

PAKISTAN RUSSIA RELATIONS: AN ASSESMENT OF
MILITARY COOPERATION



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ABSTRACT

In international relations, there is no permanent friend or foe. The nature of relations between states vary in accordance with their interests. Throughout the cold war era, Pakistan and USSR could not maintain stable relations despite efforts as Pakistan was interested in defense technology of USSR and USSR wanted to take advantage of strategic location of Pakistan. But after 9/11, a drastic improvement was observed in the relations of two countries. This study is aimed at assessment of fluctuating nature of Pak-Russia relations since 1947, in depth exploration of reasons of improvement in Pak-Russia relations after 9/11 and analysis of military cooperation between two countries along with its impact on region. By reviewing extensive literature on the subject the answers of research questions were found. In the past century, relations between Pakistan and Russia remained fluctuating because soon after its creation, Pakistan decided to join western bloc due to its military and financial needs and thereafter became part of western alliances aimed at containing communism. In response, Russia started supporting India and thus thereafter could not give Pakistan access to its sophisticated weapons despite the utmost efforts of Pakistan, due to pressure of India. After 9/11, As Pakistan abandoned Taliban, principle interest of two countries converged due to shared threat of terrorism and US-Indian alliance. Other factors that brought them closer were energy needs of Pakistan, Russia's interest in CPEC, SCO and Russia's vision of diversification of its foreign policy. Military cooperation also improved between two countries after 9/11 as many joint military exercises and training programs were initiated that are being held consistently especially after 2016. There is a frequent exchange of visits of high level military and defense related officials. But as far as, the trade of military hardware is concerned, much progress has not been witnessed. Russia seem to not stake its relations with its past strategic ally, India.

Keywords: Military Cooperation, Joint Military Exercises, Cold war, 9/11 event, US-Indian alliance

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AUMF	Authorization for Use of Military Force
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CIS	Central Asian States
CMLA	Chief Marshal Law Administrator
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
EAEU	Eurasian Economic Commission
EU	European Union
IGC	Intergovernmental Commission
IS	Islamic State
JMCC	Joint Military Consultative Committee
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCTC	National Counter Terrorism Center
OGDCL	Oil and Gas Development Company Limited
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nation

USA	United State of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WOT	War on Terror

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is comprised of background of the research, research gap, problem statement, objective of study, research questions, research hypothesis, and significance of study and organization of study.

1.1 Background

The world is facing various geopolitical changes i.e. decline of global pre-eminence of USA, competition of major powers, Russia-China entente, and emergence of quad axis comprised of US, Japan, India and Australia. As response to these developments, states are also redefining their ties at bilateral level. The emerging Pak-Russia rapprochement is example of such response, where those two countries which were once at odds with one another are getting closer. Their newly formed ties are particularly eminent in military domain, as depicted by the joint military exercises between the two countries. These friendship exercises (Druzhba) were started in 2016 and are continued till now being an important feature of Pak-Russia security cooperation.¹

As far as history of Pak-Russia relations is concerned, the two countries had fluctuating relations. They had been labelled as strategic rivals due to their diverging geopolitical objectives. The cold war era generally mark the tense relations between two countries as Pakistan was close to US, and USSR was inclined towards India during this

¹ Zeeshan Hayat, "Mapping the Contours of Russia-Pakistan Security Cooperation," Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research, December 16,2020

era.²In 1955, Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO that were led by US to contain communism.³During indo-Pak conflicts, when Pakistan was facing sanctions from US, USSR provided military equipment to Pakistan that worth US\$ 310 million, which paved the way for smooth relations between two countries. But in 1971 war, USSR openly supported India against Pakistan thus halting the growth of fledgling relationship⁴. The cold war ended with disintegration of Russia, which provided new beginning. The two sides took benefit of it by exchanging bilateral contacts.⁵

The event of 9/11, which transformed the geopolitical situation, led to convergence of interests of two countries, thus improving their relations. The visit of President Musharraf to Russia in 2003 paved the way for institutionalized cooperation between two countries leading to formation of joint working groups for collaboration of two countries in defense, economic and cultural domain.⁶ The visit of Russian Prime minister to Pakistan is another historic event which took place after 38 years in 2007.⁷ Apart from that, Russia's support to Pakistan's bid for joining SCO and condemnation of NATO attacks on Pak-Afghan borders by US in 2011 demonstrated a new beginning between two countries.⁸

The next decade of 2010-2020 witnessed flourishing Pak-Russia relations. Two countries have been cooperating in various domains to solve the problems of mutual interests. Joint efforts are made by them to control production and trafficking of drugs

² Rana Danish Nisar, "Pakistan-Russo Détente in New Epoch – OpEd," Eurasia review, August 16, 2020. <https://www.eurasiareview.com/16082020-pakistan-russo-detente-in-new-epoch-oped>.

³ Syed Muhammad Saad Zaidi and Adam Saud, "From "Geo-strategic Rivals" to "Probable Allies"? A constructivist Analysis of the Pakistan-Russia Relations", *Herald of the Russian Academy of Science* 91, no 2(2021):153-162. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1134/S1019331621020106>

⁴ Kuldip Sing, "Pakistan and Russia: Increasing Cooperation," *Financial Express*, April 19, 2021, <https://www.financialexpress.com/defence/pakistan-and-russia-increasing-cooperation/2235918/>.

⁵ Himayatullah Yaqubi, "Upward Trajectory in Pak-Russia Relations" *The News*, October 2, 2016. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/amp/561842-trajectory-pak-russia-relations>.

⁶ Tahir Amin, "Pakistan-Russia Relations and the Unfolding "New Great Game" in South Asia" *The Regional Security Puzzle around Afghanistan: Bordering Practices in Central Asia and Beyond*, ed. Helena Rytövuori-Apunen. (Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2016), 191-206.

⁷ Imran Khan and Karim Haider Syed, "The Strategic Relations of Pakistan and Russia in 21st Century," *Research Journal of Social Sciences & Economics Review* 2, no.1 (2021):259-265.

⁸ Rashid Siddiqi, "Prospects of Russia- Pakistan Rapprochement," *Strategic studies* 37, no.2 (Summer 2017):58-73.

especially in Asia.⁹ Russia also lifted military embargo from Pakistan in 2014. On visit of Russian defense minister to Pakistan, agreement was reached between two countries to share information on politico-military issues, collaboration in counter-terrorism and defense sector, and development of Afghanistan.¹⁰ Apart from that, inter-governmental deal on construction of Lahore to Karachi gas pipeline, Pakistan's offer to Russia to use its Gwadar port for warm water access¹¹, and Moscow's agreement on selling MIG-35 helicopters to Pakistan flag a new era of Pak-Russia relations.¹²

Rapprochement of Pakistan and Russia is due to various reasons such as strained and volatile Pak-US relations, heightened confrontation in US-Russia relations, and growing strategic partnership between US and India. Therefore, Machiavellian common cause is reassessed by two countries that turn of events had provided them. They also have shared belief that political stability in the region is tied to the political settlement of Afghanistan.

Pakistan's geographical importance is another important reason for two countries coming closer as it can provide Russia and Central Asia with a mean to connect with other regions of Asia and Africa. In order to use Pakistan as gateway, the peace and stability in Afghanistan is crucial. Apart from that there are other factors such as Russia-India relations, CPEC and china's economic relations which are topic of discussion in this regard on many international forums. It is speculated that the recent closeness of two countries will not only set new milestones between the two countries but it will also strengthen the regional cooperation.¹³ Apart from that, Russia has fear of penetration of IS fighter group in central Asia and its home, which is shared by Pakistan as well.¹⁴

⁹ Russia's Revival: Opportunities and Limitations for Pakistan. *IPRI*, Feb. 4 (2016).
<https://ipripak.org/russias-revival-opportunities-and-limitations-for-pakistan/>

¹⁰ Masahiro Kurita, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Developments and Limitations," *NIDS*, no.85 (2019):1-8.
<http://www.nids.mod.go.jp/>

¹¹ Hasan Yaser Malik, "Friendship -2016: First Ever Pakistan-Russia Joint Military Exercise," *Muslim Institute*, (2016). www.muslim-institute.org

¹² Yasir Masood, "Rekindled Pak-Russia Relations," *The Express Tribune*, August 9, 2016,
<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1159081/rekindled-pak-russia-relations>.

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Drazen Jorgic, "With Gas and Diplomacy, Russia Embraces Cold War Foe Pakistan," *Reuters*, March 5, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-russia-idUSKBN1GH27P>.

1.2 Research Gap

1.2.1 Theoretical Gap

Few researchers have approached Pak-Russia relationship through various theoretical frameworks. Bashir and Naseer in their article “*New cold war: Rebuilding Pakistan Russian relations*” used Realism and its variant Structural Realism. Researcher Arif and Ahmed in their article “*The trajectory of Pakistan-Russia relations: Emerging contours and future prospects*” used Structural realism. Muhammad Hanif in his article “*Pakistan-Russia relations: Prospects and constraints*” used realism and commercial liberalism. Zaidi and Saud in their article “*From “Geo-Strategic Rivals” to “Probable Allies”? A Constructivist Analysis of the Russia-Pakistan relations*” used constructivist approach to discuss Pakistan-Russia relations. Muhammad Taimur Fahad Khan in his article “*Pakistan’s Foreign Policy toward Russia: New Directions*” used Defensive Realism. Bahauddin, Abdul Wadood and Aurangzeb in their article “*Pakistan’s Strategic Realignment: A Critical Appraisal*” used Realism theory to describe Pakistan Relations with world powers. Hafeez Ullah Khan in his journal article “*Reviving Pak-Russia Relations: Implications for CPEC*” used Complex Interdependence Theory. Sundas Khizar and Rana Eijaz Ahmed in their Research paper “*Pakistan’s Engagement with China and Russia: Impacts on the Regional Order*” used Regional Security Complex theory. But none of the researchers has focused on military rapprochement between two countries through the lens of balance of power theory. My research is aimed at filling this gap.

1.2.2 Contextual Gap

Military cooperation between Pakistan and Russia is considered to be most sensitive area, which can have serious and far reaching impacts. Military cooperation between Pakistan and Russia can put serious strain on their relations with their old allies i.e. US and India respectively. But in spite of immense importance of this topic, it has never been given a detailed treatment. Although few researchers have worked on military cooperation between Pakistan and Russia after 2014 but no extensive study was carried out on the background, especially on military cooperation between two countries during cold war. Apart from this, the impact of military cooperation between Pakistan and Russia on their old allies and other countries of region is not well studied.

1.2.3 Methodological Gap

The major focus of previous studies was on descriptive and historical research design. But none of the study used explanatory research design. The major focus of this design is to study the problem which was not well researched before. Apart from this, this study is qualitative in nature, so Case Study is used as a research strategy and thematic analysis is used for analyzing data.

1.3 Problem Statement

Pakistan has been facing existential threats from India since its creation. Security is of prime concern to Pakistan, therefore it has always been seeking for the state of the art military technology. US has been major source of military hardware to Pakistan, but deterioration of its relations with US and inclination of US towards India is alarming for the country. Thus it is in search of new sources to update its defense technology. After USA, Russia is the major exporter of defense technology in the world. A large proportion of Russian defense complex's revenue was generated by Indian defense market. After US-Indian alliance, Russia is also concerned, while sitting on heap of armament and ammunitions. Russia needs market for its defense industry to boost its struggling economy. Pakistan although cannot offer as big market as India but still it has potential to be a viable defense market due to internal and external security issues of the country. Along with that the interests of Pakistan and Russia are also intertwined in many global and regional issues i.e. terrorism, instability in Afghanistan, and big power involvement in south Asia etc. Although, new international dynamics have led to the convergence of interests of Pakistan and Russia but two countries are cautious towards military cooperation because of their histories. Nevertheless, anticipation of the military cooperation of Pakistan and Russia is a matter of concern for many global players including their traditional rivals, i.e. US and India.

