as it is a current threat to India's friendship with Russia.¹³⁸ Pakistan being an important country to provide Russia, the space to complete its long term interests specially in energy and trade sector.

One of the main factors that Russia has taken into account is the willingness of investment of Russian company into Mohmand Dam and mountainous region of FATA that are bordering Afghanistan is of prime consideration that Russia aims to get hold of the main location for future prospects. Some scholars are of the view that Russia is reluctant to attach itself directly to CPEC as it would create hurdles for it as it is an old friend of India as India has certain objections on CPEC project and joining CPEC would

¹³⁵ Saifullah Joyo, "Pakistan and Central Asia: Past, Present and Future," *South Asian Studies* 20, no. 2 (2005): 67.

¹³⁶ Sultana, Afshan, and Fatima, "PAK-RUSSIA RELATIONS IN THE EMERGING GEO-STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT."

¹³⁷ "Russian Firm Offers to Invest \$2 Billion in Pakistan's Water, Power Sectors, Energy News, ET EnergyWorld," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://energy.economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/power/russian-firm-offers-to-invest-2-billion-in-pakistans-water-power-sectors/67582116>.

¹³⁸ "Russia-Pakistan Relations and Its Impact on India | ORF," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/russia-pakistan-relations-impact-india-52715/>.

be trouble creating for Russia's relations with India and in its long term goal of integration of the regions. Experts say that Russia will invest many billion dollars in CPEC but without getting directly attached to the brand (CPEC).

But, the way Russia takes keen interest in CPEC indicates that in near future Russia will join CPEC and leave behind its major importer(India) in order to get hold to the warm waters that is only provided through CPEC and an emerging alliance of Russia, China and Pakistan is going to emerge sooner.¹³⁹

CPEC being an inclusive project invites Russia to invest in different sectors and maintain friendly ties with Pakistan. As in today's world the economy drives the relations among the states. Although it is obvious that Russia will make an investment in Pakistan to strengthen its ties but it would never cut-off totally with its previous ally India. But as China is the main key player in CPEC project and is an all-weather friend of Pakistan so Russia would have to maintain its friendly and closer ties with Pakistan in order to meet its international trade as well as for its long term goals such as 'Pivot to Asia'.¹⁴⁰

Pakistan wants to make friendly ties with world's second largest power and can attain Russia's investment in the country through CPEC by providing warm water access to Russia. Concluding this whole argument sums up the counterbalancing India in South Asia as Indo-US ties have been taken to another level by making deals so Pakistan in order to counter the threat of Indian hegemony in the region needs better ties with Russia.¹⁴¹ It shows that Pakistan is trying to balance the Indian power in the region as Pakistan needs to secure its survival thus having cordial relations with Russia would benefit Pakistan in a long run. These relations of Russia and Pakistan are trouble creating for India because it can cause a severe blow to Indian aspiration of becoming the regional hegemon.

¹³⁹ Tasneem Sultana, Sahar Afshan and Zobi Fatima, "Pak-Russia Relations in the Emerging Geo-Strategic Environment," *Journal of European Studies* 35, no. 1 (2019): 41.

¹⁴⁰ Gilbert Rozman, "The Russian Pivot to Asia," in *International Relations and Asia's Northern Tier* (Springer, 2018), 13–26.

¹⁴¹ Adam Saud and Kinza Arif, "US-India Strategic Alliance and CPEC 'The Game Changer': Prospects for Pakistan and Russian Cooperation," *Central Asia* 83, no. Winter (2018): 19–43.

3.2.2 The Significance of Pakistan and Central Asia Relations

Although having political differences between Pakistan and Central Asia, both sides have successfully moved towards warming up their relations. At the time of emergence of these states, Pakistan fully supported them and welcomed them in international arena without knowing the complexities these states possess by having divergent national security perspectives. Sardar Ali, high official from Pakistan visited Russia and newly emerged Central Asian states in 1991 that was considered as a high level contact between them.¹⁴² Pakistan was also the first state to recognize Central Asian states as independent states. Moreover, Pakistan showed its support to Russia and Central Asian states by consigning five thousand tons of rice. For medical assistance Pakistan supported Central Asian states by consignment of medicines that worth \$100,000.¹⁴³ The basic goal of Pakistan's foreign policy towards these areas was economic trade and commercial. This is why the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was originally established by Iran, Turkey and Pakistan in 1985. In 1992, the organization included Central Asian states and Afghanistan. The sole purpose to create the organization was economic growth but due to dearth of resource and lack of political consensus it proved ineffective.

When Pakistan supported Pashtuns (Taliban) instead Uzbeks and Tajiks in Afghan civil war in 1994 for the establishment of government, the bilateral relations of Pakistan were affected with many Central Asian states specially relations with Tajikistan and Uzbekistan had deteriorated. These countries border on Afghanistan and the September 11 incident had changed the whole situation when Pakistan turned against Taliban regime in order to assist USA to counter Al Qaeda in Afghanistan.¹⁴⁴ This had again given an opportunity to Pakistan to again form cordial relations with Central Asian states. However, it took time to rebuild the trust among them.

¹⁴² Ali, S. Amjad. "Prospects of Cooperation with Central Asian States.", *Pakistan Horizon* 46, no. 2 (1993): 55-70. Accessed March 27, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/41393426.

¹⁴³Faisal Javaid and Asghar Ali Dashti, "Relations between Pakistan and Central Asian Republics: An Analysis," *Ma'arif Research Journal*, Issue No. 11 (January-June 2016): 71.

¹⁴⁴ Muhammad Ishaque Fani, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities after 9/11," *Pakistan Horizon* 58, no. 4 (2005): 53-64.

Pakistan's relations with Uzbekistan are crucial to all Central Asian countries. Both states increased cooperation in economic and trade sector, scientific and technology sector, tourism and education. To import hydel-power, Pakistan signed an agreement with Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in 1992. Pakistan has also established joint economic institutions with all Central Asian countries. Pakistan also funded various technical assistance and financial education programs in 1992 and 1993.¹⁴⁵

Currently, Pakistan has underpinned many proactive diplomatic measures that could reinforce their bilateral relations. Pakistan is also supporting multilateral approach for cooperation and collaboration such as in Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Although, SCO's framework and the core objective of Pakistan behind the developments of relations with Central Asia remain the same and that is the economic and commercial development. Furthermore, Pakistan due to its strategic geographic location can assist China, Central Asia and Afghanistan as an economic corridor for trade and energy transportation. Gwadar seaport is highly important in this regard along with Karakorum Highway. For the construction of this highway China has assisted Pakistan with \$350 million aid.¹⁴⁶ Trade and transit agreements between four countries (Kyrgyzstan, China Kazakhstan and Pakistan) have been in effect since 2004. It can be extended to Tajikistan and Uzbekistan to continue cooperation. Pakistan's relations with Central Asian countries are quite enduring now as the landlocked states need an access to water and Pakistan is the best possible state to provide them this opportunity.

The Pakistan, Iran and India (IPI) gas pipeline could be emerged as very effective in energy cooperation once it would be materialize. Similarly, the Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (TAPI) gas and oil pipeline is also considered as beneficial for all states if completed. Hu Deping, China's Federation of Commerce and Industry chairman while his visit to Shanghai summit in 2006 said that China was planning to build 10 million tons of oil refinery near Gwadar which would cost almost

¹⁴⁵ Meena Singh Roy, "Pakistan's Strategies in Central Asia," *Strategic Analysis* 30, no. 4 (2006): 798–833.

¹⁴⁶ Zahid Ali Khan, "China's Gwadar and India's Chahbahar: An Analysis of Sino-India Geo-Strategic and Economic Competition.," *Strategic Studies* 32/33 (2012): 79–101, doi:10.2307/48527627.

\$4.5 billion.¹⁴⁷ The main purpose of this development was to refine the crude oil coming from Gulf countries after that it would be send to China by using energy corridor.

In order to strengthen cooperation with multilateral institutions, Pakistani President Musharraf stressed at the 2006 Shanghai Summit that Pakistan's contribution to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization framework is very important in terms of geopolitics and geo-economics. Pakistan is in the most appropriate position not only in terms of development. It plays a key role in all the benefits of the Charter. Pakistan provides the necessary land routes and communication channels to promote energy trade between regions and especially with regards to Russia's EEU's agenda to connect the heart of Eurasia. The vision in Pakistan is to be the Centre of economic activity, which is why Pakistan connects the surroundings with the streets and ports of Eisenbans, thus becoming a commercial and energy corridor.¹⁴⁸

Efforts to strengthen relations with Central Asian countries have achieved gradual results. In 2006, President of Uzbekistan visited Pakistan 14 years later. During the visit, the two countries signed nearly nine agreements, mainly involving trade and commerce. Both countries also shared their concerns regarding terrorism and signed one agreement for counter terrorism. On the other hand, Tajikistan is also negotiating with Pakistan on power transmission line's route to Pakistan.

Although Pakistan made her best efforts to forge good and cordial relations with all Central Asian states by enhance its trade cooperation but at the same time relations with Russia are equally important because it has huge influence over the Central Asian states. It is important to have good relations with Russia, to develop relations with Central Asia. Therefore, without having good relations with Russia, Pakistan would have to face hurdles in relations with Central Asia. It is a matter of great complication for India as India is trying to reach the Central Asian markets and maintain its presence which would

¹⁴⁷ Kaleem Omar, "Energy Corridor could Become an Economic Bonanza for Pakistan," Business and Finance Review, June 19, 2006, <http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/jun2006-weekly/busrev-19-06-2006/index.html#1>.

¹⁴⁸ "President at SCO States Summit, Shanghai 2006 | Our Leader - Musharraf," accessed January 30, 2020, <https://presidentmusharraf.wordpress.com/2006/07/07/sco-states-summit-2006/>.

give advantage to India in gaining its broader agenda of dominating the South Asian region. But, better relations of Pakistan with Central Asia are worrisome for India's aspirations.

