

**OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES  
IN WEST AFRICA-PAKISTAN  
RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF  
SIERRA LEONE**

By

**Michael Tucker**

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**Michael Tucker**



## **DEDICATION**

**With utmost devotions, I dedicate my whole work to my beloved and affectionate Family, and Dr. Turad Senesie, may blessing of God shower on me.**

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

APC	All People's Congress
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West Africa States
AFCFTA	Africa Continental free Trade Area
AU	Africa Union
UN	United Nations
UNAMSIL	United Nations mission in Sierra Leone
OIC	Organization of Islamic Countries
CN	Commonwealth of Nations
PA	Pan-Africanism
HRM	Human Right Movement
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization
GATF	The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GATS	The General Agreement on trade Services
TRIPS	The Agreement of Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
PWSFRC	Pakistan Worldview Senate Foreign Relations Committee
NCDDR	The National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
WCHC	World Cup Kabaddi Championship
MTHESL	Ministry of Technical and Higher Education of Sierra Leone
INTERPOL	International Police Organization
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
IR	International Relations

## **ABSTRACT**

*Pakistan relations with Western African countries have always led to peaceful outcomes before and after their independence. These countries are abundantly blessed with natural resources and needs suitable international partners to invest in various mining areas like diamond, gold, oil, timber, cocoa, uranium, and iron ore among others. This research looks at brief historical background of these countries and their relations with Pakistan. The second parts deal with Sierra Leone-Pakistan relations bring out history of Sierra Leone during colonialism, outbreak of civil war, role of Pakistan in civil war, relations between the two states in other areas and their relations in international organizations such as UN, OIC and Commonwealth. Third part deals with economic diplomacy between Sierra Leone and Pakistan especially in socio-economic sectors, factors influencing extension of their relations, economic diplomacy, trade volumes, and expansion on political relations between them. Final part deals with AfCFTA and ECOWAS, how Pakistan has getting closed to these countries, benefits for Sierra Leone and challenges to their relations. This study has great influence to directing scholars in Pakistan lacking clear knowledge of Western African and uniqueness of their cultural heritages. It will help researchers also to know about recent development of western Africa and potentials in creating relations, especially Sierra Leone.*

## Introduction

International relations have never been static. States have been having various reasons to have particular conduct with other states of the world. These foreign relations of any state have been one of the most significant parts of statecraft which are determined and guided by a broader foreign policy outline with certain goals and objectives. These goals and objectives do act as drivers of foreign policy which is not a separate code of conduct away from domestic politics and policies. Rather foreign policy has emerged as continuity of internal or domestic policies of states. Since no state can survive in seclusion, it needs to secure its national interests not in terms of hard politics of military and political influence, but securing interests focused on its people. Providing them with equitable economic opportunities, social services, trainings, knowledge, and industrial development is linked to raising life standards of its people are prime goal of every state which can be achieved through exploring and exploiting new opportunities even outside of country. That is only possible through effective and expansive foreign policy which has become core of national interests for every state.<sup>1</sup>

Pakistan is a country which appeared on world map in August 1947, and despite its inherent challenges, it has been striving to extend a peaceful and progressive foreign policy towards countries of world. However, its foreign policy has been not so vibrant in some of cases due to different reasons. One such example is Pakistan's foreign policy towards West Africa. Since foreign policies are not one-sided business and those are always based on reciprocity, similar non-dynamic foreign policy had been observed by that region too. However, situation is changing gradually, and now both sides are seemingly interested in expanding their foreign relations with each other in every possible dimension with particular focus on economic cooperation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gerry C. Alons, "Predicting a State's Foreign Policy: State Preferences between Domestic and International Constraints," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 3 (2007): 211–32.

<sup>2</sup>Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan* (Pakistan Institute of International Affairs Karachi, 1964).

West Africa is region full of historical events in term of oldest societies, agriculture, empires, trade, slavery, and colonialism among others. These countries share similar history, culture, tribes, unique races, and were colonized mostly be British and French in 1700s after building trade relations with locals. Most of these countries are French dominated, with only few English speaking like Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone among others. Basically, there are sixteen recognized countries which makeup region, Benin, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Cape Verde and Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast).<sup>3</sup> The region has population around 412,884,018, considered to be the most populated region in Africa and 5.16 percent of total world population.<sup>4</sup>

Since WWII, process of decolonization started taking place and empires started leaving their colonies making them independent countries from dependent territories of empires. There were due multiple factors in which on top had been constant resistance from nationalist uprising and world war as economic liability consuming resources massively. Pakistan got its independence from British in 1947, while West African countries starting getting sovereignty in later half of 1950s. Most of these countries gained independence starting from Ghana on March 06, 1957 and quest for sovereignty spread throughout region leading to others.<sup>5</sup> Immediately these countries got independence, Pakistan is one of few countries that started diplomatic relations with them. Due to weakness of their young administrative settings, Pakistan was able to help most of these countries by providing teachers, and moral and financial support to ones in dire need. From pre-independence to this very day, Western Africa and Pakistan are good friends and are always in support of each other in time of need.

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<sup>3</sup>Chesterman S, *You the people: the United Nations, transitional administration, and state-building*. Oxford University Press on Demand; 2005.

<sup>4</sup>Léa Duchesne, "Model-Based Cost-Effectiveness Estimates of Testing Strategies for Diagnosing Hepatitis C Virus Infection in Central and Western Africa," *PloS One* 15, no. 8 (2020): e0238035.

<sup>5</sup>Francisco Arizala, Matthieu Bellon, and Margaux MacDonald, "Africa Comes Together," *Finance & Development* 55, no. 003 (2018).

Sierra Leone and Pakistan relations started long back just after Sierra Leone gained independence on April 27, 1961. Since then, Sierra Leone values this relation immensely as it has benefited especially in areas like education, medical, infrastructure, peacekeeping and other technical support. One big example is in area of education when in 1961, immediately after independent, Sierra Leone was in need to establish its education system and Pakistan sent some trained and qualified teachers to teach in different parts of Sierra Leone; especially in areas like Freetown and other provincial districts of Bo, Kenema, Makeni, Kono, and Kailahun.<sup>6</sup>

Sierra Leone is highland country, located at West Coast of Africa, between 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> parallels north of equator, east of Atlantic Ocean, known as second largest Ocean in world. Bordering with Guinea to north and northeast, and Liberia to south and southeast as neighbors, Sierra Leone is small country with population of at least 7.5 million people. The country came to worldwide attention during an outbreak of war in 1990s which had reasons been elaborated by lot of scholars linking with various aspects such as a war of diamonds, corruption, mismanagement of public funds, natural resources, tribalism, political discrimination by one party system, All Peoples Congress (APC). This was due to country's problematic colonial legacy which separated political ideology and ethnicity differences by its colonial master, the British.<sup>7</sup> Apart from political and ethnic differences, country remains one of the most peaceful countries in world and practice multiparty democracy.

Sierra Leone is a state considered very important in West Africa. Since Africa is gaining importance for world being a big market as well as hub of different resources with great significance, there are increased number of nations and international organizations wanting to create diplomatic and bilateral relations. The relationship between Pakistan and Sierra Leone is not only limited to above, but more importantly on 11 years old Civil War, where in Pakistan had played an important role in dealing with that crisis and sent peacekeeping

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<sup>6</sup>Richard Andrew Corby, *Western Educated Sons of Chiefs, District Commissioners, and Chieftdom: The Role of Bo School and Its Graduates in Local-Level Development in Sierra Leone, 1906-1961*. (Indiana University, 1976).

<sup>7</sup>David John Harris, *Sierra Leone: A Political History* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2014).

force under United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSL).<sup>8</sup> Pakistan and Western Africa countries share commonalities, not only on the issues stated above, but other areas of life, in terms of historic trade relations, lineage and religion (Islam) as 54 percent in the region are Muslims.<sup>9</sup>

### **Statement of Problem**

Since foreign relations of any state towards others are very important not only to establish cordiality but for other mutual benefits like economic opportunities through trade and other economy-related agreements, social development and harmony, political influence among other purposes. Foreign policy is always reciprocal, and it can enhance sustainable development and even peace and security by and large. This study is meant to investigate nature of relations of Western Africa with Pakistan, particularly focusing on Sierra Leone as fundamental point of analysis that discusses about different factors of relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan, and its socioeconomic impact on Sierra Leone. The relationship between Pakistan and West Africa have been cordial but without major trade volumes and other economic or even political or diplomatic activity at broader level. Similar has been the case with Sierra Leone but in 21<sup>st</sup> century, relations between these two countries have increased substantially. Since then, relations between them have led to advance positive socio-economic implications, especially in the lives of Sierra Leoneans. Their socio-economic collaboration is seen on multiple grounds such as trade, educations, technical supports, medical among others, has bring both countries even closer than ever. Sierra Leone has a positive impact on almost all 16 member countries of West Africa in the past and 21<sup>st</sup> century, as most countries used Sierra Leone to create ties with other countries in the region. Pakistan has gained more diplomatic and bilateral relations with West African countries; Pakistan is now prepared than ever to extend its economic relations with Sierra Leone. As Sierra Leone is a very important country in West Africa, looking at its huge natural resources, geography, and other potentials it possesses, undertaken research is quite

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<sup>8</sup>Asma Rashid and Anjum Ghouri, "Pakistan's Trade with Africa: Peculiarities and Road Ahead," Margalla Papers, 2020, pp 120-129

<sup>9</sup>Arnold Kruger, "The Nature of Humor in Human Nature: Cross-Cultural Commonalities," *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1996): 235–41.

relevant to exploit untapped or least tapped resources or unexplored avenues to further these relations.

### **Research Questions**

For complete understanding of subject, following research questions have been framed:

1. Why does Pakistan need to strengthen its bilateral relations with West African countries in order to follow its Look Africa Policy Initiative?
2. Which are challenges that impede Sierra Leone-Pakistan's relations from going beyond memories of peacekeeping mission, particularly from expanding its economic diplomacy and social relations?
3. How can rejuvenated diplomatic and bilateral relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan lead to improve the socio-economic standards of Sierra Leoneans?
4. How can AfCFTA under African Union and ECOWAS prove effective in boosting Sierra Leone-Pakistan relations while focusing on opportunities and challenges?

### **Objectives of Study**

The objectives of the study are to investigate:

- Limited relations of Pakistan with West African countries.
- Prevailing level of diplomacy between Sierra Leone and Pakistan.
- Dimensions in which bilateral relations can be expanded between the two states.
- Challenges and opportunities in way to expand political and military relations in general and social and economic relations in particular between both states.
- Prospects of their future relations and contribution towards intercontinental ties under AfCFTA and ECOWAS.

### **Literature Review**

There are limited numbers of books, articles and related documents available on this study, but the ones that are available by some authors have tackled some aspects of the subject from their own perspective. The following literature is used for this study.

“Pak-Africa Relations” by Rukhsana A. Siddiqui based on long relationship between Pakistan and Africa. Pakistan and African countries have close ties on educational level,



trade, religious grounds etc. The author mentioned that Pakistan was among first Muslim countries to gain independence and spear headed support to struggle for self-determination of West African colonies, basically Pan-Africanism and Human Rights Movements.<sup>10</sup>

“Pakistan-Africa Relations: Appraisal and Future Prospects” by Siddiqui mentions how Pakistan has been helpful to many African countries, as Sierra Leone has also being part of this development, throwing light on its peace-keeping operation in different countries, sending the highest peacekeeping contributor to the “Blue Berets” for the United States peace-keeping forces.

“Sierra Leone offers Land to Pakistani Growers” by Parvaiz Ishfaq Rana builds on Sierra Leone’s offer of land free of cost to Pakistani growers for cultivation of cash crops like sugarcane and rice to meet its domestic requirements and export. At that time, Pakistan was planning to set up warehousing facility in West African countries to facilitate local sales, with lack or absence of strong and dependable financial and banking system, exporters were unable to fully exploit potential of West Africa market.

“Strengthening Diplomatic Tiers: Envoy takes Sierra Leona-Pakistan relations to another Level” by Kabs Kanu points out at important role Pakistan played in Post-Ebola Recovery Programme in Sierra Leone. It all started when Sierra Leone’s Ambassador to Iran was sent by Former President Ernest Bai Koroma to Pakistan. He spent a whole week in Pakistan where he was able to pay an official visit to then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif’s National Security Advisor (NSA) as well as Key adviser on Foreign Affairs and had fruitful discussions with him and other top government officials. The ambassador was welcomed with good faith and was responded to by appropriate authorities in addressing purpose or purposes of his visit to Pakistan. This visit was purposely for generating funds for post-Ebola recovery and strengthens better and cordial relations with Pakistan. Ebola virus hit Sierra Leone the worst, among its two neighboring countries (Guinea and Liberia).

The article “Factor Intensities and Location Linkages of Rural consumption Patterns in Sierra Leone” by Robert P. King and Derek Byerlee, was a research conducted on an understanding of consumer behavior analysis of the effects of changes in income

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<sup>10</sup>Admin, “Pakistan-Africa Relations: Appraisal and Future Prospects,” *Pakistan politico* (blog), February 7, 2019.

distribution on the development process of developing countries. In this study, data was collected mainly from a specially designed survey used to analyze empirically economic linkages based on rural consumption patterns and their variation with income level in rural Sierra Leone in which hypotheses results were drawn from instances of Pakistan consumption and factor intensity of consumption patterns despite its obvious importance in design of development strategies.<sup>11</sup>

Recent publication by the Ministry of Technical and Higher Education (MTHE) Sierra Leone stated categorically of two males and two female, four more Sierra Leoneans adding to 13 already in Pakistan to pursue further education in Pakistan left the country on January 7, 2021. The students were awarded with OIC and Commonwealth Scholarship by Higher Education Commission, Government of Pakistan last year 2020 which comprises of Masters and PhD courses in Agriculture, Economics, Environmental Sciences and Mass Communication respectively. In addition, the Former Minister, Prof. Aiah Gbakima urged the students to focus on their studies and represent country's brand in a dignified manner, and also cautioned them to respect values of people of Pakistan and return to serve Sierra Leone accordingly after graduation. Furthermore, he disclosed that scholarships awarded are part of government's agenda to develop nation's human capacity.

“Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone: UNAMSIL Hits the Home Straight” by Mark Malan, Phenyio Rakate and Angela McIntyre talks about all the bodies or fighting forces that contributed to end civil war in Sierra Leone including Pakistan under UNAMSIL contributed in various ways, and sending the highest forces among other foreign countries. The article further states that during war in Sierra Leone, after intervention of ECOMOG and other peace-keeping forces like Indian forces, Guinea Armed Forces, Civil Defense Force (CDF) a local armed force which was founded by local traditionalists, Troops from Kenyan, South Africa, Zambia as Zambian Battalion etc. The situation in Sierra Leone was still tensed, not until arrival of Pakistan Army in 2001. The Pakistani forces used different techniques to handle situation, as they were deployed in strategic areas where

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<sup>11</sup>Robert P. King and Derek Byerlee, “Factor Intensities and Locational Linkages of Rural Consumption Patterns in Sierra Leone, *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 60, no. 2 (1978): 197–206.

Revolutionary United Force (RUF) was very aggressive, especially in area or district where war was tensed, Kailahun (where the war stated, and the rebels stronghold), Kono (the diamond rich area), and were also divided into sectors, in which Port Loko-Sector 1, Freetown the capital-Sector 2, Kenema-Sector 3, Magbururaka-Sector 4, and Koidu-Sector 5 respectively. Deployment later was felt throughout country in order to provide maximum support to Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) process, while keeping main supply routes open and proving security to various UN agencies.<sup>12</sup>This shows how important Pakistan army was to end the war and for peace of Sierra Leone, and also its contributions to national development.

*Security System Transformation in Sierra Leone-1997-2007* by Peter Albrecht and Paul Jackson is based on transformation of different forces in Sierra Leone military, police, and Civil Defence Force including Rebel (RUF) armed forces during and after war.<sup>13</sup>

“Pakistan Trade with Africa: Peculiarities and Road Ahead” by Asma Rashid and Anjum Ghouri discusses about conference held in Kenya (East Africa), commonly known as the Horn of Africa, with different African countries and Pakistan on January 30/31, 2020 in which Sierra Leone was also represented. The meeting was held basically as an added opportunity to strengthen the trade relations between African countries and Pakistan, as it was the first step of African regions would find more way to connect and cooperate with Pakistan mentioning that Pakistan is very rich in agriculture, like rice and textile, it should take serious steps to cultivate in African markets by providing industries, support in military and maritime, tourism, pharmaceutical, sports, like cricket leagues among others. This can all be achieved owing to background of cordiality among Pakistan and African countries as it has always supported them in different aspects.

Abdul Sattar’s *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy* entails a lot of writings dealing with different way Pakistan is managing its domestic affairs, and how its international policies work. In

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<sup>12</sup>Rakate, Pheny Keiseng, Mark Malan, and Angela McIntyre, "Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone: UNAMSIL Hits the Home Straight." Africaportal.org, 2002.

<sup>13</sup>Peter Albrecht and Paul Jackson, *Security System Transformation in Sierra Leone, 1997-2007* (GFN-SSR, 2009).

order for Sierra Leone to be greatly involved in diplomatic relations with Pakistan, this book is a guide showcasing how friendly Pakistan has been to other countries including Sierra Leone. The author himself mentioned importance of foreign policy to maintain cordial relations with other states as it is driving force for mutual understanding between two or more states.<sup>14</sup>

“Organization of Islamic Countries-50 years On” by Javed Hafeez talked about how Pakistan has remained completely committed to OIC and is always there to safeguard interests of its member states. The article also emphasizes on a special recognition on foundation of the Organization which is based on issues of supporting the just causes of Palestinians, Kashmir’s and other member states including Sierra Leone. It shows how OIC is ready to settling conflict between members’ states as core task of its existence. In another incident, Pakistan also played the role of chairman in peace committee that tried to bring peace between Iraq and Iran during first Gulf War under leadership of President Zia Ul Haque. In the case of West Africa, the 11<sup>th</sup> Islamic Summit, which was held in Dakar (Senegal), in 2008, the Organization adopted an amendment in its charter which included promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms as one of its main objectives. In this debate, Pakistan participated actively in drafting amended charter.<sup>15</sup>

“Sierra Leone Concerned about Pakistani Peace-keeping Withdrawal” by, was a concern about reports going around on Pakistan wanted to withdrawal of its United Nations troop out of Sierra Leone. Many Sierra Leoneans were worried that it could had led to outbreak of another war in country, looking at Pakistan being highest force about 4000 of the 17,000 UN Peacekeepers. Pakistani contingent was among first to deploy in some of rebel-held areas mostly in control of rebels. The National Commissioner for Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (NCDDR) because of sensitivity of news went on air at Voice of America radio stations, pointing out the important contributions of the Pakistani

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<sup>14</sup>Zubair, Ms Maryam, "Abdul Sattar, Pakistan’s Foreign Policy 1947-2016." *Journal.ciss.org.pk*, (2017): 86-91.

<sup>15</sup>Blank, Jonah, Richard S. Girven, Arzan Tarapore, Julia A. Thompson, and Arthur Chan, *Vector Check: Prospects for US and Pakistan Air Power Engagement*. Rand Project Air Force Santa Monica United States, 2018.

troop in the Country, and how they have stood out from the rest, doing more than serving as peacekeepers.<sup>16</sup>

In the area of sport, the two countries have good relations in times of meeting each other's in the Pearls 4<sup>th</sup> World Cup Kabaddi in Punjab in 6 December, 2013, in which Pakistan won the match. This event was an historical one, as countries like Canada, England, Iran, Sierra Leone, Australia, Azerbaijan and Germany were all featured in the Kabbadi World Cups, in which Pakistan and India went to the finals.<sup>17</sup> Pakistan made history on that day by beating India 43-41 in the final of the seventh Kabbadi World cup. Up until then, India had remained the undefeated Champion of the entire precious six Kabbadi world cups.<sup>18</sup>

The article, United Nations Peace-keeping Mission in Sierra Leone: Pakistan's Role, by Ferzana Rizivi. The article highlights the efforts of the UN and Pakistan role in the creation of peace in Sierra Leone. The writer highlighted the start of Sierra Leone independence on 27<sup>th</sup> April 1961, bring light to the Colony of the settlement of free slaves, those who fought alongside the British in the American war of Independence. How the people became known as the Creoles, after the British had bought some plot of land for them in the Freetown peninsular, and how they became part of the society of Sierra Leone. But due to the multi-ethnic society, the Creoles who were predominance over the tribal people, because of their education, the Mende and Temne who are in the majority, started tension on political grounds. Subsequently, leading to different tensions, which later divided the Mendes and Temnes based on tribal differences, and resulted to the 11 years brutal war. Coming up with the role Pakistan played as major part ending the war, after the Indian Army withdrawal, and they took control and successfully completed their task of bring peace to Sierra Leone in 2002. Adding Pakistan peace-keepers were involvement in infrastructure,

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<sup>16</sup>Stephanie Hanson, "Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) in Africa," *Council of Foreign Relations Backgrounder* 15 (2007).

<sup>17</sup>Khan, Zafar Ahmed, Muhammed Uzayr Khan, and Martin Brand, "Increases in cholecystectomy for gallstone related disease in South Africa." *Scientific Reports* 10, no. 1 (2020): 1-5.

<sup>18</sup>Hoshiyar Singh, "Comparative Assessment on Achievement Motivation of National, State and District Level Male Kabaddi Players," *The Yogic Journal*, 2018.

building of roads, schools, mosques, churches, hospitals etc in Sierra Leone. The article also mentioned that Pakistan sent 13,626 from 2001 to 2005 peace-keepers to Sierra Leone.<sup>19</sup>

According to a publication by DAWN on January 05, 2021, during the mid-hours of 01 July, 2004 peace-keeping mission in Sierra Leone, Pakistan lost one of its helicopter in a crashed. This incident occurred when the helicopter was on a routine flight, due to the jungle thickness, the helicopter was blinded and crashed into a hill eight kilometer short of its destination, and leading to six officers among 14 Pakistanis were killed. The clashed took place near the city of Yengema, a small town in the eastern Sierra Leone. The officers who lost their lives were, Lt-Col Faizullah Khan, Maj. Hassain Anwar, Capt Waqas Ahmed Mirza, Capt. Murtaza Khalil Siddiqui, Sepoy Mohammad Zulfiqar, Sapoy Nazir Mohammad, Signal Operator Iftikhar Ahmed, Havaldar AFM Mohammad Iqbal, Lance Havaldar DMT Mohammad Jehangir, Naik AFM Mohammad Amir, Lance Naik DMT Mohammad Jamil and Ahmed Khan.<sup>20</sup>

Sierra Leone-Global Partnership for Education, late March 2020. The Government of Sierra Leone through Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Education Sector Plan 2018/2020. In the book, which is the official update of how education is important for Sierra Leoneans, its categorically stated that education plays a key role in the development of the Nation, at individual, community and national levels. At the end enhances economic growth and development especially in low-income countries, as it can also bridge the gap on social and economic inequalities, by providing equal access.<sup>21</sup> Pakistan is surely one of the countries helping to resolved some of these issues. This can be draw from the 13

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<sup>19</sup>Ferzana Rizvi, "UN Peacekeeping Mission In Sierra Leone: Pakistan's Role," *Journal Of Pakistan Vision* 18, no. 1 (2017): 61.

<sup>20</sup>Kevin A. O'Brien and Ismail Rashid, "Islamist Militancy in Sierra Leone," *Conflict, Security & Development* 13, no. 2, Taylor Francis, (2013): 169–90.

<sup>21</sup> Government of Sierra Leone, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology: Education Sector Plan 2018-2020-Education in Sierra Leone/Global Partnership for Education by UNICEF Office in Sierra Leone, March 2020.

students in 2019, all male adult Sierra Leoneans who are studying in Pakistan, both on IOC and Commonwealth scholarships offers by the Ministry of Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan. In 2020 also further 4 students (2 females) are also pursuing resourceful courses, with the same scholarships offered by HEC, to lead a better life for themselves, family and most importantly, our Country.

The Designing Police: International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL) and the Study of Change in International Organizations, by Michael Barnett. Sierra Leone and Pakistan are part of INTERPOL, which consist of 194 member countries, as a way of creating a truly global network of police for all countries. This organization is considered as the World's largest police organization. This organization emphasizes the theory of Neoliberalism, which talks about intuitionism on how states construct International organizations and assign them various functions in order to overcome problems of collaboration and coordination. The Organization also recognizes that institutions are sticky, fair, and responsive to member states demands. Pakistan and Sierra Leone shear strong bond in this Organization, as both countries follow strictly its rules and regulation to the best of their ability.<sup>22</sup>

The article, Impact of Foreign Aid on Economic Growth in Sierra Leone: Empirical Analysis, by Kargbo Philip Michael. This article was mainly undertaken based on the impact of foreign aid on the economic growth of Sierra Leone, a country where an empirical econometric study on aid effectiveness was yet to exist at that time, in 2012. Stating how foreign aid can significantly contributes in promoting economic growth in the country. Bring back to light the aids Sierra Leone was getting during its Civil War period was found to be marginally more important and effective than aid during the post-war period.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Michael Barnett and Liv Coleman, "Designing Police: Interpol and the Study of Change in International Organizations," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 4 (2005): 593–619.

<sup>23</sup>Kargbo, Philip Michael, *Impact of foreign aid on economic growth in Sierra Leone: Empirical Analysis*. No. 2012/07. WIDER Working Paper, 2012.

The Report of the Organization of Islamic Countries Group Meeting on Sierra Leone, submitted to the Annual Coordination meeting of the OIC Foreign Ministers, United Nations Headquarters, New York, 28 September, 2012. This article briefly articulated on all members helping in the post-conflict recovery of Sierra Leone from its Civil War, which devastated the Country to the lowest level. As there was complete poverty, shortage of food, unemployment, diseases, like cholera, malaria among, where ripping the Country apart. The meeting identifies the following, giving high profile to the causes of Sierra Leone Civil War, as was argued all members to provide diligent humanitarian, including financial and material assistance to the people of Sierra Leone. They also addressed how to provide Sierra Leone with a Trust Fund, which all members should facilitate among others.<sup>24</sup>

The book, Engage Africa Pragmatic Strategy to Enhance Relations between Pakistan and African Countries, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad. This was a two day meeting held by the Africa Division at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in close collaboration with the Ministry of Commerce on the 27/28 November 2019, to discuss about different way in which Pakistan would be able to strengthen diplomatic, and political relations with all African states . as the conference was hosting high delegate of diplomats like the President of Pakistan Arif Alvi, who gave the Inaugural Session of the conference, Prime Minister Imran Khan, the Foreign Minister, Adviser on Commerce, Chairman BOL, Governor SBP and Senior representatives of the public and private sector organizations.<sup>25</sup>

The book, International Affairs, by Dr. Safdar Mahmood, writing as a result of the changes in international system, which highlighted numerous events in world order. This book has great effects to my research as its gives clear understanding about the day-to-day happenings in the international community. By bring to light the background of current affairs, and understanding the current perspective of current affairs, which throw light on

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<sup>24</sup>Brosig, Malte, *Cooperative peacekeeping in Africa: Exploring regime complexity*. Routledge, 2015.

<sup>25</sup>Brosig, Malte, *Cooperative peacekeeping in Africa: Exploring regime complexity*. Routledge, 2015.



international relations between the two World Wars, the creations of the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations, the Cold War and its effects to both states, the Rise of China, contemporary international issues the foreign policy of Pakistan, the rise of West Africa among other world events.<sup>26</sup>

A Press Release the Senate of Islamabad, Pakistan issue by the Chairman Mr. Sadiq Sanjarani, reporting on the arrival of the African Union Delegation in Pakistan, on invitation from the Senate after the celebration of the African Union 59<sup>th</sup> years in existence. In this article, its highlights some of the things that are stated in subsequent article, which talked about how Pakistan seeks to establish parliamentary, political and trade relations with African nations.<sup>27</sup>

### **Core Argument**

The concept of intercontinental connectivity in the new millennium has potential to add further dimensions to existing relations of Pakistan with West Africa in general, and specifically between Sierra Leone and Pakistan to be based on extensive relations in fields of trade and economy, social relations, education, and other fields related to socioeconomic development of both countries by using opportunities particularly emerging under AfCFTA and ECOWAS.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Theories always help to provide with perspective to analyze issues in right directions by establishing a framework that assists a researcher on understanding a problem. Theories in international relations are considered to be providing starting points for any research which lay foundations for any specific, solid and rudimentary research, making it more meaningful, result oriented and scientifically educative on any specific area of studies. For this research, theory of liberalism which is a major strand of International Relations has

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<sup>26</sup> Dr. Safdar Mahmood, *International Affairs: The Back Ground of Current Affairs and an Analysis of the main Historical Forces in the Contemporary World*,” Oxord University Press, 2006, Review 2017.

<sup>27</sup> *Sadiq Sanjarani VS Yousaf Raza Gillani*, Capital TV, *Chairman Senate Election (Part 1) | Pakistan Senate Session* / accessed August 11, 2021.

been used. Liberalism relates to identifying mutual interests, the economic liberalization and democratization. Since economic growth and providing ample economic opportunities to people is at core of states' policies as that is dimension which is key to sustainable development and stability of states, therefore it overwhelms foreign policy as well. Economic sustainability is not possible without having strong foreign relations to explore more opportunities.

One major part of liberalism is Economic Interdependence Theory which deals with trade relations between states or organizations, as the main blood line for economic life of any country. It is very clear now that the world is a significant playing field where interdependence is supreme way to deal with challenges rather amicably. In light of dependency theory, which was developed during 1950s by Raul Prebisch with the guidance of United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, stating that economic growth in poorer countries cannot be compared to advanced industrialized countries. Due to advanced economic activity in richer countries, growth for developing ones can lead to serious economic problems. This Prebisch said developing countries mostly exported commodities to rich countries who then manufactured those products and sold them back to the poorer countries.<sup>28</sup> His solution to this is developing countries should embark on developing programs of import substitution so that they need not purchase manufactured products from developed countries. Economic interdependence carries different approach as it helps both sides to enjoy if not equally, but to a greater height of satisfaction.

“Dependency is...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economies...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own subjected.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Vincent Ferraro, “Dependency Theory: An Introduction,” in *The Development Economic Reader*, ed. Giorgio Secondi (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 58-64

<sup>29</sup> Theotonio Dos Santos, “The Structure of Dependence,” in K. T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges, eds., *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971, p. 226.

Economic interdependence according to Norman Angell in 1913, stated clearly that use of military power was now economically futile as international finance and trade had become so interconnected, harming enemies would mostly lead to harming your own, leading to the First World War a year later.<sup>30</sup> With recent rivalry between America and China, Steven Pinker argues, “Though the relationship between America and China is far from warm, we are unlikely to declare war on them or vice versa. Morality aside, they make too much of our stuff and we owe them too much money.”<sup>31</sup> This is a clear direction of liberal assumption which states that high level of trade and investment between states, just like US and China, will make war unlikely, if not impossible.

No country in the world is resourceful enough to dispense with others as every state needs to develop relations with other states for fulfilling its deficiency of food, energy, infrastructure etc. Sierra Leone and Pakistan are not neighboring states, but the close relations both countries can lead to a better or faster economic growth where an urge to augment their diplomatic or bilateral relations could get even stronger. It is very clear to in numerous reports how Western African countries gain from Pakistan in different areas of trade, exchange, infrastructure, agricultural, educational, military and other technical support. Pakistan on the other hand over the years has also earned millions of USD in West Africa alone, especially with countries like Senegal, Nigeria, Ivory Coast among others. In a recent conference on Pakistan-Africa Trade Development conference, held on 30-31 January 2020 in Kenyatta International convention Centre, Nairobi, Kenya. There were clear evidences pointed out on benefits Pakistan is gaining from these countries leading to 3 billion USD per year from 2012-13 to 2016-17 and has seen great improvement in 2018-19 with an increment of 4.6 billion USD.<sup>32</sup> Leading to ministry of Commerce coming up with “Look Africa Policy Initiative”. This can show how both parties benefits

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<sup>30</sup> Norman Angell, “The great illusion”, in *Conflict After the cold War*, ed Richard Betts (New Jersey: Pearson, 2013), 299.

<sup>31</sup> Steven Pinker, “Violence Vanquished,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 24 September 2011, viewed 29/04/2016, 1-9.

<sup>32</sup> Junaid Aanir, "Africa's Strategic Importance and Future of Pak-Africa Relation." Research Gate, S(2021).

from one another equally, why Pakistan remains one of main states to continue enjoying cordial relations with Africa despite challenges faced by COVID-19.

According to liberalism, economic interdependence is a kind of investment in peace and security among states. Its main capacity is to bring down probability of war as benchmark of this theory. In contradiction to this theory, realist school of thought believes that economic interdependence increases possibility of war. For them, it accelerates the notion of vulnerability among states as it puts them in a kind of dangerous competition for material and better living conditions. When looking at due course of time, countries have improved their communication and relations with other states to a greater and tangible level amongst each other, particularly on economic relations. Of late, economic relations or exchanges between states have happened to be more consistent as globalization has become greater than before in global economy. This improvement of states interactions has definitely increased concept of economic interdependence. Similar to this story is between Sierra Leone and Pakistan, as exchange program between the two countries is increasing yearly, since 2019.

The world has gone through several power imbalances and changes throughout history. Despite all these, there are several ways of defining new liberal world order basically related to ideological notion of governing across world. The World came to a situation where states and people needed global institutions to solve collective problems that can only be addressed on a global scale in which all together they must be able to make and enforce global rules on a variety of means.<sup>33</sup>The US, after establishing its world order based on principles of liberalism and interdependence thought it wise to embark more in a doctrine of seeing world improve in terms of free trade, institutions and its military presence in Europe and Asia. The policy of the US in spreading or supporting liberal international order enjoyed great success by introducing democratic spread and economic growth which led to bring out or limiting number of poverty of millions. As dozens of countries joined old alliances and institutions spreading democracy, human rights and market economies in process. This policy was greatly accepted because at that time there

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<sup>33</sup>Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A New World Order (2004)," *The Globalization and Development Reader: Perspectives on Development and Global Change*, Books.google.com, 2014, 449.

was no other state to rival with the US. As 1991-Persian Gulf War was taking place, President Bush stated that “it is not about one small country but all should be involved with new ways of working with other nations in the peaceful settlement of disputes, solidarity against aggression, reduced and controlled arsenals and just treatment of all people.”<sup>34</sup>

The term new liberal world order was first used just after First World War especially in relations to the phrase international peace as it was again used after Second World War, describing plans of the United Nations for betterment of states. George H. Bush used the phrase to define nature of Cold War after its ended, to that of a New World Order on 11 September 1990, stating that the US fifth political objective during troubling times of Pacific Wars was to establishing a New World Order so a new era can emerge free from any threat of terror, in pursuit of justice and a quest for peace, wherein we can see East and West can live in a harmonious land.<sup>35</sup>

In international liberalism, as it is stated by Robert O. Keohane, International Liberalism was reconsidered in 1990. He stated that the world politics both creates opportunities for modern government and imposes constraints on range of actions that it is feasible for them to pursue. Clearing that one of ways to think about these opportunities and constraints is to analyze operation of contemporary international political-system, or world political economy, and to consider how these systems affect state action. He also mentions another perspective which deals with impact of world politics on states that can be gained by asking how perspective observers of politics have reflected on these issues in the past. To looking into past or historical perspectives of political thought for insights into contemporary international affairs.<sup>36</sup>

Jessop claims that liberalism is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon and a polyvalent conceptual ensemble in economic, politic, and ideological discourse. However, it is strongly contested strategic concept for restructuring market-state relations with many

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<sup>34</sup>Joseph S. Nye, “What New World Order?,” *Foreign Affairs* 71, no. 2, JSTOR, (1992): 83–96.