1.4 Objective of Study

The objective of this research are:

1. To assess the nature of Pakistan-Russia relations since 1947.
2. To explore the reasons for the improvement of Pak-Russia relations.
3. To analyze military cooperation between Pakistan-Russia and its impact on regional politics.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What has been the nature of Pakistan-Russia relations since 1947?
2. Why Pakistan –Russia relations improved after 9/11?
3. How improvement of Pakistan-Russia relations has led towards military cooperation?

1.6 Research Hypothesis

“Post 9/11 positive regional realignments in the South Asian region have led towards military cooperation between Pakistan and Russia.”

1.7 Significance of the Study

Pak- Russia relations are depiction of nature of international relations, where there is no perpetual friend or enemy. State interest is the only constant reality in this domain. On the basis of their common interests, two countries are coming closer. But the history of alliances of two countries with each other’s worst enemies, make the situation complex leading to difficulty in maintaining friendly relations due to trust deficit.¹⁵Nevertheless, after shift in global politics, two countries are now having converging interests. The major partner of Russia in south Asia i.e. India, is showing inclination towards the traditional rival of Russia i.e. US. Similarly, US, the old ally of Pakistan is making deals with India after straining of its relations with Pakistan. Now Pakistan and Russia can fill this void by developing relations with each other to fulfill their defense, economic and political needs. Apart from this, the security challenges faced by two countries have a lot in common, especially the threats posed by Afghanistan to the security of two countries. This scenario is

¹⁵ Hafeez Ullah Khan "Pakistan–Russia Relations and the Changing Paradigm." *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 26.no1., 217-227:(2019). . <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335095398>.

forcing the two countries to sit together for combating their common challenges, while taking the unique advantages that they can offer to each other.

This study will evaluate the possibility of cooperation between Pakistan and Russia in military domain, which is dreaded by India, despised by US and has potential to impact Pakistan's relations with China and the Gulf-states. It will be a valuable addition to literature on the subject that will not only be helpful to the students and researchers working on this domain, but it will also provide guidelines to the policy makers of both Pakistan and Russia along with other countries which can be positively or negatively impacted by Pak-Russia military rapprochement-

1.8 Organization of the Study

The thesis is divided into five chapters

First chapter is introduction. In this chapter background of study, research objective, questions and significance of research is discussed.

Second chapter is about Literature review and theoretical frame work. In this chapter a vast review of relevant literature is conducted and a theory is selected to provide framework.

Third chapter is Research Methodology. In this chapter the methodology of study and its philosophical foundations are discussed.

Fourth Chapter is regarding Data Analysis. In this chapter data is analyzed using thematic analysis and case study approach.

Fifth chapter is Discussion. In this chapter, findings of study are discussed, recommendations are made and conclusions are drawn.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter covers literature review and theoretical framework. Literature on the subject can be divided into various categories i.e. dynamics of Pak-Russia relations, opportunities leading to development of Pak-Russia relations, constraints towards development of Pak-Russia relations, nature of Pak-Russia relations and significance of Pak-Russia relations after 9/11. In theoretical framework section, the balance of power theory and its appropriateness to explain Pak-Russia relations is described.

2.1 Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to examine the bilateral relationship between Pakistan and Russia and provide deep understanding about topic. It illustrates that how and why both countries relations have gone through ups and downs during different phases. Which factors played role in straining or normalizing of relations between both countries?

2.1.1 Dynamics of Pak-Russia Relations

Khan and Altaf divided dynamic history of Pakistan and Russia relations into four phases. The first phase is called invitation era, when Pakistan had option to either join communist or capitalist block. Pakistan opted for capitalist block due to its colonial heritage, economic constraints and security concerns at eastern border. The second phase ranging from 1965 to 1979, started with improvement in relation between two countries and ended with decision of Pakistan to join jihad in Afghanistan, due to which both countries relations again strained. The third phase was the post- cold war era which was characterized by improvement in relations between Pakistan and Russia. The fourth phase was called the

era of institutionalized relations, where a shift was observed in the foreign policy of Pakistan after 9/11.¹⁶

Muhammad discussed the dynamics of Pak-Russia relations. Although Pakistan preferred western wing, but it also established its relations with USSR in 1948. These relations have gone through many ups and downs in upcoming decade. But during era of Musharraf, after Pakistan became part of US-led war on terror against Taliban, the relations between two countries were institutionalized. Later on, due to US raid on Abbottabad for killing Usama bin Laden in 2011, and NATO's airstrike on Salala check post, killing 24 soldiers of Pakistan, forced Islamabad to look for new foreign policy options and thus to reach out to Moscow.¹⁷

According to F.H Khan, close ties could not be established between Russia and Pakistan initially due to lack of trust. Pakistan was ally of US and Russia had warm relations with India, which created an environment of mistrust between two countries. During mid1990s, when Pakistan was under US nuclear sanctions and Russia was facing economic challenges after dissolution, two countries tried to improve their relation with little success. After 9/11, a huge shift was observed in global politics. Pakistan renewed its alliance with US in war on terror, where president Musharraf played a pivotal role. After end of Musharraf rule, US legislated nuclear deal with India in 2008, whereas Pakistan had faced international disapproval due to proliferation network of AQ Khan in 2004. Moreover, due to Obama's policy of 2009-2016, which focused on deepening relations with India, Pakistan felt betrayed by US. Thus Pakistan reached out to Russia and China. Later Pakistan became member of China led SCO, which was major milestone for Pakistan, firstly because it allowed space to Pakistan for maneuvering; and second it enabled Pakistan to prevent India to use SCO against Pakistan. After 2010, relations between Pakistan and Russia improved, whereas relation between Pakistan and US were all time low. Pakistan and Russia started to cooperate in various sectors including defense, which

¹⁶ Muhammad Nawaz Khan and Beenish Altaf, "Pakistan-Russia Rapprochement and Current Geo-Politics" *IPRI Journal XIII*, no.1(2013):125-134.

¹⁷ Muhammad Nawaz Khan, "Pakistan-Russia Relations Redux: From Estrangement to Pragmatism" *IPRI Journal XIX*, no.1(2019):56-85.

led to cancellation of Pakistan's participation in US military education program. Thus Pakistan is opening up for Beijing and Moscow after being disappointed from US.¹⁸

Hanif discussed that after disintegration of USSR and emergence of Russia as a major world power, both Pakistan and Russia realized many opportunities for mutual cooperation and thus they reviewed their old policies and set the basis of friendly relations. However, when Pakistan decided to support Taliban government in Afghanistan, the relations between the two countries deteriorated. But after 9/11, when Pakistan become front line state against Taliban, relation between Pakistan and Russia improved again. In 2007, Russian Prime Minister Fradkov visited Pakistan. Putin supported membership of Pakistan in SCO. Although the sudden cancellation of visit of Putin to Pakistan in 2012 led to many misconceptions. But afterward, officials of Russia and Pakistan have been exchanging visits. It is believed that Russia consider Pakistan's role to be pivotal in resolving Afghanistan issues.¹⁹

Shah analyzed that the global shift after 1991 provided Pakistan and Russia with an opportunity for new start by abandoning the legacy of Soviet-Pakistan relations. Both countries have taken up this opportunity. Thus a warmth was observed in relation of two countries. Moscow started giving greater importance to Muslim countries at its south, and it considered Pakistan as crucial factor for Afghanistan political settlement. Thus bilateral relations improved between Pakistan and Russia and they started cooperating in various sectors including peaceful use of nuclear energy, outer space and defense technology. The new chapter in relations between Pakistan and Russia started when Nawaz Sharif asked Russia in 1999 to play its role for normalization of relations between Pakistan and India by resolving Kashmir issue.²⁰

Rekha analyzed the dynamic of Pak-Russia relations since independence. She discussed the various events i.e. Rawalpindi conspiracy in 1951 and reason behind it, cold war politics, Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, withdrawal of Russian troops in

¹⁸ Feroz Hassan Khan, "Russia-Pakistan strategic relations :An emerging entent," *Journal of Indo-Pacefic affair* (January2021) :42-64.

¹⁹ Muhammad Hanif, "Pakistan-Russia relations: Progress, prospects and constraints," *IPRI Journal XIII*, no. 2(2013: 63-86.

²⁰ Adnan Ali Shah, "Pakistan-Russia relations:Post-cold war era," *Strategic Studies 21*, no.2(2001):31-60.

1989, importance of Afghanistan and central Asian states, dilution of importance of Pakistan in foreign policy of US, Pressler Amendment, Non-Proliferation Treaty, tilt of India towards US, and improvement of relations between Pakistan and Russia along with reasons.²¹

According to Serenko, Positive improvement in Pak-Soviet relations was observed in 1960 when relations between Pakistan and USA deteriorated. The major outcome of this thaw in Pak-soviet relation was elimination of Pakistan's dependence on foreign metallurgical experts. But after involvement of Soviet troops in Afghan conflict in 1979, the relations between two countries soured though cultural contacts and economic projects continued in low points of bilateral relations. After the end of cold war in 1989, there was opportunity to improve relations between two countries but Pakistan did not take much advantage of it. It was only after Pakistan's head of state 's visit to Russia in 2003, when Pakistan returned to lost 'realistic relationship', as two countries again started cooperation in science, academia and culture by people-to-people contact.²²

2.1.2 Opportunities Leading to Development of Pak-Russia Relations

According to Arif and Ahmed, the foreign policy of Russia revolves around power projection beyond its borders, defense capabilities and economic security. In 2010, President Putin announced his 'Turn to East' that is aimed at enhancing interaction with eastern states in political, military and economic domains. The factors behind this are social and political ignorance in Far East of Russia, general belief of 21st century being Asian century, 2008 financial crisis, and rejection of west membership by Putin and Ukrainian crisis. Two countries although have a common goal of diversifying their foreign policy but they have different rationale for improving relations with each other. Russia is interested in extending its sphere of influence, central and south Asian power projects, and getting access to Gwadar port and transit routes for trade. Whereas, Pakistan looks forward to Russia for meeting its energy needs, as Russia is considered to be a largest producer of oil and gas, and Russian giants like Gazprom and Rosneft can be helpful to Pakistan in

²¹ Chandra Rekha, "Emerging trends in Russia-Pakistan relations:Should India be concerned?" *Defence and Diplomacy Journal*6, no.1(2016):1-13.

²² Irina Serenko, "Russia-Pakistan: Scientific, educational and cultural potential of mutual cooperation." *Central Asia*,(2009):1-2.

realizing its oil and gas potential. Moreover, Pakistan is also interested in buying Su35 fighter jets from Russia. The dialogue held between Pakistan and Russia in 2013, laid the foundation of mutual cooperation in the fields of defense, economy and politics.²³

According to H.U Khan, there are various reasons at various level that are responsible for closeness of Pakistan and Russia. At regional level, Russia recognize importance of Pakistan in political settlement of Afghanistan and also want to learn from Pakistan's experience in eradicating terrorism. At global level, Russian Prime Minister wanted to counter US by coalition of Russia, India and China. The inclination of India to US resulted in collaboration of Pakistan and Russia. At geopolitical level, importance of Arabian Sea and CPEC project of Pakistan are object of attention for Russia. At geo-economic level, the collaboration of Pakistan and Russia in energy sector especially North-South Gas Pipeline project is of immense importance for both countries.²⁴

According to Akram, the interest of Pakistan and Russia converge in development of economic and military relations. Russia view Pakistan as a market for its defense, energy and infrastructure sector. Whereas, Pakistan is seeking for strong relations with major regional powers, including Russia because of its permanent membership in united nation's Security Council. Apart from this, security interests of two states are also intertwined.²⁵

Siddique explained the reasons behind improvement of Pak-Russia relations in terms of three factors. First is the Afghanistan factor. Moscow is not only concerned about uncertainty and instability of Afghanistan, but it realizes importance of Afghanistan for controlling vast area including Central Asia by establishing military bases there due to its strategic location. In Russia's opinion, Afghanistan's issue cannot be settled without constructive involvement of Iran and Pakistan. Second is the china factor. Pakistan has always been preferring China over Russia, which resulted in tilting of Russia towards India. China also played role in improvement in relations between Pakistan and Russia. Now due to CPEC, Russian analysts are describing Pakistan as 'the Zipper state' for Pan-Eurasian

²³ Misbah Arif and Raja Qaiser Ahmed, "The trajectory of Pakistan-Russia relations: Emerging contours and future prospects," *Journal of Contemporary Studies VII*, no.2(2018): 67-82.