3.3 Implications on India due to Russo-Pak Defence Cooperation

Russia is world's second largest defence equipment exporter in the world¹⁴⁹ and Pakistan has become its recent importer to take in the latest technological weapons. Pak-Russia defence alignment is somewhat recent with special regard to the diplomatic relations which started from 2014 when Russia uplifted the impediment on defence arsenals selling to Pakistan. Russian selling of MI-35 helicopters to Pakistan was an initiative to their strengthening ties. Pakistan further plans to purchase Su-35 jets and T-90 tanks from Russia. In a meeting session of joint military consultative committee (JMCC) in 2018, an agreement for the training of Pak-Army in the military institutions of Russia was held.¹⁵⁰ Another achievement was signing of Memorandum of Understanding between Naval forces of both states on the training and conduction of joint military exercises of naval forces. The joint exercises of anti-narcotics and anti-terrorism were held in the years from 2014 to 2017.

The new developments in the relations between the two countries is a matter of great concern for India as India is the biggest arms purchaser of Russia but the new concerns of Russia in South Asia demands its tilt towards Pakistan. Strengthening defence ties with Pakistan means that Russia is looking for an alternate as an arms purchaser in South Asia which would ultimately be beneficial for Russian interests in the region. India has significantly improved its ties defence ties with USA in the recent years which indicate that India with support of USA is trying to keep its strong hold in the region and between other regions, be it Afghanistan Situation or connections with South Asian and South East Asian countries or countering China factor in the neighbourhood.

¹⁴⁹ "Arms Exports by Country: Ranking the Top Ten in 2018," accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.army-technology.com/features/arms-exports-by-country/>.

¹⁵⁰ "Pakistan Russia: Pakistani Troops to Receive Training at Russian Military Institutes - The Economic Times," accessed January 1, 2020, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/pakistani-troops-to-receive-training-at-russian-military-institutes/articleshow/65319354.cms?from=mdr>.

3.4 India's Kashmir Policy and Global Response

The current situation of Kashmir and the imposition of Indian rule over an autonomous state has been questioned world widely and this act has been condemned globally. Annulling the article 370 of constitution and dividing the territory into two areas by Modi government is seen as a negative step taken by India by the world peace organizations.¹⁵¹ India denied all the UN resolutions over Kashmir issue. India has put up a curfew in Kashmir and all the communication means are cut-off and deployment of forces in Kashmir is a clear sign of Indian aggression.

The right of self-governance of Kashmiri has been denied and an imposition of rule direct from New Delhi is a genuine problem for Kashmiris as the Modi Sarkar shows its violent face towards Muslims in India;¹⁵² so do they in Kashmir. Brutal tactics of Indian military in Kashmir and killing of Kashmiris is an absolute fierce face of India. The World condemns it at all levels; from UN¹⁵³ to SAARC¹⁵⁴ all the regional and international organizations condemn the Indian acts in Kashmir. China and Turkey specifically spoke on Kashmir issue and the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir. USA being an Indian ally did same as it was expected from it; verbally announced this as bilateral issue rather international. But the point to ponder is where all the human rights organizations hide when there is hell lot violation of human rights in such territories. From Kashmir to Palestine, Syria or Chechnya wherever is the bloodshed of Muslims, all these so-called human rights activists and organizations zip their mouths and close their eyes as if they are dumb, deaf and blind.

¹⁵¹ "UN Concern over Kashmir Lockdown as Hundreds Reported Arrested," accessed January 1, 2020, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/08/concern-kashmir-lockdown-hundreds-reported-arrested-190808200958052.html>.

¹⁵² "Why Modi's India Has Become a Dangerous Place for Muslims," accessed January 1, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/why-modis-india-has-become-a-dangerous-place-for-muslims-132591>.

Rifat Fareed, "UN report on Kashmir calls for probe into human rights violations," *Al Jazeera*, July 8, ¹⁵³ 2019, accessed June 22, 2020, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/07/report-kashmir-calls-probe-human-rights-violations-190708155531803.html>

"Statement on Peace and Human Rights in South Asia," *Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development*, March 5, 2019, accessed June 23, 2020, <https://www.forum-asia.org/?p=28361>

Pakistan tried to take this issue on International level as Prime minister Imran Khan deliberately spoke in United Nations about the violence in Kashmir and after this act of Indian government Pakistan has imposed the trade sanctions on India. India has reached to height in human rights abuses in Kashmir and is still shameless. Pakistan has taken the issue of human rights violations to United Nations Security Council (UNSC) where for the first time in history, Human Rights report on Kashmir has been submitted which called for the international inquiry.

A meeting was held in UNSC to discuss the issue where, to India's surprise the Moscow 'an all-weather friend of India' did not veto the call for inquiry of Kashmir issue as it did before, rather played its card in a well-crafted manner and held a view that Pakistan and India should resolve the issue bilaterally 'under the UN charter and resolutions. Russia gave a clear message to India that Kashmir is still on the table and Russia not using its veto power for this issue ensures India of the critical situation it is going to face while allying with USA.¹⁵⁵ Russia diverted from its previous stance over Kashmir and signalled India that the good days of relationship are gone. In a session of United Nations General Assembly in New York, Russia's Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said that Russia has supported Pakistan over Kashmir issue.¹⁵⁶ In continuation of the steps taken for Kashmir issue Pakistan and Russia agreed mutually that India should not be included in the Parliamentary Forum of Countering Terrorism and Strengthening Connectivity because of India's brutal tactics in Indian held Kashmir. The decision had been taken in the 4th meeting of the Speakers of Eurasian Countries Parliaments held in Nur Sultan, Kazakhstan.¹⁵⁷ Taking into account the situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir, it is clearly evident that India's quest for the permanent seat in UNSC has merely become a dream as for the first time Kashmir issue has been taken seriously by major powers and this ferocious face of India restricts it from achieving its objective of ruling the South Asia.

¹⁵⁵ Ume Farwa, "Kashmir Brings Pakistan-Russia Relations into Focus," *Asia Times*, August 19, 2019, <https://asiatimes.com/2019/08/kashmir-brings-pakistan-russia-relations-into-focus/>

¹⁵⁶ "Russian Foreign Minister Says Russia Supports Pakistan on Kashmir Issue," *The Nation*, September 26, 2019, sec. National.

¹⁵⁷ "Pakistan, Russia Agree to Exclude India from Anti-Terror Forum," *The Express Tribune*, September 26, 2019, sec. Pakistan.

3.5 New Political Leadership in Pakistan

Prime Minister (PM) Imran Khan has been in the eyes of many as he was to handle the toughest situations where Pakistan was cleverly being side-lined by USA by discontinuing the aid and India planning to isolate Pakistan in the world on one hand. On the other hand an angry Afghan neighbour, a self-centred Iran and an ego-centric Islamic world were seen as a tough job to negotiate with. PM Imran Khan had huge challenges to face from a crippling economy to the mortifying image of Pakistan in the world. There were those who doubted Imran Khan's ability to set up a good foreign policy because of him being ill-experienced. But Imran Khan utilized his ability and proved the critics wrong by setting up a good start of relations with China, Russia and Turkey. Enhanced the ties with gulf countries and provided the base ground to USA and Taliban to settle their issue in Afghanistan. Pakistan's role in peace process between Taliban and USA will certainly bring a new phase of US-Pak relations as Pakistan hopes to get the future support from USA in return of providing the basis for talks between USA and Taliban.

Relations with China has been to the greatest levels as China proposed more investments packages which include social, economic and agricultural developments and also protracted the financial support. But relations with India could not get better and remain the challenge in the regional politics. Khan's effort to take Kashmir issue at international level and to create pressure upon Indian state has not yet bore fruit.¹⁵⁸

Overall performance of Imran Khan being a prime minister is quite good as he is trying to maintain healthy relations with the neighbours (Iran, Afghanistan) as well as Muslim world (Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Middle East) and global powers like USA and Russia and China and has also visited USA, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Malaysia, Qatar, UAE, Switzerland, Bahrain, Turkey, China and Kyrgyzstan in wake of maintaining good relations in different regions.¹⁵⁹ The leadership of Pakistan has set up a noble image of peace-making country as Pakistan released Indian Wing Commander 'Abhinandan' who

¹⁵⁸ "One Year in Office: Revisiting Imran Khan's Foreign Policy," *South Asian Voices*, September 4, 2019, <https://southasianvoices.org/one-year-in-office-revisiting-imran-khans-foreign-policy/>.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

had entered Pakistan in agenda of attacking the territory but Pakistani leadership showed a goodwill posture to India and returned their official and gave an iconic message of Peace-lover to the countries globally. India on the other hand, by violating human rights in Kashmir under Modi Sarkar is facing the global condemnation regarding Kashmir issue and is therefore, not able to fulfil its desire of being called as major power.

3.6 India's position in Changing Regional Dynamics

Iran has a strategy which encompasses more entanglement into the bloc of Eurasian network¹⁶⁰ of those countries which are being led by Russia and China. These Powers (China and Russia) are trying to compete USA on global level and trying to undermine the USA influence in the world. The phenomenon of Eurasian integration¹⁶¹ gives Iran a hope that it should not surrender itself to US.

Russia verbally negates the commands of USA administration which they made for Iran and elaborates it that USA puts the conditions on a narrow and hard-line for Iran. And Russia ignored the new sanctions that USA put on Central bank¹⁶² of Iran. The governor of Central Bank of Iran stated that Russia and Tehran have linked their banking system which evades the SWIFT network and USA can see that.

“We can carry our banking relations with Russia and, in the future, with the Eurasian Economic Union and other regional states through this channel,”¹⁶³ Rouhani stated. Although the trade between Iran and Russia is nominal but these two are collaborating to overwhelm the sanctions by US.

¹⁶⁰ “Iran Looks to Rising Bloc in EU Mold to Beat US Sanctions,” image, PressTV (PressTV), accessed January 2, 2020, <https://www.presstv.com/Detail/2019/11/12/611019/Iran-Eurasia-Russia-China-EU-market-sanctions>.