<sup>35</sup>Todd Sanders and Harry G. West, “Power Revealed and Concealed in the NewWorld Order,” in *Transparency and Conspiracy* (Duke University Press, 2003), 1–37.

<sup>36</sup>Grinberg, Mariya, "Flexibility in Order: Three Conditions that Preclude Change in International Order." Ndisc.nd.edu, (2021).

disputes over its scope, application, limitations, and social organization in modern society.<sup>37</sup> Pakistan and Sierra Leone relations are never this way, but cordial since both countries share similar colonial backgrounds, some aspects of religious views (Islam), majority of Sierra Leoneans are also Muslims, almost the same culture, peace and love, among others. These countries have in many ways shown the World since Sierra Leone independence, are having good relations, even being the main player (Pakistan), in the end of the Civil War in Sierra Leone, providing scholarships to young Sierra Leoneans, helping in the constructions of roads, buildings, medical and other technical supports.

The book, *State-Society Relations and Developing Countries' Economic Performance*, by Oghenemano E. Edigheji, in 2006, states different stages developing countries undergo through development in the beginning of the 1970s, and with a period that coincided with the current form of globalization. Bring out issues on which developing countries got fundamental rights to control their economic, military, governance and other states activities independently or total sovereignty.<sup>38</sup>

Another important aspect of relations between states is discussed by Pankaj that importance of foreign aid which is vital for speeding development of state or states, but author emphasizes that a state or states should not solely depend on it, but it has served in helping countries to tie good relations, depending on their foreign policy. Pankaj mentioned that

“Foreign aid, as a subject matter of political economy, has been intensely debated in global development discourse and international politics. Does aid lead to growth and development of the underdeveloped countries? Or is it an instrument used by donor countries to promote their domestic and foreign policy interests? The theory and practice of foreign aid suggest that even if it may be useful for the economic development of underdeveloped and developing countries in the initial stages, development comes through indigenous efforts and not through foreign aid, moreover, there are serious political and economic hazards of a foreign aid led growth model and long-term dependence on foreign aid. Therefore, foreign aid may be desirable but not essential for the development of these countries. But more

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<sup>37</sup> Bob Jessop, “Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective,” *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 452–72.

<sup>38</sup>Oghenemano Emmanuel i. Edigheji, *the State, Society Relations and Developing Countries' Economic Performance* - Google Search,” accessed August 10, 2021.

importantly, while negotiating aid, the recipient countries should be cautious of donor motives and their own national and foreign policy interests”.<sup>39</sup>

### **Research Methodology**

This research has used explanatory method since its findings guide towards recommendations as possible solution and policy input. The undertaken research is based on data gathered by using synthesis of research methods, by using quantitative and qualitative both besides primary and secondary data sources. Primary research has been conducted by requesting data from Ministry of Commerce, Government of Pakistan; and interviews from academics, serving Ambassador of Pakistan at Niger, retired Ambassadors, and retired Minister from Sierra Leone have been interviewed and their responses have been used properly throughout the thesis. This study is going to be qualitative and would be explanatory in nature based on primary and secondary data. Since this study aims to analyze and explain diplomatic relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan, the case study research design would be used by looking at the nature of relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan that existed in the past and how these relations can be extended further by mitigating hurdles and challenges for sustainable future relations particularly aimed at socioeconomic growth and unimpeded development.

### **Delimitation**

The research addresses West Africa and Pakistan relations in general, and specifically topic has been narrowed down by focusing on bilateral relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan, and time period focused on 21<sup>st</sup> century. The theme of the topic revolves around aspects of exploring opportunities and challenges.

### **Significance of Study**

Research is referred to extracting of new knowledge from existing knowledge. It explores and grabs new concepts and creates new knowledge. The major contribution of this research would be for academic purposes, providing basis for further research about Sierra Leone-Pakistan diplomatic relations in modern times, and the students of international

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<sup>39</sup>Ashok Kumar Pankaj, “Revisiting Foreign Aid Theories,” *International Studies* 42, no. 2 (2005): 103–21.

relations can generate their own views regarding the concept and can also contribute to formulate new ideas through this concept.

### **Organization of Study**

The opening section of this research is “Introduction.” Chapter one “Pakistan and West African Countries’ Relations: brief historical Background” discusses about history of Pakistan’s bilateral relations with every African country. Chapter Two “Sierra Leone-Pakistan Relations: Past to Present” discusses history of Sierra Leone and its nature of relations with Pakistan. Chapter three “Economic Diplomacy between Sierra Leone and Pakistan: Socioeconomic Impacts on Sierra Leone” talks about importance of economic diplomacy and its detailed impact on Sierra Leone. Chapter Four “Opportunities and Challenges for Sierra Leone-Pakistan Relations under AU and ECOWAS” is about future of bilateral relations under African Union after initiation of AfCFTA, and ECOWAS. At the end, Conclusion, findings and recommendations have summed up the undertaken research.



## Chapter One

### Pakistan and West African Countries' Relations:

#### Brief Historical Background

Africa is known as the second-largest continent in the world, which is completely different from other parts of the world in terms of geography, politics, society, economy and culture. The African continent is divided into five regions, Central or Middle Africa, Eastern Africa, Northern Africa, Southern Africa and Western Africa. Among these countries, Togo has suffered worst in the region with a long history of wars especially in the post-colonial era, which had created grave obstacles in the way of economic development. But in recent times, the country is also heading for peace due to signing of different peace treaties. West Africa is a region very rich with natural resources, like Sierra Leone, known for its rich reserves of diamonds; Ghana, known for its gold deposits; Nigeria known for its rich oil reserves, among others.<sup>40</sup>

Pakistan relations with these countries started just after they attained independence in the mid-1950 to 1970s. By establishing diplomatic missions and rendering aid to the newly independent states. Recently, Pakistan has had trade relations with almost every state in Africa amounting to 3 trillion USD and 100 million USD for Western Africa according to the Ministry of Commerce Look Africa Plan meeting held in 2017, which include all 16 countries in the region.<sup>41</sup>

This chapter gives a brief historical background of all 16 countries in West Africa and also for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It also throws light on different relations Pakistan has with West Africa, and also with different organizations. History is always the backbone of

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<sup>40</sup>Leif Brottem et al, "Biophysical Variability and Pastoral Rights to Resources: West African Transhumance Revisited," *Human Ecology* 42, no. 3 (2014): 351–65.

<sup>41</sup>Asma Rashid and Anjum Ghouri, "PAKISTAN'S TRADE WITH AFRICA: PECULIARITIES AND ROAD AHEAD," GSDRC, 2020.

good relations, and it helps states to understand ways in how to interact or create cordial ties that would be essential for all.

## **1.1 West Africa: Brief Historical Background**

United Nations recognized countries are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

### **1.1.1 Sierra Leone- A Brief History**

The Republic of Sierra Leone is a small country located in West Africa. It is also known as Salone. Sierra Leone is very rich in terms of its geographical location and abundant natural resources (gold, diamond, bauxite, timber etc), with an environment ranging from savanna to rainforests, a total area of about 71,740 km. Sierra Leone original inhabitants were tribal people who had lived there for thousands of years, mainly Shebros who were found in the Southern part of the Country (Bonthe Island) and Limbas are the third-largest living at WaraWara hills in the northern part. These two tribes have no documented historical background due to no trace of where they came from. Some of the ethnic groups in Sierra Leone's population today were already in the country before British colonialism. Mende entered the country from neighbouring Liberia in 1700s and Temne came from a place called Futa Jallon Guinea in 1400s.<sup>42</sup>

During late 1400 an explorer and a businessman called Pedro da Cintra from Portugal mapped out Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone came from Portuguese word Serra Leoa (in Portuguese Lioness Mountains) in 1462. Professor C. Magbaily Fyle account, travelers referring to the region Serra Lyon before 1462.<sup>43</sup> With the arrival of Cintra's expedition, a lot of Portuguese traders follow suit and embarked on trade and in 1495 built a fortified trading post on the coast. The invasion of British in 1500 dominated Portuguese and Dutch,

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<sup>42</sup>Richard Phillips, "Dystopian Space in Colonial Representations and Interventions: Sierra Leone as 'the White Man's Grave,'" *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 84, no. 3-4 (2002): 189–200.

<sup>43</sup> Ibrahim Abdullah, "A Nation without Historians: Could This Be the Future of the Sierra Leonean Past(s)?" accessed August 11, 2021.

leading to the 1562 Triangle Trade led by Admiral Sir John Hawkins of Royal Navy transporting 300 enslaved Africans to the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo on the Caribbean Sea area of West Indies Island. In 1900s, British colonial rule is said by many scholars to bringing many issues with the country. Beckles stated, “The British were running the show in many former colonies for far longer than their independent governments to date. You cannot undo 150 years of systemic destruction in 60 years of nation-building.”<sup>44</sup>

The country has only a brief history due to limited archaeological data, however, what is clear about the land is said to have been inhabited by its ancestors 3000 years ago or more and for years has been by the international community. The archaeological findings show Sierra Leone has been inhabited continuously for at least 2,500 years due to migration from other parts of Africa for new plots of land. There are documented battles in the country before colonization, one such was the Mane Invasions. This happened during the early 1500s when their Leader Queen Masarico was judged and exiled from the Malian Empire, travelled with a large group of followers to present-day Sierra Leone.<sup>45</sup> They had to fight a lot of battles and were so victorious due to a belief that they used native herbs to manipulate other tribes. They first had an encounter with Temne in 1550s at the West African coast and moved inland. During their invasion, they came in contact with other tribes and start intermarriages, coming with names like Kamara, Bangura, Kargbo and Koroma. According to a famous Sierra Leonean historian Joe A.D Alie, his account is the Mane dominance was felt throughout western Sierra Leone and the invasion got to an end when they lost their leader Queen Masarico. Today there is no single Mane group, but signs of Mane culture are still among people throughout modern-day Sierra Leone.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Matthew Lange, James Mahoney, and Matthias VomHau, “Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies,” *American Journal of Sociology* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1412–62.

<sup>45</sup>David C. Conrad, “Mooning Armies and Mothering Heroes: Female Power in Mande Epic Tradition,” *In Search of Sunjata: The Mande Oral Epic as History, Literature and Performance*, 1999, 189–230.

<sup>46</sup>Joseph Kaifala, *Free Slaves, Freetown, and the Sierra Leonean Civil War* (Springer, 2016).

Sierra Leone in terms of religion before colonization had accepted Islam in the early 1700s from Fula Muslim traders in Southern Guinea and the North-Eastern part of the country. During those days, elders, the community and sons of Chiefs were sent to study Islam at Fatu Jalon to help spread Islam and culture to conquered areas.<sup>47</sup>

The capital and largest city Freetown host a majority of its administrative state buildings (State House, Parliament, and all ministries), schools, universities, port among others. Sierra Leone has only two neighbours Guinea and Liberia, under the umbrella of the Mano River Union (MRU), a sub-region organization. The country is said to have approximately seven to eight million people according to the 2018 population census and has enjoyed 61 years of independence.<sup>48</sup> Rated one of the poorest countries, though blessed with numerous natural resources like diamond, iron ore, timber, bauxite backed with agriculture among others. Sierra Leone is mostly remembered for the conflict in early 1990s, which ended in early 2000s which beamed onto televisions around the globe and later depicted in a blockbuster Hollywood film.<sup>49</sup>

The people of Sierra Leone come all across Africa and through the end of the slave trade from England, Jamaica, Nova Costa in Canada and African-Americans (the Black Poor from London, Nova Scotia's from Amirian South, and Jamaican Marrons and liberated Africans). The country is blessed with multi-religious, cultural, traditional and multi-ethnic groups with Temne and Mende as the majority. The country is divided into 5 administrative regions, subdivided into sixteen (16) districts and sixteen different ethnic groups namely Sherbro, Mende, Limba, Susu, Kono, Kuranko, Creole, Mandingo, Fula, Temne, Loko, Kissi, Vai, Kru, Yalunka and Lebanese.<sup>50</sup> Sierra Leoneans are remarkable people, very

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<sup>47</sup>David E. Skinner, "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750–1914)," *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 10, no. 3 (1976): 499–520.

<sup>48</sup>Corey M. Peak et al, "Population Mobility Reductions Associated with Travel Restrictions during the Ebola Epidemic in Sierra Leone: Use of Mobile Phone Data," *International Journal of Epidemiology* 47, no. 5 (2018): 1562–70.

<sup>49</sup>Harris, David John, *Sierra Leone: A political history*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2014.

<sup>50</sup>Joseph Lansana Kormoh, "Ethnicity and Conflict Instigation in Sierra Leone," *Conflict Trends* 2020, no. 3 (2020): 50–56.

friendly and respectful of the culture of others irrespective of religion, race and other norms of society. Although considered somewhat typical of post-colonial African states, Sierra Leone is a poor backwater on the African stage but it is not. A clear picture of the country's great wealth can be seen in the Hollywood film *Blood Diamond* as part of the story.<sup>51</sup>

During British colonial rule, there were so many issues between indigenous people and their colonial master based on divide and rule administration. The country was ruled by colony and protectorate as the British colonial administration from 1808 to 1961. The colony included the area surrounding Freetown, while the protectorate was established in 1896 with the interior also a part of it. A common name or motto that was giving to the colony and protectorate was a Latin word, *auspice Britannia Libber* (for Free under the protectorate of British) which was later included in Sierra Leone flag and coat of arms. Sierra Leone was also the main centre for British Empire from the abolitionism era to the decolonization era 1928-1961.<sup>52</sup>

After so many years of British rule and upholding Pan-Africanism and different political movements in the country, British finally abolished domestic slavery on 31st January 1928 and also after some years, Sierra Leoneans finally asked for self-independence which was attained on April 27 1961.<sup>53</sup>

The Head of committee for Sierra Leone independence, Sir Milton Margai, became the first Prime Minister of the country. He was the head of delegation that led 24-member Sierra Leoneans in London during the constitutional conference with the government of Queen Elizabeth 2 and British Colonial Secretary Lain Macleod.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Alexander P. Kup, "156. An Account of the Tribal Distribution of Sierra Leone," *Man* 60 (1960): 116–19.

<sup>52</sup>Memory, In, and John Hargreaves. "The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies-October 2015."

<sup>53</sup>Abraham Farfán and Maria Lopez Uribe, "The British Founding of Sierra Leone Was Never a Province of Freedom," *Africa at LSE*, 2020.

<sup>54</sup>Great Britain Central Office of Information Reference Division, *Sierra Leone: A Nation Is Born* (HM Stationery Office, Books.google.com, 1961).

### 1.1.2 Burkina Faso- A Brief History

The Republic of Burkina Faso is a landlocked country located in West Africa, neighbouring Benin, Togo, Mali, Niger, Ghana, and Ivory Coast and its population according to 2020 by United Nation is 20,000,000. French is the official language, while there are about 60 indigenous languages spoken in the country. It has two main West African languages, Voltaic and Monday, in which the first make up about half of the population. Islam is the most practiced religion in the country consisting of 60% of the population being Muslims, 23% are Christians, and 15% practice traditional indigenous beliefs, like Dagon religion, a small percentage of its population considered themselves as irreligious.

The country has 13 regions, further broken divided into 45 provinces and 301 departments, each region has a governor who administers affairs of the regions.<sup>55</sup> This republic is blessed with several natural resources including gold, manganese, marble, pumice, limestone, phosphate, and salt. The agricultural sector represents 32% of the country's gross domestic products, and also employs 80% of the nation's labour force. Sorghum, pure millet, rice, maize, peanuts and cotton are among other crops gold, oars and cotton are the top exports of the country. Its GDP in 2018 was 14.12 billion USD. The country is known to have a wide variety of sports, including basketball, handball, football, boxing, martial arts among others. Football stands as the national sport of the nation. The national team is nicknamed Les Echelon which is remembered for the finals team played in the African cup of Nations hosted by South Africa, but they lost 1-0 Nigeria in 2013.<sup>56</sup>

The country hosts a very popular cultural event called Pan-African Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou, Africa's biggest cinema festival and also organizes the International Art and Craft Fair, which is the continent most important trade show for art and handicrafts, as the maiden edition was in 1988. The country's national cultural week

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<sup>55</sup>Uwe Deichmann and Indermit Gill, "The Economic Geography of Regional Integration," *Finance & Development* 45, no. 004 Elibrary.IMF.org, (2008).

<sup>56</sup>Samson A. Arekete, "Slim Win Games: An Analytic Appraisal of the African Nations Cup Finals (AFCON 2013)," *Academia Scholarly Journal*, 2013..

of Burkina Faso has another cultural event that is held yearly in Lasso, the second-largest city in the country after Ouagadougou. Ouagadougou is the capital city of Burkina Faso, which holds a number of tourist attraction sites, including the Park of Ouagadougou and National Museum.<sup>57</sup>

Historically, the country can be traced from the medieval period until late 19<sup>th</sup> century, was ruled by empire building, most of the people were farmers and soldiers, who defended territory and their religious beliefs against from its Muslims neighbours to the northeast to conquer and convert them. The country's colonial history, started in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, was British, German and French military officers made efforts to claim part of its territory, which led to lots of battles with local kingdoms and people, but at other times, they made alliances and treaties with locals and colonialists.

The colonialists were also making treaties with each other, as against locals, but late, after series of events, the French became established colonial masters, and Burkina Faso became a French protectorate in 1899, until 11<sup>th</sup> December 1958 when it became free and named the Republic of Volta but was still controlled by France. Finally in August 1960, was officially gained independence and Maurice Kromah became the country's first president. Experienced a coup in 1966, by protests of students and labour union members, leader Sanguly la Mizana became president, but his appointment brought more economic problems during his rule, until 1980 when he was removed by Zerbo in a coup d'état, who was overthrown two years later by Jean Baptiste in 1983. With lots of disturbances in-country, Thomas Sankara the Prime Minister was against the corrupt government and was arrested in January 1983 for his opposition. Another coup breakout and Thomas became the head of government. His government brought changes that implemented mass vaccination, infrastructural development, and agricultural expansion and also changing the name Volta to Burkina Faso meaning "Land of the Uprights". On 5<sup>th</sup> October 1987, he was assassinated in another coup masterminded by his best friend Captain Blaise Compaore and took power and remained there until 2014 when he was forced to step down

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<sup>57</sup>Echenberg, Myron , Dresch, Jean , Guiguemde, Pierre H. and Deschamps Hubert Jules, "Burkina Faso". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 10 Mar. 2021. Accessed 23 September 2021.

in a protest to adjust its constitution enabling to held power in 2015.<sup>58</sup> A constitutional government led by a civilian Mikhail Cafando became President on 17<sup>th</sup> November, and an election was held on 13<sup>th</sup> October 2015 making Rock Mark Christian Cabore emerged victoriously.

Burkina Faso is a member of several organizations like African Union, United Nations, Community of Sahel States, G5 Sahel la Francophonie, Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Economic Community of West African States.

### **1.1.3 Benin- A Brief History**

The Republic of Benin formerly known as Dahomey is located in West Africa neighbouring Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, and Togo. The capital city is Porto-Novo. The country is divided into 12 departments, subdivided into 77 communes. Its economy is largely dependent on agriculture, cotton is the main cash crop grown in Benin making 40 per cent of GDP and 80 per cent export. Its GDP in 2018 was 10.35 billion USD.

Has a very good and innovative music industry mostly combining native folk music, with French cabaret, Ghanaian high life, and Congolese rumba and also many other genres to produce unique musical sounds. In tourism, the city of Cottonwood is a top destination with beautiful beaches lined with palm trees. The country has internationally renowned singers like Angeli Kijo and composer Wali Badaru.<sup>59</sup> French is the official language, with other indigenous languages such as Phone, Bariba, Yoruba and Dendi.

The country hosted a majority of Christian (Roman Catholicism), as Islam is the next largest religion, and then the indigenous religion, Vodou. In 19<sup>th</sup> century, indigenous people were defeated by the French and became part of their colony. Before French colonization, there were lots of battles fought among indigenous people, and the ones that were living in now Dahomey dominated all other chiefdoms and towns, as it is said that

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<sup>58</sup>Dennis D. Cordell and Joel W. Gregory, "Labour Reservoirs and Population: French Colonial Strategies in Koudougou, Upper Volta, 1914 to 1939," *The Journal of African History* 23, no. 2 (1982): 205–24.

<sup>59</sup>Robin Law and Kristin Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1999): 307–34.



these warriors were mostly dominated by women, as they were called in Europe the Amazons of Dahomey. The economy of the kingdom was mainly derived from conquest and slave labour but later got into the slave trade especially selling war prisoners in exchange for firearms and other European goods like wine, and fabric. Through those economic activities, Dahomey in 1750s was making about 250,000 pounds yearly selling slaves to Europeans, as Porto-Novo (Portuguese meaning new port), was the main port for slave trade. For several years, the kingdom was paying tributes to Oyo Empire in present-day Nigeria, after they were defeated by Oyo, as Vodou was their religion before colonialism, which was celebrated on a yearly period called the Arnold customs of Dahomey, which involved lots of sacrifices. But when the kingdom was defeated in 1892, was made a French colonial empire. Years later, in 1989, Dahomey was made part of the French West Africa colonies, until 1<sup>st</sup> August 1960 when the country gained independence, with different movements against colonialism.<sup>60</sup>

The first President was Hobart Maga, as strife and conflict emerged due to ethnic differences that plagued the country for 12 years after independence. In 12 years, lots of coups and regimes changes were frequently with mainly political elites like Hobert Maga, Suru Apathy and Justin Ahumadibi, who represented the different ethnic groups dominating the political scene. With lots of negotiations, three of them later agreed to form a presidential council in 1970, but another violence disrupted elections and councils did not last until 26 October 1972 when Maga drove out of office in a coup led by Lieutenant Colonel Mathew Kirikou. Established a military council for revolution and changed the country's name to People's Republic of Benin during 1975, meaning the body of water the country lies on, as a name given to the Benin Empire by the Europeans. After many years, in 1990, the name was adjusted to the Republic of Benin after the new constitution was adopted, leading to elections in 1991. Kiriakou was defeated by Nasi Forsoglo. But Kirikou returned to power after winning the 1996 general elections and also won with a narrow margin in the 2001 election. In subsequent years, he did not contest in 2006 general election

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<sup>60</sup>A. E. Afigbo, "Colonial Administration in Benin-Benin under British Administration: The Impact of Colonial Rule on an African Kingdom 1897–1938. By PA Igbafe. London: Longman, 1979. Pp. Xvi+ 432.," *The Journal of African History* 23, no. 1 (1982): 136–38.

due to age and terms of office limits, and a new leader emerged called Yaiboni, who won an election held by international observers as free and fair. He also succeeded in a re-election bid in 2011, but in March 2016 presidential elections, a business icon Patrice Tallon emerged as the winner and was elected Prime Minister.<sup>61</sup>

#### **1.1.4 Cape Verde- A Brief History**

Cape Verde is an island the live 535 miles off West Africa, divided into two main groups according to their position with the winds, its official language is Portuguese and Creole which is a mixture of Portuguese and African dialects. This state is dominated by Christians (Catholics), as the original inhabitants of the country are little known, with different scholars coming up with lots of data in an account of the first people who were living on the island. Some scholars are with the conviction that the island was completely uninhabited and Portuguese settled on the island in 1462, which creates the foundation of the social and governmental infrastructure. The fact is that, before the arrival of the Portuguese, the island had already been occupied by various ethnic groups from the guinea coast, and was visited by other West African peoples. The Portuguese at first had no interest in colonizing, but used the island as a refueling station for its slave ships and by late 1466 with the establishment of plantations in Europe, they saw the need for using humans as cheap labor to boost that area, by enslaving Africans from Guinea Bissau. The island at first was divided between different Portuguese's who were referred to as lords, established plantations and supervised the slave labour, as most of the wealthiest people were white owners of large lands and well social statues over Africans. And the Island of Santiago was used as the slave post and labour was mostly used in agricultural, cultivation and production of sugarcane, maize, guinea rice, cotton and vineyards, including assaults mines. Over years, due to the mixture of Africans and Europeans, Creole tribe begins to emerge and eventually became about 70% of the overall population. This island has a remarkable taste for its cultural diversity of markers of music, dance, food and folklore and literature and poetry, which have very clear African and Portuguese roots, as the influence

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<sup>61</sup>Mousbaou Atcha Boukari, "The Rise of Secession Movements in West Africa and Its Security Impact on the Region" (US Army Command and General Staff College Fort Leavenworth United States, 2018).

of African culture remains most visible on Santiago. Literature and poetry are very important in the island, as it is used to record written art, which emerged around 1866, with various early Cape Verdean intellectuals and poets found inspiration from Portuguese nationalism. Eugene Oh Tavares was the first to print a piece of creative writing on the island in 1916 in two short volumes of classical love poetry was written in a traditional Morna style, very critical about the Portuguese's occupation of the island.<sup>62</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw total eradication of slave trade and devastation of severe droughts forced a large number of Cape Verdeans to leave the islands to work in New England, cranberry and whaling industries. In 1951, after lots of attempts to quell rising nationalism, Portugal change Cape Verde from a colony to an overseas province. In 1956, a nationalist movement formed the African Party for independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde led by revolutionary political theorists and McCaul Cabral.

### **1.1.5 Liberia- A Brief History**

Liberia is located on the West Coast of Africa bordering Guinea, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire, 10% covered by water, as a tropical rainforest state. It is one of the two African countries (Ethiopia) to remain independent during the European scramble for Africa, which is misleading. Looking at the foundation, African Americans occupied the land during the 1820s who governed the country until 1989 when a coup broke out and was governed by a military dictatorship until 1990s. The country has experienced two lengthy civil wars, leading to the second in 2003, wherein the women helped to end to civil war led to a woman elected as president in 2005 Ellen Johnson Cliff as the first woman president in Africa.<sup>63</sup>

According to its historical background, it was believed that the indigenous people of the country migrated there from the north and east during the periods of 12<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D, and were encountered contacts by Portuguese's as early as 1462, which was named by them as coaster de Pimenta or pepper coast because of the abundance of mitigator

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<sup>62</sup>Cooper, Helene, *The house at sugar beach: in search of a lost African childhood*. Simon and Schuster, 2008.

<sup>63</sup>Nancy Annan, "Women and Political Leadership in Africa," *Pathways into the Political Arena: The Perspectives of Global Women Leaders*, 2020, 87.

pepper which Europeans loved for cooking. In late 1602, Dutch established a trading partnership which was distrusted a year later, and then in 1663, British also came into play by starting trade with locals. The country did not experience any further settlements by non-African colonists until when some free blacks arrived there in 1821 from America. The country was mainly founded for free people of colour from the USA by the American colonization society, with the arrival of 4517 immigrants within 1820 to 1843. These people experienced the highest mortality rate in the world as out of 4,517 people who came to the country, only 1,890 survived.<sup>64</sup>

### **1.1.6 Nigeria- A Brief History**

The historical foundation of Nigeria is traced back to the prehistoric settlers, accounting for people living in the areas in 11,000 BC and where ancient African civilizations started in the region. The country has a very popular river called the River Niger, which provides water essential for the local community to grow cash crops, animals among others. The historical founding of a human skeleton in the region was found in today's Nigeria through Nok culture. Dating back to 900 BC in the Hausa Kingdom situated in-between Niger River and in Lake Chad, which history is a mythological story ruled by the sons of Bhaiyyaji, according to a legend called Judah, who travelled from the Middle East, settled down with locals, and married a local Queen and had a child with her. This kingdom was first mentioned in 9<sup>th</sup> century and in 15<sup>th</sup> century, it became an important trading center rivaling the Kanem-Bornu or the Mali Empire, with the selling of slaves, gold, leather, salt, arts or animal bides. Kingdoms like Neriah, Benin Empire or oil Empire among others. It is believed that Islam reached Nigeria through an empire called the Borer Empire, dated back to 11<sup>th</sup> century when Hausa estates were touched by this religion around 1385. In 16<sup>th</sup> century, the larger Yoruba Empire developed speaking about the Benin Empire that their fame was not based on power but because of its contact with Portuguese.<sup>65</sup> It was discovered by Portuguese in 1470s who took the news to Europe about Africa. In the case of Christianity, it came during 15<sup>th</sup> century due to Portuguese arrival in the region and

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<sup>64</sup>Tom W. Shick, "A Quantitative Analysis of Liberian Colonization from 1820 to 1843 with Special Reference to Mortality1," *The Journal of African History* 12, no. 1 (1971): 45–59.

<sup>65</sup>Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

started building missionaries or preaching the locals about the faith. Speaking of these kingdoms, in today's Nigeria, one can find the kingdoms of Hausa, Ibibio, Nri, Benin, Nupe, Warri, Fulani, Kanem Bornu, Oyo, and Songhai among others. During 16<sup>th</sup> century, one of the biggest empires, the Songhai Empire reached its peak and stretching on a large area and has influenced the areas for more than 100 years and shaping the history of Nigeria. These periods are known for more diverse conflicts, of which one was the conflicts between Touareg and Borno. From the start of 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a high interest of British for Nigeria. The slave trade started in exchange for European goods and later the Napoleonic wars, but British were still able to expand their trade with the Nigerian interior. By 1888, they had claimed over West African receiving international recognition and establishment of Real Niger Company in 1886. On 1<sup>st</sup> January 1901, Nigeria became the part of British protectorate and Empire. In around 1886 and 1940, the partition of Africa happened between the colonial powers and the border of Nigeria was created and Nigeria became a settled part of the British Empire. Through this development, the locals were educated and led to the development of a modern economic sphere throughout the northern territory whose consequences were felt in curious political life ever since. After World War 2, the country's nationalism movements were on the rise. On 1<sup>st</sup> October 1954, the colony became the federation of Nigeria and British agreed to give freedom. More republics existed in Nigeria, ruled by stability from that period to the present day. At that time, the population of Nigeria was around 30 million people, in 2021 they are almost around 200 million people. Nigeria has so many things to say but this tells about Nigeria in a nutshell.<sup>66</sup>

### **1.1.7 Ghana- A Brief History**

Ghana got its name after the Medieval West African Ghana Empire known by Europeans and Arabs. The empire broke up during the 1076 conquest by a warring group called Moravia led by General Abu-Bakr Ibn Umar and the kingdom continued to exist after Moravian rule ended. Just like other West African nations, little is known about this country. Few indigenous people were living there when Europeans discovered the nation in 15<sup>th</sup> century. It all happened when a Portuguese navigator was sailing their way down to

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<sup>66</sup>D. Okuonghae and A. Oname, "Analysis of a Mathematical Model for COVID-19 Population Dynamics in Lagos, Nigeria," *Chaos, Solitons & Fractals* 139 (2020): 110032.

the coast and founded this area in 1471, reacted promptly by building up trade relations with locals. In 1492, a French Buccaneer marauding off the coast priced Portuguese ship of its precious cargo with pure gold and the Gold Coast right away became the European name for that part of Western Africa. Ghana was known for trading gold with Europeans led to a lot of development which later became the first African state to control an extended part of the coast in 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>67</sup>

In 18<sup>th</sup> century, a very dominant group emerged with the name Ashanti, and their capital inland at Kumasi were involved in trading with different Europeans, including Dutch, British, and Danes. Thou gold was available in Ghana at that time, but the main export was of slaves, muskets, wine, firearms and other western commodities, which led to Ashanti acquiring great local powers. Kings of Ashanti were mostly enthroned on a traditional golden stool and had control of the entire region, which is now Ghana. With all their successes, Ashanti suffered series of major blues between Danes, British and Dutch as they had tensions among themselves on slave trade issues resulting in warfare from 1820 to 1824. In 1874, British army briefly occupied a place called Kumasi and at the coastal regions gained great influence by emerging the major European power, leading to them buying the Danish fortresses, including a Christenberg Castle in the main Capital of Ghana, Accra in 1870. All other European power abandoned the gold coast as it was under the occupation British in 1874. From 1901 to January 1902, Ashanti region was declared a British crown colony and further became a protectorate. Ghana was marked as prosperous and untroubled, but little was done to involve the local population in political processes of the colony. By the end of World War 2, the Gold Coast became one of the first African countries to get independence on March 6, 1957. Due to lots of Pan-Africanism movements, and one such person was Kwame Nkrumah, who in 1947 returned to Ghana after 12 years of experience in radical politics in the USA and was given the position of General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) an organization

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<sup>67</sup>Abena Dove Osseo-Asare, "Bioprospecting and Resistance: Transforming Poisoned Arrows into Strophanthin Pills in Colonial Gold Coast, 1885–1922," *Social History of Medicine* 21, no. 2 (2008): 269–90.

campaigning for self-government.<sup>68</sup> The organization won the heart of the majority in the colonial legislative assembly in 1946, but the fight for political power in Ghana increased and Nkrumah rapidly extended the movement popularity spreading riots in 1948. During the riots, older UGCC leaders got suspicious and ended up arresting Nkrumah but were later relished as in January 1950. The colony later organized the first election in February 1951, leading to the Convention People's Party (CPP) winning with a huge majority even with the absence of its leader Nkrumah, the party was found during the issues he had with UGCC leaders in June 1949. Nkrumah was immediately released due to his second arrest from prison and joined the government in 1952 becoming the Prime Minister.<sup>69</sup> During his administration, he was one of the architects that campaigned for Mali independence in 1957 and influenced other West African states to also ask for self-rule and independence as the first to govern a former colonial state in the region. In 1960, Ghana became a full republic and elected Nkrumah President for life. Nkrumah who was a Pan-Africanist change to the dictatorial rule of his administration collapsed the nation's economy leading to a coup when he was away in China in 1966 and went into exile in Guinea. The nation's democracy in more than four decades has established many republics, which later led to the lurching of another republic in 1969, brings to power Kofi Basie, the university professor and the main opponent to Nkrumah. He also was not able to improve the country's economy, as a result of low cocoa prices, leading to intervention of the military removing him in 1972. The military ruled for few years with brutality under the leaderships of two generals, Champong and Frederick Akufo led a military coup by young military officers in 1979. Jerry Rawlings a flight Lieutenant in the air force seized power and immediately the execution Champong. With the pressure from the international community, young officers were pressured to return to democracy, leading to the ban on political parties to be lifted and multi-party elections in 1992. On 3<sup>rd</sup> November and 29<sup>th</sup> December, elections were held the same year. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) was formed to contest the elections on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1993 which the late J.J Rawlings was head and was inaugurated as president of

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<sup>68</sup>Kathryn Firmin-Sellers, "The Concentration of Authority: Constitutional Creation in the Gold Coast, 1950," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 7, no. 2 (1995): 201–22.

<sup>69</sup>David Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third World* (IB Tauris London, UK, 1988).

Ghana.<sup>70</sup> In the following years in 1996, opposition parties contested fully in the presidential and parliamentary elections, not repeating what they did by boycotting the elections in 1993. The elections this time are described as free, transparent and peaceful in the eyes of domestic and international observers, leading to Rawlings been reelected with 57 percent of the popular votes, after his second term, he stepped down. In 2000, an opposition won the elections under the leadership of Nana Adufo-Addo. From that day till now, the country is one of the fastest-growing economies.<sup>71</sup> Ghana under his rule has reached a better economic development and peaceful transition in all aspects.

### **1.1.8 Gambia- A Brief History**

Gambia is in West Africa marked as the smallest country in mainland Africa entirely covered by Senegal and bordered by the Atlantic Ocean. The famous River Gambian flows through the center of the country, Banjor is the nation's capital and its population in 2018 was 2.28 million people.<sup>72</sup> The country is blessed with different ethnic groups, but the largest being Mandinka, seconded by Fula, others are Wolof and Creoles the smallest and decadence of Sierra Leone. The Gambians are multitalented with languages, but mostly speak English as the official language and many of the indigenous languages, it is uncommon to find these people speaking French. The country also hosts a few thousand non-Africans, mostly British and Lebanese, and Islam is the most practiced religion, with about 95 percent of the population being Muslims, while Christians make up only about 4 percent of the population, the remaining are traditional and non-worshippers. Agriculture makes up 30 percent of the GDP and 70 percent of its labour, as groundnut production, fishing, livestock and forestry are important revenue sources, backed with its tourism

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<sup>70</sup>Paul Nugent, "Nkrumah and Rawlings: Political Lives in Parallel?," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, no. 12 (2009): 35–56.