²⁴ Hafeez Ullah Khan, "Pakistan-Russia Relations and the Changing Paradigm," *Journal of Political Studies* 26, no.1(2019): 217-227. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335095398>

²⁵ Sarah Akram, "Pakistan Russia Relations: Future Trends", *Issue Brief* (2016):1-8. <https://issi.org.pk>

integration. The third factor is India. Russia has always been viewing relation with Pakistan and India as zero sum game. However, it has now realized the unique importance of Pakistan. Apart from this, the increased inclination of India towards US forced Russia to take interest in Pakistan for tapping its defense market.²⁶

According to Anwar, Gillian and Abbas, in 1998 Russian PM devised policy to establish strong relations between India, China and Russia to counter US, but India after getting support of US became doubtful towards Russian Policy. Thus Putin, after being unable to get any positive response from India, considered new countries in the list, in which Pakistan was also included. Apart from this, Russia is resource rich country but it has to spend too much money to get access to western market. Thus it has decided to shift its market from west to east and it is pugnacious to make Pakistan a new part of its eastern market. Apart from this, Pakistan can also provide new trading routes to Russia. While viewing the situation from Pakistan's perspective, Pakistan has always tried hard to support west especially US against instability and insecurity in Afghanistan. But US held Pakistan responsible for failure of its terrorist operation in Afghanistan and also defamed the country in the world by declaring it a hub of terrorism. On the other hand, Russia appreciated the efforts of Pakistan against terrorism and it also considers the role of Pakistan to be crucial for political settlement of Afghanistan in peaceful manner.²⁷

Kaushiki discussed various factors responsible for Pak-Russia strategic rapprochement. The first factor is the US sanctions imposed on Pakistan and Russia. After worsening of relations between Pakistan and USA, decrease in purchase of arms by India from Russia, and sanctions imposed on Russia by west; Pakistan became feasible partner for Russia to export its armaments, gas and oil. The second factor is Afghanistan after US withdrawal. Pakistan and Russia want to work together for creating Afghanistan as buffer zone for Taliban. The third factor is the possible rise of India-Iran-Afghanistan axis. Islamabad is fearful of India-Iran-Afghanistan axis as three countries have grievances

²⁶ Rashid Siddiqi, "Prospects of Russia- Pakistan Rapprochement," *Strategic studies* 37, no.2 (Summer 2017):58-73.

²⁷ Tohid Anwar, Aftab Hussain Gillani and Muhammad Wasim Abbas, "Pakistan Russia relation and its effect on Regional politics (1991-2008)." *Global Political Review*V, no.II(2020): 1-10. doi: 10.31703/gpr.2020(V-III).01.

against Pakistan, thus it is considering Russo-Pak alliance in its favor. The fourth factor is emerging Russia-Iran-China axis. Russia-Iran relations can impact Russo-Pak strategic partnership. Moreover, Pakistan can use Russia as mediator in its conflicts with India, due to Russia's deep relations with India. Fifth factor is deteriorating relations between Saudi Arabia and US. Pakistan is capitalizing on trust deficit of US and Saudi Arabia by inviting Saudi Arabia at Gwadar port making trilateral presence of Saudi Arabia, China and Russia. It is thus bringing three great powers at doorstep of India and building military and strategic shield for itself.²⁸

According to Glogowski, the reason for improvement of Pak-Russia relations are; shift in international arena due to change in nature of interaction between China, India and US, Ukraine crisis, international isolation of Russia, decreasing military expenditure of India, Increasing and immediate energy needs of Pakistan, cooling of relations between Pakistan and US leading financial problem and need for sophisticated defense technology partner for Pakistan, and Pakistan's desire for serious commitment of China and Russia in Afghanistan to counter the influence of India in Afghanistan.²⁹

Purushothaman discussed reason for improvement in Pak-Russia relations from perspective of both countries. Pakistan is important for Russia due to its geostrategic location right next to Afghanistan, Pakistan's capability to rein Taliban and other Islamist groups, to replace US in region, and to impede the rate of growth of India-US relations. Pakistan considers Russia important because of its natural resources and technology that can help Pakistan to achieve its industrialization goals and commercial gains, to get leverage over US in the presence of tension in US-Pakistan and US-Russia relations, and to reduce dependence on US military technology.³⁰

²⁸ Nishtha Kaushiki "Factors contributing to an emerging Russia-Pakistan strategic proximity." *Journal of International and Area Studies* 26, no. 1 (June 2019) 43-64.

²⁹ Hab Aleksander Glogowski, Strategic shift in Pakistan-Russia relations and its influence on security in South Asia" (International Academic Conferencess Proceeding, Budapest, Germany, 8 September 2016) 125-130.

³⁰ Uma Purushothaman, "The Russia-Pakistan rapprochement: Should India worry?" *ORF ISSUE BRIEF No. 117*, (November 2015): 1-6. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305033854>.

Bashir and Naseer discussed the reasons of closeness of Pakistan and Russia in terms of economic, political, and security concerns from the perspective of two countries. From Russia's perspective, the major economic concern is finding new markets for its arms and retaining the older one which were lost during cold war. Pakistan can become a new market for Russian military hardware. From political view, Russia need support of china and Pakistan for implementation of any policy in the region especially regarding Afghanistan. Russia's security concerns emanate from Eurasia i.e. Ukraine problem and Syrian issue, thus it is in search of regional partner to tackle these threats. Its nexus with Pakistan can serve best due to similar security concerns of two countries. From Pakistan's perspectives, its economic concerns are due to income inequality, population explosion, poor resource management and other issues which are worsening the situation by increasing the dependence of country on IMF. Such situation can be resolved via CPEC and finding new partners for assistance. Russia's interest in CPEC and its involvement in one belt one road project of china is positive news for Pakistan. Pakistan's security concerns are shaped by its involvement in US-led war on terror, which has isolated Pakistan in the world. Now Pakistan is looking for new alliances. Russian appreciation of Pakistan's effort against terrorism make it a probable ally of Pakistan. Pakistan's security concerns are mainly due to threats on its eastern and western borders. Pakistan share eastern border with its hostile enemy India, whereas it is facing precarious situation in western border due nexus of India and Afghanistan. Apart from this, US-India alliance is another security challenge for Pakistan. Thus, a defense alliance with former superpower will be really helpful to Pakistan in neutralizing its security threats.³¹

According to Naqvi and Masood, the reasons for inclination of Russia towards Pakistan is its realization of changing realities in the region. Russia is diversifying its foreign policy to combat the threats of drug trafficking, and terrorism. Pakistan and Russia can cooperate in global and regional level. Firstly, Pakistan and Russia have common stance on many global issues including regional stability and Afghanistan. Secondly, Pakistan being involved in projects like CASA, CPEC, CAREC, IP gas pipeline, and TAPI,

³¹ Faiza Bashir and Noreen Naseer "New cold war: Rebuilding Pakistan Russia relations" *Central Asia Journal*, no. 82(Summer 2018):89-112.

can play important role in Pan-Eurasian integration. Thirdly, India's changing priorities can bring Pakistan closer to Russia. Fourthly, US factor can also impact their relation.³²

F.H. Khan explored some of the factors responsible for convergence of interest of Pakistan and Russia, and thus bringing them closer. First factor is the future of Afghanistan, as both countries consider US presence as a source of instability, but still they are not in favor of complete withdrawal of US. Second is strategic balance in region as Russia consider balance of power between India and Pakistan crucial for stability of region, thus it showed intentions of selling military hardware to Pakistan, ignoring the concerns of India. Third is the same nuclear doctrine of two countries as they cling to state of art nuclear arms to ensure their national survival and sovereignty. The fourth is the shared belief of two countries on integration of nuclear and conventional doctrine to overcome their conventional weakness. Fifth area is hybrid war, as Russia is considered to be architect of hybrid war as exhibited in Ukraine conflict, and Pakistan need to learn to counter hybrid attacks by India. The sixth area is Pakistan's desire for membership of NSG to overcome its energy challenges. Russia subtly supported Pakistan's stance on NSG membership as opposed to India.³³

According to Moskaleiko and Topychkanov, reason for warmth in Pak-Russia relations is the common challenges faced by both countries especially in security domain i.e. nuclear security, organized crime and terrorism. Although Pakistan neither boast as big market as that of India, nor it has energy resources like of Iran but its strategic location makes it important. Moreover, Russia cannot stay indifferent to Pakistan because of common security challenges faced by two countries.³⁴

According to Shubhankar Basu after 1990s, both countries improved their diplomatic and military relations. Due to Pakistan role in Afghanistan, Russia changed its

³² Almas Haider Naqvi and Yasir Masood "Rejuvenating Pakistan-Russia relations: Discernable trends and future." *Strategic Studie* 37, no.4 (Winter 2017):18-38.

³³ Feroz Hassan Khan, "Russia-Pakistan strategic relations :An emerging entent," *Journal of Indo-Pacific affair* (January 2021) :42-64.

³⁴ Vladimir Moskaleiko and Petr Topychkanov, *Russia and Pakistan: Shared Challenges and Common Opportunities* (Moscow: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2014), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep13006>.

perspective toward country. The major reason behind two countries closeness were geopolitics in the region. The current situation of Afghanistan become a concern for Russia. Russia considered Pakistan as an ally and supported Pakistanis role along with China in ongoing peace process. At geo-economic level, Pakistan's location is considered as a bridge between China, Central Asia and South Asia. Russia always wanted to get access warm water, so that's why it is showing eagerness to join CPEC. In defense sector Russia is world second largest defense market. After USA, Russia is best option for Pakistan for sophisticated military weapons. In energy sectors North South Gas pipeline project that connect Karachi to Lahore. This project is considered as a government to government projects between two countries. It is also estimated that this project can reduce some of Pakistan's energy issues.³⁵

According to Riise CPEC project multiplies the ancient geographic importance of Pakistan as the country has transitioned from geostrategic to geo-economics. CPEC is an economic partnership that increases the military industrial potential of Pakistan along with internal social stability. The author suggests that, Russia should make Pakistan its key strategic partner while balancing the relations with India. Russia-Pakistan-China with partnership with Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria can become a powerful axis, if India freezes its ties with Russia in favor of USA.³⁶

2.1.3 Constraints towards Development of Pak-Russia Relations

Sultana, Afshan and Fatima discussed some of the risks or constraints that limit the prospects of Pak-Russia relations. Russia is extending its relations with Pakistan very carefully and unwillingly as it doesn't want to antagonize its main partner in south Asia i.e. India. Apart from this, Russia also lack any focused or cohesive strategy for south Asia, relying just on overarching general strategy to meet its interests in South Asia. In case of Pakistan also, situation is quite similar. Neither US want to leave its old ally because of its

³⁵ Shubhankar Basu "Review of Russia –Pakistan defense cooperation: Reflection of emerging geopolitical realities" *Vivekananda International foundation* (2019). <https://www.vifindia.org/>.