¹⁶¹ Ibid

¹⁶² “Treasury Sanctions Iran's Central Bank and National Development Fund | U.S. Department of the Treasury,” accessed January 2, 2020, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm780>.

¹⁶³ “UAWire - Iran to Switch to Russian SWIFT Alternative,” accessed January 2, 2020, <https://uawire.org/iran-to-switch-to-russian-swift-alternative>.

China although does not openly speaks about this but the emerging relations between China and Iran show a positive sign. As china hosted Iranian armed forces commander Maj-Gen Mohammad Bagheri, he visited military and naval sites in China.¹⁶⁴

USA has nominated, some of Chinese companies, violating the USA sanctions and assisting the Iran for oil transport. China is also snow-balling its investments in Iran which means that China is not going to surrender under the USA sanctions which shows a clear sign that China is on the competition with USA on the global platform.

Here the role of India being an ally of USA fades away as it has no significant place to deal with this matter with regards to two global powers i.e. Russia and China. As Pakistan helped Iran in the nuclear instalments of Tehran¹⁶⁵ and India always stood against Pakistan everywhere it found the grounds, here in this regard of USA sanctions on Iran, India cannot play any role because of the involvement of Russia and China. Secondly, Indian aspiration to get membership of Nuclear Supplier Group cannot be fulfilled as it is non-signatory of Non Proliferation Treaty of nuclear weapons (NPT) and resultantly, India's broader agenda of marginalizing Pakistan remains unaccomplished.

3.7 Future Prospects for Pak-Russia Relations

Russia's attitude and norms on the use of force have expanded from its extreme identity in Western Europe to its unique Eurasian identity (including European and Asian characteristics). Like the western image of Russia, Russia is also a big common country in Europe and a member of the Western international community. On the other hand, Russia emphasizes the Eurasian style of "close connection between Russia and Asia" and "Russia is neither Western nor Eastern"¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶⁴ "Iranian top military commander visits Chinese Naval Base Shanghai," *Iran Press*, September 13, 2019, <https://iranpress.com/en/asia-i138472>.

David E. Sanger, "Pakistan Found to Aid Iran Nuclear Efforts," *The New York Times*, September 02, ¹⁶⁵ 2004, accessed June 23, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/09/02/world/middleeast/pakistan-found-to-aid-iran-nuclear-efforts.html>

¹⁶⁶ Vladimir Baranovsky, "Russia: A Part of Europe or Apart from Europe?," *International Affairs* 76, no. 3 (2000): 443–458.

Russia has paid more attention to the entire Asia in recent years. In addition, Russia has strengthened its ties with China to cope with the increasing pressure from Western countries and seek close relations with other Asian countries. In recent years, Russia has also actively participated in political activities in the Middle East, which is reflected in Russia's active participation in the Syrian civil war. In addition, Moscow has recently become increasingly concerned about Pakistan. This can also be used in the general trend of Russia's foreign policy towards the Greater Middle East.

However, India is still a factor in the calculation of Pakistan-Russia relations between Russia and Pakistan. The defense trade between Russia and India continues to flourish, but after establishing a strategic partnership with the United States, India has diversified its arms imports in the post-Cold War era and remains Russia's largest arms purchaser. As during Putin's visit to India in 2016, New Delhi and Russia signed a major defense contract worth approximately \$6 billion. This includes the provision of long-range S-400 air defense missiles, frigates, rental of Russian nuclear submarines, and production of Ka-226T helicopters as part of a joint venture. Russia has also signed a profitable nuclear agreement with India and it is going to install multiple nuclear plants in India.

On the other hand, Pakistan occupies a great position in the future strategic prospects of Russia and there is no doubt about that. Greater Asia region, bilateral relations are constantly developing. Due to the influence of the Indian factors, the youngest Russia-Pakistan has its short-term restrictions, which depends on New Delhi's ability to bear Russian "obedience" costs in the form of purchasing large defense forces. However, if Moscow and Islamabad agree on current developments in Afghanistan, there may be great opportunities. More importantly, if the coastal areas of Pakistan can become regions where Russia and Central Asian countries export oil and natural gas resources, then they can successfully achieve economic integration. Under such circumstances, Pakistan can implement an updated version of the "Triangle Walk", which will not continue to be used in the 1960s, and its purpose is to establish the same good relationship with the United States, Russia and China.

Pakistan is considered as one of the key players in Afghanistan and importance is increasing as USA troops are pulling off from Afghanistan. Russian's know how

important this transition phase is and having good relations with Pakistan will help them strategically by managing their security concerns. The financial ties between both the nations increased as in 2014 both the countries signed an agreement of \$1.7 billion in the energy sector where LNG pipeline will be laid between Karachi and Lahore, that work is under progress.¹⁶⁷ Military ties have also seen improvement in last 5 years or so where Russia supported Pakistan through Military cooperation deal including MI-35 helicopters, arms and companies ready to work and produce aviation equipment in Pakistan. Companies are ready to deliver helicopters not only to Government of Pakistan but also to the commercial sector of Pakistan.

Russia-Pakistan ties improvement is quite evident and there are multiple reasons for this bonding. One mentioned above, the other is the USA more reliance on India in the region as the USA wanted India to be the leader of this region which is not acceptable for other powers like China and Russia. Pakistan having close economic ties with China also helped Russia to develop good relation as China has emerged as an economic power in the world and the investment of China in Pakistan in form of CPEC is quite evident. Russia, China and Pakistan is an emerging trio in the region which will play an important role in the future. Russia can have economic benefits from Pakistan in the field of leather goods, agriculture and textile industry. They can enjoy a healthy market of mechanical and chemical goods in Pakistan. Metal is also a field where Russia can tap advantage. So bilateral trade between both the countries will increase in the future and both will have common grounds to enhance the relationship. Pakistan can look for military and transport technology from Russia in the future.

Russia after the Afghan war is re-emerging and the USA as a superpower is keeping a great eye on that for this reason they are trying to hamper Russia by accessing Natural Gas and Oil Reservoirs in the Caspian Sea. Russia, on the other hand, relying heavily on Central Asian Republics and in this regard, Russia is continuously improving the relationship with China. The trade is increasing and financial ties are improving. Pakistan having strong ties with China creates an opportunity for Russia in establishing strong

¹⁶⁷ Zafar Bhutta, 'Pakistan, Russia ink \$1.7 b energy deal' *The Express Tribune*, December 23, 2014.

economic ties with Pakistan as Pakistan requires financial assistance currently. The energy crisis in the region resulted in TAPI gas pipeline with the support of USA can be revived as Pakistan can complete this project with the support of Russia.

Future ties between Pakistan and Russia will be important not only for both the countries but for the region, as post USA, Afghanistan will be one important scenario for everyone in the region. Russia having a border with Afghanistan wants to keep their posts in Afghanistan to protect its stakes in Afghanistan and to fight against any instability or narcotic trade in the region. On the other side Pakistan also wants to protect them as they share a border with Afghanistan, interesting post USA scenario coming up in the relationship between Pakistan and Russia.

Russia is keen to get hold in the security policies of the region, especially in Afghanistan. They also know that Pakistan is a key stakeholder in the great game of the region. Russia backing off from India because of the security concerns they can suffer from and Americans reliance on India in the region. Russia made it clear to India, that Russia won't sacrifice its interest for the sake of Indians. Relationship between Pakistan and Russia is improving due to visits of high officials like Foreign Ministers and Military personnel. As a Muslim state, the other advantage in Pakistan-Russia relationship is the presence of 13 million Muslims in Russia. Pakistan and Russia can have a strong trade relationship as Pakistan is a hub for leather, textile, and Agricultural growth. The geographical location of Pakistan makes the country rather more important in the region. One other important advantage with Pakistan is having of the hot water reservoir (Gawadar Port) which can be ideal access for Russia.

Pakistan should formulate foreign policy on the basis of self-interest. Russia is an important player in the region so is China. India, on the other hand, is also a key player in the region; the foreign policies shouldn't be India Centric which is in better interest for both the nations to maintain peace in the region.

In the process of world policy changing from unipolar order to multipolar order, Pakistan and Russia are getting closer. As part of the NATO and the United States forces withdrawal from Afghanistan, India is now Tilting towards the WEST and United States

and as the Russia increase interest in the region, Pakistan and Russia, are capable of turning high-level exchanges into tangible results. The recent rise in bilateral and multilateral political, economic and security relations reflect the direction of foreign policy, which means that the two countries are ready to cooperate and forget the bitterness of the past. The bilateral institutional structure explored areas of cooperation and made specific recommendations. For both countries economic and defence relations are the main priorities Pakistan has officially joined the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and has provided new opportunities for economic and security cooperation with Russia, China and the Central Asian Republics. The SCO can help Pakistan and India solve long-term unresolved problems in order to achieve economic cooperation and regional contacts. The Indian and Russian traditions and historical military exclusivity have suffered for a long time, and the rift has been constantly opened, which shows that new opportunities for defence cooperation between Pakistan and Russia are constantly developing. Russia and Pakistan intend to abandon their unilateral interests while restoring peace in Afghanistan to avoid the threat of extremism and terrorism from Afghanistan. Russia is still preparing for Pakistan to bring CPEC results, which is a positive assessment of the economic development of the two countries. Both parties need to understand the new realities in the region in order to establish and strengthen promising relationships, but both parties need to coordinate at the regional and global levels and work together to create a successful future.

CHAPTER 4

Indian Response towards Pakistan-Russia Ties

After the Cold-War era, the dynamics of the international politics are changing from unipolarity to multipolarity. Resurgence of Russia in changing geopolitical environment is of great concern in international politics. The recent phenomenon of rapprochement between Russia and Pakistan is taken as a 'strange' hallmark in the current world order as it is divergent from the historical background of both the countries. India is ambitious to be a regional hegemon in South Asia and thus considers this alliance as a threat. Especially for India the emerging ties between Russia and Pakistan are seen as a major threat to its greater agenda. This chapter discusses the response of India towards the emerging ties between Pakistan and Russia in order to retain the power asymmetry in the region.