<sup>71</sup>Ransford Edward Van Gyampo, Emmanuel Graham, and Eric Yobo, "Ghana's 2016 General Election: Accounting of the Monumental Defeat of the National Democratic Congress (NDC)," *Journal of African Elections* 16, no. 1 (2017): 24–45.

<sup>72</sup>Olutobi Adekunle Sanuade, Sandra Boatemaa, and Mawuli Komla Kushitor, "Hypertension Prevalence, Awareness, Treatment and Control in Ghanaian Population: Evidence from the Ghana Demographic and Health Survey," *PloS One* 13, no. 11 (2018): e0205985.



sector. The World Bank placed the country's GDP for 2018 at 1.624 billion USD. The national sport of the country is wrestling, and football is also very popular. The historical background of the country came from the records of Arab traders in early 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. According to these accounts, the region was under Mali and Sungai empires. The Mali Empire was under the rule of the Mandinka King Mansa Musa brought reliable security, stability and fame to the region, making sure that law and order were prevailing in Gambia. The country was first spotted by a Portuguese called Bin Battuta, a scholar in African history, visited the region in 1352 and wrote about the inhabitants.

In late 19<sup>th</sup> century, British took over Gambia, the city of Banjul and surrounding areas become the main colony and the protectorate. The country requested independence and self-rule, after World War 2 and constitutional reforms started to take place these purposes of self-government followed in the conduction of a general election in 1962. In 1963, British gave them full self-government but gained full independence on 18<sup>th</sup> February 1965 with Sir Dauda Kairaba Jawara becoming the Prime Minister. Not until 24<sup>th</sup> April 1970, after lots of referendums, and finally the country became a republic, with the same leader assuming the office of president. He was re-elected five times, but a coup took place behind his back while on a visit to Britain on 29<sup>th</sup> July 7 1981, he returned to Senegal for help and with Senegalese soldiers, the rebels were defeated two days after, as about 800 people were lost their lives during the war. In 1982, Senegal and Gambia signed a confederation treaty and became Senegambia Confederation. With time, Gambia pulled out of them in 1989 and after eight years of Jawara as Prime minister from 1962 to 1970. He remained 24 years as president and was removed in 1994 in a coup by a military group, Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC). These military officers took up office and Yaya Jamie was elected as the chairman of AFPRC and Head of State, who was only 29 years old. Has re-elected in several elections, but was finally defeated by an opposition party led by Adama Baru in 2016. Jamie in first instances agreed to step-down, but later changed his mind a declared the results void, leading to a constitutional crisis and the country was invaded by an ECOWAS coalition. With lots of pressure, he finally stepped down on 20<sup>th</sup> January 2017, making a nationwide announcement and leaves the country. As a former Commonwealth country, Jamie withdrew the country's membership during his rule calling

it a modern type of colonialism, but the new administration on 8<sup>th</sup> February 2018, officially rejoined the organization.<sup>73</sup>

### **1.1.9 Mali- A Brief History**

Mali is also landlocked located in West Africa and is the eighth largest in Africa by landmass, with a population of about 19 million people, capital city Bamako. The country, just like other West African nations, comprises of different ethnic groups of which Bambara are the largest, of about 36.5 percent of the population, while other groups include Soninkei, Khassoke, Malinke, Fulbe and many others. The country highly depends on agriculture as its main source of economy as cotton is the biggest crop for export, backed with tobacco, rice, millet, corn, vegetables, tree crops, agriculture, livestock and gold with 80 percent exports after South Africa and Ghana. Its GDP stood at 17.16 billion USD in 2018. The country main sport is football and has hosted the African Nations Cup in 2002 where they finished in fourth place, basketball and traditional wrestling is also part of their sporting activities. The country main religion is Islam as over 90 percent of its population is Muslims, while five percent are Christians and the remaining mainly practice traditional African religions such as Dogon. Mali can be remembered as dominating three empires in West Africa in modern-day era that are Ghana, Mali and Sungai Empires. Ghana Empire was the oldest among these empires, which was spanned throughout West Africa during 8<sup>th</sup> century, until 1078 when al-Muravids conquered its, which was formally named Wagadu Empire, meaning the title of its ruler, which is rich in gold. The Mali Empire was founded by Sundiata Keita during 1214 and 1255, as the wealth of its rulers travelled well beyond the Africa continent, especially during the leadership of Musa Keita. This empire did not only influence West Africa alone but all across the Africa region, especially with its most famous ruler, Mansa Musa, who made a famous pilgrimage to Mecca, with an entourage of about 60,000 and expended so much gold it became highly devalued. He is generally described as the wealthiest man to step on earth during the middle-aged era, and one of the richest people in the history of the world. The Medieval empire can be said to

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<sup>73</sup>Florence Mahoney, "A History of the Gambia-A History of the Gambia. By Harry A. Gailey JR London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964. Pp. 244, Map. 35s.," *The Journal of African History* 6, no. 3 (1965): 428–29.

influence the modern-day name of Mali, that means, the place where the king's lives, as a symbol of strength. This empire collapsed after Sultan Ahmad Almanzor of Morocco army invaded and destroyed them during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>74</sup>

In 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mali became a part of French colony and part of French-Sudan, but in early 1959 form a federation with Senegal and on 20<sup>th</sup> June 1960 got its independence. But Senegal withdrew from there in August, and French Sudan became the independent Republic of Mali, on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1960, as the rightful date for celebration in the country. Keita was the first president of the country, who ruled for eight years and was overthrown, in a bloodless military coup led by Musa Trauri, who also held power for over two decades. During his rule, the country faced political conflicts and economic crises, several led students' protests, calling for his resignation, from 1970s, but not until 26<sup>th</sup> 1991, he was eventually removed in a coup led by Lieutenant Colonel Admadu Manitousi. Coming to power, he legalized opposition parties. Leading to the country's first presidential elections in 1992 as Alpha Umar Konari was elected as president and was also re-elected in 1997. In 2002, Amadu Manitousi who led the coup against Musa, was elected as the next president of Mali and was also re-elected in 2007, but towards the end of his presidency, he was forced to step down on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2012, after some military men plotted a coup, leading to his resignation on 8<sup>th</sup> of April and went to Senegal on exile. Amadu Yaya Sanogo led the coup and assumed leadership of the new administration, as the National Committee for Recovering Democracy and Restoring the state (CNRDRE). Some years later, an election was held, and Ibrahim Bubaka Keita was democratically elected as president.<sup>75</sup>

#### **1.1.10 Guinea-Bissau- A Brief History**

This country is located in West Africa, hosting an estimated population of about 1.9 million people, bordering Senegal and Guinea. The country just like other West African countries

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<sup>74</sup>Lecocq Baz, *Disputed desert: Decolonization, competing nationalisms and Tuareg rebellions in Mali*. Brill, 2010.

<sup>75</sup>Leeandre Alexandre, "Political and Economic Impact of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on the Mali Conflict," Diginole.lib.fsu.edu, 2021.

is also an ethnically diverse nation with some of the ethnic groups such as the Fula, who are the largest of the population making up to 29 percent, Balanta, Mandinka and Papel, with many others. There is also a famous group known as Mystical mixed Portuguese and African descent, with a small population of Portuguese and Chinese. The country's official language is Portuguese, backed with two percent of the population who speak it as a first language, while 33 percent speak it as a second language, Creole is the national language widely spoken all across the country with about 50 percent of the population as their first language, and 52 percent as a second language. The country in terms of religion, about 62 percent of the country population are Christian, 38 percent Muslims and non-practiced of any other religion.<sup>76</sup>

The country has good relations with many states and organizations and is also one of the founders of Portuguese Language Countries or Portuguese Commonwealth. The nation has 8 regions, and one autonomous sector, as the regions are further divided into 37 sectors. The country's economy mainly depended on agriculture, such as fish, cashew nuts, groundnuts its exports commodities, with the lowest GDP per capita in the world, as over two-thirds of the population are living below the poverty line. The country's main sport is football and hosts some of the attractive places in the region such as the capital city, Gebu River, Pidgey Guiti memorial and the Museum of African Artifacts.

Before colonialism, the country was part of a famous group called the Ka'abu Empire, which ruled the nation from 1537 to 1867 and by Mali Empire. The country became a colony of Portugal from the late 15 century known as Portuguese Guinea, until 1951, becoming the Overseas Province of Guinea. Due to the bad nature of colonial rule, an armed struggle started in 1956, championed by Amílcar Cabral-led African party for self-rule of Guinea and Cape Verde.<sup>77</sup> But during the early hours of 1973, their leader was assassinated, but the movement keeps on the spirit, and took it to many parts of Guinea. By 1973, independence was declared on 24 December 1973. The co-founders of PAIGC,

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<sup>76</sup>Meyns, Peter, "A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa." JSTOR, (2003): 520-522.

<sup>77</sup>Lopes, Rui, and Víctor Barros, "Amílcar Cabral and the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde: International, Transnational, and Global Dimensions." *The International History Review* 42, no. 6 (2020): 1230-1237.

Luis Cabral, the brother of Amika Cabral, became the first president leading to the execution of thousands of soldiers who were fought along with Portuguese. In 1980, Joao Bana Doviara sized power, and remained the president for 19 years, until 1999. The country's faced many conflicts, until 2014, when an election was held, electing the nation's former finance minister, Jose Mario Vaz, as the only president since Guinea-Bissau independence, who finished his term of office, and was succeeded by Umaro Sissoko Embaló in February 2020.<sup>78</sup>

### **1.1.11 Ivory Coast- A Brief History**

The country is located in West Africa, having the capital city Yamasaki, with economic capital and largest city Abidjan, bordering with Liberia, Guinea, Mali, Burkina Faso and Ghana. Its official language is French, hosting also indigenous languages like Baoule, Dioula, Dan, Any and Cebaara Senufo, with other amounting to about 77 languages spoken in the country. In terms of religion, 42.9 percent are Muslims, 33.9 percent Christians, and many other indigenous religions, making 3.6 percent, and 19 percent of Ivoirians considered themselves to be irreligious. The country is divided into 12 districts, plus 2 districts autonomous cities, the districts are divided into 31 regions, also split into 108 departments, under the departments are 510 sub-prefectures. The country is part of many regional and international organizations like Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, which later became the African Union in 2000, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, le Francophonie, Latin Union and South Atlantic Peace Cooperation Zoon. Looking at other West African nations, Ivory Coast has a very high GDP of about 22.86 billion USD nominal in 2019, the biggest economy in African. It's a cocoa exporting nation in the world and takes the position as fourth-largest exporter of goods in sub-Saharan Africa and also one of the fastest-growing economies in Africa. Its national sport is football and considered

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<sup>78</sup>Mesfin Gebremichael, Elshaddai Mesfin, and Alem Kidane, "Guinea Bissau Conflict Insight," Africa Portal, 2019.

one of the best terms in the world, representing the region in three different world cups, several African nations Cups, winning it two times.<sup>79</sup>

Colonialism started in the country during 16<sup>th</sup> century when Portuguese and British invaded the nation and started trade with the local people. Before the coming of its colonial master, the country was having lots of local conflicts, including religious wars, and became a French colony in 1893, which was controlled by Captain Bingar as governor until 1958, when the country was administered by governors appointed in Paris, using a system called direct centralized administration. The system was not good, as it left only a little room for Ivorian participation in policymaking, empowering only a few Ivoirians in the principle of assimilation. Due to this, a nationalist movement started to grow in the country, pushing for self-rule and independence, which was attained in 1960, Kufuebwani as the first president of Ivory Coast. Not like other West African countries that after gaining independence, started fighting each other's, Ivory Coast was the most prosperous country, especially among the French colonies. The country contributed over 40 percent of the region total exports and was also the third-largest producer of coffee after Brazil and Columbia. By 1979, largest cocoa producer in the world, as well as Africa leading exporter of pineapple and palm oil. This was their success was due to the presence of French, while as in other countries in the region, they kicked out their colonial masters. The president ruled the country under a one-party system, due to that, he began facing criticism of the style of leadership, and his decisions of spending millions of dollars in developing his village, Yamoussoukro, and making it the main capital. Leading to a strike in 1990 by civil servants opposing administration of corruption, leading to years of unrests and civil wars forced the government to adopt multiparty democracy. Kufuebwani later died in 1993, leading to Henry Conan Bedies succeeded him as president, who was reelected in 1995. Henry rule was different changing the status quo by managing ethnic issues with care in 1999 a group of angry soldiers led a coup and removed Bedier, who late fled to France. The leading General Robert Gray was installed as president, who fought very hard to reduce corruption and crime, which were very rampant in the country. The following year,

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<sup>79</sup>Thomas J. Bassett, "The Development of Cotton in Northern Ivory Coast, 1910–19651," *The Journal of African History* 29, no. 2 (1988): 267–84.

Lauran Bagbo won the presidential elections and became the president. The elections were peaceful, later on, led to the outbreak of a civil war in September 2002 and ended in March 2007, after many peace accords, and an election was held in November the same year, leading to former Prime Minister Alessiani Waterer being winner. But supporters of Bagbo did not accept the results and was re-elected due to Waterer supports from the international community and was recognized as the lawful winner, leading to another civil war between 2010 and 2011, ended in April 2011, and Bagbo was taken into custody, later was taken to the International Criminal Court in The Hague on January 2016. But was acquitted and discharged by the court as the first former head of state and was given a conditional release not to do anything with politic in January 2019.<sup>80</sup>

### **1.1.12 Senegal- A Brief History**

Senegal is a country in West Africa, bordering Mali, Mauritania, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau, also has a maritime border shears with Cape Verde and the capital in Dakar, the political-economic city. Its population in 2018 is about 16 million people and was named after the Senegal River running through east and north of the country. Has a decent profile in regional and international organizations, and was also a member of UN Security Council from 1988 to 1989, again from 2015 to 2016. Has a strong tie with France, the United States, ECOWAS and AU. The country's main foreign exchange mainly comes from fish, phosphates, groundnuts, tourism, and services, and also a major route for shipping and transport. The country has a very good GDP of about 24.13 billion USD in 2018, and its tourism sector is one of the best in Africa. The country is a secular state, but Islam is by far the predominant religion, accounting for nearly 95.9 percent of the population, while Christians make up about 4.1 percent of the population, as 1 percent are Animists. The country's most popular sports are football and wrestling, football being the number one, in 2012 and 2019 the national team took second place at the African Cup of Nations respectively. It was colonized by France, therefore the official language is French, while the Wolof language is a major lingua franca, the largest ethnic group among many others in the country. Before Europeans set foot in this country it used to have great empires

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<sup>80</sup> Josef Gugler and William Flanagan, "Urbanization and Social Change in West Africa," Book.google.com, 1978.

among which was Takrur and Jolof Empires. The Taurus kingdom has a very old ancient background in West Africa, which strived along with Ghana Empire during 800 1285 A.D, a major trade centre for gold and salt were also big rivals. Occasionally, both empires used to clash but were prosperous not until late 13<sup>th</sup> century when Mali Empire took over. The Jolof empire used to rule part of Senegal from 1350 to 1549, history says was founded by the great king known as Boroba, the kingdom was very strong, and was divided into five coastal kingdoms, who paid tributes to the state of Jolof city.<sup>81</sup>

Senegal was colonized by French and the main French colonized administration from 1914 to 20<sup>th</sup> June 1960, till its independence day. Leopold Sadar Soengore became the country first president, who was a scholar, had European education in France, and a prominent poet, and personally drafted the Senegalese national anthem. He ruled the country for several years until 1981 when he handed over power to his hand-picked successor named Abdul Duduf, he remained there until 2000, when opposition candidate Abdullahi Wadi was elected president, under Senegalese Democratic Party. He also ruled the country in two terms, and went for a controversial third term, but was defeated by Marcusol of the Alliance for the republic, who was re-elected in 2019.<sup>82</sup>

### **1.1.13 Togo- A Brief History**

Togo is located in West Africa, bordering Burkina Faso, Benin and Ghana, its capital city Lomé and one of the smallest countries in Africa and one of the narrowest in the world. Its population is about 7.9 million people, with about 39 different languages nations, but French is the official language, and Ewe and Kabiye are the most spoken indigenous languages in the country. The country is a secular state, whereas 44 percent of the population are Christians, 20 percent Muslims and 33 percent traditional religious beliefs, the remaining are non-believers. The country has strong ties with Europe, especially France and Germany, Cuba, North Korea among others. The country is blessed with natural

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<sup>81</sup>Andrew F. Clark, "Imperialism, Independence, and Islam in Senegal and Mali," *Africa Today*, 1999, 149–67.

<sup>82</sup>Fiona McLaughlin, "Senegal: The Emergence of a National Lingua Franca," *Language and National Identity in Africa* 7, Books.google.com, (2008): 79–97.



resources, like phosphate and has well-developed export such as cocoa, textile, cash crop and cotton, which is the biggest export commodity. The country GDP is 5.36 in 2018 billion USD. Football is the most famous sport and is rich in tourism, and part of different international organizations, like UN, AU, and ECOWAS among others.<sup>83</sup>

This country came to the limelight during the 15 century when Portuguese explorers set foot in the region and started trade relations with locals. In 1808, it became a German colony, after the First World War, French and British invaded in 1929 became a British colony in the west and France in the east. On 27<sup>th</sup> of April 1960, the country became independent and Sylvanus Olympo was the first president in the first general elections. Just like other states, the country experienced a lot of coups led by Ayadema to stay as president till his death on 5<sup>th</sup> of February 2005, as the longest-serving leader in Africa, after 38 years in power. His son was selected by the military, and became the president, leading to widespread condemnation from the international community, with lots of pressure, he left power and an election was held, which he won.<sup>84</sup>

#### **1.1.14 Niger- A Brief History**

Niger is located in Western Africa, got its name after the Niger River, bordering on all sides by Libya, Nigeria, Chad, Benin Republic, Mali, Burkina Faso and Algeria. This country is the largest in Western Africa, with over 80 percent of the land situated in the Sahara Desert. Its population is over 22 million people in 2018, with the main capital and largest city Niamey. Also with multiple ethnic societies such as Hausa the largest, second Zarmasungai, Fula, Kanuri and Taureg among others. The country's official language is French, due to colonization and the second language for most Nigerians who speak their dialect as first language depending on the ethnic group. The majority of Nigerians practiced Islam, been around the people since 10<sup>th</sup> century, comprising 99 percent, while Christians and Animists cover the remaining 1 percent. Niger was ruled by Mali and Songhai empires

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<sup>83</sup>Philip de Barros, "A Comparison of Early and Later Iron Age Societies in the Bassar Region of Togo," *The World of Iron*, 2013, 10–21.

<sup>84</sup>Appiagyei-Atua Kwadwo, "Political developments in Post-Eyadema Togo: A critical analysis." *Human Rights Brief* 12, no. 3 (2005): 6.

before colonialism, had influenced the region and was in total control of all the other empires.<sup>85</sup>

The country has a moderate foreign policy with the west, Islamic world and non-aligned countries, member of United Nations and regional organizations in African like the African Union. It made up of 7 regions, one capital district subdivided into 36 different departments and broken into hundreds of communes of varying types. Its economy greatly relies on subsistence crops, livestock and uranium as one of the largest deposits in the world. The country's GDP in 2018 stood at 9.29 billion USD.<sup>86</sup>

With so many other kingdoms existing in the pre-colonial era, in 19<sup>th</sup> century, was colonized by France and after decades, became an autonomous state within the French community in 1958. The country finally gained independence on 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1960, with Amadu Dirie became the first president, making the state a one-party state for over fourteen years. During that time, the country just like other states in West Africa after independence went through lots of coups until a new constitution was formed in 1993, making the nation a multi-party democracy. In the same year, Mahamani Usmani became the president elected. His presidency was also faced with political turbulence, leading to another civil war by the military, and removed him from power in 1996. Making their leader colonial Ibrahim Barry as president, who was also assassinated at an airport in 1999. The history of this country continues to experience coups and changes in government to this day.<sup>87</sup>

### **1.1.15 Guinea- A Brief History**

The Republic of Guinea is in Western Africa, bordering Liberia, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone and was a land of hunters who ended up becoming farmers. The country is a multi-ethnic region, with mostly Fula and Mandinka. The country practices Islam as its main religion, with over 90 percent over other religions like Christianity and indigenous religions. During

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<sup>85</sup>Fuglestad Finn, *A history of Niger 1850-1960*. Cambridge University Press. 1983.

<sup>86</sup>Alexandre Blake et al, "Investigating Persistent Measles Dynamics in Niger and Associations with Rainfall," *Journal of the Royal Society Interface* 17, no. 169 (2020): 20200480.

<sup>87</sup>Jibrin Ibrahim, "Political Exclusion, Democratization and Dynamics of Ethnicity in Niger," *Africa Today* 41, no. 3 (1994): 15–39.

12 century, the religion of Islam has introduced to the locals from the northern traders of Berber al Mohaved Empire of Morocco and ended up becoming the largest regions majority faith to date. During that time, Guinea was also under Mali Empire and hosed several of its important towns, which and other Malian Empire ended up destroying in 17<sup>th</sup> century. Which also saw Fula people waged Jihad and covered out an Islamic state in making as a trading ground with Europeans on the coast. The country is blessed with large reserves of bauxite, a rock from aluminum is extracted, and other natural resources as well.

The French went into the country and colonial them but was facing a lot of resistance from the forces of the great Samori Toure in the Mandingo wars who ruled from 1830 to 1900. The French ended up beating Toure forces, and guinea became part of the French colonies and built up the agriculture industries. Among many West African nations, Guinea was one of the first to gained independence in 1958, with Ahmed Sekou Toure as its first president, the great-grandson of Samar Hitori. He was a dictator and figured out a highly effective technique to maintain political powers, by making sure that his enemies did not challenge him. Anyone that stands against his rule was murder or forced to leave the country, just like many tyrants, he began to see enemies everywhere and was killing as many as he could before he die with a heart attack in 1984. Leading to the following years, Guinea managed to recover from the damages left by Samar, but the things remained rather difficult under the leadership of Alpha Conde, who was elected in 2010, who vowed to combat corruption that he had been accused of. In 2014, there was an outbreak of Ebola and the following years saw increased investment in the Guinea mining sector. Today, the country is having a low level of human rights violation and is experiencing rapid development in several areas, through a reformation of better day to day ruling of one of West Africa finest.<sup>88</sup>

#### **1.1.16 Mauritania-A Brief History**

Mauritania is a country in Western Africa, known as the 28<sup>th</sup> largest country in the world and 11<sup>th</sup> sovereignty state in the region and also the largest country laying below the latitude of 1000 meters and most of its land lies in the Sahara Desert, bordering Algeria, Mali and

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<sup>88</sup>Mohamed Saliou Camara, "The History of Guinea," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, 2020.

Senegal. The name Mauritania was derived from the ancient Babary kingdom of the nation, presently located in Morocco and Algeria. During this time through many Islamic wars, the kingdom was conquered and the religion was widely spread in the country with the majority practiced leading to its being The Islamic Republic of Mauritania. The country is also home to indigenous locals, who were living in the country, until the European invasion during the scramble for independence in 19<sup>th</sup> century, becoming a French colony. After many years of colonial rule, the country became independent from French rule on 28 November 1960, as many other West African countries were also striving and attaining independence.<sup>89</sup> The country GDP in 2018 is 18.117 billion USD, which greatly depends on the country's natural resources like oil, gold and iron. In terms of sport, football is the widely most popular and famous game in the country and has participated in different competitions in and outside the nation.

Since the country gained independence, it has experienced lots of coups and became under military rule, which most recent war can be traced from 2008 General Muhammad Abdul Aziz made the country conduct general elections, which he won the following year in 2009 and also 2014. Abdul Aziz being elected as president of the country was a landmark as the first person to be elected into office peacefully since its independence.<sup>90</sup>

## **1.2 Pakistan's Bilateral Relations with West African States**

Pakistan according to many analyses should make proper use of its longstanding ties with West African countries and practice effective economic diplomacy to elevate their relations to new scales. When reflecting on the long-term history relationship between West African countries and longtime engagement in the fight against colonialism, cordiality, understanding and mutual trust can lead to a brighter future. Looking at sacrifices Pakistan has rendered to peace and tranquility in the region and the fight against terrorism in Nigeria among others. This can be seen in the military cooperation with some of the states in West

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<sup>89</sup>William Eagleton, "The Islamic Republic of Mauritania," *Middle East Journal* 19, no. 1 (1965): 45–53.

<sup>90</sup>Cédric Jourde, "The President Is Coming to Visit!': Dramas and the Hijack of Democratization in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania," *Comparative Politics*, 2005, 421–40.

Africa, as the training of the Sierra Leone army, sale of Aircraft and JF-17 Thunder Jet to Nigeria and with trade, Pakistan has also earned over 4.18 billion USD under AU during the 2019-20 calendar years only.<sup>91</sup> With this amount of money accumulated in just 2019 to 2020, with all the competition from great nations like China, USA and France among others. Pakistan has only strong relations with North Africa, which most people may say is based on religious lines. In the future, Pakistan having bilateral relations with West African could see a booming effect on its economy, as the region is a hot spot now, and holds the largest population in Africa. It is clear that most West African states need special focus on the promotion of exports, trade, investment and domestic production, very important for growth, and Pakistan would need to priorities its foreign policy towards West Africa.

According to Ambassador Dr. Shaukat (Rtd Niger and UN Mission in SL) <sup>92</sup>Pakistan has enjoyed long-term relations with Western Africa and renders many help in different ways. Mentioning during colonialism, Pakistan was standing strong against and one of advocates to for racism in world. Pakistan has helped in various wars in the region, starting with Niger, Liberia and Sierra Leone more especially. Pakistan has very strong and organized military personnel and that their Presence in Sierra Leone was greatly felt by international community. He even mentioned about hospitality of Sierra Leonean leading his taking his family and education in the country he said is one of best in the region. Pakistan focused on Niger political issues which have taken long.

In an online meeting held by Foreign Minister in Islamabad Qureshi pointed out to the different diplomats that were present by saying that the government of Pakistan in recent years is committed to developing economic ties with AfCTFA, to boost people-to-people and business links. Qureshi also discussed the topic of how bilateral relations could develop economic cooperation prospects bring out the importance of Pakistan and how its attaching

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<sup>91</sup>Ejaz Hussain and Muhammad Furqan Rao, "China–Pakistan Economic Cooperation: The Case of Special Economic Zones (SEZs)," *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 13, no. 4 (2020): 453–72.

<sup>92</sup> Ambassador Dr.HaroonShoukat, (Rtd Niger and UN Mission in LS), interview was conducted on zoom at 1:PST 5<sup>th</sup> July 2021.

relations with Africa and also the commitments of the government in developing trade ties to explore untapped economic potential of the state. The country is very eager to promote bilateral cooperation with African various fields like agriculture, health, technology and tourism. Pointing out the importance of Africa and calling the continent the future, mainly due to 54 countries and a population of 1.3 billion.<sup>93</sup> He further mentioned Pakistan is planning new diplomatic ties and develop strategic cooperation to open new embassies, policies and encouraged the Pakistani diplomats in the African region to promote and also strengthen the economic partnership. Pakistan announced to establish another diplomatic mission in Djibouti.<sup>94</sup>

In a meeting held by OIC Foreign Minister Makhdoom Shah Qureshi purposed, looked at economic diplomacy with Pakistani envoys posted in Algeria, Kenya, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Niger, Libya, Mauritius, Morocco, South Africa, Sudan, Senegal, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Tunisia to find ways to deeding ties with all the stated countries above. The main purpose of this meeting was to underline the shift from geopolitics to geo-economics, as stated by the foreign minister. Urged the Pakistani envoys to develop mutually understand the importance of economic partnerships with African countries, especially focusing on trade promotion, financial inflows, investments, tourism and technology transfer needed by most countries in the region. He gave an example of Pakistan's trade with African countries which amount to 4.18 billion USD in 2019-20. And how it has significantly increased compared to the previous years with about 1.38 billion USD despite Corona challenges. He concluded by stating that, the success came due to the Pakistan-Africa Trade Development Conference which was held in Nairobi in January 2020.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>Qureshi Khalida, "PAKISTAN AND THE SINO-INDIAN DISPUTE—II." *Pakistan Horizon* 16, no. 1 (1963): 61-70.

<sup>94</sup>Jean-Pierre Cabestan, "China's Military Base in Djibouti: A Microcosm of China's Growing Competition with the United States and New Bipolarity," *Journal of Contemporary China* 29, no. 125 (2020): 731-47.

<sup>95</sup>"Qureshi Meets African Leaders on Sidelines of OIC Summit," *The Express Tribune*, Accessed November 28, 2020.

This success story can be rooted in the development part of Pakistan Engage Africa Policy, which aims at building ties with the continent by expanding diplomatic economic interaction and develop a strategic partnership. This was held in 2019, Prime Minister Imran Khan also urged Pakistani diplomats to focus on African countries and improve ties with the region, especially in trade.<sup>96</sup>

### **1.2.1 Pakistan's Relations with Anglophone West African Countries**

Relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan can be said to exist for a long time, as Pakistan has rendered a lot of aid and support to Sierra Leone and through different international organizations. Looking at the historical foundation of Pakistan, it is clear that the country has always stood tall especially in areas dealing with colonization, violation of human rights, apartheid and religious freedom, but most importantly respecting sovereignty of all independent states. Pakistan was the first country to congratulate Sierra Leone on 27 April 1961 independent day. The country also went further to provide teachers for Sierra Leone due to challenges of lack of trained personnel in that area. One can also bring the great impacts of Pakistan peacekeepers in Sierra Leone Civil War and their contributions to lasting peace the country is enjoying recently. More on these are explained in detail in the subsequent chapters. As situations are going on in the global market, states are on their toes to be economically dependent and one of the ways to attain these goals is to tie good relations with other states, as one can not only limit its activities internally to reach the stated goal.

Nigeria and Pakistan have good relations and maintains bilateral relation through their High Commission in both countries. Nigeria has a Consulate office in Karachi and a High Commission in the main capital Islamabad. Pakistan also has a High Commission in Abuja which shows how both countries are close and the level of diplomatic relation between them. The countries are mostly involved in import and exports with goods worth millions of dollars. In 2010 alone, bilateral trade account for over 56 million between both countries. Both countries started bilateral relations just after Nigeria got independence, but were not

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<sup>96</sup>Ali Ahsan, "Just for Kicks: Football as a Potential Harmoniser in the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor," *Journal of Global Sport Management*, 2021, 1–19.

involved in too much trade. Everything changed in January 2009 when Nigeria Minister of Defence made a public notice on closer relations with Pakistan based of military cooperation, training and technological transfer.<sup>97</sup> Nigeria along, known as the giant of Africa, looking at its land size, population and natural resources, has expressed interest to create strong cooperation and strengthen economic ties with the Organization of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a boost for Pakistan. This was expressed by the Secretary-General of ASEAN H.E Le Luong Minh and Nigeria's Ambassador H.E Muhammad Lawal Sulaiman, presenting a letter of Credence to the organization on 8<sup>th</sup> May 2015. The Ambassador went on to state the economic potential which Nigeria is capable of, as current Africa's largest economy and hosting of more than 170 million people. He encouraged the organization to cooperate with the Economic Community of West Africa, consisting of different states in the region and establishing economic integration among its member countries, would promote growth in different areas. In return to the response to the Nigeria Ambassador, the ASEAN Ambassador started by congratulating Lawal on his new office and put to him that the organization is very important in the transitional period towards the continent. And further stated the organization has been working on its post-2015 vision to expand external relations other countries, including those in Africa.<sup>98</sup>

Ghana being the first country to get independence in West African was supported by Pakistan during their colonial struggle and went into relations right away. Ghana mainly exports gold, oil, diamonds, bauxite and cocoa and through these, the country is developing in a fast pace in recently. Pakistan and Ghana trade relations can be said to be low, due to challenges of political will, interest among others. In 2014, they were able to get the sum

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<sup>97</sup>Syed Salahuddin Ahmed, "Pakistan-Nigeria Relations: A Study in Bilateral Relations," *Pakistan Horizon* 40, no. 2 (1987): 84–94.

<sup>98</sup>Hem C. Basnet and Kamal P. Upadhyaya, "Impact of Oil Price Shocks on Output, Inflation and the Real Exchange Rate: Evidence from Selected ASEAN Countries," *Applied Economics* 47, no. 29 (2015): 3078–91.



of 36 million USD in exports and imports bilateral trade between Ghana and Pakistan.<sup>99</sup> Pakistan used to have a High Commission in Ghana, but due to reason best known to them, was closed. Recently, 16 countries in Africa were highlighted as priority areas due to their current economic growth and other 39 linking with others. Pakistan picked 6 of these countries to established diplomatic mission with immediate effects, which Ghana is among (Ghana, Ivory Coast, Angola, Rwanda, Uganda and Djibouti.<sup>100</sup> In 2014, both founded a joint Pakistan and Ghana Association (PGA) to facilitate short-term business and protect nationals. The association was created to strengthen the relations between them and look into the interest areas of both sides. This idea was brought up by his Excellency Lt. Gen. (Retd) Ashraf Saleem, who was the High Commissioner of Pakistan in Nigeria visit to Ghana the same year.<sup>101</sup> Ghana and Pakistan are getting better as both countries are trying to strengthening cooperation in various fields as said in a meeting held in Islamabad by the Honorary Consul General of Ghana Dr. Shahid Rasheed Butt. The Consul started by highlighting the different Pakistani companies in Ghana, investment and policies are as good and liberal. In relation to Ghana's economy, he said has a diverse and rich resource base, including manufacturing and export of digital technology, automotive and ship construction such as hydrocarbons and industrial minerals which have given Ghana the status of one of the highest Gross Domestic Products (GDP) per capita in West Africa. Ghana is developing at a fast pace and its GDP growth is impressive, therefore, it requires experts in every field as a golden opportunity for Pakistan to step in.<sup>102</sup> In his concluding

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<sup>99</sup>Abdul Jalil Khan, Parvez Azim, and Shabib Haider Syed, "The Impact of Exchange Rate Volatility on Trade: A Panel Study on Pakistan's Trading Partners," *The Lahore Journal of Economics* 19, no. 1 (2014): 31.

<sup>100</sup>Abrar S. Chaudhury et al., "Emerging Meta-Organisations and Adaptation to Global Climate Change: Evidence from Implementing Adaptation in Nepal, Pakistan and Ghana," *Global Environmental Change* 38 (2016): 243–57.

<sup>101</sup>Abdulai, Abdul-Fatahi, Khushnood Anwar, Ahmed Abdullah, Lyndon Murphy, Atsede Woldie, Brychan Thomas, and Cath Tarling, "AMI Conference 2017 Best Academic Paper A Comparative Study of Financial Entrepreneurship in Ghana, Pakistan and Yemen." *4 A Comparative Study of Financial Entrepreneurship in Ghana, Pakistan and Yemen* 4, 2017.

<sup>102</sup>Fosu, Augustin K., *Achieving development success: Strategies and lessons from the developing world*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

remarks, emphasized if Pakistan could create stronger bilateral ties with Ghana, can earn huge foreign exchange by exporting manpower to Ghana and offers numerous business opportunities for the business community.