³⁶ Karsten Riise, "Pakistan's Opportunities". *Russian Institute for Strategic Studies*, November 22, 2021. <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/columns/eurasian-policy/pakistan-s-opportunities/>

strategic location, nor Pakistan is in position of replacing US with Russia as the international financial institutions are still under the command of US. In business and investment sector, Russia has very limited opportunities in the presence of China in Pakistani market.³⁷

According to Hanif, there are some constraints that can hinder the growth of relation between two countries. Firstly, India because of its strong military and strategic relation with Russia can influence the prospects of cooperation between Pakistan and Russia, especially in military domain. Secondly, US does not view growing Pak-Russia relations with liking, thus it can hinder the growth of Pak-Russia relations. Thirdly, there may be a clash of economic interest between China and Russia in Pakistan. In such situation Pakistan will have no option but to favor China over Russia. Fourthly, Pakistan has strong ties with Gulf States and these states have strained relation with Russia due to clash of their opinion on Syrian issue. Thus Pakistan need to take Arabs into confidence before getting close to Russia.³⁸

According to Belokrenitsky and Kamenev, there are prospects for cooperation between Pakistan and Russia due to drug trafficking from Afghanistan to Russia using some Pakistani routes, smuggling of arms to Russia from south, Islamic extremism in Afghanistan that is likely to cast its shadows in central Asia, and regional instability and insecurity that can engulf Russia as well. In spite of these prospects, Pakistan's efforts to strengthen its relation with Russia remained futile as Moscow keep on looking Pakistan with Indian glasses.³⁹

Shah discussed various constraints towards development of Pak-Russia relations. The constraints are: situation of Afghanistan that casted heavy shadow on Pak-Russia relations because of contradictory relations of two countries with Taliban, instability in central Asia especially in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan for which some Pakistani groups are

³⁷ Tasneem Sultana, Sahar Afshan and Zobi Fatima, "Pakistan-Russia Relations in the Emerging Geo-Strategic Environment," *Journal of European Studies* 35/1, (2019):36-53.

³⁸ Muhammad Hanif, "Pakistan-Russia relations: Progress, prospects and constraints," *IPRI Journal XIII*, no. 2(2013: 63-86.

³⁹ Vyacheslav Y.Belokernitsky and Sergey N.Kamenev "Russia and Pakistan: A view from Moscow." *Pakistan Horizon* 66, no.1/2 (January-April 2013): 5-14.

blamed, trafficking of drugs from Afghanistan to rest of the world through central Asia, and supply of military hardware to India by Russia resulting in military imbalance in the favor of India.⁴⁰

2.1.4 Nature of Pak-Russia Relations

Muhamad discussed nature of Pak-Russia relations. Trade relations were established between Pakistan and Russia in 1956 leading to export of leather, cotton and jute to Russia by Pakistan and establishment of Pakistan steel mills with Russian assistance. Russia is also interested in becoming partner in CPEC. In energy sector, Russia helped Pakistan in development of oil consortium in 1958 and oil and gas Development Company in 1961. MOUs were signed between two countries for extension of technical assistance by Russia to Guddu and Muzaffargarh power plants, new jamshoro power plant and Tarbela-four project. In defense sector, visits were exchanged between officials of two countries in 2011, 2012 and 2014. Joint military drills are also conducted by two countries. Joint counter-terrorism group was established by two countries to ensure regional stability. In social and cultural domain, educational exchange program was initiated in 1964 between two countries.⁴¹

Owais analyzed that the nature of Pak-Russia relations has been varying from cool to antagonistic and hostile in 20th century. The visit of President Musharraf to Russia in 2003 opened new chapter in Pak-Russia relations. In 2006, Russian foreign minister visited Pakistan not only strengthened the bilateral ties but laid the foundation of cooperation between two countries in many fields i.e. communication, energy, railways, IT and security. Pakistan, because of its geography, and strong religious, cultural and political ties with west and central Asia, can become a valuable trade partner to Russia. The two countries are although having bilateral trade, but the favor is tilted towards Russia as it has 459-million-dollar export in Pakistan. Pakistan also has potential to export its support goods, rice, fruits,

⁴⁰ Adnan Ali Shah, "Pakistan-Russia relations:Post-cold war era," *Strategic Studies* 21, no.2(2001):31-60.

⁴¹ Muhammad Nawaz Khan, "Pakistan-Russia Relations Redux: From Estrangement to Pragmatism" *IPRI Journal* XIX , no.1(2019):56-85.

surgical items, garments, textile and seafood to Russia. Two countries can cooperate in energy sector as well.⁴²

According to Mumtaz, Ramzan and Gul, Pakistan is a populous country with growing middle class, having stronger industrial base and thus growing needs for energy. Therefore, it need to attract economies like Russia for investment in infrastructure and bring consumer industry. Pakistan is also rich in natural resources and Russia can provide technical assistance to Pakistan for tapping its potential. Apart from this, two countries are having economic relations since 1950. Pakistan exported cotton, leather and jute to Russia and Russia provided loan and technical assistance to Pakistan for setting up steel mill in 1971 and oil consortium in 1958. In 2012, MOUS were signed between two countries in metallurgy, energy production and railroad transportation. Russia is also desirous of joining CPEC. For its military technology, Pakistan always relied on west, which assisted Pakistan in the form of final product instead of transfer of technology, thus costing heavily to country's exchequer. Now Pakistan is developing military cooperation with Russia to meet its defense needs.⁴³

Azizian and Vasilieff, discussed the efforts made by two countries to improve their relations during the turn of century. During 1999 visit of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to Russia, two countries declared their readiness for development of relations that are mutually advantageous. Later Pakistan's opposition of NATO's action in Kosovo was highly appreciated by Russia. After military takeover in October 1999 in Pakistan, new government showed interest in developing bilateral relations with Russia. In 2000 Putin's accession to power generated mixed feelings in Islamabad. The hope of policy change in south Asia by Russia was welcoming. But the rigid stance of Putin on the issue of Chechnya and his efforts to enhance influence in central Asia created reservation for Pakistan. Economic relations deepened between two countries whereas, military relations remained lukewarm as Russia was not willing to endanger its relations with India. The two

⁴² Muhammad Owais, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Economic and Political Dimensions." *Pakistan Horizon* 60, no.2(April 2007):125-139.

⁴³ Jazib Mumtaz, Muhammad Ramzan and Saima Gul, "Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy with Respect to Russia's Past, Present and Future." *Global Political Review III*, no.I (Spring 2018):76-84. DOI:10.31703/gpr.2018 (III-I).08.

countries have potential of cooperation in energy sector as well. The relations between Pakistan and Russia further improved after 9/11, due to their common stance against terrorism, especially in Afghanistan. There are certain things regarding Afghanistan where two countries have diverging interests i.e. presence of India and support of pro Pashtun elements vs northern alliance.⁴⁴

According to Mian, the world is shifting towards multi-polarity. Great powers like China and Russia are readjusting their position in new international arena. Thus Pakistan is also making shifts in its foreign policy in accordance with emerging situation while keeping in view its security and economic concerns. Pakistan is trying to improve relations with all its neighbors and regional powers. Although Pakistan share bitter history with USSR, its relation with Russia has been significantly improved after 9/11. Russia is interested in Pakistan to fight drug trafficking, terrorism, due to its influence in south west Asia, and due to its geostrategic location.⁴⁵

2.1.5 Significance of Pak-Russia Relations after 9/11

According to Jagtiani, the triangular partnership between Russia, China and Pakistan may lead to two major consequences. Firstly, Russia may invest in CPEC thus creating geopolitical concern for India. Secondly, Russia may develop defense relations with Pakistan because of its stagnant economy, due to sanctions imposed on it after annexation of Crimea.⁴⁶

Shah, Rafique and Ahmed analyzed that India is already importing military hardware from Russia at large scale. If Pakistan improve its relations with Russia and start buying military technology from it, then Russia will be able to play the role of counter balancing force in the region. Moreover, Russia can also take advantage from Pakistan's successful experience in crushing terrorism and non-state actors.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Rouben Azizian and Peter Vasilieff, "Russia and Pakistan: The Difficult Path to Rapprochement." *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 30, no.1 (Spring 2003):36-55.

⁴⁵ Gulandam Mian, "Challenges and Prospects for Pak-Russia Relations in the Evolving Multi-Polar World." *CISS Insight: Quarterly News & Views*, 2015. <https://www.academia.edu/28169033>

⁴⁶ Ashini Jagtiani, "Russia-Pakistan military cooperation: A tectonic shift?" *Indra Stra Global*, (2017): 1-2.

⁴⁷ Sayed Amir Hussain Shah, Muhammad Umair Rafique and Naeem Ahmed "Pakistan-Russia relations in the changing power dynamics of South Asia." *Walia Journal* 36,(2020):10-15.

M.T. Khan analyzed that although Russia has always been Indo centric in south Asia, but a shift was observed in Russian foreign policy as it is trying to develop relations with China, Afghanistan, Iran along with Pakistan as well. The US-India-Afghanistan alliance is matter of concern for Pakistan, thus it is using its strategic location, whose importance has multiplied due to CPEC, to develop relations with Russia. Russia will not only provide political alliance to Pakistan, but its technology and energy resources are added benefit for Pakistan. Although Russia is showing reservations in developing bilateral relations with Pakistan, as Pak-US relations have always been on roller coaster, but Pakistan really need to strengthen its relation with Eurasian and regional countries to tackle the threat of hybrid war between China and US.⁴⁸

According to Malik, Pakistan Gas Stream or North-South Gas Pipeline is a flagship project of new era's Pak-Russia relations. It is a mega project of 2.5 billion USD that is aimed at enabling Pakistan to replace coal with natural gas that is ecologically sustainable. Although this project is focused on economic benefits and investment returns but it can become a strategic tool for Russia in south Asia. It will also enable Russia to have strong foot in South Asian part of China's BRI leading to remarkable transformations in the region that can open up a host of lucrative opportunities for Russia, which might be a dangerous signal for new Delhi.⁴⁹

According to Rekha, the two major defense consumer of Russia were India and China. Indigenization trends in China and India's inclination towards US has impacted Russian defense industrial complex. Thus it is in search of new defense consumer. Similarly, Pakistan's need to upgrade its defense equipment has brought it closer to Russia. These new relations between Russia and Pakistan are causing anxiety to India. But in spite of growing relations between Pakistan and Russia, India still has high ranking in foreign

⁴⁸ Muhammad Taimur Fahad Khan, "Pakistan's growing relations with Russia: Factoring in the role of US". *Strategic Studies* 38, no.2(2018):87-103.

⁴⁹ Olga Malik, "Pakistan-Russia Gas Stream: Opportunities and Risks of New Flagship Energy Project." *RIAC*, December 13,2021, <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/columns/asian-kaleidoscope/pakistan-russia-gas-stream-opportunities-and-risks-of-new-flagship-energy-project>.

policy of Russia, as two countries share strong, old, deep historical relations. Relations of Russia with India and China are just exhibition of 'Pivot to East' strategy of Russia.⁵⁰

According to Korybko, although western media presents Pakistan as backward land characterized by terrorism and poverty, but reality is contrary to this. Due to its geopolitical importance, Pakistan is not only most important economic hope of subcontinent, but it has a potential to provide connection among massive Eurasian Union economies, SAARC, Iran and China leading to integrated economic zone of Pan-Eurasia. Although, due to fraternal relations between Russia and India, strategic partnership between Pakistan and Russia was unthinkable, but new possibilities have emerged with evolving multipolar world. By the end of cold war, geopolitics of South Asia was transformed as intensity of Indian-Russian partnership was reduced and US's focus was also shifted from Pakistan. The author is of view that, due to Moscow's strong ties with New Delhi, it can not only lessen the tension between India and China but with bilateral relationship with Pakistan.⁵¹

_Morozov and Korybko discussed that Greater Eurasian Partnership (GEP) of Russia is considered to be very important part of Russian foreign policy since 2016. Its objective is to expand the influence of Russia to foster economic growth. By expanding its influence to South Asia, Russia can reap benefits from CPEC. Another important foreign policy objective of Russia is to shape sustainable and fair world order which can be achieved by using the group of twenty, SCO, BRICS, RIC and other organizations. China is important part of all these structures. CPEC is a flagship project of BRI, and Pakistan is a top BRI partner of China. If Russia improves its connectivity with Pakistan, it can add another layer to its strategic partnership with China especially after pairing of BRI and EAEU. By connecting with CPEC, central Asian states can get new market of potential 200 million customers. Moreover, Pakistan can serve as gateway for furthering EAEU's

⁵⁰ Chandra Rekha, "Emerging trends in Pakistan-Russia relations: Should India be concerned?" *Defence and Diplomacy Journal* 6, no .1(2016): 1-13.