New Delhi did not receive the increased engagement of Russia with Pakistan in a good way as the advances were quiet evident. Moscow removed the arms embargo in 2014 which was imposed on Pakistan and made a deal of engines for JF-17 Thunder fighter planes and Mi-35 helicopters. The relations were not limited only to defence related support but Russia also funded \$2 Billion loan for Lahore-Karachi gas pipeline.¹⁶⁸ Joint military exercises were conducted and in 2016 the TASS drills were supposed to happen in Gilgit-Baltistan which led to dismay of India as it considered the area is illegally occupied by Pakistan and after the Indian protest they were finally held in Cherat.¹⁶⁹

For wider stability in Central Asia and regarding policy on Afghanistan, Moscow was looking toward Pakistan and somehow it was caused by the Indian closeness with USA. Zamir Kabulov, special representative of Russia to Afghanistan made a statement that

¹⁶⁸ "Pakistan, Russia Sign Agreement for Construction of North-South Gas Pipeline," *DAWN.COM*, accessed December 16, 2019, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1213460>.

¹⁶⁹ Nivedita Kapoor, "India-Russia Ties in a Changing World Order: In Pursuit of a 'Special Strategic Partnership,'" *ORF Occasional Paper No. 218*, October 2018, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/india-russia-ties-in-a-changing-world-order-in-pursuit-of-a-special-strategic-partnership-56877/>.

terrorism cannot be eliminated without cooperation of Pakistan¹⁷⁰ but India didn't agree with Russia's growing involvement with Pakistan which made the frustration evident. In this chapter, we will discuss the details that how India is being effected by the emerging Russian-Pakistani ties and how the Indian governments have been trying to approach USA, Russia, and other countries of the region to sustain its hegemony in the region and especially disrupt or supersede the bilateral relations between Pakistan and Russia.

4.1 India's Position in Avoiding Isolation of USA

As discussed earlier, the global politics had become bi-polar when two main global forces i.e. Russia and USA, started to extend their links with countries in the region in post-Cold War times. In such situation, due to older relations of Pakistan with Russia, Indian couldn't be in the Russian bloc so it chose to be in USA-bloc, which caused to not develop any diplomatic advancement towards Russia. In fact, India even declined the advancements made by Russia toward him because of friendship with USA. Russian Prime Minister Primakov proposed to make a strategic triangle including Russia, India and China in 1998 against USA, but New Delhi didn't respond well to this. To the worse extent, India had its doubts and concerns regarding the Russians providing strategic support to Pakistan.

In the past, before formation of USA-India Nuclear Pact and before escalation of strategic alliance with USA, India was a significant ammunition market for Russia and the weapon market of India was at risk to Russia so it began to modify its policy goals. India was visited several times by Putin but none of the visits were successful to drift away India from strategic partnership with USA. Russia was failing to keep India out of reach of Washington so ultimately it decided to break ties of collaboration with South Asia through India and started to establish ties with Islamabad.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Aparna Pande, "Russian Ambassador Kabulov's Obamaesque Pakistan Fantasies," *Hudson Institute*, accessed December 16, 2019, <http://www.hudson.org/research/13111-russian-ambassador-kabulov-s-obamaesque-pakistan-fantasies>.

¹⁷¹ HARSH V. PANT, "The Moscow-Beijing-Delhi 'Strategic Triangle': An Idea Whose Time May Never Come," *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 3 (2004): 311-28.

Russia is doing its best to weaken the hold of USA in South Asia, Europe and Middle East and influence of China is increased in Indo-Pacific, so Russia is also playing a good strategy to minimize role of USA in Afghanistan and decrease USA's influence in the broader region. In order to undercut the interests of USA and to isolate it further, Russia is gaining benefits from; presence of ISIS (Islamic State) in Afghanistan, USA's new dynamics with Indo-Pak, USA's new deal with Iran and investment of China on BRI in Central Asia.¹⁷²

By sensing the sensitivity of the changing dynamics and forecasting the global political scenario, India has sensed that Russia is doing its best to isolate USA in the political world. Since, China and Pakistan have historical enmity with India regarding territorial disputes and both are supporting Russia, it was not feasible for India to join Russian in such scenario thus, the only option left for India was to strengthen its ties with US and helped end the isolation of USA in the international landscape which is being caused by Russia. India began to make strong ties with American government and supported them at various platforms.¹⁷³ Secondly, India's agenda to become regional hegemon is being accomplished by the support of USA in the region and using India as a policeman in order to curtail the emergence of China as competitor 'an emerging global power' is the strategy of USA to curtail emergence of China as super power in global politics.

4.2 India's Growing Relations with US

Due to Pakistan's shift toward Russia, India began to grow relations with USA to retain the power imbalance in South Asia by getting support of another world power in the strategic world.¹⁷⁴ In the era of Cold-War, India maintained policy of non-alignment and remained moderate in terms of the foreign policy between the American and Soviet Union power blocs. Surprisingly, this interesting factor brought many developing

¹⁷² Gilles Dorransoro, "Afghanistan: The Impossible Transition" (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011).

¹⁷³ Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, "South Asia," Charting Global Transitions (Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 2015).

¹⁷⁴ Manoj Joshi, "India's Strategy in the China-Russia-USA Triangle," *ORF*, accessed December 21, 2019, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/indias-strategy-in-the-china-russia-usa-triangle-59417/>.

countries close to each other and on same page as they all adopted same foreign policy doctrine of non-alignment, but this act of adoption was neither political or economic solidarity nor a military unity. This act was more of a resistance against the super-powers in the bipolar world era, which somehow threatened their political independence and the support for anti-colonialist and liberation-seeking movements¹⁷⁵. India and other 3rd world countries joined NAM to maintain independence upon their foreign politics and to negate domination of bipolar politics and power blocs.

In that period, USA-India relations faced hindrances due to India's declaration of adherence to NAM and despite that, India's tilt toward Russian Bloc in 1960's made USA more upset. India was also suspicious that USA was providing financial and military aid to Pakistan. In that Era, Pakistan wanted to develop its defence and military capabilities which were weaker than India at that time so UK and USA sued to supply arms to Pakistan¹⁷⁶. India also provided the assistance for deployment of Soviet forces from Vladivostok to Vietnam and was reluctant to denounce the intrusion of Soviet in Afghanistan in 1979 which caused the distance and grievances between USA and India¹⁷⁷.

But the relations between USA and India were restored in Post-Cold War Era, when India seemed to alter its foreign policy to adapt to changes in global scenario as Soviet Union was disintegrated that time. It was as burdensome job for USA to develop healthy partnership with India as it was yet not aware of the reality of fall of Soviet Union. In the beginning of 21st century, Washington and New Delhi finally overcame suspicion regarding each other's and formed a strategic partnership. A more powerful India would be a direct help to USA against troublesome policies in Afghanistan and indirectly as

¹⁷⁵ Sung-Joo, Han. "The US Role in Northeast Asia." The Asia Foundation, April 15, 2016. <https://asiafoundation.org/2008/09/17/the-us-role-in-northeast-asia/>.

¹⁷⁶ Friedberg, Aaron L. A contest for supremacy: China, America, and the struggle for mastery in Asia. WW Norton & Company, 2011.

¹⁷⁷ Gilboy, George J., and Eric Heginbotham. "Double trouble: A realist view of Chinese and Indian power." The Washington Quarterly 36, no. 3 (2013): 125-142.

balance of China.¹⁷⁸ During Bush's years, US-India relationship was mainly due to balancing out China's rise.¹⁷⁹

New Delhi entered into enhanced dialogue with help of USA and participated in USA-Japan-India talks; got approval for military links; purchase of USA military equipment; opened doors for foreign investment; and participated in effect Iran's nuclear acquisition. By 2019, the trade between US and India grew up to \$92 Billion.¹⁸⁰ From strategic point of view, Indian and USA interests in Asia are not in conflict with each other as USA has no alternative of India in South Asia. USA had a little choice, but to adjust to India as predominant power in sub-continent and it has by far played good for both India and USA.¹⁸¹

4.3 India's Increased Influence on South Asian Countries

India in one of few South Asian countries which is economically, strategically and in terms of diplomatic relations with international world is quiet strong. It has highest influence on other South-Asian countries and has maintained relation with its neighbours due to several reasons. India has developed and strengthened relations with other South-Asian countries due to economic development, internal stability, security concern, terrorism, valuable location and poverty of the region. India's vision to become most powerful and influencing country of the region requires it to have good relations with South Asian states in order to establish its importance in the region.¹⁸²

4.3.1 India and Bangladesh

Bangladesh (former East Pakistan) emerged as sovereign and independent state in 1971. India played a vital role in this process of separation from Pakistan and due to its

¹⁷⁸ ibid

¹⁷⁹ Mohan, C. Raja, "India's Quest for Continuity in the Face of Change," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol 31, No. 4 (Autumn 2008), pp. 143-153 8

¹⁸⁰ <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5330.html>

¹⁸¹ Sadanand Dhume, "U.S.-India Relations: Balancing Progress and Managing Expectations" (American Enterprise Institute, 2016).