### **1.2.2 Pakistan's Relations with Francophone West African Countries**

Another country that has strong ties with Pakistan is Senegal, which is hosting one of the Pakistani Embassy in the region. In a meeting held in 2016, both countries created strong bilateral relations especially in the areas of trade and defense to further strengthen the long-term relationship that existed between the two Muslim states. During the discussion, Pakistan further expressed its willingness to offer to cooperate in the areas of intelligence sharing, control of human and drug trafficking and also capacity building dealing with counter-terrorism for Senegal. These offers were made by the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif in a meeting with Senegal's President Macky Sall on a one-to-one meeting held at the Prime minister's house in Islamabad. The Prime Minister in his concluding remarks clearly pointed out that the country is very happy to offer scholarships for Senegal students in different education fields like training in prestigious institutions and was ready to help in other technical areas. Pakistan on a yearly basis through its bilateral relations with Senegal, get a trading volume of 30.469 million USD.<sup>103</sup> Senegal and Pakistan hold one of the strongest bilateral relations in Western Africa and have embassies on both sides. They are very good friend's especially in relations of Muslim background, wherein Senegal is a Muslim dominated country, the same goes to Pakistan. Another clear example can be drawn from recent development where both countries signed a bilateral agreement for the Abolition of Visa Requirement for Diplomat, Official and Service Passports. This great event took place in Dakar by Pakistan Ambassador Dr. Ali Ahmed Arian and the Foreign Minister of Senegal Mrs. Aissata Tall Sall on 27 April

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<sup>103</sup>Qazi Muhammad Adnan Hye, Shahida Wizarat, and Wee-Yeap Lau, "The Impact of Trade Openness on Economic Growth in China: An Empirical Analysis," *The Journal of Asian Finance, Economics, and Business* 3, no. 3 (2016): 27–37.

2021.<sup>104</sup> Before this agreement, there was a joint Military and Technical Cooperation Agreement which was signed between the two countries in February 2021 other fields like agriculture, tourism and education among others.<sup>105</sup> Similar meeting took place on 24 July 2017 led by the Federal minister for Commerce Dastgir Khan and other senior member to Senegal for finding ways of creating extended relations with other countries in the region. The Minister asked to seek the support of Senegal as a link to them with ECOWAS for cordial trade relations and are ready to help developed the areas of agriculture, investment, textiles, education, technology, pharmaceutical and tourism among others.

Niger and Pakistan based on their religious history, started bilateral relations just after the country's independence and from that day until today, both are enjoying cordial relations. Pakistan has never left Niger behind especially throughout their political struggles and is also involved in the crisis hampering the country. Recently, Prime Minister of Niger HE Brig Rafini visited Pakistan in November 2020 where both states talked about issues of security, trade and led to an exchange program. As 100 Nigerien student awarded university scholarships to study in Pakistan and other issues of textile industry, agriculture health among others were discussed. Pakistan has an Embassy in Niamey, but Niger does not have a stable Embassy in Pakistan due to political reason. In recent development, the long-term relations that Pakistan and Niger have enjoyed for decades, leading to a business meeting between the two this year 2021, on trade boost. The meeting was held at the capital Islamabad, with the presence of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCCI) President Sardar Yasir Ilyas Khan. Who in his speech encouraged both countries to explore business matchmaking and partnerships in the good potential to enhance growth in areas of agriculture, food productions, auto industry, mining, textile and pharmaceuticals among others. The President went on to state that, developing close cooperation with Niger is a boost for Pakistan to get better access to the remaining countries in African market, especially in the areas for more trade and exports. The meeting was also attended by

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<sup>104</sup>Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan, "Pakistan and Senegal Sign Agreement on Visa Abolition for Holders of Diplomatic, Official and Service Passport," *Dispatch News Desk* (blog), April 29, 2021.

<sup>105</sup>"Aïssata Tall Sall (@AissataOfficiel) / Twitter," Twitter, accessed August 11, 2021.

Niger's Minister for Investment Zakaria Wergo, Secretary Industry Abdoulaye Boubacar, a prominent businessman Saleem Gado Sabo and others in the delegation.<sup>106</sup>

Pakistan and Guinea are very close friends just like other states in the region. Pakistan was very clever to go into relations with Guinea just after their independence and from this day, though there is no embassy between the two, they are always open to each other in terms of trade, education and other technical supports. One notable example to show how old these countries have been friends is the meeting held on 25 August 2005 where they agreed to harmonize their positions at UN and other international forum. The two countries promised to consult each other in any decision they want to take in all the organizations they are members. In the meeting, Pakistan agreed to offer military training courses for Guinean armed forces in peacekeeping, promote mutual understanding, strengthening their bilateral relations, exchange programs, agriculture and other technical support among others.<sup>107</sup>

Pakistan does not have an embassy in Guinea-Bissau, but has a residence at Dakar and both countries have good economic ties like other states in the region. In a recent visit of Ambassador Arain to Guinea –Bissau is clear evidence on how both countries relations still stand strong. In the meeting, Arain met Guinea-Bissau President His Excellency Mr. Umaro Sissoc Embalo and presented to his message from the Pakistani Prime Minister relating to building more relations on trade, education, agriculture, defense and technology. Which was accepted by the President and promised to give his best support and the country would love to see such developments.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>Ogunjimi Lucas Olusegun, "VEF Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences 4 (2): 195-199, 2007," *Pak. J. Soc. Sci* 4, no. 2 (2007): 195–99.

<sup>107</sup>Ramesh Chandra Thakur, Chiyuki Aoi, and Cedric De Coning, *Unintended Consequences of Peacekeeping Operations* (United Nations University Press Tokyo, 2007).

<sup>108</sup> Aina Maria Waseem, "Ambassador Arain Presents Credentials to President of guinea-Bissau," Shutterstick, October 29, 2020, 5.06 pm

## **Chapter Two**

### **Sierra Leone-Pakistan Relations: Past to Present**

Since Sierra Leone and Pakistan do share several factors in common like freedom from imperialism, struggle for survival, economic crisis, political uncertainty faced several times, corruption, uneven growth due to inequitable distribution of resources, and developing rather under-developed socioeconomic conditions, providing both states common grounds to collaborate and to formulate policies for overcoming issues and utilize combined efforts to deal with challenges in the way of development and sustainable growth. Nonetheless, Sierra Leone and Pakistan are driving towards collaborative efforts and sustainable socioeconomic growth as shared destiny, both states need to ensure their maximum efforts to reach their mutual goals of improving relations and socio-economic development. Since China has emerged lately as a major catalyst to bring states closer and letting them introduce with idea of economic connectivity despite their physical distances, the idea of inter-continental cooperation can bring massive change to relations between these two countries.

This chapter has been divided into three major parts, history of Sierra Leone, Sierra Leone from inception to the end of century, and mutual relations in the new millennium for purpose of reviewing historical relations between the two countries. This chapter looks at different aspects like different phases of Sierra Leone Civil War, an outbreak of the war, the impact of Pakistan peacekeeping in achieving peace, their relationship under three main international organizations besides discussing factors influencing relations between states, volume of trade between Sierra Leone and Pakistan while analyzing relations between the two countries to understand conditions of cooperation.

#### **2.1 History of Sierra Leone**

Sierra Leone has a unique historical background which can be discussed as pre-colonial Sierra Leone and Sierra Leone under colonialism which left strong imprints over norms and value system of the country and mindset of people.

### 2.1.1 Pre-Colonial Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone had been inhabited and settled for thousands of years before European invasions first Portuguese, Spanish and then its colonial master British. Sierra Leone was inhabited by coastal people, Temne, Limba and Bulom (now Shebro) and other Africans who immigrated from inland including Mende, Vai and Loko.<sup>109</sup> During those days, local people had their administrative system, which consisted of chiefdoms or kingdoms with established councils headed by elders (experienced men). They had their own training centers known as the secret societies, as the Bondo Society was for young girls (preparing them for adulthood or marriages), and the Poro Society for young boys (manhood). These societies used to help in training young girls and boys in different perspectives or duties they were to perform in society. As Bondo Society prepare girls on how to cook, take good care of home and husband, and also respect others, while Poro Society trained boys to become real men, hunting, and warriors among other responsibilities. Local people used to have their way of construction of houses, cloth making, cooking among others skills. These societies still do exist among the local people of the country.<sup>110</sup>

These normative settings started coming to an end, when Portuguese discovered land in early 1400s and named the country Serra Lyoa because land was wild-looking like leonine mountains. A writer in his article stated that birth of colonialism in Sierra Leone started right away with arrival of Portuguese, marking that time as beginning of country's pre-colonialist history. His viewpoint in article was primarily for Creoles ethnic group, who were freed slaves liberated and settled from 1787 onward. Fyfe went further to mention views of British and other foreign visitors and evaluated many views by concluding that one of obstacles to country's underdevelopment is caused by colonial rule. He mentioned two of those kinds of people, Richard Burton and Winwood Reade, who ridiculed Creoles,

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<sup>109</sup>John Cartwright, *"Politics in Sierra Leone 1947-1967,"* University of Toronto Press, 2017, 193.

<sup>110</sup>MuanasiaLumeh, "The Dynamics of Colonialism, Political Division and the Militariat in Sierra Leone and Their Impact on Law and Society," *California Western International Law Journal* 40, no. 1 (2009): 30.

but influenced an Anthropological Society of London in 1863, proving inferiority of non-Europeans.<sup>111</sup>

The Portuguese started rolling the ball by trading on southern coast with Temne and Sherbro by buying European goods like alcohol, guns among others in return for slaves. At that time, Portuguese primary traded with coastal people, but some of them broke ranks and settled with local people, traded with them and also went into marriages. During early 1600s, one of Portuguese named Balthasar Barriera began to preach Christianity to local people, baptized several of them, including kings. He was first to introduce Christianity in Sierra Leone. However Islam was widely accepted religion based on similarity of their cultural heritage. In 18<sup>th</sup> century, two ethnic Fula and Mende from Guinea traded with Temne and converted them into Islam.<sup>112</sup> Islam continues to spread even though British were Christians by 1961, there was 35 percent Muslims, grew to 60 percent till 2000 and 71 percent in 2008. In recent, Muslim population has grown to over 78 percent.<sup>113</sup>

### **2.1.2 Sierra Leone under Colonialism**

The British, later recognized as colonial master of Republic of Sierra Leone, in seventeenth century came as traders and they set up a trading post among Sherbros in 1628. The British made trade agreements with chiefs or kings of Sherbro built a factory in northeast coast of Sherbro Inland and were paying rent to locals.

Arther Abraham mentions an additional penetration of Portuguese, in contrast to Fyfe. He talked about Portuguese trade relations with local people, especially Temne and also mentioned Mani invasion. As explained in previous chapter, these people came from Mali with exile of Queen Masarico and battled their way to Sierra Leone. Coming to Sierra

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<sup>111</sup>Christopher Fyfe, *Sierra Leone, 1787-1987: Two Centuries of Intellectual Life* (Manchester University Press, 1987).

<sup>112</sup>Jalloh Alusine, "African Entrepreneurship: Muslim Fula Merchants in Sierra Leone (Ohio RIS Africa Series) Amazon.Com: Books," accessed August 11, 2021.

<sup>113</sup>Tad Stahnke and Robert C. Blitt, "The Religion-State Relationship and the Right to Freedom of Religion or Belief: A Comparative Textual Analysis of the Constitutions of Predominantly Muslim Countries," *Geo. j. Int'l L.* 36 (2004): 947.

Leone, Mani were not only involved in fighting with Temne and other tribes had an encounter with Soso who used a technique by poisoning food and left it behind, when Mani came and saw no one but food, they ate it, which crippled them and retreated. They did not give up but went to peninsula and form four kingdoms namely, Bourn, Selbora, Bullom and Logo. He has also mentioned Krio coming in eighteenth century and then establishing of Freetown, after abolition of slave trade on March 25, 1807.<sup>114</sup>

Colonial rule was sole reason for disunity between indigenous people and free slaves from Europe and Americas. After colonial rule started, administration divided people in terms of holding government offices based on their (British) interest. In 1787, with arrival of free slaves who were mostly soldiers from British army, settled on northern end peninsula with local tribes like Temne and Susu. In some years that follow in 1808, Sierra Leone was used by British as a principal naval base for an anti-slavery squadron operating in western African waters.<sup>115</sup> Later in 1896, territory of modern Sierra Leone was declared a Protectorate of British, which was based on a separate and disparate development of two areas, also stated in TRC report in 2004. The colonial investment was mainly built around Crown Colony making Krios as heads of all administrative matters as against local people. The only legitimate claim British gave for dispute between Colony and Protectorate was on education differences, not conceding vast majority of territories and population belonged to Protectorate. To add salt to injury, British divided Protectorate into small chiefdoms and then controlled them indirectly, by giving important positions to paramount chiefs, leading to widespread violence within rival ruling families for economic gains. Appointment of these chiefs was done through autocratic means, coming to office were only serving interests of British and themselves.

The British who had arrived in Sierra Leone in 1700s, after manipulating local people, started establishing their own rule or administration. Since slave trade had been abolished

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<sup>114</sup>Gearoid Millar and Jesse Lecy, "Disciplinary Divides in Post-Conflict Justice and Peace: Tracking If and How We Share Ideas," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 10, no. 3 (2016): 302–20.

<sup>115</sup>Gearoid Millar, "Local Evaluations of Justice through Truth Telling in Sierra Leone: Postwar Needs and Transitional Justice," *Human Rights Review* 12, no. 4 (2011): 515–35.



in 1807, there were two sets of people with different cultural backgrounds about whom Barbara Harrell-Bond describes as native people and non-native people. According to Harrell-Bond, native people were indigenous people and ones from different parts of Africa, while non-native people were freed slaves and also their descendants, further stated that these people enjoyed more privileges as compared to their native counterparts, under British colonial administration. This led to displacement of natives, and a decline in their economic status below elite of non-native. The natives were in few to achieve status on par with that of non-Natives who had permanent roles in government offices and education. Her writings are very important as she has also mentioned about administrative settings of local people at that time, before colonial rule, by 1860, whereas main capital, Freetown had already been occupied by different ethnic communities.<sup>116</sup>

### **2.1.3 Political Struggle of Sierra Leone, (1947-1961)**

Sierra Leone used to be known as Athens of West Africa, with first University Fourah Bay College in 1827, founded by Church Missionary Society (CMS) and most of educated black Africans like Isaac Wallace-Johnson, John Karefa-Smart, and Sir Isaac Milton among others.<sup>117</sup> The university was even affiliated with the University of Durham in England in 1876 and was further recognized by other institutions with the likes of Academia of Athens in Ancient Greece where some of the greatest western cultural and intellectual writers in history lived.<sup>118</sup> The political struggle started during colonial era, as three main political parties that were led by some of the most educated people at that time, Sierra Leone People's Party, led by Margai (Mende), All Peoples Party, led By Siaka Stevens (Temne), and led by Isaac Wallace-Johnson (Krio), under Colony and Protectorate. An election was held in 1963, where Milton Margai was elected as Chief Minister. This election was held due to all political parties coming together, together with paramount chiefs in 1951 to form SLPP and to negotiate with British and also educated Krio-

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<sup>116</sup>Harrell-Bond, Barbara E, " *Native" and" non-native" in Sierra Leone Law*. American Universities Field Staff, 1977.

<sup>117</sup>Paracka Jr, Daniel J, *The Athens of West Africa: A History of International Education at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone*. Routledge, 2004.

<sup>118</sup>Y. Kanpolat, "The Mission of Academia in the Age of Science," *Prilozi* 32, no. 2 (2011): 7–10.

dominated colony based in Freetown for independence. In succeeding, they requested for the drafting of a new constitution, which united the separate Colonial and Protectorate legislations and ministerial powers, which led to Margai becoming Chief Minister. Subsequently, leading to further development in May 1957 Sierra Leone witnessed its first parliamentary election where SLPP was the most popular, especially with support from paramount chiefs, and Sir Margai was re-elected as Chief Minister by a landslide.<sup>119</sup> With some powers held by local people now, Milton Margai was able to persuade all political parties to accept constitutional conferences for independence on April 27 1961, and on same day, Sierra Leone was declared an independent state by Queen of England.

## **2.2 Sierra Leone: From Inception to End of Century**

After independence, battle for becoming paramount chiefs further increased, who were directly appointed by central government. Appointment of new chiefs brought so many issues as majority of them was not enjoying popular support due to being involved in abuse, molestation of their subjects, wrong judgment and intimidations. Since April 27, 1961, Sierra Leone has been enjoying the status of a sovereign state. After its independence declared by the British Crown, the country remained a parliamentary system until Sir Milton Margai became first Prime Minister the same year.

The division among main political parties started during the 9<sup>th</sup> hour for independence conferences, significant opposition leader from All People's Congress (APC), Siaka Stevens went against purpose of independence, stating that country is not ready. During arrival of Margai, he led thousands of Sierra Leoneans to streets in celebration. He placed Stevens and Krio leader, Isaac Wallace-Johnson under house arrest in Freetown, along with sixteen others, charged with disrupting independence celebration. The opposition demanded an election in May 1962, leading to the country's first general election as an independent nation, which again Sierra Leone People's Party under leadership of Margai won. Margai stayed in power till his unexpected death in 1964, and his half-brother, Sir

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<sup>119</sup>Martin Kilson, *Political Change in a West African State* (Harvard University Press, 2013).

Albert Margai who was appointed as Prime Minister by parliament.<sup>120</sup> Albert was called by a lot of political heads, especially from Foreign Minister John Karefa-Smart and wants him to be stripped of position, but received strong opposition from party members. Later Albert was able to control parliament, he dismissed Karefa-Smart, including several other members of SLPP, who had served under his brother Milton's government and also going against the paramount chiefs. Albert's rule was different from that of Milton, as he based his rule on authoritarian grounds and lots of his party members, opposition and population were aggrieved, which finally led to a riot in 1967 in Freetown, he reacted by declaring a state of emergency across the country. One of main reasons for riot, he was accused of corruption and a policy of affirmative action in favour of his ethnic group.<sup>121</sup>

Because of Albert's poor leadership, on 21 March 1967, another general election was held where main opposition leader Stevens won with a narrow majority of seats in Parliament over SLPP and was sworn in as Prime Minister. Stevens came to power through controversial means within hours after taking office, a military coup breakout, which was led by Brigadier General David Lansana, commander of Sierra Leone Armed Forces. Commander Lansana was believed to be a very close ally of Albert and his appointment was made by Albert in 1964. After coup, Lansana places Stevens under house arrest, giving a press statement that appointment of a new Prime Minister should wait for election of tribal representatives to House, but decided to release Stevens, who was then exiled to Guinea. The military coup was not accepted by a set of military officers led to another coup on 23 March 1967 by those officers headed by General Andrew Juxon-Smith who seized control of government, arresting Lansana and suspending country's constitution. After taking up power, they set up National Reformation Council (NRC), General Andrew Juxon-Smith as its chairman and Head of State. He was in power till 18 April 1968, when again a group of low rank soldiers calling themselves the Anti-Corruption Revolutionary Movement (ACRM), led by Brigadier General John Amadu Bangura. They arrested many

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<sup>120</sup>Jimmy D. Kandeh, "Politicization of Ethnic Identities in Sierra Leone," *African Studies Review* 35, no. 1 (1992): 81–99.

<sup>121</sup>David Dalby, "The Military Take-over in Sierra Leone," *The World Today* 23, no. 8 (1967): 354–60.

senior NRC members and reinstated constitution and returned power to Stevens. Steven coming from exile to power again with majority of Sierra Leoneans hoping for a change decided to come up with the worst decisions. Someone who was known as a championed multiparty politician changed, changing policies of his predecessors Albert Nardai and Juxon-Smith, same old game of fighting anyone that was against his government. Although some of these changes were good, like building roads in provinces, reorganized, improving state-owned Cape Sierra Hotel and cement factory.<sup>122</sup>

The worst came under Steven's rule as several coup attempts were planned against him and he decided to base his leadership on authoritarian grounds, leading to his relationships with some of his supporters deteriorated. He decided to move SLPP from competitive politics in general elections and appointed John Amadu Bangura as head of the Sierra Leone Armed Forces to get control over the army. Due to unrest in November 1968, Steven arrested lots of senior officers including John Bangura, stating that he was also part of a riot against him and declaring a state of emergency across country. As John Bangura was charged with conspiracy and plotting to commit a coup against his government later on March 29 1970, he was convicted and sentenced to death by hanging in Freetown. By doing this, some soldiers loyal to Bangura held a mutiny in Freetown and other parts of country against Steven's government were arrested and also convicted by a court-martial. One of soldiers that were arrested was a little-known army Corporal Foday Sankoh was a strong supporter of Bangura and a well-known rebel leader of Sierra Leone Civil War.<sup>123</sup>

In April 1971, Steven decided to adopt a new Republican Constitution, making him as first President in 1972 by-election, SLPP complained of intimidation and procedural obstructions by APC and militia, leading to SLPP boycotting 1973 general election in which APC won 84 seats out 85. Things were getting worst and majority in Parliament decided to change the state into One Party State in 1978 Constitution.<sup>124</sup> Stevens was in

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<sup>122</sup>Titus Boye-Thompson, "News Ticker," Cocorioko.net, 2016.

<sup>123</sup>Tony Karon, "The Resistible Rise of FodaySankoh," *Time*, May 12 (2000), 2000.

<sup>124</sup>Robert H. Jackson, "John R. Cartwright, Politics in Sierra Leone: 1947-67. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, Pp. Viii, 296," *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 5, no. 1 (1972): 158-59.

power till November 1985 when he retired from politics. It can be stated that post-colonial era led to mismanagement from 1967-1984 under Stevens-led administration. After being in power for eighteen years, he named a new Presidential candidate to continue in government authoritatively. He called a delegate conference, which was held in Freetown and appointed General Joseph Saidu Momoh as Head of State. Momoh was the Head of Armed Forces and loyal to Steven besides being a Limba as Stevens.<sup>125</sup>

Immediately Momoh was elected President without opposition, he was sworn in as country's Second President on 28 November 1986 and did same by appointing his former military colleague General Mohamed Tarawalie as Chief of military. Few years of his government, in October 1990 after receiving lots of pressure from both within and international community, because of one Party System, Momoh set up a constitutional review commission to assess 1978 One-party constitution and based on Commission recommendations, a constitution re-established multiparty system. Approved by Parliament, with 60 percent majority votes and became effective on 1 October 1991. But because of his predecessors, people were suspicious that Momoh was not serious about his promise of political reform, due to APC continuous ruling and increment of marked prices. During that time, Civil War was going on in neighbouring Liberia, which played a significant role in outbreak of fighting in Sierra Leone. Former President of Liberia, Charles Taylor, leader of the then National Patriotic Front, supported Revolutionary United Front (RUF), under leadership of former Sierra Leone army Corporal Foday Saybana Sankoh.<sup>126</sup>

The situation in Sierra Leone even got worse even after Stevens handed over political leadership to Joseph Momoh in 1985. As Momoh inherited a government being almost bankrupt, this made it impossible to pay civil servants, only to involve in more IMF financial support leading to austerity measures. Education and health led to a major budget cut, just like the 1974/75 fiscal year, as only 15.6 percent was spent on education, which

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<sup>125</sup>David Fasholé Luke, "Continuity in Sierra Leone: From Stevens to Momoh," *Third World Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1988): 67–78.

<sup>126</sup>"Momoh, Joseph Saidu 1937-2003 [World Cat Identities]," accessed August 11, 2021.

reduced to 8.5 in 1988/89 fiscal and 3 percent in 1993.<sup>127</sup>It reached a time as there was no money to pay teachers for several months, leading to only 30 percent of secondary school pupils going to school.

### **2.3 Outbreak of Sierra Leone's Civil War**

In Sierra Leone, RUF was founded on basics of liberating people, by throwing APC out of power, assisted by Charles Taylor from Liberia. The Liberian leader supported RUF, based on role Sierra Leone played during their crisis, allowing Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to use Sierra Leone airport to bomb territories controlled by his faction. RUF was founded by three Sierra Leoneans, Foday Sankoh, Abu Kanu and Rashid Mansaray who received military training together in Libya during leadership of late Col. Gadhafi in 1987-88.<sup>128</sup> RUF had mixed ethnic groups who were included in political and economic grounds, especially Foday Sankoh a former army man as explained in this chapter.<sup>129</sup>

RUF fighting against government diverted from protecting people, later changed and started attacking civilians. Over 10,000 people were killed, 300,000 displaced, 200,000 fled to Guinea as refugees and 400,000 trapped behind enemy lines. At this time, situation became worst for Momoh, as another military coup was staged in April 1992 Captain Valentine Strasser formed new government and called themselves (NPRC), who overthrow Momoh APC-led government.<sup>130</sup> He stated that they removed Momoh based on numerous challenges that were going on, especially advancement of RUF and he promised to restore peace in country. The NPRC set up several Commissions to enquire for ex-ministers and senior civil servants. They received wide support from local population and even

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<sup>127</sup>Robinson, James A, "Governance and political economy constraints to World Bank CAS priorities in Sierra Leone." *Unpublished manuscript, Washington DC, World Bank* (2008).

<sup>128</sup>Lansana Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa: The RUF and the Destruction of Sierra Leone* (Indiana University Press, 2005).

<sup>129</sup>Ibrahim Abdullah, "Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front/Sierra Leone," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 36, no. 2 (1998): 203–35.

<sup>130</sup>Alfred B. Zack-Williams, "Sierra Leone: The Political Economy of Civil War, 1991-98," *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1999): 143–62.

international community was also in support of his government, as he was considered as redeemer of Sierra Leone. Because of bankruptcy, Strasser-led government made a deal with International Financial Institutions (IFIS) for loans, which gave rise to other institutions and other donors too started giving country loans, especially European Union (EU) and African Development Bank.<sup>131</sup>

In March 1993, because of advancement of rebels, government decided to meet ECOMOG to help fight against RUF. Nigeria agreed and sent its Army and at early stage, they were able to recapture diamond-rich area of Kono and pushed RUF to neighbouring Liberia border. During that period, everyone thought that civil war had come to an end, but RUF continued to get support from Liberia, Libya and Burkina Faso. By 1994, Strasser-led administration was able to reduce inflation from 120 percent to 50 percent, as well as maintaining value of currency. But despite NPRC success with economy, they started receiving lots of pressure for civilian rule. On war front, rebels were in control as lots of big cities were under their control, including diamond-rich region Kono District, and they were only 45 kilometres from capital. Trust in NPRC started fading away as it became clear that army was no match for RUF.

In 1995, British Army came but was involved in an ambush and not long after, they left after killing of their Canadian commander Colonel Robert Mackenzie and were replaced by South African-Based Executive Outcomes (EO) army. EO were able to take control of Kono and were able to push RUF hard, but because of the EO high cost, paying them 1.7 million a month, government was not able to carry on its services.<sup>132</sup> Leading to formation of local fighting group Kamajors, by Mende traditional hunters. This traditional fighting was just back up to army as they were able to play their little part fighting RUF. Due to maintaining pressure on January 1996, two months before planned elections to civilian rule, within NPRC, Strasser was replaced with his deputy Brigadier Maada Bio who agreed

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<sup>131</sup>Adejumo-Ayibiowu, Oluwakemi Damola, "An Afrocentric Critique of the discourse of good governance and its limitations as a means of addressing development challenges in Nigeria." *Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of South Africa* (2018).

<sup>132</sup>David Isenberg, "Soldiers of Fortune Ltd," *A Profile of Today's Private Sector Corporate*, Soldier of Fortune Ltd, 1997.

to hand over power. From February to March 1996, an election was held, leading to late Dr. Ahmed Tejan Kabbah becoming President with almost 60 percent of votes after run-off against United People's Party (UNPP) led by John Karefa Smart with over 40 percent.

The new government coming to power had three major problems to solve: peace implementation of policies of national reconstruction including relocation, and securing discipline within the armed forces. This agenda was called three R's of Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Rehabilitation.<sup>133</sup> He further expressed his desire to meet with RUF leader Sankoh at the earliest opportunity for peace talks. It did not take long another revolution took place by a group of Army officers and established Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) as new government, with leader Johnny Paul Koroma. AFRC coming to power declared war over and decided to join forces with RUF. Yet looting, rape and murder were going on, especially by RUF forces. It had to force ECOMOG forces to return and retake Freetown and war continued in a more advanced stage where it drew more attention from international community, especially UN. These devastating atrocities were going on till 1999, leading to world leaders' intervention and started negotiations with RUF and government. Due to an intervention by RUF in early hour of January 6 1999, they joined forces with AFRC and used civilians in eastern part of capital as a human shield to prevent ECOMOG.

They continued appalling atrocities by attacking worship places like mosques and churches. They attacked a worship place on January 1999 killing 12 people. In 22<sup>nd</sup> of the same month, they massacred over 60 people. They were involved in massive killing, mutilated 400 people, children, women were killed, rape among other war crimes.<sup>134</sup> These atrocities prompted peace agreement where international community was able to convince RUF and came up with first peace agreement, Lome Peace Accord which was signed on July 7, 1999 and the decision taken was for rebel leader Foday Sankoh to act in position of

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<sup>133</sup>Joseph J. Bangura, "The Anatomy of Peacekeeping," in *Sierra Leone beyond the Lomé Peace Accord* (Springer, 2010), 35–47.

<sup>134</sup>Rosalind Shaw, *Rethinking Truth and Reconciliation Commissions: Lessons from Sierra Leone*, vol. 130 (United States Institute of Peace, 2005).



Vice President and Head of Diamond Mining.<sup>135</sup> Doing this did not satisfy RUF, they continued to advance on Freetown by May 2000, but with help of United Nations forces, British troops and support from Guinean airpower, RUF was defeated. The announcement came on January 18 2002, declaring Sierra Leone's Civil War to be over once and for all.<sup>136</sup>

Sierra Leone has a strong past laced with a tragic history of political struggle, leading to its Civil War, Ebola epidemic in 2014, Mudslide in 2018 and now the Corona Virus (Covid-19). Due to all these obstacles, the country is still striving to recover as one of the poorest countries. Just like other West African countries, colonialism played a key role in the country's history strived for freedom, and the development of its divest society has also added to the struggle. It is not possible with a country of such history to recover overnight; the process is still ongoing.

### **2.3.1 Analysis of Causes of Sierra Leone's Civil War**

Sierra Leone has been considered among countries facing the worst atrocities. The destruction of lives and property was beyond human imagination. It started as a war for removing an authoritarian government, but what went wrong is yet to be explained. The people or civilians who were to be protected by rebels were the ones used as sex slaves, human shields and child soldiers among other inhumane things. There came a time when international community had no option but to speedily intervene in situation as reports of gross human right violation was at its highest pick, especially after rebels had gained control over capital city Freetown. The war came to an end in January 2002, after British government successfully used military force to compress rebels with help of Pakistan's peace-keepers. Some might say the war in Sierra Leone is ended, but due to deep memories of brutality are still keeping it alive in the minds and bodies of many people. It is evident in the trial of the former President of Liberia, Charles Taylor, as pieces of evidence were shown with scars left on people, as it was 10 years after the end of war. As some victims who testified against Taylor, reportedly stated that he deserved 100 years jail term for his

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<sup>135</sup>Abdul Tejan-Cole, "Painful Peace: Amnesty under the Lome Peace Agreement in Sierra Leone," *Law, Democracy & Development* 3, no. 2, Ajol.inf, (1999): 239–52.

<sup>136</sup>Samuel Momodu, "The Sierra Leone Civil War (1991-2002)," *Black Past*, 2017.

role in atrocities. Taylor was found guilty of aiding and abetting war crimes in Sierra Leone.

One of the causes of conflict or war in any community, society, country or even at global level is economic condition or some relevance with economy. One prominent example is seen in writings of Collier stating, “Conflicts are far more likely to be caused mainly by economic opportunities than by grievance, and grievance-based explanations of civil war are so seriously wrong”.<sup>137</sup> Citizens are more likely to see or may wish the government to be overthrown where there is no justice in equal distribution of resources.

Sierra Leone is known for its richness in huge diamond reserves, as seen in civil war when all fighting forces’ interest was to take over mining area of Kono. This is because all fighting forces (government and rebel) were more concentrated on these areas in order to finance their war efforts. Diamonds were discovered in 1930s and since then, there has been an important role of diamond mining in economic, social and political aspects of country. Mostly, people who are uneducated and unemployed are involved in mining activities with sole aim of seeking fortunes. According to World Bank, this sector is second largest employment area in Sierra Leone, providing livelihood to over three hundred thousand people.<sup>138</sup> The writer started his research in this area in 2003 and found out that some of reasons why youth were disgruntled because of exploitation by government and vast poverty rate among youths. Sierra Leone like other African countries cannot do large scale mining due to lack of required technology. During civil war, RUF made approximately 200 million dollars on diamond sales from 1991 to 1999.<sup>139</sup>The trade was mainly facilitated by former Liberian President Charles Taylor and in return, he supplied RUF with ammunition.

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<sup>137</sup>Paul Collier and Anke Hoefler, “On Economic Causes of Civil War,” *Oxford Economic Papers* 50, no. 4 (1998): 563–73.

<sup>138</sup>Roy Maconachie, “How the Wealth from Sierra Leone’s Diamonds Fails to Enrich Local Communities,” Research Portal, 2018.

<sup>139</sup>David Keen, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone* (James Currey (imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd.), 2005).

Diamonds were main resource that RUF took benefit of that prolonged civil war in Sierra Leone.<sup>140</sup> The economic factor of civil war in Sierra Leone cannot be overlooked youths were more involved in it than any other thing in society, especially ones who were disgruntled due to feeling that their entitlement to better living standards was taken away by few individuals. During war, it was very evident that rebels were targeting individual families based on these claims.

#### **2.4 Role of Pakistan's Peacekeeping Mission in Ending Civil War**

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) owing to the main motive of its creation, decided to establish a mission to mitigate affairs of states involved in conflict or any disturbances. UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO) was created mainly as a multilateral mechanism geared at fulfilling Chapter 7 of UN Charter empowered the Security Council to enforce measures to maintain international peace and security. With all challenges the UNPKO has encountered, this multilateral mechanism has recorded several successes to its credit all over world. The body is essentially not like traditional diplomacy. Peacekeeping operations have evolved over years and have emerged as a new form of diplomacy. Theoretically, to understand differences between the two (diplomacy and foreign policy), both are sometimes often characterized as conflated. Especially looking at changes and transformation in global politics, particularly global conflict which traditional diplomacy has ceased to be preoccupation and exclusive day to day running of foreign ministry and career diplomats but has also involved physical presence of armed personal, not necessarily diplomats, but act as diplomats in terms of peacekeeping, negotiating between warring factors, by carrying their countries' emblems and representing latter in resolving global conflicts, and also representing their countries' foreign policy objectives, hence peacekeeping as military diplomacy. Just like former UN Secretary-General, Boutros Ghali, stated once that, peacekeeping is not just a technique to preserve peace in

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<sup>140</sup>Philippe Le Billon and Estelle Levin, "Building Peace with Conflict Diamonds? Merging Security and Development in Sierra Leone," *Development and Change* 40, no. 4 (2009): 693–715.

fragile and conflicted regions, but a mechanism that involves consent of all parties concerned which is an important and uncompromising element of diplomacy.<sup>141</sup>

Pakistan is considered one of countries that have largest and oldest troops in peacekeeping operation of UN since its creation in 1947. Apart from being an important constituent in peacekeeping, Pakistan is also a major contributor to boots and brains on ground.<sup>142</sup> As the country on different occasions has proven such display of commitment towards peace and security, invariably carries potential of improving and also adding to international image of Pakistan in over 70 years in UN. Pakistan is not only involved in military aspects of UNPKO non-military officers, who have served in different UN capacities and aspects of peacekeeping. If peacekeeping can influence a country foreign policy, Pakistan would have to be in a higher position in world, accounting for all its efforts in providing and maintaining peacekeeping around globe. The country has taken part as peacekeepers in numerous conflicting situations, such as Rwanda Genocide, Srebrenica Genocide, Humanitarian Crisis in Somalia, the Niger political conflict among others.<sup>143</sup>

Due to stubborn nature of RUF after they were offered different leadership positions, but refused all and carrying-on fighting, a reason best known to them at that time. The international community was highly concerned as destruction of lives and property was devastating. The ECOMOG, Civil Defense Forces, National Army, British, Guinean Air Force were not able to control war and demanded UN to be added to its UNMSIL which led to a landmark Special Session of UN General Assembly to demand troops from member states, due to withdrawal of Indian troops.