⁵¹ Andrew Korybko, "Pakistan is the "Zipper" of Pan-Eurasian Integration." *Russian Institute for Strategic Studies*, November 15, 2015. <https://en.riss.ru/analysis/18882/>

integration as Gulf states are also investing in CPEC thus they can trade with central Asian States from Gwadar port.⁵²

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Balance of Threat Theory

The balance of threat theory was proposed in 1985 by Stephen M. Walt in an article titled as ‘Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power’. It was further elaborated by Walt in his book, ‘The origin of alliances’ in 1987. According to balance of threat theory:

1. States sometimes balance against perceived threats instead of power.
2. In relation to power of other states, threat is determined, and national power is built by states.
3. To prevent domination by superior powers, states seek balance by making alliances against them.

As far as Pakistan and Russia are concerned, they have had traditional foes which have been threat to their sovereignty i.e. India in case of Pakistan and USA for Russia. To counter the threat of India, Pakistan has always been in the need of state of art military and powerful allies. Russia has also been seeking an ally to counter the influence of USA. Although in past Pakistan and Russia had been balancing these threats by making alliances with each other’s foe, but as USA and India are becoming closer, the emergent threats become compelling factor for two countries to come close to each other.⁵³

2.2.2 Balance of Power Theory

Balance of power is a key concept of international relations. It has been defined in various forms and terms by different International theorists. Due to its immense significance in international politics, it is called scientific law by David Hume. As per

⁵² Vladimir Morozov and Andrew Korybko, “Pakistan’s Role in Russia’s Greater Eurasian Partnership.” *Russian International Affairs Council*, June 3, 2020, <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/>

⁵³ Ayfer Erdogan, Saudi foreign policy doctrine post-2011: The Iranian factor and balance of threat. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, November 22, 2021, 6-24. DOI: 10.1111/dome.12256.

Glenn Synder, it is core theoretical concept in international relations. It is referred as 'Iron law of politics' by Hans Morgenthau. According to Henry Kissinger, balance of power theory is more of an art than science.⁵⁴

According to this theory, states tend to protect themselves from the threats posed by other states.⁵⁵ The theory has been applied to describe the actions of specific nation states. Kenneth Waltz, in his Theory of International Relations says that some scholars view "the theory of balance of power as law of nature, while others simply consider it as an outrage. It is also viewed as statesman's guide, and cloak to disguise imperialist policies. Some consider it as a guarantee for security or peace, while others label it to be cause of wars. This theory can be applied to explain the various actions of nation states" Michael Sheehan is of view that, balance of power ensure that no individual state or alliance in a system has "preponderant" or "overwhelming" amount of power.⁵⁶

The balance of power theory is as old as history. It was first applied by Greeks⁵⁷Thucydides, who is considered to be Athenian historian, gave account of Peloponnesian War which was fought in 431 BCE. Although he didn't use the term "balance of power", but according to some scholars, this thinking was there in his writings. Later in 1480s, Italian writer and diplomat, Niccolò Machiavelli, also discussed the relation of strength among Italian city states. Some scholars are of view that 15th century Italy, was based on balance of power. The power was balanced between Florence and Venice. Although the idea of balance of power is found in writings of Thucydides and Machiavelli but there was

⁵⁴ Jack S. Levy, "What do Great Powers Balance Against and When?" Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century, ed T.V.Paul, James J.Wirtz and Michel Fortmann. (California. Stanford university press, 2004), 29-51.

⁵⁵ Jaweriya Nasim, Khushboo Fatima and Sajida Noureen, "Strategic Balance Between India and Pakistan with Respect to "Balance of Power Theory", *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal* 7, no. 12(2020):236-249.

⁵⁶ Michael P.Watson, "Balance of Power vs Balance of Threat: The Case of China and Pakistan", Master's thesis, United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College Marine Corps University.2002, 1-47.

⁵⁷ Abdul Qayyum, "Balance of Power and Nuclearization of South Asia" *The Express Tribune*, June 5, 2020 <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2235611/balance-power-nuclearisation-south-asia>.

no mention of term.⁵⁸ It was only after Napoleonic war and World war one, the term of balance of power was used explicitly to describe power relations among European states.⁵⁹

This theory argues that in order to keep peace and stability in the international system, governments must achieve a sustainable balance of power. When the balance is achieved, states will not fight against each other and will tend to maintain the present status quo. On the other hand, if a state's material capacity grows and upsets the balance, the other states will struggle to rebalance either by their own resources or by working with other states. The basic objective of states, which depends on balance of power politics is not to influence the principles and norms of others, rather their foreign policy behaviors.⁶⁰

In a world where several nations with varying degrees of strength exist and each nation seeks to expand its power, there is a need for the entire system to be in balance. Different nations arrange and combine themselves in such a way that no single nation or collection of nations is powerful enough to govern others because the strength. It is also assumed that as long as this form of equilibrium exists, peace and the independence of smaller nations will be preserved.⁶¹ This situation is applicable in case of both Pakistan and Russia. Pakistan has always been in the search of powerful ally and sophisticated military technology in order to counter the threat of India. Similarly, USA has been Russia's traditional rival, and its presence in the region is threatening to Russia, thus it is not only desirous of making alliances with important countries of region, but it is also maximizing and advancing its military technology to counter the influence of USA.

2.2.3 Assumptions of theory

According to Quincy Wright, the balance of power theory is based upon five assumptions:

⁵⁸ Morten Skumsrud Andersen, "Balance of Power" *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy* (2018).

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118885154dipl0339>

⁵⁹ Jaweriya Nasim, Khushboo Fatima and Sajida Noureen, "Strategic Balance Between India and Pakistan with Respect to "Balance of Power theory", *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal* 7, no. 12(2020):236-249.

⁶⁰ Tarik Oguzulu, "Balance of Power Politics Are Now More Visible than Ever". *Daily Sabah*, July 23, 2020, <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/balance-of-power-politics-are-now-more-visible-than-ever>.

⁶¹ "Balance of Power", *Political Science*, 2018, <https://www.politicalscienceview.com/balance-of-power/>.

1. States are bound to protect their vital interests and rights. They can even go to war for that. Each state has to decide that which of its rights and interests are crucial, and what method it will adopt to protect them. In case of Pakistan the vital interest has always been security. In order to ensure its security, the country has most advanced military technology. Along with that it has always been ally of most powerful states. In past, it was ally of USA and now it is turning towards China and Russia. For Russia, the vital interests are to ensure protection of its national interests, security and to restore its past glory. Thus it has revised its policy and is trying to optimize its relations with eastern states.
2. The vital interests of any state may or may not be threatened. They need to be protected only if there is any threat. Vital interests of both Pakistan and Russia are threatened due to prevalent situation of terrorism in the region and turning away of their old allies.
3. States can deploy various means to protect their vital interests, i.e. committing aggression, threatening other states, or in case of occurrence of aggression they can enable victim to achieve victory. One of implication of this assumption is that, states can only go for aggression when they have power superiority. Both Pakistan and Russia have rivals which are superior to them in terms of power, thus aggression is not their choice.
4. The power position of various states can be measured very accurately in relative terms. The world forces can be balanced using these measurements by someone in their own favor. Both Pakistan and Russia are trying to balance power in their favor keeping in view the measurements of relative power positions.
5. Power considerations can be used by politicians for intelligent understanding while making their foreign policy decisions.

Another assumption that has been added by Wright is that there may be a power in complete isolation that can join anytime.⁶² In the case of balance of power between Pakistan and India, and Russia and USA; China can be that power in isolation that can shift the balance.⁶³

⁶³ Balance of Power”, *Political Science*, 2018, <https://www.politicalscienceview.com/balance-of-power/>.

According to Morgenthau, like human beings, states also have a drive for domination and power. Only balance of power can guarantee some degree of peace and stability among self-seeking egoistic states. Morgenthau is of view that, states don't explicitly aim for balance of power, it is just a result of struggle for superiority among them. According to Waltz, in anarchic international system, small states get engaged in balancing against great threatening powers in order to protect themselves. Waltz assumes that all states are alike in a way as they all are a part of same international system. The one overriding wish of each state is to survive. The difference between states is in terms of their capabilities. Some states are more powerful more capabilities, others are lesser. Still they learn from the experiences of successful states in the system which lead to balance of power.⁶⁴

2.2.4 Strategies of Balancing

Strategic balance is a new term in balance of power theory that is coined in 21st century. It is aimed at achieving equilibrium through combination of short and long term objectives. The equilibrium leads to deterrence which ensure long term survival.⁶⁵. Strategic balancing can be of two types i.e. internal balancing and external balancing

2.2.4.1 Internal Balancing

Internal balancing can be achieved using different means such as proper organization of states, diverting existing resources to armaments, extracting new resources, and preventing revolts and infiltrations etc. The states strengthen themselves by making conventional and nuclear armies so that they can compete effectively against powerful rivals. This strategy leads to arms race, but also result in nuclear deterrence, balance of terror and avoidance of all-out war.⁶⁶

2.2.4.2 External Balancing

External balancing is aimed at halting the rise of any state through formation of alliances. In the face of existential threat, states often put aside temporary disputes to make

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Morten Skumsrud Andersen, "Balance of Power" *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy* (2018). <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118885154dipl0339>.

alliance against a dominant state. Weaker states, being unable to protect themselves, tend to make alliances with powerful states as they have more to offer due to their resources.⁶⁷

Due to terrorism and turning away of their common allies, Pakistan and Russia are facing common threats. In order to counter these common threats two countries have put aside their bitter past where they were friends of each other enemies. Pakistan is trying to enter into alliance with Russia as Russia is a powerful state of the region that can provide Pakistan with advance's military technology to counter threats from India. For Russia, Pakistan is useful as it can learn from Pakistan's experience of countering terrorism successfully and can benefit from its strategic location. Afghanistan issue is another common ground for both Pakistan and Russia. Both countries view political settlement in Afghanistan as only way to ensure peace and stability.

Both theories are interlinked as both are talking about alliances, anarchic international system and balancing behavior of states.

⁶⁷ Jaweriya Nasim, Khushboo Fatima and Sajida Noureen, "Strategic Balance Between India and Pakistan with respect to "Balance of Power Theory", *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal* 7, no. 12(2020):236-249.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is aimed at analyzing Pak-Russia military cooperation while taking into account history of Pak-Russia relations since 1947 and reasons of improving relations between the two countries after 9/11. This chapter will the question of choice of research method that is appropriate for the topic under study.

3.1 Ontology of Topic

Ontology is the philosophical study of 'being'. It concerns with the questions like 'what is'. It investigates the nature of existence and structure of reality. There are various definitions of the term ontology. It refers to the assumptions that we make about existence and nature of reality.⁶⁸ Ontological assumptions can take two positions i.e. objectivism and constructionism. Objectivism is based upon the assumptions that reality exist independent of our beliefs and it can be observed accurately and directly, there is difference between our beliefs about the world and the way it is, and there is a causal link between events and causes which can be uncovered by science. Constructionism assumes that reality is subjective, there is no shared social reality, external reality exists but it is known through human mind and constructed meanings, only approximate observation of reality is possible, and social phenomena and their meanings are formed by social actors and they are continuously changing.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Hashil Al- Saadi, "Demystifying Ontology and Epistemology in Research Methods."February 2014,(1-11)
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260244813>.

⁶⁹ Ibid

This study is based upon *constructionism*. The relations between two countries are product of the decisions taken by their policy makers. These policy makers are human and their decisions are based upon their understanding of the situation, perception of their interests and foresight of future. Understanding of these decisions and resulting relations is also subjective. No situation or event can be defined objectively. They are all subjected to social constructions created by human mind. Either these are joint military exercises, exchange of visits or developments in international politics, they can be understood only from the meaning attached to them by humans.

3.2 Epistemology of Topic

Epistemology refers to the assumptions that we make about nature of knowledge.⁷⁰ It investigates what do we know? And how do we know? It determines what knowledge is acceptable in the discipline? What constitute acceptable evidence? It is the relationship between researcher and the reality, and how reality is captured.⁷¹ There are two positions that epistemology can take i.e. positivism and interpretivism. The assumptions of Positivism are, world is independent of researcher, facts are distinct, objective enquiry is possible, knowledge is obtained through senses, it is hard and tangible, and it is obtained from gathering of facts and explanation of human behavior. Interpretivist assumes that the social world and researcher are interdependent, facts are not distinct, objective inquiry is not possible, knowledge is subjective, and the world can be understood by taking into account the understanding of participant as well as the researcher.