¹⁸² Pratip Chattopadhyay, "India's South Asian Neighbourhood: Policy and Politics," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 71, no. 4 (2010): 1251-64.

support in separatist movement, relations between these two countries became strong and India became a powerful influencer to Bangladesh. Most parts of Bangladesh are surrounded by India and the Bay of Bengal which has a strategic importance geographically as it gives the access to Indian Ocean so India has always focused to keep this area safe. Not only the geographical importance and being neighbours, both states share common language, cultures, and ethnic values so it helped to build relation among them too.¹⁸³

But still there are some disputes among them regarding demarcation of maritime borders and water sharing e.g. River Ganga. But India being a stronger nation has always avoided and managed to delay solutions of these problems. Water sharing is critical issue for survival of Bangladesh and its agriculture industry so this elevates the influence level of India and the Indian government pressurizes Bangladesh to achieve India's self-interests.¹⁸⁴ Despite some issues, India has developed good relations with Bangladesh for seeking the longer goals through Bay of Bengal. As CPEC is advantageous for Pakistan and in future for Russia as well, so India needs to build the stronger ties with Bangladesh in order to get benefits from Bay of Bengal and to accomplish its goals of strengthening its economy. Sideways, it is evident from the fact that collaboration of Russia and Pakistan is disturbing the Indian position in the region so it is trying to extend its more influence in the South Asian countries including Bangladesh.

4.3.2 India and Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a non-coastal country located in South Asia and its relation with India dates back into the pre-history. Indian historical war Mahabharata quotes many rivers, places and tribes of Afghanistan and India still continue to influence Afghanistan till date. India became deeply concerned in 1980s when Taliban came into power and since then it has supported anti-Taliban forces in order to avoid threat of terrorism in whole region. After the fall of Taliban, India helped to reconstruct and rebuild

¹⁸³ Piyali Dutta, "India-Bangladesh Relations: Issues, Problems and Recent Developments" (Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 2010).

¹⁸⁴ Harsh V. Pant, "India and Bangladesh: A Difficult Partnership," in *Indian Foreign Policy*, 1st ed., An Overview (Manchester University Press, 2016), 94–106.

Afghanistan and became the 5th largest donor, moreover it contributed a lot for economic stabilization by investing and helping in development process.¹⁸⁵

India is trying to establish ties with Afghanistan for its own strategic interests i.e. maintain trade relations with Russia, Iran and other Central-Asian Countries. Moreover, high-level Indian political engagement is evident from the bilateral high-level visit. India politically influences Afghanistan which has led to weakened Afghan-Pak relations. Moreover, India and Afghanistan signed an agreement for training 100 Afghan army officials every year in India.¹⁸⁶

Enhanced involvement of Pakistan and Russia in Afghanistan security situation is a threat to India's aspiration of ruling the region thus it is trying to make its stronger footholds in Afghanistan so as to destabilize Pakistan as well as doing the job of USA's watchman.

4.3.3 India and Nepal

Nepal is located between India and China and among 20 poorest countries in the world. India exerts influence on Nepal due to religious, cultural and geographic factors and it cannot get rid of economic dependence of India. The relations among two nations were based on two treaties signed in 1950. Treaty of Peace and Friendship signed in July 1950 in which both nations agreed to acknowledge and respect each other's territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence. Treaty of Trade and Commerce was signed in October 1950 in which India acknowledged the right of Nepal to export and import goods via Indian ports and territory.¹⁸⁷

Nepal seems to be dissatisfied by India's growing influence so it started to form relations with China. Later in 1970s with in 1971 Indo-Pak war, Indo-Soviet treaty of Friendship, Peace and Cooperation reinforced the vulnerability of Nepal but at the same time India continued to deliver economic assistance to Nepal to keep its domination on Nepal's

¹⁸⁵ Vinay Kaura, "India-Afghanistan Relations in the Modi-Ghani Era," *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs* 30, no. 1/2 (2017): 29–46.

¹⁸⁶ "Pakistan Sees Afghanistan Through India's Lens," *TOLOnews*, accessed December 16, 2019, /opinion/pakistan-sees-afghanistan-through-india%E2%80%99s-lens.

¹⁸⁷ Ramanuj Pd. Singh and Vijay Narayan Singh, "Economic Interactions between India and Nepal," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 60 (1999): 995–1000.

economy. But India uses its power on weaker nations to gain self-interest, so in 1989; India closed 19 out of 21 border transits primarily due to Nepal's closeness with China. Again in 2005, India blocked imports to Nepal to trigger crisis in Nepal by stopping the transit of petroleum, relief material, medicines and even food products. This blockade was caused to force Nepal to accept unstated demands by Indian government and resulted in decline of Nepal's economy.¹⁸⁸ All of these incidents depicts how India influences the South-Asian counties to maintain its power and interests in the region.

India is strengthening its ties with countries in South Asia so that it can retain the power asymmetry in the region especially with Pakistan as Pakistan is establishing the healthy relations with Russia and India is countering this treat by increasing its sphere of influence in South Asia.

4.3.4 India and Bhutan

Bhutan is located between India and China and is a small country which has maintained a close relation with India since its independence and was one of the countries to recognize India as sovereign states. Borders were properly demarcated between in 1975-1984 and in 1949 Indo-Bhutan Treaty was signed for consulting each other in defence and foreign affairs, and this allowed to free trade too. Yet India was seen to control Bhutan's affairs. India tried to help militarily against China's possible attack but it was rejected by Bhutan. India is Bhutan's largest development and trading partner and even allows free-trade movement of citizens without passports. India invested heavily in infrastructure, roads, airports, hospitals, telecommunication & hydropower projects in India to counter growing influence of China.¹⁸⁹

To send a warning signal of growing relations with China, India cut the subsidy of gasoline and kerosene before the elections in Bhutan which was a clear signal for PM

¹⁸⁸ Bawa Singh, "India's Neighbourhood Policy: Geopolitical Fault Line of Its Nepal Policy in the Post-2015 Constitution," *Journal of International and Area Studies* 23, no. 1 (2016): 59–75.

¹⁸⁹ Tuhina Sarkar, "India-Bhutan Relations," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 73, no. 2 (2012): 347–52.

Jigme Thinley and his loss in elections proved the influence of India on Bhutan.¹⁹⁰ Bhutan is a landlocked country and highly dependent on India which practices its influence on it. Recent realignment of relations between Russia and Pakistan is changing the regional environment and in this regard, India is improving its relations with Bhutan to keep influence on the country.

4.3.5 India and Maldives

India was the first country to recognize its independence in 1965 and their relations are based on religious, historical, ethnic and historical links. Since 1965, they developed close economic, military and strategic relation and India assisted development work in Maldives. Maldives always supported India in international and regional issues. Recently, Maldives ensured to support India for its permanent membership of UN Security Council. Moreover, these relations are friendly as India provides the help in development matters.¹⁹¹

India is never pleased to see any South-Asian country getting close with China so to avoid the approach of China to Maldives, India invested more in development of Maldives. Indian Armed Forces are known to play a vital role in enhancing overall security and defence capabilities of Maldives.¹⁹² Secondly, Pakistan's cordial relations with China and improving ties with Russia is driving India to set up good ties with smaller states of South Asia to minimize the influence of any other country in the region.

4.3.6 India and Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is a South-Asian island which shares its boundary with India by Palk Strait and has important strategic position as it comes in path of major trading sea routes which increase interest of other countries in Sri Lanka. Moreover it has natural harbours as

¹⁹⁰ "Ties Strained as India Cuts Fuel Subsidy to Bhutan," *Times of India*, accessed December 23, 2019, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Ties-strained-as-India-cuts-fuel-subsidy-to-Bhutan/articleshow/20936874.cms>.

¹⁹¹ Bawa Singh, "Revisiting the Maldives' India First Policy," *South Asia Journal*, accessed December 24, 2019, <http://southasiajournal.net/revisiting-the-maldives-india-first-policy/>.

¹⁹² Nilanthi Samaranayake, "Island States in a Region of Great Powers," *SEA CHANGE* (Stimson Center, 2014).

Tricomalee, Colombo, Hambantota and Galle which are important for strategic maritime dominance of India. Sri Lanka has close relationship with India mainly due to socio-cultural closeness, geo-strategic location and trade and investment reliance and the history and cultural dates back to ancient times. Sri Lanka has 64% Buddhist and 15% Hindus which were mainly migrated from India and both regions were colonized by Britain. India's economic support and continued relations and common interest have created high influence in Sri Lanka as it has been benefited by the rapid growth of Indian economy. In 1998, a free-trade agreement was signed between two countries due to which trade became rapid among them and India is among top 5 investors in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka is the 2nd largest trading partner of India in SAARC and India aided Sri Lanka several times in crisis i.e. Tsunami devastated coastal areas and natural disasters like floods famine etc.¹⁹³

The development of relation of China, Russia and Sri Lanka is a threat to Indian National security and due to this dilemma, so to cope up with it, India established Consulate General offices in Jaffna, Kandy and Hambantota¹⁹⁴ to increase their diplomatic leverage and to monitor the activities of Chinese. Moreover, India is putting efforts to maintain its regional dominance by making donations and investment in Sri Lanka to counter the emerging alliance of Russia and Pakistan.

4.3.7 India and China

India and China have complex bilateral relationship which oscillates around the idea of 'Chindia'¹⁹⁵ and power dominance rivalry. In South Asian region India is regional power by default but China being a neighbour is gaining upper hand now due to its economic, strategic and international growth. But despite its efforts, India has yet failed to establish itself as a regional power. Although India put a lot of investment in South Asian Countries to secure its dominance but yet it somehow failed at several fronts.

¹⁹³ Manjari Chatterjee Miller and Bharath Gopaldaswamy, "Cooperation in South Asia: The Case for Redefining Alliances" (Atlantic Council, 2016).

¹⁹⁴ "India to Set up Two New Consulates in Sri Lanka," *DNA India*, accessed December 26, 2019, <https://www.dnaindia.com/world/report-india-to-set-up-two-new-consulates-in-sri-lanka-1426182>.

¹⁹⁵ Zhao Gancheng, "The Rise of Chindia and Its Impact on the World System," in *Rising China*, ed. RON HUISKEN, Power and Reassurance (ANU Press, 2009), 65–78.

Buddhists of Sri Lanka are not happy with Indian policies and its intrusion and although India helped Bangladesh in its liberation movement, it couldn't help them in military coup of 1975; moreover the Kashmir issue is still unresolved. Such factors affect the credibility of Indian state¹⁹⁶.