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<sup>141</sup>Bakare Najimdeen, "UN Peacekeeping Operations and Successful Military Diplomacy: A Case Study of Pakistan," *NUST Journal of International Peace and Stability*, 2020.

<sup>142</sup>Maria Kiani, "Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping," *Strategic Studies* 24, no. 3 (2004): 41–72.

<sup>143</sup>Anderton, Charles H, "Datasets and trends of genocides, mass killings, and other civilian atrocities." *Economic aspects of genocides, other mass atrocities, and their prevention*, *Books.google.com*, (2016): 52-101.

Pakistan accepted UN mandate to Sierra Leone, and sent largest group of peacekeepers, together with some technical staffs adding to 300 Pakistani peacekeepers who were already there in country from August 12, 2001, and another 3,000 joined mission later on.<sup>144</sup> Joseph S. Nye describes Pakistan use of soft-power in controlling war as the best warfare leading to peace which is a clear objection to writers who go with view on hard power as only way out to stop armed conflict.<sup>145</sup>

It is evident that since 1960, Pakistan as a humanitarian state contributing over 1600,000 troops worldwide in 42 missions, in seven UN peacekeeping. Their presence is felt in Latin America, the Balkans, West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, and Southeast Asia with a commitment to international peace and security. Just like its peacekeeping mission in Liberia for nearly 25 years, Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire. In Liberia's case, the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) offered lessons of how multilateral cooperation resolute action could end conflict and keep peace in a troubled neighborhood.<sup>146</sup>

Sierra Leone, after several years of fighting between Armed forces of the country, NPRC, AFRC and the Kabbah administration, was largely ignored by international community, including UN Security Council. Pakistan acted promptly to end civil war, by firstly involved in conflict with appointment of Berhanu Dinka in March 1995, by UN Secretary-General, leading to sending a special envoy in country, marking beginning of direct UN involvement. This appointment saw Dinka as principal mediator between Kabbah government and RUF for over nine months. Starting with Abidjan Agreement in November 1996, which was basically for a cease-fire and Lomé Peace Agreement on July 08 1999, and was also part of the mission till 2001 to 2005.<sup>147</sup> During civil war, lots of UN troops

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<sup>144</sup>Paul Higate, "Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation," *Men and Masculinities* 10, no. 1, Journals.sagepub.com, (2007): 99–119.

<sup>145</sup>Joseph S. Nye Jr, "What Is a Moral Foreign Policy?(Winter 2019/2020)," *Texas National Security Review*, 2020.

<sup>146</sup>Mary H. Moran & M. Anne Pitcher, "The 'Basket Case' and the 'Poster Child': Explaining the End of Civil Conflicts in Liberia and Mozambique," *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (2004): 501–19.

<sup>147</sup>Ola Engdahl, "Official Documents," in *Protection of Personnel in Peace Operations* (Brill Nijhoff, 2007), 331–41.

were taken hostage, killed and 500 were surrounded, cut off from support while rebels took their weaponry, trucks and also armoured personnel carriers from them. The arrival of Pakistan troops under peace mission led to a new command structure, as Syed Ather Ali was appointed as new force commander of mission in charge of 17500 troops.

This was purposely to facilitate Lomé Peace Accord to end ten-year civil war, to facilitate DDR program and to reintegrate all fighting forces. On July 05, 2000, UN imposed a diamond embargo and requested government to establish an effective Certificate of Origin Regime in relation to trade in diamonds based on rebels selling diamonds to facilitate their fighting.<sup>148</sup>

Pakistan being the largest peacekeepers at that time stepped in to replace Indian Army who left in 2001 and was there till completion of missions in Sierra Leone. During their stay, they were also involved in development of infrastructure, building roads, schools, mosques, churches, hospitals and other activities. It is also recorded that from early days 1998 to 1999, Pakistan army was involved in helping people to settle peacefully, and total number of troops they sent to Sierra Leone from 2001 to 2005 was amount to 13,626 and per year were 4255.<sup>149</sup> These were only a few contributions by Pakistani forces, as they were actively deployed in all sensitive areas occupied by rebels in different parts of Sierra Leone. As they were considered not only by their contingents but were cornerstone of UNAMSIL's successful operations were congratulated President of Pakistan, members of Pakistan contingents in a letter of appreciation and encouragement and also from Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf for their good work. Adding to this, President Kabbah, American Ambassador in Sierra Leone and many other high personalities were deeply

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<sup>148</sup>Takehiko Ochiai, "United Nations Sanctions against Sierra Leone and the Sandline Affair in the United Kingdom, 1997-98" 25 (June 14, 2020).

<sup>149</sup>Rizvi, Ferzana, "UN Peacekeeping Mission In Sierra Leone: Pakistan's Role." *Journal Of Pakistan Vision* 18, no. 1 (2017): 61.

satisfied with performance of Pakistan contingents by congratulating them immensely during farewell addresses, especially Contingent 3.<sup>150</sup>

From that day on (2002) when war was declared ended till date, Sierra Leone among other West African nations has emerged peacefully and is considered one of the safest countries in region.<sup>151</sup>

The renovation works done by Pakistan peacekeepers, housing alone provided over 8,000 residents to live in a comfortable and dignified environment, which was funded by UNAMSIL and United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Adding to development, Major-Gen Sajjad Akram handed over computers, sewing machines, sports gear and medicines worth 15,000 USD to President Kabbah which was donated by Pakistan contingents for their welfare Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) troops and their families.<sup>152</sup>

## **2.5 Sierra Leone-Pakistan Relations since Inception**

Sierra Leone and Pakistan have cordial relations based on their colonial history, peace, friendship, mutual understanding, conflict resolution, other technical support especially Sierra Leone gaining proficiency.

### **2.5.1 Phase 01: Sierra Leone-Pakistan Relations in Early 1960s**

Sierra Leone and Pakistan relations can be dated back just after Sierra Leone got its independence from its colonial master on April 27, 1961. As diplomatic relations between the two started straight away and from that day; have existed for more than 59 years, in which Sierra Leone has benefited immensely, especially in the areas of education, peacekeeping, medical, and other technical supports. Hence, Pakistan proved one of the

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<sup>150</sup>Londono, Peter V, *Transitioning from a UN Observer Mission to a Robust Peacekeeping Operation: Lessons from Sierra Leone*. Naval War Coll Newport RI Joint Military Operations Dept, 2001.

<sup>151</sup>Afr Asia Bank, "Africa Wealth Report 2021," Lepetit Journal Marocain, 2021.

<sup>152</sup>Clary, Christopher, and Ankit Panda, "Safer at Sea? Pakistan's Sea-Based Deterrent and Nuclear Weapons Security." *The Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2017): 149-168.

few countries that helped in post-colonial rehabilitation of its development to build a proper administrative setup and human resource. During that time, only a handful of educated nationals (Sierra Leone) were there in the country, especially those who acquired education from Britain. Sierra Leone educational system was styled or based primarily on the British educational system and was mainly aimed at urban areas and only the rich and middle class were able to give their children proper education and those who were gifted go on to tertiary level taking up positions as civil servants in the government. These limited ones that had a long-term vision had managed to send their children to schools had only a couple of years of primary education, as 15 percent of children aged 5 to 11 years were going to school, while 5 percent of children aged 15 to eleven years old attended school.<sup>153</sup>

The first formal relations between two countries started in area of education, as Pakistan is one of the first countries to send some trained and qualified teachers to teach in parts of Sierra Leone in an effort to help the country to deal with shortage of educated human resource.

The educational system in Sierra Leone was centralized, with few schools like the oldest school in the country, the Sierra Leone Grammar School for Boys and the Annie Wales Memorial Secondary School for Girls. The Pakistani teaches were in the capital city (Freetown) and other provincial districts of Bo, Kenema, Makeni, Kono and Kailahun. Pakistan relation with Sierra Leone is only one of several relations with other West African nations before and post-independent supports from Pakistan through humanitarian aid and materially among others.

### **2.5.2 Phase 02: Post- 9/11 Relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan in the Wake of International Cooperation**

A surge in world politics occurred due to terrorist attacks on World Trade Centre brought more cooperation particularly against terrorism even among rival states. Especially the US got overwhelming response in terms of global cooperation. These conditions and overall international environment encouraged countries to further their relations towards deeper

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<sup>153</sup>Grace Pai, "Particularizing Universal Education in Postcolonial Sierra Leone.," *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 16, no. 1 (2013): 62–73.



cooperation. During that time, Pakistan and Sierra Leone also rendered their absolute support to the war against terrorism, as both countries were also affected greatly through this attack.

A report came out a month before 9/11, linking al-Qaeda with RUF in Sierra Leone, and with Charles serving as centre of illegal trade, money laundering and exchanging diamonds for weapons. Another report shows that in December 2004, two Al-Qaeda operatives returning from Pakistan were arrested while trying to enter Sierra Leone. It happened again in 2005 when three Asian businessmen were suspected as terrorists, were arrested near Liberia-Sierra Leone border.

The case of Pakistan was even worse, as the country suffered from terrorist groups, their direct activities and attacks harming national security of the state. Inflow of millions of Afghans in Pakistan as refugees makes it a challenge for the government to accommodate them in specific areas and manage their needs. This global cooperation has also been encouraged. Since Sierra Leone and Pakistan were in same direction in the War on Terror that encouraged both countries to look beyond and extend their relations as a spillover effect on foreign policies of Sierra Leone and Pakistan and they were able to maintain socio-economic cooperation.<sup>154</sup>

## **2.6 Sierra Leone-Pakistan Relations through International Organizations- OIC, Commonwealth of Nations and UN**

Sierra Leone and Pakistan are very strong members of above three international organizations and very active in their respective roles in executing different functions. Through these organizations, both countries have played important roles to support each other in times of need, especially in peacekeeping.

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<sup>154</sup>Larry J. Woods, *Military Interventions in Sierra Leone: Lessons from a Failed State* (DIANE Publishing, 2010).

### **2.6.1 Sierra Leone-Pakistan Relations under Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)**

Sierra Leone and other West African countries have good relations with Pakistan not only due to their background on colonialism, but also under well-known “Organization of Islamic Cooperation” which is based on many principles. The promotion of peace and security, development, intra-trade, science and technology, human rights, good governance, culture of peace and religious tolerance are among priorities of organization. It came up with more vision after it revised Charter in 2013 as, OIC General Secretariat launched its agenda as peace, security and mediation to strengthen its role in conflict transformation and quiet diplomacy. The OIC Secretary-General appointed special representatives for different conflicting areas like Myanmar, Central African Republic, Mali and Sahel, as well as for Muslim minorities in Southern Philippines and Thailand. It also has political offices in New York, Geneva, UNESCO in Paris, Brussels, Baghdad, Kabul and humanitarian offices in Mogadishu, Niger, Sierra Leone and Sarajevo. This Organization is proud of producing or developing many other organizations under its hospices, such as banks like Islamic Development Bank (IDB) which helps to control organization’s finances, Islamic Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO), and Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCOCA) are all important OIC organs with relevancy in providing wider-perspective, support to various OIC preventive and post-conflict peace initiatives.<sup>155</sup>

Historically, OIC due to number of membership stands as second-largest organization in world after United Nations. It consists of 57 member states spread all over four main continents of world. It is a collective voice of Muslim world as an endeavour to protect interests of Muslim world in spirit of promoting international peace and harmony among various people of world, irrespective of race, colour, creed, rich, poor, minority, small among others. Historically, OIC is considered as one of the oldest in world which was established upon a decision of the summit took place in Rabat, the Kingdom of Morocco,

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<sup>155</sup>Antti Pentikäinen, “Reforming UN Mediation through Inclusion of Traditional Peacemakers,”

*Development Dialogue* 63 (2015): 67–76.

on 25 September 1969 (in the Muslim pronunciation, 12<sup>th</sup> Rajab 1389 Hijra), based on the criminal arson of Al-Aqsa Mosque in occupied Jerusalem.

The OIC held its first meeting of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM) in Jeddah, as they decided to establish a permanent secretariat headed by Organization Secretary-General and its first charter was adopted by 3<sup>rd</sup> ICFM Session held in 1972. The objectives and principles of organization are to keep pace with developments and fundamental purposes to strengthen organization for 40 years, which started with only 30 states and now 57 states. The Organization is believed to host over 1.5 billion Muslims of the world, consultative and cooperative relations with the United Nations and also intergovernmental organizations which protect interests of Muslim states in times of conflict.<sup>156</sup>

As of recent, OIC has predicted plans which target 2025 in its provisions of OIC Chapter and focuses on 18 priorities areas with 107 goal priority areas include issues of peace and security, poverty alleviation, food security, counter-terrorism, investment and finance, culture and interfaith harmony, moderation, climate change and sustainability, Palestine and Al-Quds, empowerment of women, human rights and good governance, Joint Islamic Humanitarian Action among others.

Sierra Leone joined IOC in 1972 as one of its oldest members and since then, the country has enjoyed prosperous blessings, especially just after its brutal civil war, which devastated country into almost a collapsed state. Sierra Leone and other West African states were accepted into OIC in 1972 Third Conference, in which all members who were part of organization stated that Islam is a religion that brings to world message of brotherhood and nothing of colonialism. Apartheid and racism should not continue to exist in anywhere including Africa. The organization went further to express its determination to give legitimate moral support to people of West Africa and determined to strongly condemn illegal regimes in any state, especially in South Africa. It was in full support of all states in Africa and people in their just struggle for self-determination and national independence,

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<sup>156</sup>TuranKayaoglu, *The Organization of Islamic Cooperation: Politics, Problems, and Potential* (Routledge, 2015).

and ordered all those states like Portugal's illegal regime and oppression of liberation movement in Guinea Bissau. In all of these, Pakistan being strongest and most populated Muslim state have been very instrumental in fights, as second conference which was held in Karachi also mentioned issue of Republic of Guinea and preached for full solidarity with Guinean people in their stand against Portuguese aggression and in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty.<sup>157</sup>

On other hand, Pakistan joined organization in 1969, as one of organization's founding members where cooperation among Islamic nations was always on floor and attack on Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969. This dedicated support by Pakistan paved way for birth of this international organization which is now second-largest intergovernmental organization after United Nations. As OIC 52 this year, 2021, Pakistan has always played an active role in espousing co-operation among member states and supporting just causes of any violations of member states. It is not only limited to Sierra Leone as Pakistan was the Chairman of OIC Peace Committee that tried to bring peace between Iraq and Iran during first Gulf War. In 2008, 11<sup>th</sup> Islamic Summit was held in Dakar. Its panel that drafted the amended charter was carefully selected from member states, as Pakistan and Sierra Leone also participated actively in process. Pakistan is not only important in OIC based on its support in human rights, peace and tranquility, but also as only Muslim majority and nuclear state in world.<sup>158</sup>

Although both countries share a different geographical location which takes long hours travelling with flights, but despite this, both countries have good and amicable relations since beginning. This is one of numerous indications based on Pakistan's foreign policy, which is to help all Muslim majority states just like in case of Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Senegal, and Niger among other.

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<sup>157</sup> Khan, Zulfiqar Ahmad, "Organization of Islamic Countries." PhD diss., Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh, 1993.

<sup>158</sup>Haq, Ikram Ul, and Muhammad Tanveer, "Status of Research Productivity and Higher Education in the Members of Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)." *Library Philosophy and Practice (e-journal)* (2020): 1522-0222.

In recent times, Pakistan has offered more than 10 Sierra Leonean full-time OIC scholarships in different fields of studies, especially in area of sciences at different universities across country. This is very important in nation building process of Sierra Leone while looking at priority of current government in power, Sierra Leone People's Party Flagship program which is education. Pakistan has offered good and quality educational facilities, especially in field of agriculture which is greatly needed in the country as issue of food and agricultural products are becoming problematic. These scholarships are mostly provided by Pakistan to students of least developed countries of OIC that also include other West African countries, Benin, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Gambia, Senegal, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire and Togo, in undergraduates, masters, and doctoral courses. (HEC scholarships and grants for foreigners for OIC least developed countries).<sup>159</sup>

The organization in 2001, through its OIC Conference Contact group, visited Sierra Leone and expressed willingness to assist in country's post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts. The issue was taken to OIC Foreign Ministers Annual Co-ordination meeting in Malaysia by Director-General of Foreign Affairs Dato Ahmad Fuzi Abdul Razak. A trust fund was created for Sierra Leone post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction process. IOC also rendered its supports by helping in conducting a free and fair general election in 2002, just after the end of brutal civil war. The Annual Co-ordination meeting which was held in New York on 28 September 2002 determined all actions that OIC took in favour of Sierra Leone. Moreover, Guinea, the neighbouring country, also hosted thousands of Sierra Leonean and Liberian refugees displaced by war. Sierra Leone's Foreign Minister Ambassador Ahmed Ramadan Dumbuya acknowledged greatly the issues highlighted by delegation for identifying many government ministries and commissions.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>159</sup>Ihsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin, "Comcec And Economic And Commercial Cooperation Among The Oic Member States." MFA.gov.tr, (2009).

<sup>160</sup>Linnéa Gelot, *Legitimacy, Peace Operations and Global-Regional Security: The African Union-United Nations Partnership in Darfur* (Routledge, 2012).

## 2.6.2 Sierra Leone and Pakistan's Relations under the United Nations

The United Nations has played an important part to maintain international peace despite challenges. Like coming of Cold War which was ideological warfare, as both the United States and Russia, though never fought any form of direct war with each other, it finally came to an end in early 1990s, when Russia accepted the United States as the Super Power.<sup>161</sup> The present challenge the UN is facing, is that of threat of possible physical confrontation between China and the United States, as tension is mounting on daily basis due to emergence of China as a contending world power in recent times.

The United Nation from its start in 1945 has been leading global organization in world, representing symbol of peace, tranquility and independence of all nations across world. From then, the organization has kept to its founding, as its those not only limit its peacekeeping on a global level dealing with inter and intrastate conflicts, through its different bodies under the UN.<sup>162</sup> In this light in which Sierra Leone and Pakistan are full members, has created a lot of space for amicable and more advanced relations between both states, as it was through this organization that created space for Pakistan to send peacekeeping forces to Sierra Leone, eventually ending its Civil War after 11 years of devastation.

Pakistan got membership of the UN September 30, 1947 soon after the country was declared an independence state after a long political struggle for separation territory from British-India on August 14, 1947. On August 21, 1947, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 29 admitting Pakistan's membership in the organization. Since Articles 3 and 4 of UN Charter is only open to states, giving provision to Pakistan and India to get UN membership, particularly for India, it was good chance to legitimize its status as an independent state, as under international law. British India was a dependent territory which acquired the statute of statehood in 1947 that automatically qualified India as a

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<sup>161</sup>Jacques Fomerand, "Recent UN Textbooks: Suggestions from an Old-Fashioned Practitioner," *Global Governance* 8 (2002): 383.

<sup>162</sup>Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Divided: Study of Factors and Forces, Leading to the Breakup of Pakistan in 1971* (Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2017).

legitimate member. In this case, only one Pakistan could have enjoyed this status if India would have remained under previous arrangement.<sup>163</sup>

Sierra Leone, immediately after attaining independence submitted its application to be a part of United Nations. The country went through the normal procedure, was approved by United Nations General Assembly by acclamation, making it's the 100<sup>th</sup> member of the organization. The delegation of Sierra Leone was the first with Prime Minister Sir Milton A. S. Margai, Dr John Karefa-Smart who was Minister for External Affairs and Ambassador Gershon B. O. Collier, the Permanent Representative to the United Nations. This important event took place on 27 September 1961 at United Nations Headquarters, New York. Since that day till date, Sierra Leone has worked assiduously to maintain its membership in the organization and followed its rules and regulations respectively. Declaration of acceptance of obligations contained in charter of United Nations was honoured by Minister of External Affairs and Defense in Freetown, Sierra Leone.<sup>164</sup>

Both countries' membership in the organization has worked to ensure that they are represented in all facets of organization, except in United Nations Security Council, which only comprises powerful nations like United States of America, Russia and Britain among others. The organization has established six (6) principal organs namely the General Assembly, United Nations Security Council, Economic and Social Council, United Nations Trusteeship Council, (the Council was suspended from its operations in 1994), International Criminal Court of Justice, and Secretariat. The Charter of United Nations gives power to allow the creation of any other entities that are seen as required, that is why since its creation there are considerably larger, or numerous specialized organizations and agencies, including commissions, boards, councils, committees, panels, and working groups like, Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), International Fund for Agricultural Development (ILO), International Maritime Organization, United Nations

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<sup>163</sup>James Ker-Lindsay, *The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession: Preventing the Recognition of Contested States* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>164</sup>A. O. Conteh, "Sierra Leone and the Norm of Non-Intervention: Evolution and Practice," *Afr. J. Int'l & Comp. L.* 7 (1995): 166.

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization among others have been structured as required.<sup>165</sup>

Concerning the given detail throwing light on creation of subsidiary bodies and their functions both Sierra Leone and Pakistan came to a connection through this organization in case of brutal civil war.<sup>166</sup>

Throughout the history of United Nations peacekeeping operations, Pakistan has always stepped up to offer troops when needed for maintaining peace in regions facing conflicting issues. In the area of peacekeeping, Pakistan started its military operations beginning with Congo in 1960 and is known by United Nation for having peacekeeping troops deployed virtually everywhere in five main continents of world. According to reports by United Nations, Pakistan provides third peacekeeping force after India and Ethiopia which are ranked among top five contributors.<sup>167</sup> Looking at humanitarian effort Pakistan is known for in international community, United Nations Peacekeeping Operation is a substantial tenant of country's foreign policy. Pakistan being a humanitarian state is trackback on its historical foundation and was also inspired by its founders of the country, stating that Pakistan wants peace with all nations of the world.<sup>168</sup>

Due to background on how committed Pakistani peacekeepers have a good reputation in their peacekeeping operations throughout mission they have gone in Congo-August 1960 to May 1964, West New Guinea-October 1962 to April 1963, Namibia-April 1989 to March 1990, Kuwait-December 1991 to October 1993, Haiti-1993 to 1996, Cambodia-

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<sup>165</sup>Sohn, Louis B, "Important improvements in the functioning of the principal organs of the United Nations that can be made without charter revision." *American Journal of International Law* 91, no. 4 (1997): 652-662.

<sup>166</sup>Blair, Amanda Helen, *Going Beyond Accountability and Untangling the Politics of Conflict-Related Rape*. No. Thesis. University of Chicago, 2017.

<sup>167</sup>Maria Kiani, "Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping," *Strategic Studies* 24, no. 3 (2004): 41-72.

<sup>168</sup>Farhan Hanif Siddiqui, "Book Review: UN Peacekeeping Operations in Somalia, 1992-1995: The Pakistani Perspective by TughralYamin," *NUST Journal of International Peace and Stability (NJIPS)* 2, no. 2 (2019).



March 1992 to November 1993, Bosnia-March 1992 to February 1996, Somalia-March 1992 to February 1996, Rwanda-October 1993 to March 1996, and Angola-February 1995 to June 1997.<sup>169</sup> The next mission was in Sierra Leone Civil War in early 2000, after United Nations requested severely more military assistance in Sierra Leone. The war had reached at an intensified mood where women and children suffered a lot at hands of rebels and government too. UN was amazed as Pakistan rendered its help by sending its military personnel among 17,500, including 260 military observers who were already in Sierra Leone and were part of Lomé Peace Accord. The mission was established on UN resolution 1346 and approved a revised concept of operations. Pakistan sent the largest group of peacekeepers including non-military personnel. Mr. Sajjad Akram from Pakistan Army was appointed and head of mission and later served as the force Commander and also the Chief Military Observer from 2003 to September 2005.<sup>170</sup>

Mr. Munir Akram was appointed as the head, based on his vast experiences and successes in different UN missions he was sent. Some of his achievements as a diplomat are that had served both his country (Pakistan) and international community which handed him an impressive diplomatic portfolio. Some of his past experiences can be traced from Pakistan Ambassador to European Council of European Union (EU) in Belgium and Luxemburg respectively from 1988 to 1992. Has had also held senior positions such as Secretary-General Advisory Board on Disarmament, Chairman of World Trade Organization (WTO) Trade Policy Review Body and in June 1996, as President of Conference on Disarmament. His achievements are numerous, as of recent times, he is one of consultants to advise on an interview on 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the ongoing impact of Covid-19. He is also a hard critique of racism, human rights and other forms of discrimination. He is the current elect 79<sup>th</sup> President of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in July, 2020.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup>Max Roser and Mohamed Nagdy, "Peacekeeping," *Our World in Data*, 2013.

<sup>170</sup>Shafi, Khalid Mahmood, and Ruhaab Khalid, "United Nations and Pakistan: Global Peace Construction and Peace Characterization." *Pakistan Horizon* 74, no. 1 (2021).

<sup>171</sup>Bronwen Manby, "The Sustainable Development Goals and 'Legal Identity for All': 'First, Do No Harm,'" *World Development* 139 (2021): 105343.

## Conclusion

In case of Sierra Leone and Pakistan, both countries have had diplomatic relations since Sierra Leone's independence which needs to be evaluated to work upon the reason of previously limited cooperation, particularly in socioeconomic areas. However, there is a number of factors influencing their relations that have improved beyond expectation in recent years. Pakistan had been one of countries that vehemently opposed the apartheid system in South Africa, setting a bright example to the world, preaching against the unjust regimes, particularly in South Africa and demanded equal opportunities for Black South Africans. Pakistan even went further in making sure that all its passports were stamped that with the caption, "every country in the world except apartheid South Africa".<sup>172</sup>

Since both countries have been engaged in trade and commerce related activities, there are several areas where bilateral and multilateral cooperation can be enhanced through strategic planning and trade agreements. These agreements mostly lead to expand access between two countries markets and economic growth, improved labour standards and environmental protections.<sup>173</sup>

There are numerous areas where relations can be expanded, particularly education, security and law enforcement on land and in sea, training, machinery, industrialization, and particularly agriculture related activities like raising of basic domestic food stocks, lack of sufficient farming, storage facilities, lack of agricultural technologies, animal farming, soil technology, agricultural engineering and economics, and food nutrition. These are some of issue areas where robust foreign policy making aimed at combined efforts is desired.

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<sup>172</sup>Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001).

<sup>173</sup>Jonathan Eaton and Samuel S. Kortum, *Technology and Bilateral Trade* (National Bureau of Economic Research Cambridge, Mass., USA, 1997).

## **Chapter Three**

### **Economic Diplomacy between Sierra Leone and Pakistan:**

#### **Socio-Economic Impacts on Sierra Leone**

Creating economic ties between two or more countries is very significant especially when there is a starting point or trade relations that already existed. Relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan as explained in subsequent chapters are cordial, although small, but it can reach the high of China or more. Pakistan and Sierra Leone relations started way beyond 1961, Sierra Leone is always ready to accept Pakistan as trade partners, which globalization and neoliberalism, and has exhibited it in different occasions.

This chapter deals with economy-based diplomatic ties that are existing between Sierra Leone and Pakistan in new millennium. It is divided into four parts; starting from factors supportive for expansion of Sierra Leone-Pakistan's economic diplomacy in 21<sup>st</sup> century, Sierra Leone-Pakistan relations: economic diplomacy and trade volumes, socio-economic impacts of relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan, and expansion on political relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan

#### **3.1 Factors Supportive for Expansion of Sierra Leone-Pakistan's Economic Diplomacy in 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Globalization has proved helpful for different states to speed up in various ways of movements, exchanges, goods, services, human beings, capital, technologies or cultural practices. According to the WHO, it increases interconnection and interdependence with people and countries, which is highly required in modern world politics. To understand this phenomenon, developed states always look towards the opening of their international borders to increase fast flows of goods and services, finance and also people that are influencers in institutions.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>174</sup>Baker, Kay, and Walls, "Trade and Investment Liberalization and Asia's Noncommunicable Disease Epidemic: A Synthesis of Data and Existing Literature," 2014, 77.

Economists considered globalization as a process that increases or bind together interdependence of world economies which result to the growing scale of cross-border trade in commodities, capital and technologies. With this development, developing countries like Sierra Leone and Pakistan are following the trend to check up with developed states, as such, the more relations a state has with other states; more developed it would become gradually. National interest is important, rather unavoidable as it supports country survival, but even survival is ensured through good relations with others. As states need each other to develop and overcome issues, therefore both states cannot do it all on their own. Exploring globe and seeking opportunities with help of each other is paramount for trust-building among states that are achieved through globalization as a path for both Sierra Leone and Pakistan.

### **3.1.1 Economic Globalization**

The new millennium, starting with 21<sup>st</sup> century has enhanced phenomenon of globalization due to changes in dynamics in international society or community. The existence of human velocity has increased beyond borders, regions and other aspects of being economical or socially dependent on one source or increasing one capability in international relations. Although there are many driving forces behind globalization, it has brought number of steady changes in relations of states or nations to go an extra mile for bilateral or diplomatic relations with other states. It can bring changes to previous relations of states who used to be enemies, becoming best friends overnight, due to sheer interest, and for achieving economic goals. One example is recent development of secret relations between Saudi Arabia and Israel in 2021. On October 15, 2020, America pressured Saudi Arabia to build good relations with Israel with no-overt outcomes as advertised or seen by Middle Eastern countries. But in recent times, world is witnessing changes in both states' behaviours getting into advanced talks to normalize their relations for mutual good as according to Prince Faisal bin Farhan, relations with Israel would tremendously benefit the region. Evidently, globalization would force nations to compete or unite with each other for the good of a region, continent, or the world.

The economic and trade relations in world is changing. As of recent times even World Trade Organization changed its global economic rules to that of liberalization, as trade has

increased between states despite having many political issues. A report by Karen Lynch focuses on WTO to ascertain changes to different areas during lengthy preparation of its 11<sup>th</sup> Ministerial Conference which was held in December 2017. As was reported that businesses are changing in global market, trade growth in global trade and services was low between 1.9 and 2.5 percent in 2016, which organization considered as very low or the lowest characterized by World Bank. It advised that WTO rules should be changed in three agreements, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Agreement on Trade Services (GATS) and Agreement of Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), as this was also established after World War 2, while GATS and TRIPS both came into force in 1995.<sup>175</sup> This meeting was mainly held, due to focus of states during that time relying mostly on their state businesses, not noticing state and state or multilateral relations benefits the most.

### **3.1.2 Economic Interdependence**

Economic interdependence has had a lot of debate over years leading to conflict or peace. According to liberal school of thought, it can lower possibilities of aggression between states or any giving society. This is because states will only be focused on trade purposes rather than invading other. States have learnt a lot on how to use soft power on trade relations among themselves in a more peaceful way guided by lay down standard principles. But a clear contradiction of realist claim is China. Since reformation of its economic relations between states, country has enjoyed years of confrontations with its partners and has not got less economic dividends, rather its economic strategies have resulted immensely in making China an economic power since 1979.<sup>176</sup> This is seen with cases of China's rivals, especially India, America and Taiwan with which China has voluminous trade, as a good example of importance of economic interdependence. If this economic interdependence is not there, there might be more chances of war. The media

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<sup>175</sup>Baker, Kay, and Walls, "Trade and Investment Liberalization and Asia's Noncommunicable Disease Epidemic: A Synthesis of Data and Existing Literature." 2014.

<sup>176</sup>Mina E. Tanious, "The Impact of Economic Interdependence on the Probability of Conflict between States: The Case of 'American-Chinese Relationship on Taiwan since 1995,'" *Review of Economics and Political Science*, 2019, 6.

will give all kinds of negative stories, but both America and China need each other no matter what the case might be.

One can sense it in recent development with COVID 19, both states' growing influences in ocean politics (especially in South China Sea) among others.<sup>177</sup> Conflict is probably the worst scenario where great nations have given an account of losing superpower status in global politics, looking at cases of Germany, Great Britain and Russia during Cold War. Getting into war is certainly the most expensive endeavor a state could face, as it is very expensive and can lead to great loss at various levels like human capability, economy, and infrastructural damage among others. Sierra Leone is a clear example also; since war ended in 2002, after 19 years, still battling to recover from skirmishes or damages caused during its 11 years old civil war.

Economic interdependence is one of frequently talked about topics, as two broad meanings have been highlighted by Mansfield and Pollinsin. The first one is that economic interdependence can be a group of countries involving in trade and exchange activities. Secondly, a case where one is highly dependent on other will eventually lead to rupture or separation.<sup>178</sup>

According to liberalist school of thought, economic interdependence can be of advantages on different forms, one area is through trade which is backbone of this theory.<sup>179</sup> In influencing international market, trade volume always influences nature and content of inter-state relations.

Sierra Leone since end of its civil war is in dire need of countries that would be able to help especially in sectors that are still finding difficulties in developing. The country needs agriculturally rich countries like Pakistan to impart its knowledge to develop its (Sierra

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<sup>177</sup>Premesha Saha, "The United States and the South China Sea Dispute," *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences* 5, no. 3 (2015): 629–43. 1.

<sup>178</sup>Edward Deering Mansfield and Brian M. Pollins, *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate* (University of Michigan Press, 2009).

<sup>179</sup>Dale C. Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations," *International Security* 20, no. 4 (1996): 646.

Leone) agriculture sector.<sup>180</sup> Rice is one of the areas that need a larger productivity level, and Pakistan is one of the leading world producers of this product which is a staple food for almost 80 percent of Sierra Leoneans, as explained before. Since China is now one common element capable to bridge both Sierra Leone and Pakistan; as Pakistan is an economic partner to China's economic connectivity strategy of BRI whereas Sierra Leone is also having China's FDI in the country besides other soft power ventures like cooperation in education sector, agriculture, trade and cultural exchanges. Economic interdependence among three countries can be enhanced on basis of socioeconomic development of all partners in terms of economy and commerce, social services, commodities, and improvement of living standards of people.

### **3.1.3 Intercultural Interaction**

In historical events of human civilization, intercultural interactions between nations and people have always been part of relations between states. The US for example shaped its foreign policy by idea of universal importance of western culture for rest of world calling it as a soft power approach, using it to convince everyone that their main motive for this is to create an environment for whole of humanity. This approach is clearly explained by UNESCO which was implemented by organization describing different ways how members of two or more cultural groups with different backgrounds influence one another in certain fashion through international political or economic interactions.<sup>181</sup> Creating intercultural relations between states, according to UNESCO, can be broadly categorized where a relationship involving two or more states agree to work together on a particular project.<sup>182</sup>

West African countries do express their determination to work with any state which is ready to have a genuine contribution to their economy, trade and other bilateral relations

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<sup>180</sup>Nirmala Bandumula, "Rice Production in Asia: Key to Global Food Security," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, India Section B: Biological Sciences* 88, no. 4 (2018): 57.

<sup>182</sup>Piet-Hein Houben, "Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-Operation among States," *American Journal of International Law* 61, no. 3 (1967): 86.

through different economic cooperation mechanisms like African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other regional West African organizations. Looking at Pakistan relations with West African nations, it has contributed to capacity building in areas of infrastructure, cultural policies, promoting cultural goods and services among others.