This study which is aimed at assessment of the Pak-Russia military cooperation, is based upon *interpretivism*. This study will integrate humans in to the study as a human researcher is required to interpret the elements of the study.⁷² The relations between

⁷⁰ Hashil Al- Saadi, "Demystifying Ontology and Epistemology in Research Methods." February 2014, (1-11) <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260244813>.

⁷¹ Don-Solomon, Amakiri Eke, and Gift Juliet, Ontological and Epistemological Philosophies underlying Theory Building: A Scholarly Dilemma or Axiomatic Illumination -the Business Research Perspective." *European Journal of Business and Innovation Research* 6, no.2(2018):1-7.

⁷² John Dudovskiy, *The Ultimate Guide to Writing a Dissertation in Business Studies: A Step-by-Step Assistance* (January 2022)

Pakistan and Russia cannot be understood objectively as various meaning can be attributed to the policies of two states towards each other. It is not possible to derive any conclusion just from the hard facts rather subjective factors like gestures of leaders of two countries towards each other, their exchange of visits and time and optics of visits etc. are also needed to be taken into account.

3.3 Research Approach

The research approach defines the design of the study. The two common types of research approaches are inductive approach and deductive approach. Each approach has its benefits and limitations. Inductive approach leads to the development of theory on the basis of observation. Qualitative data is used while employing this approach and it is less flexible and generalized. In contrast, the deductive approach applied structured research methodology and deduce conclusions on the basis of pre-defined theory.⁷³

In this study, *Deductive approach* is employed. This approach starts from general hypothesis and after observing data, specific conclusions can be drawn. It converts abstract and theoretical proposition into concrete and observational one by following a reasoning process.⁷⁴ This study will analyze events and scenarios to determine the nature of Pak-Russia relations and prospects and effects of their military cooperation. The final conclusions have been drawn on by explaining, observation of events taking place and opinions and perceptions of people regarding those events.

⁷³ "Research Paradigms and Concepts of Ontology and Epistemology," *UK Essays* . January 2, 2018, Accessed January 22, 2022, <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/business/think-about-different-research-paradigms-and-theme-of-ontology-and-epistemology-business-essay.php#citethis>.

⁷⁴ Garima Malhotra, "Strategies in Research," *International Journal of Advance Research and Development* 2, no.5(2017):172-180.

3.4 Research Strategy

Research strategy decides overall research direction. It also defines the process through which research is conducted.⁷⁵ Research strategies can be classified under two clusters i.e. qualitative research and quantitative research.⁷⁶

The research is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research referred as unfolding model, is employed when a level of detail is to be developed or some new discovery is to be made. It is holistic approach that usually occurs in natural settings leading to high level involvement of researcher in actual experiences. Some examples of qualitative research are case studies, phenomenological studies, ethnography study, content analysis and grounded theory study. In qualitative research, reasoning is built on inductive inference.

The research strategy used in this research is Case Study. In case studies, either a single case is studied or case bounded by time and space is studied. It is aimed at finding the patterns that are related to the theories.⁷⁷ By using case study research strategy I made in depth analysis of Pak-Russia relations.

3.5 Research Design

A research design is the techniques that is followed to collect, analyze, report and interpret the research data. The overall strategy links the conceptual research problem to the empirical research. It sets the layout of how research questions can be answered from the collection and analysis of data.⁷⁸

On the basis of purpose of research area, there can be three types of research design i.e. exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. Descriptive study is used for research area which is relatively new and unexplored. It tries to provide overall picture of situation or

⁷⁵ Jonathan Holmes, "What is research strategy definition?" *Cement Answers*, Accessed January 22, 2022, <https://cementanswers.com/what-is-research-strategy-definition/>.

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ Carries Williams, "Research Methods," *Journal of Business & Economic Research* 5,no(3):65-72.

⁷⁸ Tesfaye Boru, "Chapter Five: Research Design and Methodology,". PHD Thesis, University of South Africa, 2018 ,1-36. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.21467.62242.

event. Exploratory research is also aimed at exploring the problems on which very little or no research is done previously. It sets the basis of more conclusive research by determining the initial research design and sampling, and data collection methodology. Explanatory research determines cause and effects to support or refute an explanation or prediction. In my study, *explanatory research design* is used as it is aimed at determining the causes and consequences of Pak-Russia military cooperation.

3.6 Time Horizon

On the basis of time dimension during which data was collected, studies can be classified into two types i.e. cross-sectional and longitudinal.⁷⁹ Cross-sectional studies are concerned with the study of particular phenomenon that was occurred at a specific time. It is also called snapshot as data is collected from the certain point at time. In longitudinal studies, data is collected from extended period of time repeatedly. It is used when factor under observation change continuously over time, thus it is used for studying change and development. Apart from that, it allows some control over variables under study.⁸⁰

In my research, I used *longitudinal time horizon*. To determine the nature of Pak-Russia relations and to determine the cause and effects of their military cooperation, history of two countries is also analyzed.

3.7 Data Collection

Data is the source from which relevant information can be obtained to answer the research questions. It is an important part of any research. To conduct any type of research there are two types of data, i.e. primary data or secondary data.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Pearson Education Limited, 2014)

⁸⁰ "Research Onion - Explanation of the Concept," *UK Essay*. July 9, 2021, Accessed 23 Monday, 2022. <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/psychology/explanation-of-the-concept-of-research-onion>.

⁸¹ *Research Paradigms and Concepts of Ontology and Epistemology*, *UK Essays*. January 2, 2018, Accessed January 22, 2022, <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/business/think-about-different-research-paradigms-and-theme-of-ontology-and-epistemology-business-essay.php#citethis>.

The data which is obtained from first hand sources is called primary data. Examples of first hand data are, interview data, data from survey respondent, data from first hand historical sources, data derived from census or any other statistical collection, or data obtained from other researchers. Thus the primary data is the data which is analyzed on its own, rather than being analyzed through prism of others. On the other hand, secondary data is the one which is obtained from opinions or work of other researchers. As this study is qualitative, so *secondary data* is used. The data is collected from literature survey i.e. books, newspapers, scholarly articles, and governmental and non-governmental websites relevant to the topic.⁸²

3.8 Data Analysis

The process of solving research problem using facts and figures is called data analysis. It is aimed at finding answers of research questions.⁸³

Table 3.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic Analysis Process
1) Familiarization with derived data
2) Generating initial codes
3) Searching for themes
4) The reviewing the themes
5) Defining and renaming the themes
6) Producing the codes

Source: Master's Thesis⁸⁴

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Joel Ashirwadam, "Communication Research Methods:Methods of Data Analysis." Tamilnadu Theological Seminary, 1-6.

⁸⁴ Md Abdul Baten and Clara Chidinma Amadi, "Corporate Fraud Culture: Reanalyzing the Role of Corporate Governance in Developing Countries: A Case Study", Master's Thesis, Linnaeus University, 2020,1-106.

I used thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for analyzing qualitative data that entails searching across a data set to identify, analyze, and report repeated patterns. It is a method for describing data, but it also involves interpretation in the processes of selecting codes and constructing themes.⁸⁵

According to Caulfield (2019), while there are various approaches to conducting thematic analysis. The most common form of thematic analysis involves a six-step process.

3.9 Research Ethics

Research ethics are referred to those rules of conduct that a researcher has to abide by to operate defensibly in political context. They are aimed at protecting the researched from any psychological, physical or mental harm. They usually include confidentiality of responses and anonymity of the researched.⁸⁶They are also aimed at ensuring legitimacy of the research. The ethical consideration of my research are:

1. I conducted my research according to Bahria University guidelines.
2. I completed my research without the help of any ghost writer.
3. My research is not plagiarized as I have acknowledged the sources I used by giving references.
4. The sources cited were personally reviewed, without relying on another researcher's interpretation.
5. All data and associated findings are not fabricated rather they are real. If required, original data can be provided for validation.
6. My research is not biased. The major objective behind this research is to give new insight of topic.

⁸⁵ Michelle E.Kiger and Lara Varpio, "Thematic analysis of qualitative data: *AMEE Guide* no. 131." *Medical Teacher*, (2020):1-10. doi:10.1080/0142159X.2020.1755030

⁸⁶ Abdelhamid Ahmed, "Ontological, Epistemological and Methodological Assumptions:Qualitative Versus Quantitative." 2008, 1-13.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter is aimed at addressing the research questions by analysis of the available literature on the subject. The three research questions revolve around history of Pak-Russia relations, improvements in Pak-Russia relations after 9/11, and military cooperation between two countries.

4.1 Nature of Pakistan Russia Relations Since 1947

USSR was not in the favor of establishment of Pakistan in 1947. So soon after independence, relations between Pakistan and Russia remained either cold or hostile.⁸⁷ USSR did not send any congratulatory message to Quaid-e -Azam. It considered the division of Sub-Continent, as a British divide and rule policy. Muslim League leaders also did not show any eagerness to establish relations with USSR. This situation continued till 13 April 1948, when Pakistan's foreign minister Zafarullah Khan proposed to his Russian counterpart to exchange ambassador between two countries. Pakistan's envoy took charge in Russia in 30 Dec 1948, whereas, Russian ambassador assumed his office in Pakistan in 22 March 1950.⁸⁸

USSR also invited Pakistan's Prime Minister to visit USSR. The news of visit of Pakistani Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan to USSR in summer of 1949 was hailed by Pakistani public, but the visit was cancelled due to some unfortunate and inevitable

⁸⁷ Adnan Ali Shah, "Pakistan-Russia relations: Post-cold war era." *Strategic Studies* 21, no.2 (summer 2001) 31-60.

⁸⁸ Hafeez Malik, "Soviet-Pakistan relations and post-Soviet dynamics, 1947-1992." (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1994), 1-394.

circumstances. Later in April and May of 1950, Pakistan's prime minister preferred US and Canadian invitation over Moscow's.⁸⁹ This decision of Pakistan proved to be a turning point as it was considered as a rebuff by Soviet Union.⁹⁰

During the early 1950s, Pakistan and Soviet Union developed cultural ties which were flourished due to the ancient traditional relationship between Pakistan and people of central Asia. These ancient ties had impacted the literature, architecture and music of two countries. Later Pakistan's involvement in alliances like SEATO and CENTO impeded the growth of Pak-Soviet relations.⁹¹ Although the motive of Pakistan behind joining these alliances was only to counter the security threats which were posed to the country by India due to Kashmir issue.⁹² The Soviet Union clearly declared that Pakistan's alliance with west will harm the Pak-soviet relations.⁹³ After that USSR got closer to India.

In spite of the negative interaction between Pakistan and Soviet Union due to their divergent security perspectives, neither of the two countries wrote other completely off. Not only Pakistan wanted improved relations with Soviet Union, but Soviet Union also kept the option open of Pakistan due to latter's strategic location, its close ties with Gulf region and other Muslim countries, and the China-US factor. Though Soviet Union tried to balance its relations with Pakistan and India, but whenever it was faced with choice, it gave more weight to India.⁹⁴

Another issue which jolted two countries relations was U2 spy plan. This U2 incident added fuel to the fire.⁹⁵ On 1st May, 1960, US spy plane was shot down by soviet

⁸⁹ Yuri V.Gankovsky, Railya Muqemjanova, Vyacheslav Belokrenitsky and Vladimir Moskalenko, "Soviet relations with Pakistan". Soviet-American relations with Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan, ed. Hafez Malik. (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc,1987),182-198.

⁹⁰ Nazir Hussain and Quratulain Fatima, "Pak-Russia relations: Historical legacies and new beginnings." *Central Asia*, no.72. (2015),1-15.

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Tahir Amin, "Pakistan-Russia Relations and the Unfolding "New Great Game" in South Asia." *The Regional Security Puzzle around Afghanistan: Bordering Practices in Central Asia and Beyond*, ed. Helena Rytövuori-Apunen. (Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2016), 191-206.