On the other hand, China is regarded as 'neutral' played in most of the states of South Asia, except India. China never involved itself in nation-building course and its relations with others states don't associated with socio-culture baggage of previous interventions. In terms of economic aspects, China is far better partner than India and his recent investment in Pakistan for Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) increased its influence in South Asia by several folds.¹⁹⁷ Even in India, China is regarded as a strong investor. India use its socio-cultural, economic, religious and ethnic ties to connect with other which somehow limits its role because of resentment of those states at some level but China enjoys different advantages and proving itself to be a better and reliable partner of India's neighbouring states.

Despite their bilateral tension and problem regarding engagement in South Asia, both countries have increased collaborations on International Platforms, such as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) group. On the regional level, they are cooperating on initiatives like Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Corridor (BCIM) and China is willing to make investments in India.¹⁹⁸ But this doesn't hide the fact that India is currently weaker than China in South Asia so it's losing its influence in the region. Another reason for India's cooperative behaviour with China is Russo-Pak alignment in contemporary times as Russia and China are having good relations with Pakistan and India is being side-lined thus India is building its relations with China so to remain in the main stream of regional politics.

¹⁹⁶ Wagner, Christian. "The Role of India and China in South Asia." *Strategic Analysis* 40, no. 4 (2016): 307-320.

¹⁹⁷ "How Will the Belt and Road Initiative Advance China's Interests?," *ChinaPower Project*, May 8, 2017, <https://chinapower.csis.org/china-belt-and-road-initiative/>.

¹⁹⁸ "Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar-Economic Corridor Project Not Abandoned, Says China," accessed December 25, 2019, <https://theprint.in/world/bangladesh-china-india-myanmar-economic-corridor-project-not-abandoned-says-china/248341/>.

4.4 Dynamics of Indo-Russian Relations

India and Russia share diplomatic relations which spanned over a period of more than 70 years. Through these years, bilateral relations helped both states to achieve greater heights. The mutual trust laid the foundation of Indo-Russian relations that continue to be foundation of this partnership but recent times have proven as a litmus-test of these relations because of the growing uncertainties in the bilateral ties.

During the Cold War period, India joined NAM which was its way to keep itself away from bi-polar super power politics. Joining a particular bloc and bowing down to pressure would have caused ideological clashes and undermine the soul of self-determination process as doing it would've caused certain restrictions on India.¹⁹⁹ But on the other hand, India's turbulent relations with neighbouring China and Pakistan threatened the national security. In those tough times, Soviet Union reached out to struggling India to help them in security and defence sphere. Due to flexible nature of Indian Foreign Policy, despite joining NAM, India began to grow relations with Soviet Union. Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Soviet Union and India was signed in 1971 for a lasting partnership and due to its own interests, India moved towards dependence on Soviet Union.²⁰⁰

The main turn of events occurred when 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War erupted and Soviet Union assisted India against the trilateral nexus of Pak-US-China which developed trust and friendship. India's confidence was gained by signing treaty for immediate consultation and effective measures as a reliable partner in case of military aggression. Exceptional privileges were given to India despite being a non-Warsaw Pact member, such as rupee-rouble arrangement and licensed production etc.²⁰¹ Before nuclear test of

¹⁹⁹ Stephen Philip Cohen, "India as an Asian Power," in *India, Emerging Power* (Brookings Institution Press, 2001), 229–67.

²⁰⁰ Harsh V. Pant, "India and Russia: Convergence across Time," in *Indian Foreign Policy*, 1st ed., An Overview (Manchester University Press, 2016), 50–63.

²⁰¹ Zubeida Mustafa, "The USSR and the Indo-Pakistan War 1971," *Pakistan Horizon* 25, no. 1 (1972): 45–52.

India in 1974, global community isolated it but Russia kept normal relations and this nuclear cooperation is one of the strong foundations of Indo-Russian partnership.²⁰²

India was not signed party of Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) so after the nuclear test it became a nuclear weapon state so western countries excluded it for trading in nuclear technologies and commodities which affected India's nuclear program. India had a strong stance on not signing the treaty but unlike other western powers, Russia didn't put any pressure on India, realizing the fact that it is facing a threat from Nuclear power China. Soviet Union also favoured India by deploying nuclear armed ships and submarines to Bay of Bengal to counter American threat.²⁰³ The cooperation in Science and Technology and Defence rose as major planks in the bilateral relations among the two states through the era of Soviet Union. In 1988 negotiations for building nuclear reactors were started.

The fall of Soviet Union had a great impact on its allies, especially on India which had pursued Soviet-centric policy in foreign affairs for about two decades. Since Russia was struggling with its own problems of economic growth, corruption, security threatening and demise of Defence Industrial Complex (DIC), it was not in state to assist India anymore. Moreover, Russia shifted its foreign policy and renewal of Indo-Soviet Treaty was held in 1993's visit of Boris Yelstin²⁰⁴ in which major changes occurred i.e. Russia avoided any commitment regarding defence in case of any external threat to India.

In the late 1990s, India's progress in developing international relations was observed by political elites of Russia. Foreign Minister of Russia Yevgeny Primakov suggested a tri-lateral agreement among Russia-India-China (RIC). Although it is not much significant but somehow India got successful for paving its way in Russian foreign policy.

In 2000, when Russia began to rise under leadership of Vladimir Putin by reviving its economy and defence complex, Russia continued to strengthen its relation with traditional partner i.e. India. This phase of partnership was very important and key

²⁰² Joseph Cirincione, "The Asian Nuclear Reaction Chain," *Foreign Policy*, no. 118 (2000): 120–36, doi:10.2307/1149674.

²⁰³ Ramesh Thakur, "India and the Soviet Union: Conjunctions and Disjunctions of Interests," *Asian Survey* 31, no. 9 (1991): 826–46, doi:10.2307/2645298.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

spheres of this mutual cooperation included economic, space, military, defence and nuclear technology, moreover the support for the membership of UN Security Council, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and BRICS.²⁰⁵

Economic relations of India with Russia has been a weak link in their friendship and this sector remain untapped fully but due to increasing demand of energy in India, the future prospects include the diversification of their energy focuses. Russia is fully aware of the Indian demand of energy due to increase in development, population and infrastructure and Russia is India's steady partner in peaceful exploration of nuclear energy. Russia helped India in first Nuclear Power Plant Kudankulam which is online and, its Unit-2 is operational and agreement has been signed for 3rd and 4th reactor. Russia has agreed to construct 12 more plants in India during 15th Annual Summit²⁰⁶.

India and Russia shares a common vision in terms of Eurasia, which is a complex but unavoidable regional aspect. Their vital interests include economic integration, polycentric world-system, fighting terrorism, combating nuclear proliferation, multilateral engagement cyber security, nuclear terrorism and other non-traditional threats. These common interests have brought these countries closer to each other.²⁰⁷ Unfortunately, despite being a traditional partner with India, Russia is continuing its defence cooperation with China which amplifies the military capability of People's Liberation Army (PLA) and it is a major concern for India. Russia sold S-400 missiles to China and India and Mi-35 Helicopters to Pakistan but at the same time, Russia has reservations for India regarding selling weapons to China.

The fall of Soviet Union was a reality-check as the over-dependence on Soviet assistance affected the global and national interests of India. Now India has learnt and ensured to

²⁰⁵ "History Repeats Itself: Why Russia Continues to Support India on Kashmir Issue at the UNSC," *The Financial Express*, accessed December 27, 2019, <https://www.financialexpress.com/defence/history-repeats-itself-why-russia-continues-to-support-india-on-kashmir-issue-at-the-unsc/1680824/>.

²⁰⁶ Pandey, Kundan. "India to Set up 12 Nuclear Plants with Russian Collaboration." *Down to Earth*, July 4, 2015. <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/india-to-set-up-12-nuclear-plants-with-russian-collaboration-47797>.

²⁰⁷ Jeffrey Mankoff, "Russia's Asia Pivot: Confrontation or Cooperation?," *Asia Policy*, no. 19 (2015): 65–88.

not put all the eggs in one basket and now is quiet careful among its diversified international policy and for this purpose India has strengthened its relationship with USA.

4.5 India's Increasing Influence in Central Asia

India has been trying lately to increase its relations with Central Asia with specific regards to enhancing economic relations as both of them require opportunities to boost their economies.

Looking upon the history, India did not develop any close relations with Central Asia because of the fact that it was strengthening its ties with Russia. Therefore, it did not pay any such attention to the central Asian states when they got independence. India's foreign policy with regards to Central Asian states emerged slowly.

India signed agreements with the newly formed republics for enhancing the trades and development of the republics. India and Central Asian states formulated their ties on the basis of countering terrorism and fundamentalism. Thus India started strengthening its relations on the basis of security point and hidden motive is to keep its foot in CARs to spread its sphere of influence vis-à-vis Russia-Pakistan alliance in emergence.

India's relations with Tajikistan initiated when India provided material support to Anti-Taliban alliance through Tajikistan. Further they both signed defence deals. India kept on increasing the ties with central republics in terms of military training and joint exercises. Further, India has made certain military and defence deals with Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan²⁰⁸.

Central Asian Republics wanted to supply energy other than Russia and wanted to build ties with other emerging power such as China and to growing market of India but the route connectivity curbed the plans.

²⁰⁸ "India-Central Asia: Emerging Dialogues and Deals," *Future Directions International*, August 8, 2019, <http://www.futuredirections.org.au/publication/india-central-asia-emerging-dialogues-and-deals/>.

China and Russia took advantage through cooperation due to certain connectivity but India could not get through the plans. Russia, India and Iran signed the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC) agreement²⁰⁹ which was designed for the trade from Caspian Sea and Iran to Russia and links central republics and India. This gave India a hope to connect its Chabahar port as well but recent development of CPEC in Pakistan took this Indian hope away of creating Chabahar a game changer for its economy but its dreams of making Pakistan bend on its knees remained a dream forever.