It is very clear when establishing cultural relations with other states; each partner contributes its vision, ideas, knowledge, resources and unique experiences, especially in market networks and distribution channels and other expertise. It can lead to a situation where parties involved enhance understanding of each other culture, sectors, and inform the general public and governments on the distinctive features, potential and needs of the cultural industries. A partnership based on understanding can always lead to respect, transparency, dedication and equity. In cultural relations with two or more states, the benefits involved can not only go to government alone, but create a great impact on private, public and civil society actors respectively.<sup>183</sup> Cultural relations between states are mostly not looked at, especially when it comes to developing countries due to various reasons such as insufficient training, insufficient infrastructure, hostel institutions and normative environments, limited access of funding, uncertainty in cultural industry markets and insufficient information.

For sure, after end of bipolar system, a trend or emergence called globalization has resulted in scholars asking questions about role of domestic and international politics and economy of states. These can be witnessed by rapid growth to free markets or capital markets which has increased interdependence of national economies and also development and modernization of technology and techniques, especially the explosive growth of internet, information sector and telecommunications networks have closed the gap of distance in communications and interactions between people across globe.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>183</sup>Lyndel V. Prott, "UNESCO and UNIDROIT: A Partnership against Trafficking in Cultural Objects," *Uniform Law Review-Revue de Droit Uniforme* 1, no. 1 (1996): 59–71.

<sup>184</sup>Susanne C. Moser and Juliette A. Finzi Hart, "The Long Arm of Climate Change: Societal Teleconnections and the Future of Climate Change Impacts Studies," *Climatic Change* 129, no. 1 (2015): 86.



Intercultural relations between states cannot be limited to above argument as it can also boost tourism sector of individual states in many dimensions. Tourism is very vital for states due to successes of many economies around world. As it can create or boost countries' revenues, jobs, infrastructural development and cultural exchange between states. Looking at number of jobs it can create in different areas of significance including agricultural sectors, communication, health and most importantly educational sector. According to Melbourne, employments in the tourism sector alone account 4 million people worldwide.<sup>185</sup> Most people travel to learn culture and tradition of others which also create an opportunity for young entrepreneurs invent new products.

As a sub-continent in Africa region, West Africa with sixteen member countries and regarded as the biggest organization in terms of population for regional integration on African continent. Looking at population and geographical location of West Africa, it is necessary for states that have financial capability to invest in the sub-continent and see how it will be developed in no time.<sup>186</sup>

### **3.1.4 Increase in International Trade Relations**

West African states are in dire need of rapid infrastructural improvement as; looking towards importance of region. International trade is imparted by recent trend of globalization and that is greatly dependent on global markets as well as marketing of goods and products; as a wine locally made in Nigeria is available worldwide. It is evident nowadays to see impacts of trade which allows countries to expand their markets, access goods and services were only available domestically. That is why trade has resulted in competition between states all over globe and low prices of products.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>185</sup>Milandrie Marais, Engelina Du Plessis, and Melville Saayman, "Critical Success Factors of a Business Tourism Destination: Supply Side Analysis," *Acta Commercii* 17, no. 1 (2017): 1–12.

<sup>186</sup>John DY Peel, "Similarity and Difference, Context and Tradition, in Contemporary Religious Movements in West Africa," *Africa* 86, no. 4 (2016): 5.

<sup>187</sup>Mehdi Shafaeddin, "Trade Liberalization, Industrialization and Development; Experience of Recent Decades," *Mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de*, 2010, 17.

The concept of trade was first recognized by famous economist, Adam Smith and David Ricardo, as key to the rise of global economy through supply and demand in prices.<sup>188</sup> It is very clear that since beginning of 1980s, states that are involved in international trade have experienced economic performance and are increasingly dependent on global dynamics. This is neoliberalism that focuses on free trade for developing economies to witness growth and development. According to WTO, through international trade, it can bring quality to ensure the smooth and free flow goods and services, help in developmental policies, especially in settling disputes and improved monitoring.<sup>189</sup> The case of China's growing presence in Africa over past decade is a bright example of globalization of economy and transactional benefits worth billions of USD. Globalization of economy has transformed China into second-largest economy of world. The volume of China's economic growth is recorded in an article by Emmanuel by saying that it has grown without too much effort from USD 1 billion USD in 2000 to USD 55 billion in 2007, USD 198.4 in 2012, and USD 221.88 billion in 2014. And it is reported that, in 2009, China even led the table as top earners and partners in Africa's leading World Bank.<sup>190</sup> How globalization and liberal economies bring change in economic situation of any country is evident from example of African countries like Nigeria alone with its population and recent development has to be one of the fastest-growing economies not only in Africa but globally, and also with the likes of Ghana, Ivory Coast, Gambia, and recently Sierra Leone.

### **3.1.5 Visionary Leadership**

The last two years have seen international politics as a storming block to trade relations, especially in recent development with the saga on the American elections. During the Presidency of Donald Trump, his discussions were more on the US economy, health care

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<sup>188</sup> Sumaiya Saif, "The Role of the State in International Trade Theory and Policy: Historical Evidence from South Korea and Brazil," *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*, January 1, 2019.

<sup>189</sup> Konrad von Moltke, "The World Trade Organization: Its Implications for Sustainable Development," *Journal of Environment & Development*, 1994, 43–57.

<sup>190</sup> Emmanuel Akyeampong, "China in West Africa's Regional Development and Security Plans," *Africa Development* 40, no. 4 (2015): 1–19.

and other internal issues, while little attention was given to foreign policy.<sup>191</sup>As the Republican foreign policy was not on good terms with local and international community which played a great role in the elections. As scholarly articles, media, blogs, and other outlets wrote numerous assertions on the nature of Trump-led administration and its effect on world politics. In most countries, leaders create and implement their foreign policies, so was the case of Trump which made enemies especially with states like Iran and China. Though foreign policy does not have so much influence in the West or determine outcome of election have somewhat created a lot of education in world which states have learnt from. As in America people still favoured George Bush on the things he did in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria among others, that is why he was voted for in 2004 election. We can see people referring to Obama as a weak leader, during his presidency, based on his handling of Libya, Syria and Iran.

Foreign policy, in most cases, might be changed slightly by some leaders, but more importantly, international system stability greatly depends on it. Although in real sense superpowers have influenced more on foreign policy global scale looking, just as China started from somewhere and its status in international community today has changed drastically. The debate will never end when it comes to foreign policy, and it is very necessary to bring cases of superpowers, as one can learn greatly from their mistakes and form better relations with local, nationals and international market or world at large.

President Julius Maada Bio in a TED Talk interview expressed his plans on becoming a President in April 2019. Many things were said by the President emphasizing at following for national development, education, human capital, natural resources among others. Mentioning the country is ready to partner with international community to strengthen free and quality education, starting with pre-school, primary and secondary education. Furthering his plans, Sierra Leone is experiencing highest form of school children (2,000,000) and the highest flow of international scholarships. In his conclusion, he

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<sup>191</sup>Robert W. McElroy, *Morality and American Foreign Policy* (Princeton University Press, 2014).

mentioned that country was looking for a partnership to improve technology in Sierra Leone.<sup>192</sup>

In another meeting with ECOWAS on Saturday 29 June 2019, in a summit in Abuja (Nigeria), President of Sierra Leone again stressed at importance of human capital, and how all government officials are on their toes to lead in this direction. Stating that, it is only through this that country would be developed in terms of equal and free access to quality education which involved skills training and innovation. Human capital makes human being fit for purpose in twenty-first century and all ready to fully partake in global economy. It was also noted about the support Sierra Leone has for Africa Continental Free Trade Agreement (AFCFTA) which Pakistan wants to work with recent times.<sup>193</sup>

An important event took place in 2018, which even attached Bill Gates Foundation President on Global Policy and Advocacy, Mark Suzman, on an event on Global Citizen Festival in Johannesburg, with other world leaders committed to Sustainable Development Goals.<sup>194</sup> There President Bio explained about an initiative on Innovation in Government Incubator in Sierra Leone relies on itself for capacity building before seeking help from others at a crowd of sixty thousand global citizens at FNB Stadium in Johannesburg. He also stated that investing in free quality teaching and learning is only way forward to build in human capital and also empowerment for youths to be generation ending poverty. Based on primary aims of country, youths who are qualified in a long qualification process conducted by Ministry of Tertiary and Higher Education (MTHE) are sent overseas to learn in different fields of studies. This effort is mostly done by Ministry of Education, with close collaboration with Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) Sierra Leone.

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<sup>192</sup>“Julius Maada Bio, A Vision for Future of Sierra Leone, TED, Saturday 22, 2019,” accessed August 11, 2021.

<sup>193</sup>“President Julius Maada Bio Explains Sierra Leone’s Human Capital Development Agenda to ECOWAS, Takes a Position on Regional Security and a Single Currency | Embassy of the Republic of Sierra Leone in the United States,” accessed August 11, 2021.

<sup>194</sup>Neha Shah, ‘Global Citizens Take Action to Help Fulfill Mandela’s Vision of Ending Poverty,’ December 3, 2018. Global Citizen, August 11, 2021.

Prime Minister Imran Khan's vision for Pakistan is to bring it to top of world map and show the world how helpful the country is with humanitarian aid for developing countries. In a 2020 speech may by the Prime Minister, he stated that vision is based on the lessons of history and there is a reason Pakistanis should learn from it. The history of Pakistan, especially with other states in past is changing, as even with its great rival India Pakistan's leadership is ready to conduct talks. Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan's main vision is to make Pakistan a model state like Medina with special focus on education for all.<sup>195</sup> With such a vision, the country would not be able to do it only by itself, but through close collaboration with other states, in which Sierra Leone is one of options.

With all this and more, Pakistan and Sierra Leone visions are almost same in terms of empowerment of youths and building education to top. Building strong relations with Sierra Leone would have a vital role in bringing other West African nations closer. Presence of China in country can make it easier for Pakistan, looking at long-term relations and exploring further opportunities between them and Chinese.

### **3.1.6 Presence and Role of China**

The recent development of China is not based on its domestic policy and on adding a soft approach to its international policy. The Belt and Road initiative is a clear manifestation of China's soft approach to its international policy having a great impact on China's economy making it second in world after United States of America.<sup>196</sup>

In case of Sierra Leone and Pakistan, growing influence of China can be a great motivation on their foreign policies dealing with soft power approach for both diplomatic and bilateral relations. This is because China influence on world politics is generated profoundly on its political and economic decisions in creating partnership with other nations using soft power approach. Relations between two or more sovereign states can be considered very

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<sup>195</sup>"PM Imran Says He Dreams of Turning Pakistan into a Welfare State like Medina," January 01, 2020, The News, accessed August 11, 2021.

important as it can improve economic capabilities of both states as no state in the world can boast of its economic strength based on its domestic policy alone.

Just like any other West African country, China's relationship with Sierra Leone is long-standing, as two states started diplomatic ties during Cold War under Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong in its Cultural Revolution. On July 29, 1971, both countries established diplomatic relations and since then, they have supported each other in numerous occasions. China's support led to Steven's declaring himself as an anti-capitalist. In 1970s, politicians adopted communal farming and other practices based on Chinese methods; although in real sense, Sierra Leone never lived as a communist state but managed to become one among other Africa countries to receive larger portion of Chinese aid. The two countries' relations gained further strength in April 1981, when they signed a cultural agreement and fishing co-operations in 1989. Since establishing bilateral relations with Sierra Leone in 1970s, China had invested in agricultural, infrastructure, healthcare and educational sectors till 2010. Chinese direct investment in the country was 51.2 million USD, but it doubled FDI amount to 109 million USD in total.<sup>197</sup> During 1990s, China's relations with Sierra Leone became sluggish due to civil unrest or decade-long war in country, but strengthened in 2010 on a visit by Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi and assured them of greater economic ties.<sup>198</sup>

Since then, Sierra Leone has benefited through various projects like modern rice cultivation techniques, building of national stadium, roads, bridges, hydropower station, telecommunication (Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd and ZTE Corporation in 2005), construction of buildings like renovation of FBC, hospitals, schools, civil housing etc.<sup>199</sup>

Sierra Leone enjoys benefits greatly in area of education as Chinese government start giving scholarships to students in 1976. In 2010, more than 330 were given Chinese

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<sup>197</sup>Simone Datzberger, "China's Silent Storm in Sierra Leone," Africa Portal, 2013.

<sup>198</sup>Larry Hanauer and Lyle J. Morris, *Chinese Engagement in Africa: Drivers, Reactions, and Implications for US Policy* (Rand Corporation, 2014).

<sup>199</sup>Luka Powanga and Irene Giner-Reichl, "China's Contribution to the African Power Sector: Policy Implications for African Countries," *Journal of Energy* 2019 (2019).

scholarships to study in various universities in China. The list has gone up as of recent, there are more than 500 students awarded with Chinese Government scholarships and over 5100 studying short-term courses in China.<sup>200</sup>

In recent times, China in many ways can be said of doing a great job in Sierra Leone, particularly in developmental activities the country is witnessing in terms of mining, infrastructural development, agriculture, education, and other technical supports. One can witness impact of China's role through economic relations after end of civil war, as a country which was in early stages of economic breakdown, high cost of living and homelessness of local people who travel to war-free areas among others.

The Belt and Road Initiative is an investment and economic connectivity strategy brought forward by People's Republic of China for global trade, investment and finance. This idea came up as a result to develop a strategy aiming at building connectivity and cooperation through six main economic corridors.<sup>201</sup> It is a very huge initiative which Asian Development Bank estimated in 2017 being 26 trillion USD in infrastructure. Looking at economic strength of China, it can certainly help to provide investments by building infrastructure through its BRI to its party states. This initiative has potential not only for Chinese markets and its economic sustainability but socioeconomic development of other states which are party to BRI projects through industrial development and trade strategy which would develop trade network of produce and products which are needed by all for long-term industrial access capacity.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>200</sup>H. E. Hu Zhangliang, Chines Ambassador to Sierra Leone: Continuously New Chapters of Chine-Sierra Leone Friendship within the Framework of FOCAC-In Celebration of the 20th Anniversary of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation; October 27, 2020. - Google Search," accessed August 11.

<sup>201</sup>Svante E. Cornell and Frederick S. Starr, "Modernization and Regional Cooperation in Central Asia: A New Spring," *Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, Washington DC*, 2018.

<sup>202</sup>Belt, OECD China's, "Road Initiative in the global trade, investment and finance landscape." *Business and Finance Outlook*, (2018).

Sierra Leone and Pakistan need infrastructural and technological advancement for which BRI has been considered a strategy to resolve multitude of issues. But due to political issues particularly change of governments can slow down the course of development, and change in plans. This inconsistency can harm processes and outcomes both for developing countries like Pakistan, Malaysia, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Sierra Leone by cancelling previous negotiation with BRI, worried over high project costs and increased national debt and also a great effect on economic development. In recent news, Pakistan reduced its loan from China from \$8.2 billion to \$6.2 billion and also agreed on a joint coal power project worth \$2 billion. The past government of Sierra Leone wanted a Chinese company to build a \$318-million airport, but the present government scrapped the project not to go with based on the country's being one of Africa's poorest. Such hurdles can create unnecessary delays in projects' completion and functionality. Therefore, states need to complete pre-work before embarking on strategies and projects.

### **3.2 Sierra Leone-Pakistan Relations: Economic Diplomacy and Trade Volume**

Pakistan and Sierra Leone have been enjoying good relations since Sierra Leone's inception, but in spite of all commonalities and good ties, not much economic cooperation had been witnessed. There could be better 'south to south' cooperation but that did not take place as leadership on both sides was not understanding such small steps but with massive outcomes. It is with great concern for both Sierra Leone and Pakistan to lead in this direction to tie strong relations with other states with similar credentials. Sierra Leone's strategic location, richness in natural resources and also colonial history as headquarters of British Administration for the rest of British Colonies makes it very important.

As advised by WTO, it is good for states to be very compromising on trade relations, laws, or international policies due to course of low growth during stated period. States were meant to lower their cost of trade relations with other states. Economic globalization is a way forward to contribute integration and interdependence of nations, as one state cannot stand on its own in this competitive world. This new doctrine has brought a lot of positive changes in world and can be seen in different aspects of trade relations at local, national, regional, international, and overall global levels of economics through exchange of goods and services within and across borders.



According to Gao Shangquan, economic globalization can be very vital for states not to limit their trade relations with 1 or 2 other states, but should continuously expand and have mutual respect for good of mankind. Shangquan has based his point on one important instrument or driving force of world development, science and technological development has resulted in too many making market economic system is growing rapidly throughout the new millennium.<sup>203</sup> As through science and technology, cost of transportation has been reduced and communication can be assessed very easily, which makes economic globalization possible. Looking at shipping cost in 1930s, what could be achieved in one year, nowadays, it could take only one day to get same, the same with airfreight and communication costs. China and its economic growth is one such example that started with minimal growth, making relations with states economically, not militarily, and is now considered the fastest-growing economy.

Using soft power is vital as it leads to strengthening economy and better trade relations with other states, going with soul principles of globalization trend. The political will should not be compromised to build strong ties between Sierra Leone and Pakistan as a gesture of soft power. Globalization has potential to further this contribution towards positive changes for Sierra Leone and Pakistan, evident from its start in 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and the way it has transformed now resulting into rapid change of outlook and perception of China into an economic power. Economic globalization plays a constructive role in all its development, and China is a major player in international organizations and also contributes to the resolution of global problems.

It is very eminent in these modern times to say that global interdependence has contributed to expansion in economic cooperation between Pakistan and West Africa. Apart from Pakistan's role in Sierra Leone's civil war, global cooperation at a universal multilateral level is an active motivation for both nations. This will also result in avoiding immigration and other travelling bands on both, though Pakistan citizens are free to go to Sierra Leone

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<sup>203</sup>Gao Shangquan, "Economic Globalization: Trends, Risks and Risk Prevention," *Economic & Social Affairs, CDP Background Paper 1* (2000): 1–8.

without a visa. On contrary, Sierra Leoneans' travel to Pakistan with visas which could be softened to encourage Sierra Leone to engage into economic opportunities with Pakistan.

### **3.2.1 Multilateral Trade Diplomacy**

Development in multilateral institutions and trade agreements is a boost to nations and organizations, and it brings ambitious national development plans. The new leadership in Sierra Leone has made plans to develop five-year trade facilitation on July 18, 2019, with support of World Bank Group's Trade Facilitation Support Program as their primary objective dealing with other countries. Sierra Leone's Port Authority is estimated to account for over 80 percent of trade and has benefited from early trade improvements with countries like Pakistan and China.

One area where Pakistan and Sierra Leone tie strong economic diplomatic relations is rice export. Pakistan, according to a recent report of World Trade Organization, holds 10 positions in World, and there is great competition from different countries to buy its product. In economy of Pakistan, rice is one of important source of foreign exchange. There are several other rice-producing countries like China, India, Thailand, Afghanistan, Brazil, America, Paraguay and Swaziland, but from 2003 to 2016, Pakistan's export of rice to 144 countries including Sierra Leone was a very big boost to its economy. In recent times, this number has dropped to 109, maybe due to higher prices and competition from other nations.

Rice is believed to be the most important food grain in world, which according to statistics covers more than 20 percent of global consumption and 31 percent especially in low-income countries. Sierra Leone's staple food is rice and just in 2018, with a population of 7.5 million people, there has been a recorded total of 152 million USD of imports in 2017. With Pakistan, share of rice is 22% (34 million US\$), China 14.7% (22 million US\$), Brazil

11.4% (17.4 million US\$), United Arab Emirates 7.36% (11.2 million US\$) among other rice-producing states.<sup>204</sup>

### **3.2.2 Bilateral Trade between Sierra Leone and Pakistan, 2002-2021**

Sierra Leone and Pakistan have been having one big hurdle in developing their bilateral relations which is absence of embassies representing each state in their home countries but that does not mean that both countries are not involved in trade relations and other educational, medical, infrastructural or other technical services. Both states always look out for each other. In areas of trade, both countries have good ties and significant value of import and export to each other. Though Sierra Leone and Pakistan do not have high volume of trade despite their cordiality of relations since long, ways to expand current trade volume and areas of trade can be strategized for mutual good as a step in right direction. Doing trade with another state can always lead to great partnerships and can be furthered through signing of more agreements which will work well as planned due to previous relations.<sup>205</sup>

It is always very vital for countries before having strong economic ties to respect and trust each other in terms of trusting decision making, vision, competence and temperament etc. Sierra Leone's main ambition is its national development which is centered at the heart of trade. The new government of Sierra Leone especially with support of World Bank's Trade Facilitation Support Program and the country is moving forward towards full compliance with World Trade Organization's Trade Facilitation Agreement.<sup>206</sup> The agreement is very beneficial for developing countries and least-developed countries to set their timetables for

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<sup>204</sup>Muhammad Saqib Irshad, Qi Xin, and Hamza Arshad, "Competitiveness of Pakistani Rice in International Market and Export Potential with Global World: A Panel Gravity Approach," *Cogent Economics & Finance* 6, no. 1 (2018): 1486690.

<sup>205</sup>Sapp, David Alan, "Global partnerships in business communication: An institutional collaboration between the United States and Cuba." *Business Communication Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2004): 267-280.

<sup>206</sup>Kraemer, Moritz UG, Chia-Hung Yang, Bernardo Gutierrez, Chieh-Hsi Wu, Brennan Klein, David M. Pigott, Open COVID-19 Data Working Group† et al. "The effect of human mobility and control measures on the COVID-19 epidemic in China." *Science* 368, no. 6490 (2020): 493-497.

TFA depending on their capacities. Freetown Port accounts for over 80 percent of its trade and has already benefited from early improvements.

Bilateral trade, contrary to multilateral trade involves only exchange of goods with two nations, promoting ties and investment, which Sierra Leone and Pakistan have been enjoying during past two decades. With example of the US Office of Bilateral Trade Affairs, mostly negotiated free trade agreements with new countries are aimed to promote economic developments abroad and other plans.<sup>207</sup> Sierra Leone and Pakistan are having both export and import goods for past 19 years, starting from 2002 with raw material, machinery products, medical and other goods. Their main trade involves rice, pharmaceutical, dairy products, sugar, confectionery like bread, biscuits, wafers, cakes, articles of leather, animal gut, harness, cereals, textile articles, worn clothing, ethyl alcohol, spirit, cocoa, tractors, and medicament mixtures among other products.

**Table 1: Aggregate Trade of Pakistan with Sierra Leone**

<b>Aggregate Trade of Pakistan with Sierra Leone (US\$ Million)</b>				
<b>Years</b>	<b>Exports</b>	<b>Imports</b>	<b>Total Trade</b>	<b>Trade Balance</b>
2016-17	25.83	0.038	25.869	25.793
2017-18	21.11	0.074	21.185	21.036
2018-19	15.44	0.11	15.552	15.327
2019-20	16.40	0.91	17.300	15.490
2020-21	3.65	1.05	4.703	2.606

Meanwhile, Sierra Leone imports from Pakistan had been worth US\$36.46 Million during 2018. From 2019 to 2021, total numbers of Pakistan’s exports to Sierra Leone have been over 22,592,000 million USD. Pakistan top imports from Sierra Leone 2019-2021 have been over 1,662,000 million USD, based on data provided by Ministry of Commerce, Government of Pakistan.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>207</sup>Theodore H. Cohn and Anil Hira, *Global Political Economy: Theory and Practice* (Routledge, 2020).

<sup>208</sup>Niazi, Abdul Aziz Khan, Tehmina Fiaz Qazi, Abdul Basit, and Muhammad Zeeshan Shaukat,

**Table 02: Top Imports of Pakistan from Sierra Leone**

<b>Pakistan's Top Imports from Sierra Leone (US\$ Million)</b>			
<b>Product Codes</b>	<b>Product Description</b>	<b>2021-21</b>	<b>2019-20</b>
0909	Seeds (anis, fennel, coriander, cumin or caraway; juniper berries)	0.472	-
7204	Ferrous waste and scrap; reemitting scrap ingots or iron or steel	0.161	0.290
2614	Titanium ores and concentrates	0.130	0.161
3302	Odoriferous mixtures as raw materials for industry	0.092	0.146
9027	Instruments for physical/chemical analysis, instruments for viscosity, heat etc.	0.062	-
9031	Measuring or checking machines	0.056	-
1211	Medicinal plants	0.027	0.024
3811	Anti-knock preparations, oxidation inhibitors, gum inhibitors, viscosity improvers, anti-corrosive	0.020	-
8481	Tap, cock, valve for pipe, tank for the like including pressure reducing valve	0.019	-
0713	Dried legumes, vegetables, shelled, skinned or split	0.002	-

Since rice is main source of food for vast majority of Sierra Leoneans, used in almost every household in the country. This produce attracts lots of attention. Being one of the most important food crops, it is widely grown by farmers across the country. Despite increased volume of rice production, rice has emerged as a serious issue of food security. This can be traced way back to 2013 according to the Journal of Northeast Agricultural University which brings out importance of rice which was over 50 percent of world population depends on it and about 80 percent of their food need comes from rice products. During that period, about estimated annual rice production needs were access by Alphajoh Bah,

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"Evaluation of Climate of Selected Sixty-six Countries using Grey Relational Analysis: Focus on Pakistan." *Journal of Business and Social Review in Emerging Economies* 7, no. 1 (2021): 51-62.

that by 2001 an increase of 586 million USD metric tons should be catered for and to meet the projected global demand of about 756 million USD metric tons by 2030.<sup>209</sup>

**Table 2: Top Exports of Pakistan to Sierra Leone**

<b>Pakistan's Top Exports to Sierra Leone (US\$ Million)</b>			
<b>Product Codes</b>	<b>Product Description</b>	<b>2020-21</b>	<b>2019-20</b>
1006	Rice	1.155	10.266
6309	Worn clothing and articles	0.833	0.867
3004	Medicament mixtures (not 3002, 3005, 3006), put in dosage	0.613	0.632
8701	Tractors (other than tractors of heading no 87.09)	0.332	0.550
1704	Sugar confectionery (including white choc), not containing cocoa	0.147	0.076
2207	Ethyl alcohol & other spirits (if undenatured then higher than 80% by	0.142	3.574
1905	Bread, biscuits, wafers, cakes and pastries	0.110	0.033
8432	Agricultural, horticultural, forest machinery for soil prep/cultivation	0.097	0.104
5601	Wadding of tex mat & art thereof; tex fib 5mm le(flock)	0.041	0.000
5608	Knotted netting of twine, cordage/rope made up fishg nets	0.032	-

The demand for rice has increased widely in Sierra Leone and can be seen in a recent statistic with import of rice from Pakistan alone among other countries like China, India, and Indonesia and so on. According to UN COMTRADE stats, the total amount of rice that Pakistan exports to Sierra Leone in only 2018 were 34.78 million USD. According to Dr. Najmideen,<sup>210</sup> ‘Meanwhile Sierra Leone imports from Pakistan were US\$36.46 Million

<sup>209</sup>Alhajoh Alhadi Bah, “Strategies for Promoting Rice Self-Sufficiency in Sierra Leone,” *Journal of Northeast Agricultural University (English Edition)* 20, no. 4 (2013): 78–86.

<sup>210</sup>Dr. Bakare Najmideen (Nigerian), Lecturer, National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Islamabad, Pakistan. Interview was conducted on zoom meeting at 3:PST 8<sup>th</sup> July 2021.

during 2018, according to the United Nations COMTRADE database on international trade’.

### **3.3 Socio-Economic Impacts of Relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan**

This is world where there is no individual state can survive on its own. States make their public policies in accordance to their needs and formulate strategies targeted at their particular requirements like economy, trade, commerce, military, culture, religion, ideology, politics, environment, cordiality, and several others which are dynamic behind effective diplomatic relations. Fundamentally foreign policy is extension of states’ domestic policy, hence focused at welfare of its state and society. This is socioeconomic conditions of any country which act as driving force behind any state’s foreign policy choices and diplomatic relations with other countries. Eventually all kind of diplomacies are aimed at socioeconomic development, sustainability, stability and peace.

One of main drivers for socio-economic relations between states is globalization which is a trend every state is following to uplift its social services and to create opportunities systemically through diplomatic relations with other countries. For two or more states to collaborate or join in trade, cultural, political or social relations, it can be diplomatic or bilateral means. The importance of diplomatic relations between states throughout history has resulted in protecting diplomatic agents from unfair treatment on embarking with different business missions and also negotiating with other nations. Diplomacy establishes platform for decisions, protection, promotion of friendly relations and behavior of foreign governments on their international policies to avoid conflicting situations. This process stated during creation of Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations in 1961, which became a part of law in 1964, for purpose of guidance for countries on practice and standards which are to be applied to relations between states.<sup>211</sup> It clearly states that diplomatic relations start right away when two or more countries decide to engage in exchange of missions and to reciprocate in terms of diplomatic endeavors. Through this,

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<sup>211</sup>Hestermeyer, Holger P, "Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961)." *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (2009).

states would be able to benefit from each other greatly in terms of exchange programs and other technical facilities.

Pakistan recent invitation to Sierra Leone stands as a clear indication on how its interested on strengthening bilateral ties and wants to invest in the country's natural resources (diamond, gold, Iron ore etc), agriculture, infrastructure and other areas. President Arif Alvi clearly stated in the envoy letter how Pakistan would be able to gain in the stated areas if giving green light by President Bio. This can enhance more export and import facilities of agricultural products, mining materials and other areas especially for Pakistan.

Pakistan as a country has a very good reputation especially when it comes to peacekeeping missions under United Nations. Looking at active role Pakistan has played from 1962 till date in over 30 or more missions is evidence enough to prove its professional command and operational expertise. In West Africa, Northern Africa, East Africa, Asia, and other parts of world which gave them crown of having the highest peacekeeping personnel among the 100 contributing countries in early 2000s, sending over 8544 personnel, both troops and police in Africa, Asia, and Europe, as compared to Bangladesh (7163), Nigeria (3579), Ghana (3579) and India (2934).<sup>212</sup> With sacrifices they are making, lots of these peacekeepers have died, for sake of humanity and to bring peace in conflicting countries, regions or world. These sacrifices they make is based on foreign policy of country which states,

“Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all nations of the world. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and

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<sup>212</sup>Kiani, Maria, "Pakistan's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping." *Strategic Studies* 24, no. 3 (2004): 41-72.



depressed people of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter”.<sup>213</sup>

### **3.3.1 Peace and Stability in Sierra Leone through Capacity Building of Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF)**

There are various driving forces which control international relations including opportunities, challenges and threats more significantly due to the increasing terrorism at international level and post-conflict stabilization, security issues require an integrated approach in respect to development. Pakistan, in numerous peacekeeping operations, has exhibited various qualities not only in fighting but also involved in other developmental aspects of state where it is involved by training country’s military or civil armed forces (police etc). It is evident that in war situations, especially in areas of other non-state actors e.g., shadow parties, local militias, mercenaries from international community and so forth are involved in war, there needs strategic capacity building of civil armed forces to handle law enforcement challenges, and military to counter security threats. Lack of professionalism of Sierra Leone military forces and law enforcement agencies during 11 years long civil war was obvious reasons. UN mission in Sierra Leone command of a Pakistani General worked with them amicably and much-needed training was extended to facilitate their professionalism. Looking at various ways they were involved in political affairs of state, coups and other unprofessional acts and reaching to a time when one group of Sierra Leone’s army overthrew democratically elected government of Kabbah and collaborated with the rebels.

The training consisted of military advisors, financial and material supports to different sub-Saharan African forces. The impact of these training program which went through lots of challenges, had long term progress looking at professional conduct in some of those countries in recent times, as in cases of Sierra Leone and Liberia. Notwithstanding, these challenges are still going on, there is a long way to go. As stated in impacts of political relations between states, with advancement or recognition of Pakistani army in

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<sup>213</sup>Mehrunnisa Ali, “Jinnah’s Perception of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy and the Kashmir Issue,” *Pakistan Horizon* 43, no. 2 (1990): 57–70.

international community, being among top ten (10), the move by the President of Pakistan in a special invitation letter to the President of Sierra Leone is a stage for a brighter future for Sierra Leone armed forces since one of recommendations from Pakistani President is to tie close cooperation and train Sierra Leone armed forces to a more advanced stage. Lots of countries have military cooperation with West African to their interests from the US, France, Britain, and China among others. In 2017, the United States had military cooperation with Africa, and \$2.5 billion as the biggest budget was allocated for military and police aid. In comparison to what Pakistan has been doing for Sierra Leone, the US figure is big enough but dedication and level of training and nation building provided by Pakistan is at par. Nonetheless military and police training budget assigned by the US is the lowest compared to amount it had given to Israel i.e. 3.1 billion USD and Afghanistan 3.67 billion USD.<sup>214</sup>

To show how peacekeepers helped to transform Armed Forces, statement by Force Commander Major-General Sajjad Akram, in a news conference in 2005 about how prepared the forces were and would be able to provide security to general populace, he stated

“This is a different force from what you know during the war. They have been fully and professionally trained. UNAMSIL has conducted lots of training for both Sierra Leone Police (SLP) and RSLAF so that they will be in a better position to provide security for the country”<sup>215</sup>

With help of UN peacekeeping training of country’s armed forces, though still there are challenges of unprofessionalism, but country has experienced no military coup or disturbances since civil war ended in 2002. During Commander’s keynote address, the UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF) also acknowledged the efforts of UNAMSIL regarding a substantial concern of human trafficking, especially with women and children. Which had been going on for a long time was dealt by and large after enhancement of military and

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<sup>214</sup>Matthias Deneckere, Ashley Neat, and Volker Hauck, “The Future of EU Security Sector Assistance,” ecdpm.org, 2020.

<sup>215</sup>Rizvi, Ferzana, "UN Peacekeeping Mission In Sierra Leone: Pakistan’s Role." *Journal Of Pakistan Vision* 18, no. 1 (2017): 61.

civil armed forces. With training of armed forces, situation was reduced and a lot of evidences were giving by UNICEF and other humanitarian organizations.

### **3.3.2 Post-War Reconstruction Plan of Sierra Leone**

Wars and conflicts cause poverty and other devastative impact on society due to which post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction is important. Since Sierra Leone had gone through a long civil war, it needed intact reconstruction plan. The post-war reconstruction plan by UNAMSIL has reflected its positive impact and effectiveness as Sierra Leone has not gone to war since end of its civil war and that is due to proper planning of UN mission under leadership of Major-General Akram. The UN mission learnt from past issues of Sierra Leone and went on to build strong institutions to carry on peace process in country, and 19 years since peacekeepers left the country in 2006, the plans are working very well. As government can maintain peace and stability throughout country with pieces of evidence in four different elections conducted on presidential levels, lots of parliamentary elections, councils, paramount chiefs and other bye-elections can tell the story. The war in Sierra Leone as stated by many writers lasted almost 11 years, with 70,000 deaths, hundreds amputated and 2.6 million people displaced. At that time, the population of Sierra Leone was only 5.6 million people.<sup>216</sup>

After defeat of RUF, United Nations started disarmament program of illegal armed forces, both RUF and other militia groups were accounted 75,000, with 42,000 weapons collected. One can imagine how the number of persons surmounts the number of weapons, as most of them were using sharp objects, like knives or cutlasses and other means of weaponry to carry out their war efforts.

In January 2006, UN established another mission to monitor post-conflict institutions called Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL). This effort by UN was in connection to situations similar to that of experiences they had in Liberia and other peacekeeping

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<sup>216</sup>AdekeyeAdebajo, “The Dog That Did Not Bark: Why Has Sierra Leone Not Returned to War After Peacekeepers Left?,” in *The State of Peacebuilding in Africa* (Springer, 2021), 343–61.

countries with respect to peace building and reconstruction tasks.<sup>217</sup> The structures put in place in Sierra Leone can now speak for themselves, as country is enjoying peace till this day. Although still there are issues relating to massive unemployment, corruption and element of ethnic divisions which can be dealt by strong foreign policy to increase economic activity. Like for example, in 2008, the estimated age of 15 years was at 42 percent of country's population and unemployment rate was over 600,000 in March 2010. UN peacekeeping estimated amount of US \$850 million meant for 2006 was spent annually in country which was provided by international donors, for peace and reconciliation process.<sup>218</sup>

Pieces of evidences were shown especially in Sierra Leone fifth election in March 2018, although there were cases of post-election violence in some parts. New Maada Bio administration in 2018, won by 51.8 percent of vote, seconded by Samura Kamara 48.2 percent of opposition APC.<sup>219</sup> The new administration of Bio coming to office in 2018 is focused on economy and fight against corruption, by setting up a Commission of Inquiry to uncovered evidence of gross corruption of his predecessor.