⁹³ V.T.Patil, "Soviet policy towards Pakistan." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 38, no.4 (1977):454.

⁹⁴ Hasan Askari Rizvi, *Pakistan and the geostrategic environment: A study of foreign policy* (New York: The Macmillan Press Ltd,1993),1-206.

⁹⁵ Mohammed Ahsen Chaudhri, "Pakistan's Relations with the Soviet Union." *Asian Survey* 6, no.2 (1966):492-500.

missile after being found in its territory. The pilot Francis Gary Powers was caught as revealed by Nikita Khrushchev. The plan was found to take off from the Peshawar base.⁹⁶ Russia seriously warned Pakistan, once by Khrushchev at Czech embassy function in May 1960 and second by soviet foreign minister by handing protest note to Pakistani ambassador in Moscow along with threat of attacking their bases.⁹⁷

Pakistan declined to accept the responsibility of preparation and execution of any intelligence flight against USSR.⁹⁸ However, Eisenhower administration took the responsibility of spy plan and use of Peshawar base without taking Pakistan into confidence, thus leaving Pakistani government at very difficult, embarrassing and insecure position. Pakistani officials made hasty overtures declaring repair to Russian damage.⁹⁹

In the early 1960s, Pakistan not only cut its activities in SEATO and CENTO but also decided to delink from US in political and military domain. New policies were made to promote Pakistan's ties with other nations of the world including USSR. Due to growing political contacts many flourishing cooperation were made between Pakistan and Soviet Union.¹⁰⁰ The great contribution towards reinforced ties between the two countries was made by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto whose major achievement was fuel and power agreement during his visit to Soviet Union as a minister of fuel, power and natural resources in 1960. The USSR not only provided financial assistance to Pakistan but experts and equipment were also granted to train Pakistani experts.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Elisabeth Leake, "An "Eye for an Eye": Mohammad Ayub Khan and the Collapse of Regional Relations". *The Defiant Border: The Afghan– Pakistan Borderlands in the Era of Decolonization, 1936– 1965*.ed. Paul Thomas Chamberlin, Lien- Hang T. Nguyen, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017),196-236.

⁹⁷ Syed Riffat Hussain, "Pak-Soviet relations since 1947: A dissenting appraisal." *Strategic Studies 10*, no.3 (Spring 1987):64-88.

⁹⁸ Hafeez-ur-Rahman Khan, "Pakistan's relations with the USSR." *Pakistan Horizon 14*, no.1 (1961):33-35.

⁹⁹ Elisabeth Leake, "An "Eye for an Eye": Mohammad Ayub Khan and the Collapse of Regional Relations". *The Defiant Border: The Afghan– Pakistan Borderlands in the Era of Decolonization, 1936– 1965*.ed. Paul Thomas Chamberlin, Lien- Hang T. Nguyen, (New York: Cambridge University Press,2017),196-236.

¹⁰⁰ Yuri V.Gankovsky, Railya Muqemjanova, Vyacheslav Belokrenitsky and Vladimir Moskalenko, "Soviet relations with Pakistan". *Soviet-American relations with Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan*, ed.Hafeez Malik. (New York. Martin's Press, Inc,1987),182-198.

¹⁰¹ Tasneem Sultana, Sahar Afshan and Zobi Fatima, "Pak-Russia relations in the emerging geo-strategic environment." *Journal of European studies 35*, no.1 (2019), 36 -53.

As per his policy of broadening the connections in east and west, Ayub Khan visited Soviet Union on 3rd April 1965. Where he met USSR Prime minister Kosygin. Kosygin offered full support for the resolution of Kashmir issue.¹⁰² Apart from that, many agreements were signed between two countries as a result of this visit. By 1965 Pakistan's foreign policy had gone through a major shift. Relations between Pakistan and Soviet Union had been improved.¹⁰³

After the war of 1965, USSR played the role of mediator between India and Pakistan by bringing them on the table of negotiation, which resulted in Tashkent agreement in January 1966. Tashkent agreement resulted in improved relations between Pakistan and Soviet Union and Pakistani official explanation of the agreement depicted that USSR could be a helping force in resolution of Kashmir issue.¹⁰⁴ In April 1968, Kosygin visited Pakistan and announced supply of arms to Pakistan which was though in limited quantity as compare to supply to India, Afghanistan and Iran.¹⁰⁵ In October 1968, Pakistani Army chief, Yahya Khan visited Moscow and informal agreement was signed between the two countries for provision of some weapons to Pakistan Army. Along with that, blueprint draft of Pakistan Steel Mills was also approved.¹⁰⁶

However, in 1971, USSR openly supported India when it was assisting Bengali insurgents against East Pakistan thus leading to separation of east and West Pakistan in December 1971.¹⁰⁷ After separation of East Pakistan there was a widespread resentment in Pakistan against Soviet Union and the relation between two countries were at their lowest

¹⁰² Syed Waqar Ali Shah and Shaista Parveen, "Disintegration of Pakistan-The role of former Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR)" An Appraisal." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 53, no.1(June 2016):171-190.

¹⁰³ Mohammed Ahsen Chaudhri, "Pakistan's Relations with the Soviet Union." *Asian Survey* 6, no.2 (1966):492-500.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Muhammad Owais, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Economic and Political Dimensions:" *Pakistan Horizon* 60, no.2 (2007):125-139.

¹⁰⁶ Andrey V. Demidov, "65th Anniversary of Diplomatic relations between Russia and Pakistan". *Pakistan Horizon*66, no.3 (2013):1-3.

¹⁰⁷ Samina Ahmed, "The military and foreign policy in Pakistan: With special reference to Pakistan-Soviet relations 1947-1971." PHD Thesis, Australian National university,1988, 1-551.

point.¹⁰⁸ After the separation of East Pakistan, Bhutto became the Prime Minister of remaining West Pakistan.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, Bhutto twice visited Moscow, once as president in 1972 and then as prime minister in 1974. After Bhutto's visits, the two countries witnessed smooth and active interaction.¹¹⁰

However, Zia ul Haq era did not prove fertile for fostering Pak-USSR relations as Bhutto was hanged in 1979 and on the same year Afghanistan was invaded by USSR resulting in massive migration from Afghanistan to Pakistan. Military leadership of Pakistan was already skeptical to USSR since Bangladesh war in 1971, therefore Pakistan became front line state to contain USSR after Afghan invasion. As a result, terrorist activities by Afghan rouge groups and spies were sponsored by Moscow resulting in high casualties in Pakistan.¹¹¹ After withdrawal of Soviet from Afghanistan, two countries could not reconcile due to their conflicting goals.¹¹²

In December 1991, USSR was disintegrated and 15 independent states were born including Russia which was successor of USSR. This disintegration marked the end of cold war and provided an opportunity to start a new chapter in Islamabad-Moscow relations, which was taken up by both sides thus leading to immediate high level contacts between two countries.¹¹³

In changing geopolitical scenario after the disintegration of Soviet Union, Pakistan began to appear more relevant in Russian perceptions. Pakistan was considered to be an important actor to influence development of the Afghanistan and newly independent Central Asian states. Some experts believed that, regional major Islamic actors (Turkey ,Iran and Pakistan) took priority over India.¹¹⁴ Pakistan took the initiative in improving the

¹⁰⁸ Hasan Askari Rizvi, *Pakistan and the geostrategic environment: A study of foreign policy* (New York: The Macmillan Press Ltd,1993),1-206.

¹⁰⁹ V.T.Patil, "Soviet policy towards Pakistan." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 38, no.4 (1977):454.

¹¹⁰ Rizvi, *Pakistan and geostrategic environment*, 121.

¹¹¹ Naveed Ahmad, "Russia's Pakistan Volte-Face," *The Central Asia -Caucasus Analyst*, January 7, 2015, <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13117-russias-pakistan-volte-face.html>.

¹¹² Rizvi, *Pakistan and the geostrategic environment*, 132.

¹¹³ Muhammad Owais, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Economic and Political Dimensions:" *Pakistan Horizon* 60, no.2 (2007):125-139.

¹¹⁴ Vinay Shukla, "Russia in South Asia: A view from India", in *Russia and Asia: The Emerging Security Agenda*,ed.Gebbadt Chfurin(Oxford university press,1999),534.

bilateral relationship with Russia first under Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (1994-1995) and later Nawaz Sharif in 1997. After two years in power, Prime Minister Sharif visited Russia in 1999. During this visit not only agreements were signed on trade and commerce between two countries,¹¹⁵ but a series of talks were held on various topics of mutual interests such as energy, trade, environmental pollution and drug trafficking.¹¹⁶

4.2 Improvements in Pak-Russia Relations after 9/11

After 9/11 incident, Pakistan joined War on Terror (WoT) and became partner of USA against Taliban regime.¹¹⁷ Denouncement of Taliban in Afghanistan and anti-terrorism coalition by Pakistan were appreciated by Russia.¹¹⁸ So after 9/11, bilateral relations improved between Pakistan and Russia. In 2003, President Musharraf visited Moscow on invitation of President Vladimir Putin, which was the first visit of Pakistan's head of state to Russia in 33 years. Discussions were held between two head of states on various issues including Kashmir.¹¹⁹ Apart from that, consultative group was created on strategic stability to provide a format to both sides for addressing regional security concerns. Moreover, Russia dropped the objections on giving the status of observer state to Pakistan in SCO and Pakistan helped Russia to become an observer state in OIC.¹²⁰

In 2007, Russian Prime Minister, Mikhail Fradkov visited Pakistan. He put emphasis on increasing economic cooperation between Pakistan and Russia.¹²¹ In 2009, structured dialogues were initiated in annual quadrilateral summits between Pakistan,

¹¹⁵ Hafeez Ullah Khan, "Pakistan–Russia Relations and the Changing Paradigm," *Journal of Political Studies* 26, no.1(2019): 217-227. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335095398>

¹¹⁶ Nishtha Kaushiki, "Factors contributing to an emerging Russia-Pakistan strategic proximity: An Indian perspective. *Journal of international and Area studies* 26, no.1 (2019):43-63.

¹¹⁷ Asma Khalid, "The PSGP: A Turning Point for Pakistan and Russia?" *South Asian Voices*, October 1, 2021, <https://southasianvoices.org/the-psgp-a-turning-point-for-pakistan-and-russia/>.

¹¹⁸ Mark A Smith, "Russia's Relations with India & Pakistan," *Conflict Studies Research Centre*, August 2004, https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/96157/04_Sep.pdf.

¹¹⁹ B.M. Jain, *South Asia Conundrum: The Great Power Gambit* (London: Lexington Books, 2019), 1-157.

¹²⁰ Nikolas K. Gvosdev, Christopher Marsh, *Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors, and Sectors* (London: Sage Publication, 2014), 1-407.

¹²¹ Jain, *South Asia Conundrum*, 123.

Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Russia.¹²² In 2010, Pak-US relations become strained, and Pak-Russia relations improved as depicted by increased cooperation, arms sales and exchange of high level visits.¹²³ In 2011, incidents such as killing of two Pakistani citizens by US intelligence officials in Pakistan and Abbottabad operation forced Pakistan to diversify its foreign policy options.¹²⁴ Thus Pakistan held talks with Russia to increase economic cooperation via currency swap agreement and trade agreement. Putin publically supported Pakistan on getting full membership of SCO. He also extended support to Pakistan for technical assistance in Muzaffargarh and Guddu power plants, expansion of Karachi steel mills, and in development of Thar coal project.¹²⁵

In 2012, the anticipated visit of Vladimir Putin to Pakistan was cancelled, due to influence of western and Indian lobby. Thus Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov visited Pakistan instead and signed MOUs on energy production, metallurgy and railroad transportation. In 2013, two countries celebrated 65 years of diplomatic relations and started strategic dialogues on bilateral issues. In April 2014, Parliamentary delegation of Pakistan led by Chairman Senate, reached Russia and held meetings with Russian leadership.¹²⁶ On 28 November 2014, the third session of Pak-Russia Intergovernmental Commission (IGC) on scientific, technical, trade and economic cooperation was held. Finance Minister of Pakistan expressed his desire to translate improving relations to tangible economic cooperation.¹²⁷

In 2015, 2-billion-dollar intergovernmental deal was signed between Pakistan and Russia for construction of gas pipeline from Lahore to Karachi. From 2011 to 2016, Pak-Russia relations experienced increasing confidence especially in the presence of warmth in

¹²² Rashid Siddiqi, "Prospects of Russia- Pakistan Rapprochement," *Strategic studies* 37, no.2 (Summer 2017):58-73.