The induction of India in SCO as permanent member provides India a platform to get associated with the CARs and thus maintain its influence in the region. India is thus trying to maintain healthy relations with all the Central Asian States and in this regard the 1st Central Asia-India Dialogue held in 2019 at ministry level²¹⁰.

The geostrategic location of CARs is of very much importance since ages and for this China's Belt and Road Initiative, India's strategy of connecting Central Asia and European Union's plans for integration of Central Asia are all on the top priorities of the countries who can get benefit from here and in this regard all the concerned countries are trying to promote the good and healthy relations with Central Asia.

India in this regard is making its best role to actively participate in the regional matters of Central Asia and its expanding Look East Policy²¹¹ is seen globally as it is contributing in the world's powerful platforms and is maintaining its image as an emerging power but unfortunately in Central Asia India is to keep a limited interference as till date Russia's influence on Central Asia is far more than India's projection. In current scenario, due to China's project of CPEC in Pakistan, tilt of CARs towards this route is gaining a mass positive image as it can provide the

²⁰⁹ Silk Road Briefing, "India and Russia To Connect Supply Chains Via Iran's INSTC," *Silk Road Briefing*, March 24, 2020, <https://www.silkroadbriefing.com/news/2020/03/24/india-russia-connect-supply-chains-via-irans-instc/>.

²¹⁰ "First India-Central Asia Dialogue to Be Held in Uzbekistan | Business Standard News," accessed January 2, 2020, https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ani/first-india-central-asia-dialogue-to-be-held-in-uzbekistan-119010900813_1.html.

²¹¹ Thongkholal Haokip, "India's Look East Policy: Its Evolution and Approach," *South Asian Survey* 18, no. 2 (2011): 239–57.

cheapest and shortest route to the states and thus Central Asian Countries are trying to get closer to Pakistan as to take advantage from CPEC and this would ultimately fade away India's influence in that region as Pakistan provides straight access of warm waters to CARs. In a nutshell Russia would not let India grow its sphere of influence in the Central Asia nor would China want this for the reason that it can be troublesome for China's growing Influence in the region and China's recent investment in CPEC would definitely call upon the Central Republics to join in. This clearly shows that India's growing relations with Central Asia are not going to pave way for Indian Hegemonic designs in Asian region and Indian dream of becoming hegemon will soon end with reference to Pakistan's importance in the region because of CPEC project.

4.6 Indo-Japan Relations

The diplomatic relations of Japan and India started since 1952 after signing a peace treaty between them. The treaty was the first peace treaty that Japan had signed after the World War II. Since 2000 both states officials visit each other countries that resulted in various treaties. In 2000 "Global Partnership between Japan and India" has been concluded between Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Mr. Mori. In 2006, Indian Prime Minister paid a visit to Japan that elevated their relation to "Global Strategic Partnership". In 2008 during the visit of Indian Prime Minister to Japan both states concluded "the Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation between Japan and India". The two states are also indulge in cooperation in various fields of security that entails "2+2" meeting, Coast Guard-to-Coast Guard dialogue and Defence Ministerial Dialogue. In 2019 two states held the first meeting of Foreign and Defence Ministerial Dialogue.

They furthered their relations by updating their relations to "Special Strategic and Global Partnership". A summit meeting was held between both states in 2015 to transform Special Strategic and Global Partnership into deeper that undertakes broad contours of political, strategic and economic mutual gains. In 2016 Modi visited Japan to hold a summit meeting and marked it as "New era in Japan-India relations." Most recently, in

2018 both countries' leaders restated their commitment to work mutually on open and free Indo Pacific region.

In 2014 to boost their economic and trade relations, Modi Indian Prime Minister visited Japan. In order to get Japan overcome its economic problems, India has formed an office named as "Japan Plus" under Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 2014. In 2016 both states decided to work on high speed railway system and start with construction in 2018 and decided to finish it in 2023. During the visit both states decided to double the investment and companies of Japan in India by the year 2019. India is also considered as the largest ODA or yen loan recipient. Under Japan India Institute for Manufacturing (JIM), Japan is providing training to thirty thousand people in human resource sector of India.

The increasing ties of India with Japan is seen as a counter answer to Russo-Pak alliance in formation as India needs the technological ally to increase its influence in the region as well as the acquisition of latest technology will make India independent and its dependability on Russia for arms would reduce by changing its ally for technological and defence equipment.

4.7 India's Growing Interest in Middle East:

India considered the Middle East region as most important for the growth of its economy as they provide two third of oil to India. India's bilateral trade with Middle Eastern countries especially with Persian Gulf states and UAE is also growing in the recent past. The ties between India and Middle East greatly increased when Modi came into power in 2014 and emphasized more on "Look West" policy that mainly focuses on three states Iran, Gulf States and Israel.²¹²

Israel the most significant India's strategic partner is one of the major arms supplier to India. India also showed its willingness to buy anti-tank spike missile from Israel and

212 Guy Burton, "India's "look West" Policy in the Middle East under Modi," *Middle East Institute*, August 6, 2019, accessed on 20 June 2020, <https://www.mei.edu/publications/indias-look-west-policy-middle-east-under-modi>

rejected the US offer of Javelin missile that shows the warmth of their relations. India and Israel also signed various treaties that entail trade, space and agriculture cooperation.

India and Iran relations base on economy and national security. India is forging its ties with Iran not just for energy goals but aimed to enhance its security not only in South Asia and Central Asia. In 2003 Iran and India started work together on Chabahar port to enhance trade and transport.

Russia's Alignment with Pakistan and Indian Concerns

As we have already discussed previously that India and Russia have been a strategic partner for a long time but obviously there were some highs and lows in the relationship due to situation i.e. fall of Soviet Union and change in global political dynamics. Yet their partnership is still continued.

Russia and India have shared a considerable cooperation in field of diplomacy, intelligence sharing and defence. The innate friendship is developed and fully enjoyed by both states in the past few decades. After the independence of India, USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) got closer with India in terms of diplomacy. USSR always backed up and supported India's stance over the issue of Kashmir in the United Nations. Whether it is defence technologies, weapons, or strategic affairs, both states had strong ties with each other. Indian has been a huge market for Russian armours and till date they are importing military equipment from Russia i.e. nuclear submarines, aircraft carriers, drones etc. and jointly manufacturing the SU-30 MKI Aircrafts, T-90 Tanks (MBT) and much more²¹³. But when Russia sensed the increased strategic closeness of USA and India, it also started to develop relations with Pakistan. The emerging Russian strategy regarding South Asia is evident and enforced by the China-Russia partnership which is aimed at creating a multi-polar world order²¹⁴.

²¹³ Khattak, Masood Ur Rehman. "Indo-Russian Strategic Cooperation: Implications for the Deterrence Stability of South Asia." *IPRI Journal* 18, no. 1 (2018): 120-153.

²¹⁴ Purushothaman, Uma. "The Russia-Pakistan Rapprochement: Should India Worry." 5, no. 15 (2015): 2019.

But according to analysts, Russia will for sure keep a balance between Pakistan and India due to various factors. Primary factor is that Russia-India relationship are historical and historical friendships sometimes plays a great role in reshaping the policies of countries, and second factor is that India is greater market and economic hub in South Asia. Forecasting the good relations of Russia with Pakistan, India is keeping its strong trade relation with Russia. Besides that, there are several defence agreements between these two countries and they are part of multilateral forums such as SCO and BRICS and RIC²¹⁵.

Russia would never isolate itself from India completely and will try to have good relations with both India and Pakistan. In fact, if we put it optimistically, Russia can be a mediator between Islamabad and New Delhi under the umbrella of SCO to reduce hostility. Pakistan is blamed often for sponsoring terrorism and shown as a threat to regional stability whereas India always charges Pakistan for increasing Islamic extremism. But on the other side, Russia has maintained good relations with both states and kept silent and never blamed directly either of the countries for promoting terrorism or hostility in the South Asian region. For Russia, its known fact that security and economic links with India are far stronger and geopolitically important as compared to those with Pakistan. But the recent situation of the region with special regards to stability in Afghanistan and CPEC as an operational unit that can benefit Russia to achieve its regional integration agenda, Russia has started building cordial relations with Pakistan and for the first time it has not vetoed the call for resolving the Kashmir issue in UNSC. It shows clearly that in the changed regional scenario, Russia is building good ties with Pakistan so to keep minor influence of USA in the region.

Russia is efficiently trying to arbitrate stress between India and Pakistan by offering its mediation in order to strive combat terrorism in the South Asian region which somehow affects the Russian territory too in direct or indirect ways. It is assumed that if Russian diplomacy is causing any sort of alleviation of the stress among Pakistan and India, it would be easier for Russian Policymakers to extend access of its military equipment

²¹⁵ Wilson, Dominic, and Roopa Purushothaman. "Dreaming with BRICs: The path to 2050." Goldman Sachs Global Economics Paper 99 (2003): 1-2.

market to other parts of world, which would draw the attention of the world toward powerful military eminence and it will help Russia to put a substantial pressure in the Asia-pacific area²¹⁶

4.8 India's 'Look East' Policy and Involvement in Asia-Pacific

With the new leadership and the paradigm shift in the political scenario of India, it has also changed its policies regarding the foreign affairs and international world. India had this 'Look East Policy' with ten members of ASEAN which include Indonesia, Myanmar, Malaysia, Cambodia, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Singapore, Thailand and Philippines. But after the Narendra Modi coming into power, these countries embarked into 'Act East Policy' (AEP) which was decided in November 2014 during the East Asia Summit in Myanmar. This signifies the progress of engagement among two growth-poles of Asia.

Under the framework of AEP, multilateral and multidimensional ties of India with ASEAN have become more dynamic and vigorous. The shift in Asia-Pacific politics can be justified by rapidly changing geopolitical realities, China's emergence as a Super power and its intensifying competition with USA and Japan. Whether it be re-balance of USA towards Asia, or Democratic Security Diamond of Japan or Maritime Silk Road of China, all of these has a political strategic agenda to reshape the regional architecture to achieve certain interests and goals. In such context, India is also playing a great role in order to stabilize the security architecture of its region and saving its own interests.