### **3.3.3 Infrastructural Development and Technical Support by Pakistani Peacekeepers**

In Sierra Leone alone, peacekeepers especially Pakistanis perform their duties not only in the war but there role is significant also in areas of humanitarian aid. This was manifested by Major General Sajjad Akram visit to Pakistani military camp in Kenema where he witnessed construction work done by Pakistani Battalion. They constructed a school in Kailahun, provided free medical with Specialist Doctors at city of Kenema, especially locals and people of nearby villages. The medical facility was not only meant for locals,

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<sup>217</sup>Ebo, Adedeji, "The challenges and lessons of security sector reform in post-conflict Sierra Leone: Analysis." *Conflict, Security & Development* 6, no. 4 (2006): 481-501.

<sup>218</sup>Jalloh, Charles Cherner, "Special Court for Sierra Leone: Achieving Justice." *Mich. J. Int'l L.* 32 (2010): 395.

<sup>219</sup>Herbert M'cleod and Brian Ganson, "The Underlying Causes of Fragility and Instability in Sierra Leone," *Commission on State Fragility, Growth and Development Case Study. London: London School of Economics and Oxford University*, 2018.

but for members of various Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) operating in that area. Their efforts were acknowledged by Resident Minister South, Mr. Randolph Fillie about which he was happy to see such development in that part of country.

Another great development was a visit by Force Commander visit to Kono district, eastern part of country in a ceremony to decorate some of hardworking Pakistanis peacekeepers. The event was visited by Egyptian and Lebanese ambassadors, representatives from British High Commission and UN Ambassador.<sup>220</sup> The eastern part of country was the most dangerous bordering with Liberia. In this meeting, Pakistani contingents were also praised for their number of humanitarian projects, including construction of churches, mosques and skills acquisition center building in Koidu. Together with additional helps by a contingent in donation of food items, drugs, clothes, free medical, such as eye surgery, free eyeglasses to locals, cloths, and also a footbridge to transport goods and services in and out of district.

### **3.4 Expansion on Political Relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan**

Political relations between two states are also important for increase in number of combined activities and reciprocities for social and political development. It can be of great help according to liberalist school of thought, looking at positive side of argument. One can bring example of the US looking at its rapid economic growth. The US growing influence and economy continues due to its political and diplomatic relations with other countries who have a significant effect on their economic conditions, especially developing countries. As stated by Najafi, in international relations, assessment of importance of political relations can lead to trade, capital flows or foreign direct investment (FDI) and giving out of aid are mostly happening between states.<sup>221</sup> Political relations, however small can lead to numerous benefits, as the more the relationships grow, the more trade and capital flows shape their economy, based on countries quality of political relations.

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<sup>220</sup>Mark Malan, Phenyorakate, and Angela McIntyre, *Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone: UNAMSIL Hits the Home Straight*, vol. 68 (Institute for Security Studies Pretoria, 2002).

<sup>221</sup>Ehsan Najafi et al., "Understanding the Changes in Global Crop Yields through Changes in Climate and Technology," *Earth's Future* 6, no. 3 (2018): 410–27.

## **Conclusion**

Sierra Leone and Pakistan have entered into a remarkable phase in which there is political will and sincere efforts greatly evident to increase cooperation which will not only enhance economic opportunities but overall socioeconomic growth will change indicators. It takes research, planning and implementation looking at various socio-economic needs of both states to improve trade relations to a higher level. Pakistan is also a developing state and with its expertise in areas of agricultural technology can greatly impact the agricultural sector of Sierra Leone enabling country to deal with challenges of food security. Sierra Leone is still without sufficient technology and even small and medium industry to induct its human capital. Pakistan being one of leading agriculturally rich nations, backed with modernized farming can help Sierra Leone greatly. With recent development coming up, both states would be benefiting from each other in terms of almost all what is stated in this chapter. Sierra Leone is small, but its potentials cannot be hidden clearly seen in relations with other states like China.

## Chapter Four

### Opportunities and Challenges for Sierra Leone-Pakistan Relations Under AU and ECOWAS

This chapter highlights significance of Pakistan's policy towards African continent, and brings out meaningful issues standing as an obstacle in economic, military, and socio-economic ties between region and Pakistan. It looks at opportunities and challenges emerging for the two countries under auspices of different regional economic organizations African Union/AfCFTA, ECOWAS, Pakistan relations with these organizations prospects for Pakistan relations with West Africa under the AfCFTA, opportunities for Pakistan trade relations with the AfCFTA, and challenges for West Africa and Pakistan relations,

#### 4.1 New Phase of Pakistan-African Union Relations

With all challenges Pakistan has faced especially dealing with its relations with West Africa and looking at strong ties with Northern Africa (Egypt, Morocco and Libya among others), the same has not been visible in case of Western Africa. In recent times, Prime Minister Imran Khan expressed his views of having strong ties with all African sub-regional states in 2019 during a meeting with Princess Sarah Zeid of Jordan, who doubles as Ambassador of WFP and Special Adviser on Mother and Child Nutrition in Islamabad.<sup>222</sup> His views with the Princess were to improve and promote ties with Africa, one of Pakistan new focuses of foreign policy operations, purposing special session of Africa-focused Envoys Conference. To achieve all these, Khan reflected his willingness to set a strategic plan and engagement with Africa under umbrella of African Union. He concluded by stating that his biggest regret was Pakistan not having ties with African countries.

Even Pakistan's Prime Minister pointed out at ties which China and Turkey have with Africa, and that Pakistan also can have diplomatic ties with them too. Africa is second-largest continent in world, with 20 percent of world's landmass, blessed with 54 states, a

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<sup>222</sup>Zia, Mr Muhammad Sarmad, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy." *CISS Insight Journal* 6, no. 1 (2018): 01-22.

population of 1.2 billion people and strongest youth population. Most of countries in Africa are witnessing rapid growth with overall GDP 2.3 trillion USD and import market 500 billion USD.<sup>223</sup>

A similar meeting was held by Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Shah Mehmood Qureshi focusing on Africa, which was attended by heads of missions in Abuja, Addis Ababa. The countries that were present in meeting are Algeria, Libya, South Africa, Kenya, and Senegal among others.<sup>224</sup> Qureshi in his address mentioned how Pakistan is ready to move from geopolitics to geo-economics, throwing light on importance of economic diplomacy as a new concept of building trade relations between states. In conclusion, he expressed how foreign ministry was working hard to implement a Global Initiative on Debt Reliefs for developing countries. He mentioned this because countries in Africa have big population, and to engage them in trade and economic opportunities is a step in the right direction, and that Pakistan would benefit immensely due to its long-term friendship with Africa in terms of relations and political goodwill.

#### **4.2 Sierra Leone-Pakistan's Rejuvenated Relations since 2018**

Through political and diplomatic relations, countries can benefit in various ways, in which steps to boost socioeconomic development are always important. Financial and economic aid, loans, humanitarian aid, technical support, grants, and even military assistance and cooperation is possible through multilateral or bilateral channels. This is very clear with the case of Sierra Leone and Pakistan as both countries have been involved in cases of rendering aid and other developmental activities in Sierra Leone. A letter by Pakistan's President Arif Alvi was presented to President Julius Maada Bio in Freetown by Ali Ahmed Arain, Pakistan's Ambassador to Senegal. Ambassador Arain in his opening address extended warm greetings from people of Pakistan and leadership, adding that he was honoured to present a letter on behalf of his President. In his address, Ambassador Arain

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<sup>223</sup>Sountongnoma Martial Anicet KIEMDE and Ahmed Dooguy Kora, "The Challenges Facing the Development of AI in Africa," in *2020 IEEE International Conference on Advent Trends in Multidisciplinary Research and Innovation (ICATMRI)* (IEEE, 2020), 1–6.

<sup>224</sup>Shafqat, Dr, and Saba Shahid, "Quarterly Issue 49 & 52." (2021).



mentioned two countries' relations in past and UNASIL peacekeeping in Sierra Leone. Also, he disclosed how Pakistan is ready to help in different areas that need help in country, like in rice production, construction, training of armed forces and mining sector.

In response, President Bio welcomed him, extended greetings to President Alif Alvi and his people. In addition to his statement, he acknowledged the points raised by Ambassador Arian, and pointed out most of areas are in dire need of serious investors like Pakistan, especially on food production, stating, "We have started producing our own rice, but we still need technical support so we can produce more."<sup>225</sup> This is a very good political move to rejuvenate relations between both countries, based on their history and recent development of Government of Pakistan offering 17 young and vibrant Sierra Leone scholarships, especially in area of agriculture, at BS, MPhil and PhD levels, in 2019 and 2021 respectively.

Sierra Leone, especially in mining industry, is ready to work with trustworthy countries to establish this area in which Pakistan has shown great interest in President's letter sent to President of Sierra Leone. In a special conference held in Cape Town South Africa, 2020, President of Sierra Leone in his speech, expressed his view that country is now open to special partnerships that would support integration of mining-related training and harness mining-specific technology to create innovation hubs that will guarantee country's strategic education outcomes. Bio since coming to office in 2018 has taken a strong and deliberate position on fighting corruption and reform mining sector with policies of transparency and accountability at all levels. Most importantly, President noted that country had completed a nationwide airborne geophysical survey indicating at very high-resolution datasets of extensive, proven reserves of metals and ores. With credible and patient investors, they will have opportunity to study datasets from completed survey and then engage in country's mining sector professionally.

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<sup>225</sup>"Special Envoy Presents Letter of Invitation from Pakistan's President to Sierra Leone's President Julius Maada Bio," *Sierra Leone State House – The Republic of Sierra Leone State House* (blog), May 24, 2021.

In a series of sessions held by Institute of Policy Studies (IPS), Islamabad, Pakistan in 2021, Pakistan as a drive to highlight Pakistan's foreign policy shift toward African while looking at past relations between Pakistan and African countries, its relations with five geographical regions of Africa, and future prospects. Pakistan is only having strong bilateral relations with North African countries (Egypt, Morocco, and Libya among others), this program brings to light how important other African countries are to tap different opportunities important in market economy, and having close relations with them can lead to a prosperous outcome.

Looking at giant economy of West Africa, Nigeria, having strong ties with them can benefit both countries immensely. Keynote speaker Ambassador (ret'd.) Haroon Shaukat explained how he was in Niger and the UN peacekeeping mission in Sierra Leone that both countries needed help in different areas. Pakistan is capable enough to extend help, especially in areas of education, health, infrastructure, and other technical support.<sup>226</sup> The Ambassador gave an overview of importance of West Africa and considered continent as most united in terms of development and are ready to have relations with other states of free trade. Ambassador Shaukat challenged Pakistan's government by stating that African Union needs to be used for Pakistan and African states to be in both diplomatic and bilateral relations. He further stated that West African nations are always part of foreign policy of Pakistan, and out of 16 countries in West Africa (Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, Benin, Guinea, Mauritania, and Burkina Faso among others), only Ghana has not had good relations with Pakistan. There are higher chances of intensifying of these relations especially in areas of education, peacekeeping, infrastructure and other technical supports.

The Ambassador gave special references to that of Sierra Leone and Niger stating that his stay in both countries allowed him to observe some of things that needed to be addressed in Sierra Leone, that the country is facing extreme poverty rate, little services are available for its citizens, loss of human index, terrorism, war and other inhuman activities in which Pakistan could offer to help. Niger is very rich in uranium, which is vital for Pakistan

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<sup>226</sup>Mills, Greg, "International relations: Africa and conflict." *Pakistan horizon* 57, no. 4 (2004): 37-44.

nuclear capability and ended up acknowledging Niger as being part of IOC, supporting Pakistan on issue of Kashmir among others.

In case of Sierra Leone, Ambassador Shaukat mentioned it being a state whose majority is Muslim and GDP 4.1 billion, also talked about its independence in 1961, and colonial era, among others. He also mentioned civil war, and how people were brutally killed, especially women and children, child soldiers cutting off arms and legs and how Indian troops withdrew from war, and stepping in of Pakistan's peacekeepers, and finally how the war ended.

Politics in every given setting or society has a big role to play in breaking and making of domestic, national or international relations, as history has thought us on different occasions. The vision of leaders is always their main priority based on manifestos presented before gaining political powers. Looking at history made with world strongest democracy, the United States of America, removing a sitting government of just one term in office is historic. It was a great shock to world, but looking at Trump administration national and international policies on "Black Lives Matter" campaign, Asians and other races thought it wise to remove someone they called a dictator from a liberal state of the USA.

Looking at Sierra Leone in recent times, with all challenges country has faced in past, its GDP in 2001 (1.9 billion), 2011 (2.94 billion), and in 2019, it has risen to 4.12 billion, due to New Direction administration of President Bio, with a population of 7,976.983 million people in 2021.<sup>227</sup> Coming to power, he changed all devious or corrupted mining policies and suspended some of contracts awarded to most of the mining agreements made by past government under leadership of Koroma, and revised some of them with a well-planned or organized agreement for betterment of country and general populace. Some statements reflecting Bio's strong vision are there in his speech at Brussels, calling World Bank and IMF as necessary evils, and his termination of airport project with China among others.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>227</sup>Ruth Lea, "The World Bank Is the Latest International Body to Downgrade Growth Prospects," *Arbuthnot Banking Group* 10 (2019).

<sup>228</sup>Mends, A. D, "Democracy as a Path to Peace after War: A Case Study of Sierra Leone." PhD diss., University of Ghana, 2019.

Country's agricultural sector which used to boom its economy was neglected by past administration but has started to boom again due to policy of Bio administration and country has started to produce its rice.

According to Ambassador H. E. Mr. Ahmed Ali Sirohey, West Africa is very rich in resources, giving Sierra Leone diamonds which was sold in penny, did not benefit government but these international partners involved in illegal trades. These resources are expensive in international market if used rightly, as it used to manufacture cars, computers and other industrial machines. Sierra Leone land is very futile, but no agricultural tractors to produce more, if Pakistan is giving an opportunity to invest in this area, improvement will surely take place.<sup>229</sup> And Pakistan would benefit in various ways in exporting these agricultural products. In conclusion, Pakistan will be able to import metals, textiles, building materials, chemicals, agricultural products, motor bikes among others. AfCFTA will change all these in a positive direction, because it will connect with rest of world in free trade agreement. And that Pakistan should take this opportunity to crate strong ties with Sierra Leone.

### **4.3 Agricultural Sector in Sierra Leone-Possibilities of Pakistan**

Agriculture is economic backbone of Sierra Leone, accounting for approximately 42.5 percent of GDP and employing almost two-thirds of country's workforce. Sierra Leone has a total of 5.4 million hectares and 75 percent available for agriculture. The country is blessed with fertile soil and receives an average of 3,800mm of rain yearly. Rice, cassava, coffee, cocoa, palm oil and groundnuts are among crops that thrive in this climate, as do cattle and cash crops. Despite this, this sector's enormous potential remains mostly unexplored. The government is appealing for foreign direct investment in agricultural sector to enhance productivity, development and investments. Most of farming going on in country is based on small-scale. Fisheries are lesser-known source of undiscovered income

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<sup>229</sup>H. E. Mr. Ahmend Ali Sirohey, An interview with Pakistan Ambassador to Niger (West Africa).

in Sierra Leone, but if looked at, it will surely become country's second-largest export sector.

It is justifiable to state that investment in agriculture is strong, especially given country's large agricultural land available, with variety of variables, such as low labour costs and cheaper agricultural land. The sector also outperforms its equivalents in other comparable markets. Resource-related expenditures are modest, for example, agribusinesses in Sierra Leone are not charged using water.<sup>230</sup>

### **4.3.1 Land**

Sierra Leone has two different land tenure regimes, as land can be bought and sold under a freehold system in Freetown and western Area. In provinces where much of country's agricultural property is located, rights to land can be bought and sold by indigenous tribes represented by local chiefs. Under either arrangement, investors from outside country cannot acquire land but they can lease it for up to 99 years.<sup>231</sup> This is done mostly in presence of local chiefs based on customary tenure-based land system in Africa and can function as a barrier to investment. The Law Reform Commission of Sierra Leone is now working on a new land tenure policy intending to make foreign investors get lease land easily among other things. Sierra Leone's government is willing to support international firms in their agreements with chiefs and landowners. The wide-ranging safeguards against expropriation put out in Investment Promotions Act of 2004 protect agribusiness investors' leasehold rights. Too far, no claims against government appear to have been filed under this Act's provisions.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>230</sup>Abdul R. Conteh, "Ensuring Quality Fertilizer for Farmers in Sierra Leone," Academia.edu, May 14, 2020.

<sup>231</sup>Peter Holger Johnsen et al., "Faecal Microbiota Transplantation versus Placebo for Moderate-to-Severe Irritable Bowel Syndrome: A Double-Blind, Randomised, Placebo-Controlled, Parallel-Group, Single-Centre Trial," *The Lancet Gastroenterology & Hepatology* 3, no. 1 (2018): 17–24.

<sup>232</sup>Connor Joseph Cavanagh, "Enclosure, Dispossession, and the Green Economy: New Contours of Internal Displacement in Liberia and Sierra Leone?," *African Geographical Review* 37, no. 2 (2018): 120–33.

### **4.3.2 Labor**

The Agribusiness Trade Council is in charge of regulating laborers relations in industry. Sierra Leone's labour laws are rather lenient, regulating only a few aspects of agricultural laborers' working conditions. For example, government's labour policy states that national minimum salary is presently 65 USD monthly and eight hours daily. Under Sierra Leonean labour laws, workers have right to form unions and demand for bargaining agreements. Agricultural employees' working conditions are generally managed by collective bargaining agreements with their employers in practice. Worker compensation schemes based on productivity are frequently used, and there is no legal bar on mandatory overtime. Sierra Leone's formal sector labour force is unionized to tune of 40 percentages. The Sierra Leone Labor Congress roughly has 1,100 members including others like National Union of Forestry and Agricultural Workers (NUFAW). National trade union rules give unions ability to strike if they give government 21 days' notice.<sup>233</sup>

#### **4.3.2.1 Local Content Requirements**

Sierra Leone takes a pro-investor stance when it comes to local engagement. In most areas of economy, 100 percent foreign ownership is permissible (with a few exclusions like mining). Despite adoption of National Local Content Strategy, government recognizes local labour market cannot currently lack deliver goods and services to businesses. Strengthening capacity of local market with helps from development partners like, UN and British Department for International Development (DFID).

#### **4.3.2.2 Environment**

Sierra Leone Environmental Protection Agency is in charge of enforcing environmental standards in government and private sector, through environmental, social and health impact assessment procedures. Although Sierra Leone's fundamental environmental

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<sup>233</sup>Mohammad Belayet Hossain, Asmah Laili Bt Yeon, and Ahmad Shamsul Bin Abd Aziz, "Legal and Policy Regulations of Performance Requirements for Foreign Investors in Bangladesh," *Society & Sustainability* 2, no. 3 (2020): 53–69.

legislation gives environmental regulatory authority to adopt regulations governing use of hazardous and toxic chemicals, no law is put in place to enforce regulations. Sierra Leone's government has embarked on different workshops with interested parties to discuss adoption on way to implement legislation. The process is still going on, as there is not enough done as expected in a more comprehensive environmental protection framework, but will be implemented soon.

#### **4.3.2.3 Water**

In Sierra Leone, water is seen as a communal resource as it is across West Africa. The right to use resource is contingent on acknowledgement of other people's rights and how it can be preserved for purity. Sierra Leone faces challenges when it comes to water use because country lacks a robust legislative framework to control its water resources. As country lacks a central agency entrusted in regulating water resources, determining which appropriate measures should be taken in giving permits and consents as required for water extraction, which creates difficulty for potential investors.

#### **4.4 AfCFTA Agreement under African Union and Possibilities**

The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is an agreement which was set up by African Union (AU), based on an agenda to create free trade agreements within and out of Africa till 2063, mainly to facilitate all states for reaching inclusive sustainable development. Its membership houses fifty-five (55) member states in all five regions of Africa (Central, Eastern, Northern, Southern and Western African). The agreement was mainly proposed on March 21, 2018 in Kigali (Rwanda) and signed by 24 countries as of May 30, 2019 agreeing to ratification. Main objective is to create single trade all over Africa, for free flow of goods and services. It also makes provisions for businessmen and investors not only coming from Africa but even from outside to enhance competitiveness, support economic transformation and to expand intra-Africa trade across continent. AfCFTA will connect potentially with regional organizations of African Union like RECS, a grouping of African states designed to develop different roles and structures, mainly to facilitate connectivity between regions for economic integration between members. The agreement has also been supported under Abuja Treaty in 1991, known as African

Economic Community (AEC) to ensure peace, security, development and governance.<sup>234</sup> The organizations under RECs to create connectivity between African states are Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS/CEEAC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), East African Community (EAC), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

In addition, there have also been established separate security organizations to protect their interests, e.g., Eastern Africa Standby Force Coordination Mechanism (EASFCOM) and North African Regional Capability (NARC). These agreements received considerable political support in its founding, though individual states still face difficult choices.<sup>235</sup> On July 07, 2019, during AU's 12 Extraordinary Session in Niamey, they came up with five rules on how AfCFTA will be governed, namely Dashboard of AU Trade Observatory, Continental Online Mechanism for Monitoring or Online Negotiating Forum, Pan-African Payments and Settlements System, Trade in Goods Password Protected Dashboard, and Reporting and Elimination of Non-Tariff Barriers. AfCFTA secretariat was also set, which is charged with numerous responsibilities based on its implementation which was hosted in Ghana. First Secretary-General was appointed on March 19, 2020, H.E. Mr. Wamkele Mene in main secretariat at Accra, Ghana.

On December 05, 2020, AfCFTA also had a meeting where Assembly members proposed a date for agreement to start its functions as January 01, 2021 was selected. The agreement before February 05, 2020 had only 36 countries as its signatories, but with further ratification by Chairperson, out of 55 states, only one state is yet to join (Eritrea). AfCFTA project is receiving warm considerable political support, and interesting outside investors from Asia (China, Pakistan, India among others), Europe, America among others, though

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<sup>234</sup> Adetula, Victor, Redie Bereketeab, and Cyril Obi. "Introduction: Regional economic communities and peacebuilding in West Africa and the Horn of Africa." In *Regional Economic Communities and Peacebuilding in Africa*, pp. 1-19. Routledge, 2020.

<sup>235</sup> Chisa Onyejekwe and Eghosa Ekhatior, "AfCFTA and Lex Mercatoria: Reconceptualising International Trade Law in Africa," *Commonwealth Law Bulletin* 47, no. 1 (2021): 93–112.



faced difficult choices with individual states. Some of challenges are due to different economies which vary in size, development and diversification. Other challenges of job creation diversify their production capacity and develop their industrial sectors, especially for majority. Most African countries do trade with international partners which will take long time to minimize. When looking at the least developed countries in Africa, it is true, as AfCFTA is ready to place possible solutions to address problems. In real perspective, AfCFTA with all these challenges is heading for betterment of continent larger markets might be more attractive to investors and which could lead to economic growth.

AfCFTA agreement has faced lots of challenges from day-one when Heads of State and Government officials in 2012 decided to adopt a joint agreement free trade in Africa, in a meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. That was where they decided to come up with proposed agreement and agreed to discuss further in 2017, called Action Plan on Boosting Intra-Africa Trade (BIAT). Highlighting 7 areas of importance, trade facilitation, trade-related infrastructure, trade information, productive capacity, trade finance, trade policy, and factor market integration.<sup>236</sup>

#### **4.5 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Possibilities**

ECOWAS is a regional organization of 15 West African countries namely Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. This organization was created by ECOWAS Treaty on May 28, 1975 for promoting economic integration in Western Africa and to prevent free flow of transport, natural resources, social, cultural, energy, agriculture, telecommunications, monetary and finance etc. Its Headquarters is in Abuja, Nigeria.<sup>237</sup> It is not only limited to above, but also promotes cooperation and security for all 15 members. Administratively it is headed by a chairperson who is usually elected on yearly basis and has other structures like Council of Ministers, Commission, Community Parliament,

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<sup>236</sup>Franklin Obeng Odoo, "The African Continental Free Trade Area," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 79, no. 1 (2020): 167–97.

<sup>237</sup>Jara Cuadrado, "Opportunities for Conflict Prevention. Lessons from the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS).," *Janus. Net: E-Journal of International Relations* 10, no. 2 (2019).

Economic and Social Council, Compensation and Development among others. It also carry responsibility to oversees 12 specialized agencies, West African Monetary Agency (WAMA), West African Monetary Institute (WAMI), ECOWAS Youth and Sports Development Centre (EYSDC), Gender Development Centre (EGDC), Water Resources Coordination Unit (WRCU), ECOWAS Brown Card, West African Power Pool (WAPP), Inter-Governmental Action Group Against Money Laundering and Terrorism Financing in West Africa (GIABA), West African Regional Health Program (PRSAO), ECOWAS Centre for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency (ECREEE), West African Health Organization (WAHO) AND Regional Electricity Regulatory Authority (ERERA).<sup>238</sup>

This organization from its founding in 1975 came about as a result when world was facing lots of challenges like low standards of living, especially in developing countries. At that time, West Africa was fighting for economic dependence from their former colonial masters, to grant them total sovereignty and equality. The organization was backed by UN to develop funding, ensure collective self-reliance for sustainable development and socio-economic connectivity of the region.<sup>239</sup>

ECOWAS in past has not only faced economic challenges which could be dated back to Cold War when West African nations were involved in armed conflicts, Liberia in 1989 and Sierra Leone in 1991 among others. Due to combination of internal conflict issues which were mainly sparked by bad governance, poor distribution of natural resources and collective developmental efforts among others. ECOWAS was very proactive dealing with threats in West Africa. With starting of disastrous Liberia and Sierra Leone wars, ECOWAS was faced to turn to a new paradigm, a systematic approach in dealing with conflict prevention and conflict management mechanisms. In order to intervene in conflicting situations, ECOWAS founded Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) but due to few ECOWAS states that were capable militarily, organization was left with no

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<sup>238</sup>Alexander Shipilov, “Transformation of the ECOWAS Security Mechanisms in 1990s—2000s,” *ISTORIYA* 9, no. 5 (69) (2018).

<sup>239</sup>Kwaku Appiah-Adu and Mahamudu Bawumia, *Key Determinants of National Development: Historical Perspectives and Implications for Developing Economies* (Routledge, 2016).

option but to seek help of UN and international community to redress situations in Sierra Leone and Liberia.

#### **4.6 Pakistan's Relations with AU and ECOWAS: Foreign Policy Redirected**

Pakistan in past, after attaining its independence in 1947 was one of states that were supporting different African states to be independent of their colonial masters. It was very easy for Pakistan to go into relations with some states in Africa during their post-independence period as it had supported lots of Africa countries both morally and materially. Some of these countries are Senegal, Niger, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone and Nigeria among others. Nigeria has enjoyed fruitful relations with Pakistan, through trade, culture, medicine, military exchanges, education and technology. Just like Pakistan, Nigeria also has suffered an unfortunate legacy of terrorism from a group called Boko Haram which has provided ground for both nations to cooperate in the fight against terrorism. During apartheid in South Africa, Pakistan vehemently opposed it as stated in subsequent chapter. Just like they did for other West African states, during South Africa's independence, Pakistan celebrated them, leading to late Nelson Mandela's visit to Pakistan in 1992.<sup>240</sup>

West African region is very important region in world which over years has increased number of nations wanting to invest through ECOWAS being an organization dealing with this region. Pakistan relations with ECOWAS are very limited, compared to that of China which does business not only in West Africa, but all over Africa involved in infrastructural development, medical, education, mining, and other technical activities under its Belt and Road Initiative. Chinese economic activities all around world have risen dramatically in just two decades, majority focused on large investment and massive trade with United States and Europe and in most developing economies of sub-Saharan Africa, as part of their two-way policy approach. It is no secret as China has grown rapidly as they are strengthening their relations through their investment which started with limited digits. During 2003 from 1.5 billion dollars, it swelled to 25 billion in 2007 specifically due to

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<sup>240</sup>Michael Platzer, "Reflections on a Forgotten Secretary-General," *Culture Mandala* 7, no. 1 (2005): 5873.

Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). China in West Africa has more influence than US which has big investment and dividends these countries are deriving from China.<sup>241</sup>In recent times, China and ECOWAS engaged in their first-ever economic and trade forum with over 500 business leaders of China and West African countries to seek ways of improving of economic ties. The meeting was attended by African trade ministers and business leaders, together with Chinese Vice Premier Wang Qishan which lasted for four days. A similar meeting took place, making it second China-ECOWAS economic and trade forum as an added discussion to deepen or enhancing trade and also economic ties.<sup>242</sup>

In relations with AU, recent interest of Pakistan in “Look Africa” policy initiative has redirected Pakistan’s foreign policy towards this region as very important and with massive potential. There can be gained benefit from them by establishing good economic ties. Africa is developing very fast and one can sense that in new development in Rwanda, Ghana, Botswana, and looking at new direction government of Sierra Leone, President Bio rejecting loans, mining offers and other trade or infrastructural facilities not creating enough benefits opportunity. Pakistan in past has been enjoying amicable relations with almost every state in Africa, especially with West African nations, having its embassies in Senegal, Niger and Nigeria which facilitates its numerous activities such as travel visas to Pakistan, trade, religious activities among others. The urge for Pakistan to enhance established diplomatic relations with Africa is getting deeper and it is gaining enough debate and concern from Prime Minister, President, Foreign Minister, policymakers, stating that it must not be stopped creating concrete and genuine initiatives towards each other as their main priority.

Pakistan as part of AU held a conference successfully in Kenya on January 30-31, 2020, helped AU in projecting its potential and facilitated visits of some African dignitaries or diplomats to Islamabad which is a sign in right direction. The meeting was in place, as it was first time both Pakistan and Africa talked about ways of connectivity and cooperation

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<sup>241</sup>Donald Gerard Gayou, “China’s Economic Engagement with West Africa: Present Realities, Problems, and Prospects,” *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, 2017, 13–28.

<sup>242</sup>Manu, Christiana, "The Impact of Trade Agreement on Agricultural Trade Flow in West Africa." *International Journal of Economics and Finance* 13, no. 1 (2021): 1-89.

with each other in a more transparent and accountable manner. Truly, Pakistan has lagged behind as liberalists do express by saying that universal conditions of world politics can be a driving force one can learn from globalization, strengthening domestic and transnational society, also paving way for economic, social and cultural interaction with different continents. Further emulating that main driving force may facilitate or block such initiatives are states' foreign policies.<sup>243</sup>

States have always been main unit or driving forces, especially in research dealing in international relations, pointing at or laying emphasis on foreign policy analysis. The world has learnt a big lesson on how Africa has step-up to be strategically important for east, north, south and west, not only for relations dealing with trade but due to several reasons. It has geostrategic importance as African continent being second-largest with area covering almost 20 percent of earth and population which is 16 percent of world, and is divided into five big regions indicating how big and important African is. Secondly, East Africa or Horn of Africa, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Burundi, Djibouti, Malawi, Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia and South Sudan. Thirdly, Central Africa, Angola, Chad, Congo, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. Fourthly, West Africa, Benin, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Ghana, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Mali, Mauritania, Togo, Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leone. Fifth, Southern Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Eswatini, Zambia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Madagascar alone is not considered part of Africa, due to its language and cultural diversity.<sup>244</sup>

The conference held by Pakistan in Kenya was first of its kind, mainly engaging with different African countries to build economic ties and connectivity with each other. The event hosted about 200 delegates. Pakistan naval ships have also visited some ports in Africa recently, such as Nouakchott in Mauritania, Lagos in Nigeria, Takoradi in Ghana, Casablanca in Morocco, Dar-e-Salam in Tanzania, and Cape Town in South Africa, mainly

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<sup>243</sup>Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberal Theories of International Relations: A Primer," *Princeton, NJ: Princeton University*, 2010.

<sup>244</sup>PandiZdruli et al., "New World Atlas of Desertification and Issues of Carbon Sequestration, Organic Carbon Stocks, Nutrient Depletion and Implications for Food Security," in *Carbon Management, Technologies, and Trends in Mediterranean Ecosystems* (Springer, 2017), 13–25.

to deliver gift of rice and provide medical care to locals nearby. They did not only involve in medical services but also countries in need of fighting crimes like piracy, human trafficking and narcotics among others.<sup>245</sup>

Looking at continent with vast richness in natural resources (oil, gold, and diamond), tourism, wildlife, geographical location, culture and one of peaceful continents in world, these resources are still reserved as most countries still depend on US, United Kingdom, China and France. Because of bad or unfair bilateral relations, most African governments together with business community are taking some drastic steps depending on others to wake up.

Relations between Pakistan and Africa have been cordial by and large with some African countries like Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Senegal and even Somalia, especially looking at their membership of the OIC. Pakistan-Africa trade had always been constant, looking at 2012-2013 and 2016-2017 to 2 billion USD have started growing to 3 billion USD in 2018-2019. The country's trade with northern Africa is high. For example, Algeria which is rich in oil, started relations with Pakistan just after its independence in 1958, and entered immediately into a cooperation arrangement called Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC) for trade relations. With Egypt, Pakistan's relations have been strong, but imports and exports in recent years have dropped drastically.

#### **4.7 Prospects for Pakistan's Relations with West Africa under AfCFTA**

Now when Pakistan is heading to strengthening diplomatic relations and multilateral initiatives, it is high time for Pakistan to step in constructively, accommodative and come up with comprehensive policies like China, UK, US, France, and Germany. It is very clear that China is a good friend and neighbor which has involved or geared up investment for economic development and connectivity. Pakistan should step in and strengthen its relations with West African countries, as there are multiple sectors which could attract Pakistani business and investment besides agricultural sector. African countries are planning to open new channels for investors to trade and invest. The new AfCFTA

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<sup>245</sup>Faheem Ur Rehman et al., "The Nexus between Infrastructure and Export: An Empirical Evidence from Pakistan," *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies* 12, no. 2 (2020): 141–57.

initiative is a platform Pakistan should grab to invest in continent. That will not only help Pakistan to get better outcomes like China, Europe and the US, but also help in reducing employment gap in Africa.<sup>246</sup>

Africa is a fertile ground, blessed with good agricultural lands, natural resources, labor (youthful population), and other facilities without any obstacle. Pakistan needs to be more open and does not consider Islamic states alone as vital for trade partners, but also other states in Africa as important trade partners, following its relations with China since Independence Day as a non-Muslim state.

More importantly, growing influence of China is raising lots of questions in minds of statesmen, government officials, business partners and locals as influx and hold in their markets. These views about China are going on in two ways, as one consider their presence important and other considering them as a new form of colonialism. Pakistan needs to use a neutral approach to reading minds of people and their cultural connections and social lives and try to offer something different from that of others in Africa. Pakistan needs to build its future around Africa, looking at different ways from how it had helped them in past. Memory of Pakistan's peacekeeping still lies in minds of countries like Sierra Leone, Niger, and Liberia among others. Maritime and defense cooperation with Nigeria, Somalia and some others and also looking at vast majority of Muslims in the continent can give massive opportunities of socioeconomic cooperation. Nigeria alone is a Muslim majority country and has good ties with Pakistan, especially in areas of security and religion.<sup>247</sup>

#### **4.8 Opportunities for Pakistan Trade and Economic Relations with AfCFTA/AU and its Importance for Sierra Leone**

With new agreement of AfCFTA and proactive approach by Pakistan is to create trade, cultural, infrastructural, medical and other technical relations with Africa, Sierra Leone as

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<sup>246</sup>John C. Anyanwu and Nadege D. Yameogo, "What Drives Foreign Direct Investments into West Africa? An Empirical Investigation," *African Development Review* 27, no. 3 (2015): 199–215.