The primary shift under AEP of India is the change in its policy regarding the South China Sea. China's argumentative claim on large track in South China Sea is countered by its legal right of freedom of navigation, expeditious resolution of disputes and maritime security which are the provisions of Law of Seas (1982) which is an international law passed by UN Convention for carrying out the code of conduct and settling the disputes through peaceful means and dialogues.

²¹⁶ Ramani, Samuel. "Russia's Balancing Strategy in South Asia." Retrieved 5, no. 14 (2017): 2019.

The shift from the 'look east' to act 'east policy' clarifies the mantra of Modi regarding Eastern world. Multilateral and key bilateral engagements clearly manifest the diplomatic push of India for the economic as well as strategic cooperation toward East. Narendra Modi went a step further to develop the 'Act East Policy' to signify the recent diplomatic visits to South East Asia and Australia. The shift in the policy was an indication that new government would be proactive and more focused in the region more than the predecessor governments in India.

Further, to enhance its ties with other states; India, Japan and Australia conducted a trilateral discussion in June 2015. It was attended by foreign secretary of India whereas Japan was represented by its Vice Foreign Minister and Australia was represented by Secretary of Department of Foreign Affairs in this meeting. The issues related to maritime security were top agenda in this trilateral moot along with the cooperation vis-à-vis free movement in the Indian Ocean, Pacific Ocean and South China Sea. Prospects of economic cooperation and financial issues were also reflected in the meeting and three-nation joint naval exercise were also discussed and planned.

With the current policy of Act East, India is basically targeting Japan and Australia where it is focused on investment, trade, maritime cooperation, societal level linkages and the security ties. PM Narendra Modi recently visited Australia which happened after a hiatus of 28 years, when last time PM Rajiv Gandhi visited Australia in 1986. Modi became the first Indian prime minister to address the parliament of Australia. Vietnam, Indonesia and Australia are also strategically very important for India especially for the exploration of hydrocarbons from the region.

From the beginning of his tenure, Modi has been actively involved with states of this region except from Pakistan, which is being doing deliberately. India is not only undermining Pakistan from strategic and economic point of view but also intentionally undermining the cooperative acts towards Pakistan. In such situation where Pakistan is being neglected completely by the neighbour country, there is need for designing a

pragmatic roadmap to develop its own version of Look East vision²¹⁷. Pakistan, in the past, has stated the importance of its Look East policy but yet there is not much successful outcomes or solid progress is seen by far which is noteworthy for state.

Playing a greater strategic role in Asia Pacific is major national interest of India. Indian influence on its Asia Pacific partners has been increased due to its active involvement in Indian Ocean and maritime territorial disputes. Moreover, India has transformed its “Look East” policy into “Act East” policy. Its foreign policy is greatly focusing on eastward to pursue its economic goals largely focusing on economic, security and institutional relations with Asia Pacific states. Economic interests are the major reason of Indian growing involvement in Asia Pacific. Furthermore, ASEAN is also considered as the heart of the Look East policy. ASEAN states are also considering India to play its balanced role in the region.

²¹⁷ Haokip, Thongkholal. "India's Look East Policy." *Third Concept—An International Journal of Ideas* 25, no. 291 (2011): 7-11.

CONCLUSION

Recent shift in Pakistan's foreign policy is based on the current scenario of the world including the rise of major powers like Russia and China. Pakistan's condition after 9/11 War on Terror and Indian strategies to isolate Pakistan have long affected Pakistan and its economic condition forced Pakistan to look upon to the other side of globe for support and cooperation and thus it relied upon the resurging Russia and emerging China.

Russia and Pakistan initiated the multifaceted dialogue including defence, trade, economy and social harmony in wake of changing international scenario. Pakistan has been abandoned by USA as the interests of USA have changed in the Asian region. In order to tackle rising China and Resurging Russia's influence, USA needed its ally in the Asian region which he looked upon in India and started military deals with India. Russia for the same reason has started a build-up of good relations with Pakistan as it needed to tackle ISIS and therefore it needed to stabilize the Afghanistan's situation and access to Warm waters is beneficial for it and only Pakistan with its newly built CPEC project can give him a greater advantage. Thus Russia's interests are being fulfilled by keeping its cordial relations with Pakistan.

Pakistan after being side-lined by USA needed the support of some major powers thus it tilted towards Russia and China. China has long been supporting Pakistan at every level since its inception and now Russia is strengthening the relationship because of its regional strategies and on larger canvas for its global agenda of countering USA and China being a facilitator in this newly formed ties of Russia and Pakistan has played a key role as China's investment in Pakistan and CPEC is hoped to be a game changer for the region thus Russia and CARs are also building strong relations in order to get benefitted by this project as Russia aims to join the EEU with CPEC and this would definitely fade away Indian importance in the regional affairs.

On the other hand, Pakistan's lasting friendship with China is worrisome for India and China would not let India attain the status of regional power because of India's cordial relations with USA and recent developments of India and USA relationship is halting

Russia's old friendship with India, for Russia is trying to compete USA in the world now and both Russia and China are trying to decrease USA's influence in international politics. Meanwhile, Russia's role as resurging power, intervening in serious International affairs from Syria to Afghanistan and from South China Sea to whole Asia Pacific and reshaping its ties with the countries for its main interests is the main agenda of Russia.

In order to make the relations to next level, Russia has lifted up embargo on arms supply to Pakistan and many contracts have been held between the two states including supply of attack helicopters, combat aircrafts and tanks to Pakistan and joint military exercises in the years 2016 and 2017 proved the fact that Russia needs new allies in the region to change the power concentration to eastern hemisphere of the globe. Russia had to review its relations with India as its biggest military tools receiver did defence deals with USA and their rapidly growing relations gives a clear sign to Russia of India being on the USA's side as it is in Indian interest to make USA happy so as India can get its agenda completed with the support of USA and Indian wish to become hegemon of the region be fulfilled. But, one cannot negate the facts that China would never let India surpass it and hold the major position in the region and likewise Russia needs to USA global hegemony and for that Russia has to go against the USA allies in the region.

Russia's pivot to east policy is the basic agenda that it is following to strengthen ties with the countries to minimize the USA role and impact on global politics. Pakistan's relations with the two future superpowers (Russia and China) is the trouble creating and destabilizing factor for Indian hegemonic designs and its dream to dictate the Asian region.

Findings

Some important findings of the present study are;

- India's one-time strategic partner, Russia too is keen to have a friendly relationship with Pakistan, offering limited military hardware and keen to link up with CPEC.

- The political scenario of the world is shifting from Unipolar to Multipolar and thus Russia in wake of gaining its previous status of super power is maintaining its presence in the world's serious issues.
- Russian involvement in Syrian crisis and Afghanistan security issue is linked up to its greater agenda of resurging and hence it is building good relations to the countries in different continents.
- Russia's growing relations with Pakistan have a deep aim to get the access to Afghanistan via Pakistan as it is facing the threat from ISIS and needs to support Taliban regime in Afghanistan.
- Pakistan can provide Russia a direct access to warm water sea ports which Russia needs in future to gain maximum benefit from and hence Russia will not try to side-line Pakistan for it is against the Russian interests.
- Chinese investment in CPEC project is for more importance to Russia as well as Central Asian Republics so Russia will ultimately join this project irrelevant of the fears of losing its biggest arms receiver India as India is already indulged in defence deals with US.
- India's dreams for becoming regional hegemon will not become true in near future as China in competency to USA will not let India (being a USA ally) become the holder of regional politics.
- Russia with regard to Afghanistan security issue also opposes Indian stance which supports USA. Thus its interest diverges with India in this regard.
- Pakistan has a sinking economy and it needs the support of Russia and China thus it will build closer relations with Russia as it will be beneficial for Pakistan.
- New leadership in Pakistan is capable of stabilizing the economy of Pakistan and it will definitely maintain Pakistan's better image in the world.
- India's recent policies regarding Kashmir and its violations of human rights there has shown the real face of India to the world and this act being globally condemned by the states in world is worrisome for India.

Recommendations

- Pakistan has to preserve its national interest so it needs the security support of emerging powers in the Asian region. Pakistan needs to maintain the cordial relations with Russia and China in order to securitize and maintain sovereignty.
- Pakistan has to take advantage out of the CPEC project itself and needs to promote its ties with central Asian republics and Afghanistan and Iran in order to smoothly run this project.
- Pakistan should keep the path of normalizing ties with India so that in future it can have reduced potential for any conflict and war. Pakistan needs to strengthen its economy and cannot bear any war at this stage so it has to keep vigilance in this matter.
- Russia should openly support CPEC and link up its Eurasian Economic Union with it as soon as possible in order to regain its lost super power status Russia needs to make its economy stronger than USA and for this it needs trade and links with the rest of world.
- Russia should keep intervening in the Afghanistan issue till it gets resolved so that Pakistan can also have safe end at western side (Afghanistan) and it will also create a positive posture of Russia in the world.
- Pakistan should try to rebuild the ties with the Muslim world and specially Middle East so as to get maximum benefit from CPEC.
- Pakistan should also try to smoothen the relations with India and invite it to join the CPEC so the regional security remains intact.
- Pakistan should maintain a multilateral approach in keeping its engagement with the major powers of the world; especially Pakistan should keep a positive role in the organizations like SAARC and SCO for its national interest.

In a nutshell, the emerging ties of Russia and Pakistan in political, economic and defence spheres are posing serious implications for India in achieving its hegemonic designs in the South Asian region. India's growing involvement with USA especially in defence field is bothering Russia to shift its policy towards Pakistan with respect to changing geopolitics of the region. Russia's tilt towards Pakistan means Russia's quest to look for an alternate purchaser of its defence equipment and alternatively Pakistan seeks for an

economic partner to boost its economy thus, the coalition between the two countries Russia and Pakistan is a threat to India's dream for controlling the regional politics.

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