<sup>247</sup>Phi-Yen Nguyen et al., "Reemergence of Human Monkeypox and Declining Population Immunity in the Context of Urbanization, Nigeria, 2017–2020," *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 27, no. 4 (2021): 1007.

a small country has potential to benefit in different ways. Especially when looking at everlasting memory of Pakistan's UN peacekeeping mission when Indians and others went out at pick of its civil war, and also with recent approach of President's Envoy visit inviting President of Sierra Leone to discuss trade, agriculture, mining and other forms of developmental activities.

Through free trade agreements, countries would be able to import and export goods and services to each other without having any government tariffs and import or export ban. Free trade between two or more countries especially developing countries can offer several benefits in terms of high levels of economic gains and high standard of living for locals. Like in area of increased economic resources helps developing countries like Sierra Leone to be able to increase amount of or access to economic resources as land, labor and capital. It can also improve standard of life in many ways, with good living conditions and better salary. With better job opportunities in market, companies will allow maximization of a country's natural economic resources and developing comparative advantage in producing consumer goods. Through development of comparative competitions, it allows companies to offer higher employee wages, especially when there is a competition where there is few countries or companies who can produce specific goods.<sup>248</sup>

The world has experienced rapid growth, due to faster rise of trade. This has resulted in improvement of technology and reduction of trade barriers between countries or companies involved. Just like approach of China Belt and Road Initiative, some developing countries have taken full control of opportunities to develop their economies through trade, although some have not, due to corruption and other malpractices. This can be seen in integration of new economies, poverty reduction and development in different sectors of society. In over two decades, economic growth of world trade has been engineered by trade. Since introduction of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1945, it has benefited

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<sup>248</sup>Dorosh, Paul A, "Trade liberalization and national food security: Rice trade between Bangladesh and India." *World development* 29, no. 4 (2001): 673-689..



unilateral and regional liberalization in different ways. Due to these developments, World Trade Organization has been main influence guiding multilateral trade agreements.<sup>249</sup>

Trade liberalization in world cannot work properly without reformation of policies of trade and investment for enabling other states in achieving sustainable economic growth. No country has enjoyed sustainable growth by using its own muscles, without using systematic help by others of staying outside partnerships of other states or world. Trade and investment opportunities between states have opened eyes of different countries to have foreign direct investment which is a very important element for economic growth for any state relations with others as average import tariff which was 30 percent has dropped to 10 percent in last twenty years. For Pakistan to look into issues of investing in Sierra Leone needs different utilities which others cannot provide in mining, medical, infrastructure, agriculture and other technical support. By opening up its economic ties with Sierra Leone, just like North African countries, level of competition in manufacturing industries will boost both sides and will enjoy multiple economic benefits.

Sierra Leone in these modern times will benefit greatly from Pakistan as was during Pakistani peacekeeping operation in 2001 to 2005, but this time to a greater and broader extent. Sierra Leone has what it takes to offer Pakistan varieties of trade or business opportunities, especially in areas of its natural resources (gold, diamonds, iron ore, timber etc.) with its recent survey on level of rice resource reserved, any country that grabs opportunity of investing will not only benefit economically but will take trade relations to a more advanced level in future and improved other sectors.

The way China developed trade relations with Republic of Sierra Leone is a bright example which Pakistan should build on in terms of different aspects. From starting point, China in many ways has completed projects, though small, but has improved rice-cultivation techniques, mining and textiles among other developmental activities in Sierra Leone. Most

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<sup>249</sup>I. M. F. Staff, "Global Trade Liberalization and the Developing Countries," *International Monetary Fund. Washington DC: IMF*, 2001.

of these developmental activities are explained in subsequent chapters.<sup>250</sup> Sierra Leone is one of countries that have supported China on numerous occasions, starting from its struggle days till today.<sup>251</sup>

#### **4.9 Challenges for West Africa and Pakistan Relations**

The new millennium has brought to light a new stage of configuration of world powers. Globalization of interdependence economy is introducing new international order backed with multi-polarization of world trade. This is visible especially after cold war, major powers changed to readjusting and realigning their relations with other states. Like France, Germany, US and China among others can be cited brighter examples in changes of diplomatic and bilateral relations with other states, looking at their stable period of economic growth and progress in areas of technology and science, which has made information revolution in world more integrated. As this development can be related to changes in people's mindsets, ideas, as well as mentalities and has also brought prominent development in increase of regional organizations and multinational corporations.<sup>252</sup> Pakistan is facing lots of challenges in its relations with other states, due to some of its domestic and international policies, detail below:

##### **4.9.1 Domestic Weaknesses**

Any state involved in crime of domestic violence is reliable to drive away relations with other states. This issue is very evident in Pakistan as individuals can just take actions in their hands and commit crimes that are against international ethic or UN Convention of 1948. One bright example is with a 15 years old girl Malala Yousafzai who was nearly mortally wounded in 2012 wherein Taliban based in Pakistan went against or decree that

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<sup>250</sup> Eleveld, Emile, and Bartjan Pennink, "Chinese influences in Sierra Leone: alarming or inspiring?." *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship* (2021): 2150001.

<sup>251</sup> Kamara, Alhaji Bakar, "The Role of China Seminars in Building Other Developing Countries: An Experience Case in Sierra Leone." *Studies in Media and Communication* 7, no. 1 (2019): 68-88.

<sup>252</sup> Jiemian Yang, "Sino-US and Cross-Strait Relations under the Post-'11 September' Strategic Settings," *Journal of Contemporary China* 11, no. 33 (2002): 657-72.

young girls or women should not be educated. This was totally against this young girl and requested young girls should be allowed to go to schools and get an education just like boys. It was a good thing for her because she survived attack by Taliban and in 2014, because of her female rights activism made her to win Nobel Peace Prize as youngest.<sup>253</sup> Because of her bravery and through her organization, a lot of young girls in Pakistan are being educated to highest pick of academia.

This domestic weakness is also witnessed in assassination of Benazir Bhutto on December 27, 2007 by Taliban. She had been first woman to become Prime Minister of Pakistan. Her murder is believed to be related to her western views of domestic and international politics.<sup>254</sup> Issue of forced or arranged marriages and honor killings to protect reputation add to threat of countries not wanting to be in relations with Pakistan, considering it a conservative and fundamental Islamic country, which most people considered designed to promote superiority of men.<sup>255</sup>

International community and UN Geneva Convention on human rights in which Pakistan is part, stated that all are born equal and free to live peacefully in any given society. These laws are binding on all states under UN and should act towards one another in spirit of humanity which is stated in Article three of declaration. The religious minorities are facing social discrimination in Pakistan and some of cases have been reported of religious conversion, forced marriages, adoption and other social freedom. The growing violence, intolerance and discrimination faced by minority groups across Pakistan are receiving different opposition from international community, especially US.

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<sup>253</sup>Phyllis Mentzell Ryder, "Beyond Critique: Global Activism and the Case of Malala Yousafzai," *Literacy in Composition Studies* 3, no. 1 (2015): 175–87.

<sup>254</sup>Owen Bennett-Jones, "Benazir Bhutto Assassination: How Pakistan Covered up Killing," *BBC News*, 2017.

<sup>255</sup> Alam, Zainab, "Violence against women in politics: The case of Pakistani women's activism." *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict* 9, no. 1 (2021): 21-46.

According to Pakistani Ambassador to Niger (West Africa) Ambassador Sirohey.<sup>256</sup> Some of obstacles are, no direct flight to Western Africa, shipping to direct good, no business to businesses contact, but Pakistan is planning very hard to reduce these obstacles for betterment of its relations to the region.

#### **4.9.2 Maritime Flows**

In creating diplomatic ties between two or more states or a region has to consider importance of sea power for maritime trade, which helps to facilitate effective good economic relations between countries. If there is no foundation for developing and sustaining sea power of a particular state overseas on its national economic policy, it will be very difficult to be a competitive force in international market. Economic development of any state is greatly linked with its connectivity in sea trade and number of Sea Lines of communication (SLOC) on important routes especially in ocean politics. It has to be one main security priority in regional countries' strategic thinking and policy-making relating to development trade, political and other global connectivity from one state to another. The ocean covers over 70 percent of earth and world trade between countries on a large scale depended on it for free flow of goods and services, looking at export-oriented economic structure, maritime transportation among others. Very important for global survival and prosperity, not forgetting insecurities and problems it carries. A clear example can be draw from UN which has almost Sea Lines of Communication in every corner, including South China Sea.<sup>257</sup>

With all these points listed, Pakistan should learn from countries like China and India embark on to sea lines of communication with West African countries to gain weight in the region. Without this, it would be very difficult for it to establish strong grounds in that region. China's bilateral trade relations with West Africa and other part of world have

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<sup>256</sup> Pakistani Ambassador to Niger (West Africa) Ambassador H.E. Mr. Ahmed Ali Sirohey. Interview conducted at zoom meeting at 10:PST 21<sup>st</sup> July 2021.

<sup>257</sup> Silva, Antonio Ruy de Almeida, "The enabling power of the oceans." *Contexto Internacional* 39 (2017): 237-244.

reflected a rapid economic growth which is linked to its trade and development in maritime domain, industrialization and shipping. When China started using this means in 1990s, its import and export volume was just 135.63 billion USD, in 1997 it doubled to 325.06 billion USD as its foreign trade on sea transportation was 90 percent.<sup>258</sup>

West Africa ports have become very important connecting business community, with also connecting regions, for economic growth. With significant changes and improvement of ports in West Africa, it has received great competition from global powers and is open for huge investments in modern facilities and technologies, forcing leaders in region to consider area alone to create private participation and reform. The region has 20 important maritime harbors for commercial purposes, able to accommodate more than 500,000 tons and separates oil terminals. The vessels that are docking at its coast, in 1990s to 2000s amounted to 15,000 and 20,000 respectively. This generated a trading volume of 140 million tones, 25 percent total African maritime traffic and 1.5 percent of world.<sup>259</sup> With these, Pakistan will experience its highest economic growth.

#### **4.9.3 Lack of Priority towards African States**

In past, Pakistan had so many opportunities to invest or create good economic ties with different states in Africa, but they decide to ignore based on their reasons. Sierra Leone can offer Pakistan much potential in terms of geographical location, fertile lands, natural resources and is very friendly despite challenges. There was a plan to open an embassy in Sierra Leone but due to some circumstances, Pakistan dropped plan instead opened an embassy in Senegal alone and two additional diplomatic missions in Niger and Nigeria. Pakistan foreign policy has always been built around its security issues with Kashmir and Afghanistan. Truly, economic diplomacy has not been a priority for a period. Looking at Turkey who has been very serious with its relations with other states, especially Africa,

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<sup>258</sup>Jeff Tomczak, "China: Sources of Conflict" (ARMY WAR COLL CARLISLE BARRACKS PA, 2001).

<sup>259</sup>Alfred J. Baird, "Port Privatisation: Objectives, Extent, Process, and the UK Experience," *International Journal of Maritime Economics* 2, no. 3 (2000): 177–94.

which Sierra Leone is having an Embassy. Turkey airlines are one of frequently used flights all over the world and are contributing huge level of economic gains.

In a question about the Pakistani embassies in West Africa, Mr. Sirohey<sup>260</sup> replied that 'Pakistan used to have embassies in Accra Ghana, Abidjan Ivory Coast, but are working to re-established them again in short time. Pakistan is working very hard to established embassies in the region, especially in Sierra Leone also, through policy of engaging Africa. But Pakistan has little citizens in the region one of challenges to this fact'.

According to Mr. Shaukat,' Pakistan Engage Africa policy in 2020, a proposal deliberated by Ministry of Foreign Affairs Islamabad, Pakistan. This policy is mainly directed to Africa and especially Kenya which is Pakistan main target of creating economic ties. But also for Western Africa due to slow space or ignoring the region for reasons or challenges Pakistan was facing, financial, political will among others. Pakistan has military cooperation with Nigeria through this policy, especially in area of terrorism and sold to the F7 fighter jet in few years back and Pakistan he said have lots of military exchange programmes on counter-terrorist attacks among others. Niger in years back when two top government officials from Pakistan visited and meet with their president, discussed about strengthened ties between them. Mainly in areas of agriculture, exchange programmes, mining among others'.<sup>261</sup>

Pakistan only concentrates on textiles and rice productions which can only bring one little to economic benefits of any economy. Turkey's population is just 80 million people, its 15<sup>th</sup> largest economy and holds a low place in world economies. In recent times, Turkish Airlines managed to improve its losses from 72 million USD, to a substantial improvement of 300 million USD in 2021.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Ambassador Sirohey, zoom interview.

<sup>261</sup> Ambassador Dr. Haroon Shaukat, zoom interview.

<sup>262</sup> Munisami, Ari, "Aircraft financing: Perspectives for small and emerging economies." Escholarship.mcgil.ca, (2010).

#### 4.9.4 Security Issues in Pakistan

Pakistan since 9/11 incident and US invasion in Afghanistan, has experienced some of worst threats in human history, especially terrorism, neighboring countries threats (India and Afghanistan) and recently, Corona Virus. There are lots of security challenges facing Pakistan, relating to geographical location, regional, modernization and globalization. With issues of 9/11, Pakistan came to a situation where it was unbearable to be stable, leading to sending US park-out, due to some many threats from terrorist attacks in different parts. Apart from the old threat which Pakistan was facing in past from Afghanistan, current development can stand as a warning. If there is a case of an armed conflict in Afghanistan, Pakistan will surely be affected due to link on tribal lines. In tribal lines, Afghanistan is also Pashtu an old-aged trading partner with Pakistan. Notwithstanding, the recent peace talks between US and Taliban officials, a piece of clear evidence, can only be achieved with involvement of Pakistan.

Internally, Pakistan is facing domestic threat at various levels and has almost continuously affected society. These issues are mainly related to instability, poor economy, governance, terrorism and ethnic conflicts. These are long-term threats to Pakistan, looking at Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) based in Afghanistan, sponsored Pashtu Tahafuz Movement (PTM), are some of continued pose security challenges that will likely remain in future as well. Threats from extremist groups have remained for a long period have created destruction and driven away good economic ties with other states. The US invasion in Afghanistan on 9/11 can be said to be main challenge and threat that has risen in magnitude over years. A sectarian threat second highest in Pakistan, after terrorism has been manifested as a major security issue also. Though a lot has been done to cool down these issues, like creating National Internal Security Policy (NISP) for actions taken against all such threats, it still not solved and still a national security issue.<sup>263</sup>

Externally, Pakistan faced long-term challenge with India, from a hegemonic policy of Narendra Modi's administration, to prevent seeking a resolution to Kashmir issue by

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<sup>263</sup>Moonis Ahmar, "Curriculum Vitea May 2010," uok.edu.pk, 2010.

following per under UN Resolution on Right to Self Determination. This threat is seen in eyes of international community as contagious, looking at military capabilities of both states. The Kashmir issue in past has led to different military confrontations between them and has continued as main obstacle for both states to reach a peaceful agreement. In recent years, emergence of Sino-US tensions on trade wars is another security issue for Pakistan.<sup>264</sup>

#### **4.9.5 Language Barrier with Majority of West African States**

West African countries are divided onto lines of colonialism, as vast territory was colonized by France, seconded by British. In line with francophone countries, there are eleven in number, namely Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Benin, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Guinea, Togo, Chad and Mali, whilst Anglophone countries are five, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Ghana and Gambia. Pakistan being a British former colony communicates more in English and it is also part of their national languages together with Urdu. Language barriers always pose numerous differences for countries in terms of going into high-quality relations. It is evident to say that it has a major impact on negotiating cost of bilateral or diplomatic relations between states in different ways. Because there is always a communication gap when trying to reach an agreement as it can lead to misunderstanding and trade barriers. One can relate to medical field where patient with different language background would not be able to give proper explanation to a healthcare provider to give the right prescription or medication. It wills the worst condition of the patient taking the wrong drugs for treatment.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>264</sup>Malik, Zain Ul Abiden, He Zhilong, and Hani Fatima, "Emerging Security Challenges to Pakistan in the Modern Age of Globalization." *Journal of Politics and International Studies* 6, no. 1 (2020): 57-64.

<sup>265</sup>Hilal Al Shamsi et al., "Implications of Language Barriers for Healthcare: A Systematic Review," *Oman Medical Journal* 35, no. 2 (2020): e122.



## **Conclusion**

In wake of establishing of AfCFTA under auspices of African Union, and ECOWAS, West African countries have offered best of possibilities for economic activities and trade opportunities besides the ones which have been taking place since many years. Developing country like Sierra Leone is calling on sincere trade partners like Pakistan to invest in areas to a more advanced stage. Export sector in Sierra Leone is booming rapidly, as some of things to make it more sustainable are lacking due to a lack of manifesting and service relative to traditional commodity exports. By overcoming challenges, Pakistan could be able to utilize these opportunities and Sierra Leone and Pakistan could come into rejuvenated relations.

## **Conclusion, Findings and Recommendations**

The conclusion of this research can be drawn on basis of explanatory research conducted on basis of primary and secondary data about opportunities and challenges regarding Western African countries and Pakistan's relations and case study of Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone and Pakistan did not start their relations in modern era rather they have deep roots during colonialism in the region. It is very clear in different literature analyzed that relations between these countries and Pakistan have always been strong in terms of support to Pan-Africanism, education, military, medical, infrastructure, technology and other technical supports. History can be very important in pointing out at strengthening of relations between states and at the same time bring out challenges or obstacles for possible solutions or better outcome of problems.

In Western Africa, just after their independence, Pakistan used to have resident missions in thirteen countries. There are lots of similarities and interests Pakistan and West Africa can relate, looking at the region, most of the people there practiced Islam as their main religious beliefs. Nigeria for instance carries the name Africa China has a Muslim dominated society with over sixty to seventy percent. The nature of relations between Western Africa and Pakistan is a clear manifestation of the advantages of liberalism as a theory which stands for the unification of the world and the use of soft-power in relations to others.

During the early hours of 1990s, the region was faced with lots of storming blocks due to the impacts of colonial divide amongst the different local tribes and bad governance. Almost every country in the region was affected leading to widespread violence, civil and military wars. Sierra Leone for instance suffered administrative divide during colonial era, as the local people who were uneducated were left out completely for freed slaves having Western education and way of life. This started the division among the local and the Creole leading to forming political groups based on tribal lines. This is seen also in cases of other countries in the region with the likes of Niger, still struggling to stand on its feet and Nigeria still dealing with the Islamic Group Boko Haram among others. These countries are still facing problems of interference from their colonial masters in the social, political and economic spheres. Like for example, France still has control over its colonies, looking at Ivory Coast

presidential elections in mid 2000s, the candidate they wanted ending up being in office, leading to widespread violence in the country, resulting to over 3000 death and destruction of property.

Pakistan is also a victim of colonialism, looking at the country history of separation from India due to the administrative setting of colonial administration and other spears of life. They revolted for several years, but their cries were not had, leading to the request of filling for a separate and independent state in 1945. The separation never lead to the end of issues that were existing during colonialism, but are still visible with the issues of border disputes and more importantly Kashmir ownership or control.

The international environment is opened in the new liberal world order. There has been drastic change in the 21<sup>st</sup> century dealing with international relations that is also changing the dimensions of Western Africa and Pakistan relations. The country is working very hard recently to established diplomatic missions in different part of the region, with three existing in Senegal, Niger and Nigeria. Soon, Pakistan is also trying to establish a diplomatic mission in Sierra Leone, which is evidence with the recent envoy letter send by the president of Pakistan to the President Bio. Their presence is still felt in Niger political tension and the joint effort with Nigeria to fight terrorism among others. With their involvement in the Liberia and Sierra Leone civil wars, sending the largest peacekeepers is a clear evidence Pakistan is indeed a humanitarian state ready to sacrifice all it takes for the region to be united in peace. The size, population and natural resources of the region can lead to greater economic wealth for both sides, looking at Sierra Leone rich diamond reserve, Nigeria oil, Niger uranium, Ghana gold among others. These are clear examples of which wealth can be gain through interdependency theory of liberalism and the changes in international system with globalization. These factors have also led to the economic expansion in trade dynamics.

Western Africa and Pakistan relations have another dimension that is through the AfCFTA. Both parties have a major role to bring prospect and economic development in agreeing on a free trade plans. With the steps Pakistan is taking recently, it is a clear indication that they mean business this time. As the extension of trade relation between Pakistan and the region is in advance stage, looking at the different meetings they have been having and the

involvement of state political will to reach this light. The new world order encourages states to do cross border businesses or relations with other continents or regions. The world is a free place to explore and expand liberal relations with others for the better good of all. It entails positive enhancements of job creation, exchange of man power, technology, education, culture, religion and development among others. Apart of Niger, other countries are enjoying absolute peace and political stability and at the same time, since 2008 to now Pakistan is experiencing democratic governance for the successful implementation of the Look Africa Policy.

### **Findings**

- Western Africa can be considered very important in the international market, looking at its richness in natural resources, size and youth population. The region is also growing very rapidly economically with countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Senegal, and Gambia among in recent times. Western Africa is in need of good countries like Pakistan to create more economic ties, as what it is doing now is not enough and needs improvements. Pakistan has offered lots of scholarship opportunities to countries in the region, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Niger, Nigeria, and Senegal among others and also in areas of military assistance, medical, infrastructure among others. Compare these to China will only account for one country in the region. Now is right time for all these to be materialized and create strong ties with Western Africa and see what an outcome brings.
- Pakistan and Sierra Leone relations have taken decades and can stand as a guild to making relations with other states in the region. The volume of trade can be extended if only they can create more economic ties.
- Sierra Leone is a small country in size and population, but with its recent stands for a change in its international policy, has potential to work with Pakistan diligently. Looking at the wealth its blessed with, as illustrated in move Blood Diamond.
- Pakistan should work in close collaboration with its longtime friend and neighbor china in order to understand different challenges Sierra Leone is facing for proactive solutions. China presence in the region has grown over years as number one trading partners, looking at its relations with Pakistan can be an added

advantage to work in close collaboration. Pakistan and china have been friends since 1947 and till today, relations between them are cordial in areas of exchange programmes, technological improvement, education, infrastructure, trade and other technical supports. The doors of China are always open when it comes to Pakistan, vise vase. Pakistan would be able to learn a lot from them and improved on weaknesses in getting attention of Western Africa.

- AfCFTA and ECOWAS relations with Pakistan is not first time they are dealing with each other, as it is witnessed in different occasions where meetings and conferences where held with African states to develop plans on embarking into trade ties. Through these engagements, Pakistan trade volume with Western Africa has increased rapidly in recent years despite challenges with present epidemic, Corona. Now Pakistan can boost of three embassies in the region and is planning to open more in coming months or years ahead. AfCFTA was purposed to be operational in January 2021, but due to challenges like Corona and other issues with fastest growing economies in the region, its operation has been put on hold. With starting of this agreement, facilitation of free trade within and outside the region will be a boost to Pakistan, as its had already signed some important agreements with almost all countries in Western Africa.

### **Recommendation for Pakistan**

- In creating economic ties with Western Africa, Pakistan should be ready to face competition from China, India and Europe. The region needs serious investment and the establishment of small industries to help revenue generation in different fields. Looking at Sierra Leone for example has the potential to develop its diamond industries if the technology needed is available. This will help to decreased of overall prices of diamond in three to five years. The light of Nigeria rice in oil, Niger rice with huge uranium reserve among others can be an added advantage for Pakistan.
- Pakistan should also ensure to work with the region to maintain peace and security. With its military might, putting more effort in Niger is needed like they did in Sierra Leone, Liberia among others.

- The region is still in need of quality education, although Pakistan has done amicably well in this area, more needs to be done by increasing the number like China. The number of student exchange programs in China is so high accounting for Sierra Leone alone which is more than 500 just last year.
- Pakistan policy towards Africa is very strong, but should try very hard to work in light with building cordial relations with them on trade. Looking at the positive image of diplomatic missions in the continent.

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## ANNEXURE 1

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEW:

- (1) What are the historical dynamics of Pakistan and West Africa relations?
- (2) What are the challenges or obstacles Pakistan is facing to tie diplomatic relations with West Africa?
- (3) Why is there only two Pakistan Embassies (Senegal and Niger), with one Diplomatic Mission (Nigeria) in West Africa and what are its plans to open other embassies in the region?
- (4) Does Pakistan status as a Commonwealth State, the United Nations (UN), and Organization of Islamic Communities (IOC) play a factor in the relations with Sierra Leone?
- (5) What is Trade Volume (overall)? And the volume of trade between Pakistan and any country or countries in Western Africa?
- (6) How can trade and commerce be enhanced? Which are the sectors in which cooperation can be extended?
- (7) What is the nature of interests between Pakistan and the Africa union (AU) and the possible implications towards West Africa, under the Africa Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) in particular?
- (8) How can changing inter-continental relations in contemporary era affect socio-economic conditions of Sierra Leone?

## ANNEXURE 2

Interviews with Ambassador Dr. Haroon Shaukat (Rtd Niger and UN Mission in SL)  
(Pakistani)

ANS 1: Pakistan has enjoyed long-term relations with Western Africa and renders many help in different ways. Mentioning during colonialism, Pakistan was standing strong against and one of advocates to for racism in world. Pakistan has helped in various wars in the region, starting with Niger, Liberia and Sierra Leone more especially. Pakistan has very strong and organized military personnel and that their Presence in Sierra Leone was greatly felt by international community. He even mentioned about hospitality of Sierra Leonean leading his taking his family and education in the country he said is one of best in the region. Pakistan focused on Niger political issues which have taken long.

ANS 2: Challenges dealing with there is no direct flight from Pakistan to Western Africa a very big blow to low level of relations with the region. Example of Turkey Airways which is one of leading airlines in international market. That Turkey Airline is generating millions of dollars monthly and boosting their economy making it fifth worldwide. There are no shipping-lines in the region which is a serious challenge for Pakistan looking at countries like US and China whose presences in Western Africa in dominant. Shipping line of communication in creating relations between two or more parties is very significant looking at linkages it create for easy access to each other in marine time world. Pakistan has only small business relations with the region, need to improve based on its ties with them like in Northern Africa (Egypt, Algeria etc).

ANS 3: Based on Pakistan Engage Africa policy in 2020, a proposal deliberated by Ministry of Foreign Affairs Islamabad, Pakistan. This policy is mainly directed to Africa and especially Kenya which is Pakistan main target of creating economic ties. But also for Western Africa due to slow space or ignoring the region for reasons or challenges Pakistan was facing, financial, political will among others. Pakistan has military cooperation with Nigeria through this policy, especially in area of terrorism and sold to the F7 fighter jet in few years back and Pakistan he said have lots of military exchange programmes on counter-terrorist attacks among others. Niger in years back when two top government officials from

Pakistan visited and meet with their president, discussed about strengthened ties between them. Mainly in areas of agriculture, exchange programmes, mining among others.

ANS 4: In relation to this question, relations between Sierra Leone and Pakistan which has been so closed to each other in terms of Pakistan involvement civil war, training of army, police and other forces. During Pakistan military in Sierra Leone, they were involved in several humanitarian activities providing free medical in towns like Kono, Kenema and other areas lack of proper or no medical care. They were also involved in building of houses, roads which were destroyed by heavy bombing, cleaning and other technical support.

ANS 5: Some of challenges posed by Corona Virus, Pakistan have increased its trade volume with Africa amounting to 4 billion USD, as compared to 3 billion in previous years. Pakistan main targeted states in Africa, which Kenya been first and mentioned countries like Sierra Leone, Ghana among others. In terms of trade volume and strong ties, he stated Senegal and Mali are more closed to Pakistan than another Western Africa states. As their diplomatic ties is growing stronger on daily basis.

ANS 6: Western Africa region is very rich in natural resources, crude oil, diamond, gold, uranium, and iron ore among others. Most of issues the region is facing are mainly through poor management of those resources leading to conflict and underdevelopment of Western Africa. Giving examples of Sierra Leone Civil War linked with diamond, Niger with Uranium. Further, Western Africa needs technology, home appliances, toilet facilities, tractors for proper agricultural proposes, machines for producing textiles among others. Experiences in Sierra Leone and Niger are very rice in milk as Pakistan.

ANS 7: Pakistan would gain significantly through AfCFTA in building strong ties with Western Africa. That 4 billion would be increased looking at potentials of the region as listed in subsequent questions.

ANS 8: Based on leadership of Sierra Leone should be willing to create diplomatic ties with Pakistan. As Pakistan is always ready to work with Sierra Leone and is ready to help in different sectors, especially in mining and agriculture just like past. This will also

increase literacy rate, trade, employment and most importantly economy of not only Sierra Leone, but rest of the region.

### ANNEXURE 3

Interview with Dr. Bakare Najmideen (Nigerian), Lecturer, National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Islamabad, Pakistan.

(1) What are the historical dynamics of Pakistan and West Africa relations?

ANS 1: The region of West Africa had the history of colonialism, characterized by the British and French colonialism. Same history of colonialism is shared by Pakistan, a former British colony, before the partition of 1947. Other than that, Pakistan participated in the historic struggle of decolonization, involving the region of West Africa.

(2) What are the challenges or obstacles Pakistan is facing to tie diplomatic relations with West Africa?

ANS 2:

1. Cultural misunderstanding and gap
2. Media (colonial) misrepresentation
3. Euro-America centric foreign policy
4. Lack of interest in the region

(3) Why are there only one Pakistan Embassy in West Africa (Senegal), and what are its plans to open other embassies in the region?

ANS 3: I do not think such an assertion is correct. In addition to Senegal, it also has a High Commission in Nigeria and non-resident missions in different parts of West African states. Premised on the PTI government's Look Africa policy, there is a serious propensity to make Pakistan's diplomatic presence general in Africa and particularly in West Africa more salient.

(4) Does Pakistan status as a Commonwealth State, the United Nations (UN), and Organization of Islamic Communities (IOC) play a factor in the relations with Sierra Leone?

ANS 4: Pakistan always finds a way to relate with countries, it shares some degree of commonality.

(5) What are Trade Volume (overall) and the volume of trade between Pakistan and any country or countries in Western Africa?

ANS 5: Meanwhile Sierra Leone imports from Pakistan were US\$36.46 Million during 2018, according to the United Nations COMTRADE database on international trade.

(6) How can trade and commerce be enhanced? Which are the sectors in which cooperation can be extended?

ANS 6: information with regards to trade direction, yet, cooperation between the two nations can further be extended in the areas of technology share – IT, construction, pharmaceutical and sport wears.

(7) What is the nature of interests between Pakistan and the Africa union (AU) and the possible implications towards West Africa, under the Africa Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) in particular?

ANS 7: Interview with Pakistan Ambassador to Niger (West Africa) Ambassador H.E. Mr. Ahmed Ali Sirohey.

(9) How can changing inter-continental relations in contemporary era affect socio-economic conditions of Sierra Leone?

ANS 8:

1. Such changes should bring about economic cooperation leading to economic growth
2. Just as Nigeria-Pakistan are improving their strategic cooperation, same could be true for Sierra Leone. The latter can benefit from the military achievements made by Pakistan over the years.
3. Cooperation in the areas of education, health and business
4. People to people contact can bring about functional cooperation between states. In the event that both countries expand their diplomatic cooperation and allow more of people

to people contact, that will not simply enhance cultural understanding, bridge cultural gap, it will also energize the states to create enabling environment for further engagement and cooperation.

#### ANNEXURE 4

Interview with Pakistan Ambassador to Niger (West Africa) Ambassador H.E. Mr. Ahmed Ali Sirohey.

ANS 1: Pakistan helped West African to get freedom, giving Nigeria as an example, with 216,000,000 people. Pakistan was one of countries to help in their struggled for self-rule, so with cases like Sierra Leone, Niger, Mali among others. Pakistan has helped Mauritania is different ways, leading to making their passport same as Pakistan and country to Islamic Republic.

ANS 2: Some of obstacles are, no direct flight to Western Africa, shipping to direct good, no business to businesses contact, but Pakistan is planning very hard to reduce these obstacles for betterment of its relations to the region.

ANS 3: Pakistan used to have embassies in Accra Ghana, Abidjan Ivory Coast, but are working to re-established them again in short time. Pakistan is working very hard to established embassies in the region, especially in Sierra Leone also, through policy of engaging Africa. But Pakistan has little citizens in the region one of challenges to this fact.

ANS 4: Pakistan has good relations with Sierra Leone through these with UN mission and were able to interact with each other's amicably. Pakistan name in Sierra Leone is famous and there are lots of Pakistani there as on now in Freetown. In conclusion, Pakistan should act fast in creating mission in Sierra Leone soon through Engage Africa Policy.

ANS 5: Pakistan trade volume in overall Africa is growing from 3 billion USD to 4 billion USD recently. But Pakistan import more to Kenya amounting to about 45 million USD and Kenya is doing same, but benefitting most. In West Africa, Pakistan is trading with Benin, Ghana, Senegal, Mali is growing in recent time.

ANS 6: West Africa is very rich in resources, giving Sierra Leone diamonds which was sold in penny, did not benefit government but these international partners involved in illegal trades. These resources are expensive in international market if used rightly, as it used to manufacture cars, computers and other industrial machines. Niger being largest uranium producer has no industry to manufacture it products. Further, Africa has resources,



but comparing in number of productions with Pakistan is less due to lack of advanced technological machines. Sierra Leone land is very futile, but no agricultural tractors to produce more, if Pakistan is giving an opportunity to invest in this area, improvement will surely take place. And Pakistan would benefit in various ways in exporting these agricultural products. In conclusion, Pakistan will be able to import metals, textiles, building materials, chemicals, agricultural products, motor bikes among others.

ANS 7: AfCFTA will change all in a positive direction, because it will connect with rest of world in free trade agreement. And that Pakistan should take this opportunity to crate strong ties with West Africa.

ANS 8: The ball is in Sierra Leone hands because Pakistan is always open to create ties with them. Pakistan has always helped other countries requesting, with likes of Nigeria, Niger among. And Pakistan has sent teaches, exchange programmes in education, scholarships, engineers among others. In conclusion, through help of Pakistan, Sierra Leone has enjoyed long peace, its only needs little backing from Pakistan improved in those areas of education, agriculture, technology among others.

## ANNEXURE 5

Interview with Dr. Denis Sandi (Sierra Leonean). Two Times Former Minister of Lands, Environment and Country Planning, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

ANS 1: Pakistan as a country has had no strong link or history with countries in West Africa but seems to somehow target countries with a strong Muslim background. However, Pakistan soldiers or philanthropic organizations can offer assistance or gestures to the Muslim communities in countries they are sent or deployed like what Pakistan Regiment did for communities in Sierra Leone during the days of UNASIL when they constructed some small mosques around.

ANS 2: Challenges Pakistan is facing to establish diplomatic relations range from the competition with India, establishment of their culture, their own home insurgency problems and naturally finances.

ANS 3: Their presence is hardly felt in Sierra Leone except for few occasions when they participate in government programmes in the country. They seem to be highly elusive.

ANS 4: Pakistan trade volume in West Africa is not impressive and their influence in organizations or union for Africa is not really felt in terms of either lobbying at UN or otherwise.

ANS 5: Pakistan seems to highly favour Muslim countries and this is the reason for their embassy in Senegal, especially when they seem to share same culture in common like dress code.

ANS 6: With global Corona pandemic around, Pakistan's involvement in the affairs of Africa countries will scale down in the years ahead to focus on the threats at home and insecurity with India.