¹²³ Feroz Hassan Khan, "Russia-Pakistan strategic relations :An emerging entent," *Journal of Indo-Pacefic affair* (January2021) :42-64.

¹²⁴ Faiza Bashir and Noreen Naseer "New cold war: Rebuilding Pakistan Russia relations" *Central Asia Journal*,no. 82(Summer 2018):89-112.

¹²⁵ Muhammad Hanif, "Pakistan-Russia relations: Progress, prospects and constraints," *IPRI Journal XIII*, no. 2(2013: 63-86

¹²⁶ Nazir Hussain and Quratulain Fatima," Pak-Russia Relations: Historical Legacies and New Beginnings," *Central Asia*, no.72(Summer 2013):1-15.

¹²⁷ Russia's Revival: Opportunities and Limitations for Pakistan. *IPRI*, Feb. 4 (2016).
<https://ipripak.org/russias-revival-opportunities-and-limitations-for-pakistan/>

Sino-Russian relations. Keeping in view the dynamics of global politics, two countries are ready to forget the past bitterness and lay the foundation of new era of peace and stability in region.¹²⁸

In 2018, high level officials of Pakistan including Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa visited Moscow and signed many agreements. In the same year, military contingents of Pakistan and India participated in joint exercises of SCO.¹²⁹ In 2018, bilateral trade between Pakistan and Russia touched \$800 million, which was \$200 million higher than the previous year.¹³⁰ In 2019, Imran Khan and Putin met in SCO summit in Bishkek.¹³¹

The year 2020 was characterized by COVID 19 pandemic. During COVID 19, in order to deal with the fragile health care system of Pakistan, possibility has been explored to purchase ventilators from Russia by Pakistani ambassador to Russia, Shafqat Ali Khan. He suggested that Russia can be helpful to Pakistan in dealing with COVID 19 outbreak. He also expressed his desire to increase people to people contact between two countries by giving Pakistani students the opportunity to study in prestigious universities of Russia.¹³²

In April 2021, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov visited Pakistan. After delegation level talks, diverse and multidimensional bilateral relations were announced between two countries. Foreign minister of both countries agreed on convergence of their interests on various matters such as counter terrorism measures, Afghan peace talk, cooperation on international forums i.e. SCO and UN; regional stability in south Asia, middle east and Asia pacific; resolution of Palestine issue; and for use of nuclear technology for industrial purposes.¹³³ During the meeting of Pak-Russia IGC in

128 Nivedita Kapoor, "Russia-Pakistan Relations and its Impact on India," *ORF*, July 3, 2019, <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/russia-pakistan-relations-impact-india-52715/>.

129 Muhammad Hamza Tanvir, "Pakistan and Russian Relations: A New Dawn," *Paradigm Shift*, April 10, 2021, <https://www.paradigmshift.com.pk/pakistan-and-russian-relations/>

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Shahid Hussain, "Can COVID-19 Draw Pakistan and Russia Closer Together?" *The Diplomat*, May 12, 2020, <https://thediplomat.com/2020/05/can-covid-19-draw-pakistan-and-russia-closer-together/>.

¹³³ Aamir Iqbal, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Future Prospects" *Institute of Regional Studies* 39, no.6, (June 1, 2021):1-4. <http://www.irs.org.pk/Spotlight/SP72021.pdf>

Yekaterinburg, Pakistani minister of economic affairs asked Russian authorities to establish direct air service between Pakistan and Russia to expand the business relations.¹³⁴

In January 2022, telephonic conversation was held between Putin and Imran Khan, leading to discussion of wide range of issues including Afghanistan. After conversation, the official handout was issued by Pakistan which said that Imran Khan stressed on the need of peace and stability in Afghanistan as well as on the need of support from international community to address the humanitarian and economic challenges in Afghanistan. The statement by Kremlin said that the discussions emphasized on Pak-Russia cooperation in various domains.¹³⁵

Table 4.1 Domains of Pak-Russia Cooperation

Domains of Cooperation	Developments
Political	After 9/11, denouncement of Taliban in Afghanistan and anti-terrorism coalition by Pakistan were appreciated by Russia. In 2003, Russia dropped the objection on giving the status of observer state to Pakistan in SCO and Pakistan helped Russia to become observer state in OIC. In 2008, Pakistan was declared key regional power by Russia. In 2010, Russia supported Pakistan's desire to attain full membership of SCO.
Economic	In 2012, Pakistan and Russia signed MOUs on energy production, metallurgy and railroad transportation. In 2015, 2-billion-dollar intergovernmental deal was signed between Pakistan and Russia for construction of gas pipeline from Lahore to Karachi. In 2017, OGDCL and Gazprom completed joint projects in Moscow.
Defense and Security	In 2003, consultative group was created on strategic stability. In 2015 Russia agreed to sell Mi-35 Helicopters to Pakistan and announced mutual drills. In 2016, Druzhba exercises were started between Pakistan and Russia. Naval Collaboration In 2018, Joint military consultative group was created.
Technical and Scientific	In 2011 Russia offered technical assistance in Muzaffargarh and Guddu power plants, expansion of Karachi steel mills, and in development of Thar coal project
Cultural	In 2003, agreement was reached to improve culture and immigration restrictions

¹³⁴ Pakistan asks Russia to establish direct air service for expanding business relationship, Yekaterinburg. *The World News Monitor*, November 26, 2021. <https://world-news-monitor.com/hotspots/pakistan/>

¹³⁵ Kamran Yousaf, "Imran, Putin agree to liaise on Afghan crisis". *The Express Tribune*, January 17, 2022. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2339094/imran-putin-agree-to-liaise-on-afghan-crisis>.

4.2.1 Reasons of Improvements

4.2.1.1 Afghanistan Issue

It was the Afghanistan issue that caused Luke-warm relations between Pakistan and Russia during the era of cold war. But after the Taliban's government overthrow in December 2001, two countries kept on working closely to curb the presence of IS and bring stability in Afghanistan.¹³⁶ Russia is desirous of preventing drug smuggling through Tajikistan and keeping the radical elements away from central Asian states which are its backyard.¹³⁷ Both Pakistan and Russia are in the favor of political settlement of afghan issue by establishment of broad-based government in which Taliban should also be included. Russia has even hosted peace talks between Ghani government and Afghanistan.¹³⁸

After the Ghani government was overthrown by Taliban in 15th August 2021, both Pakistan and Russia were provided with the opportunity to convince all parties in Afghanistan to sit on negotiation table for establishment of all-inclusive government. A stable government in Afghanistan is only way to counter Al Qaeda and IS, trans-regional connectivity through Chinese BRI project, and Russian access to Indian Ocean.¹³⁹

4.2.1.2 US-Indian Alliance

Another important reason of inclination of Pakistan and Russia towards each other is turning away of their old allies. During cold war, Pakistan was ally of USA and India was ally of USSR. But in 21st century India and USA came close to each other due to dynamics of international politics. In 2008, Indo-US nuclear deal was signed recognizing nuclear status of India allowing it not only civilian nuclear trade but permitting the nuclear

¹³⁶ Samuel Ramani, "Balancing ties, Russia expands Afghanistan cooperation with both India and Pakistan", Accessed February 13, 2022, <https://www.mei.edu/publications/balancing-ties-russia-expands-afghanistan-cooperation-both-india-and-pakistan>.

¹³⁷ Saima Zaman, "Evolving Pakistan Russia Relations," *Melange Magazine*, November 4, 2021, <https://www.melangemagazine.biz/evolving-pakistan-russia-relations/>.

¹³⁸ Nisar Ahmed Khan, Pakistan-Russia: growing convergence of interests. *Daily Times*, March 28, 2018. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/220467/pakistan-russia-growing-convergence-of-interests/>.

¹³⁹ Muhammad Hamza Tanvir, "Pakistan and Russia: Improving Bilateral Ties and Regional Stability". *Paradigm Shift*, September 22, 2021. <https://www.paradigmshift.com.pk/>

weapon program as well considering India's nuclear program unique, whereas Pakistan was excluded from the nuclear club. It has been argued that the deal was signed just to enhance economic and military capability of India to counter the rising power of China.¹⁴⁰

As US was Pakistan's source of military technology, Pakistani officials are of view that balance of power will be tipped by tilting of US interests towards India. Thus Pakistan is looking for new markets to maintain the conventional parity in order to ensure peace and stability.¹⁴¹ Narendra Modi and Donald Trump's administration agreed on closer cooperation in defense where militaries of two countries can access each other's facilities for repairs and supplies. This development has downgraded the Russia from India's exclusive military supplier to a preferred defense partner. Thus, Russia's market of military arsenal was perturbed and Pakistan is also interested in Russian technology along with Chinese equipment, therefore two countries are coming closer.¹⁴²

4.2.1.3 Diversification of Russian Foreign Policy

Policy formulation in Russia is influenced by domestic as well as external geo-economic and geopolitical environment. Russia's desire to regain its lost status is deriving its foreign policy since demise of USSR, therefore it is promoting the idea of multi polarity along with China.¹⁴³

In 2010, Putin announced 'Turn to east' policy as a tactical move to increase political, military and economic relations with Asian states.¹⁴⁴ Moscow's major shift from west to east is due to the presence and interest of great powers in this region. Asian players such as India, Pakistan, China, Japan and members of Association of South East Asian

¹⁴⁰ Saira Bano, "Pakistan: Lessons from the India-US Nuclear Deal" *The Diplomat*, June 22, 2015. <https://thediplomat.com/2015/06/pakistan-lessons-from-the-india-us-nuclear-deal/>.

¹⁴¹ Tim Craig, As the US moves closer to India, Pakistan looks to Russia. *The Guardian*, February 3, 2015.

¹⁴² Yasir Hussain, Pakistan-Russia Relations: Old Players on a New Trajectory. *South Asian Voices*, 3 August, 2017. <https://southasianvoices.org/pakistan-russia-relations-old-players-new-trajectory/>.

¹⁴³ Stephen J. Blank, "The Nato-Russia Partnership: A Marriage of Convenience or a Troubled Relationship?" *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, January 2012, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265108044>.

¹⁴⁴ Ian Storey, What Russia's "Turn to the East" Means for Southeast Asia. *Perspective* 67, December 3, 2015.1-10. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2015_67.pdf.

Nations (ASEAN) have provided the environment that is conducive for Eurasian power, Russia, to achieve its objectives.¹⁴⁵

The Ukraine crisis of 2013 deteriorated Russia's relations with west and it faced US and EU sanctions. In order to deal with dynamic geo-economic and geostrategic environment, Russia updated its military and security documents, adopting a new military document with new foreign policy concept on 20th November 2016 and Documents of National security strategy and Maritime doctrine of Russia in 2020. Despite of big geographical distance, the geo-economic and geopolitical issues of south Asia reverberate with both Pakistan and Russia as the two countries are facing similar challenges in terms of terrorism, security situation in Afghanistan, problems of economic development and nuclear security. Due to convergence of interest, Moscow's approach towards Islamabad has become more pronounced.¹⁴⁶

4.2.1.4 SCO

The SCO is an important Asian multidimensional organization that is rising rapidly. It is descendent of 'Shanghai Five', which was comprised of China, Russia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan. After inclusion of Uzbekistan, SCO was created in 2001 which was aimed at arms reduction and demilitarization of borders, but its agenda extended over time.¹⁴⁷

In 2004 at Tashkent Summit, SCO expanded its scope by creating regional antiterrorism structure and promotion and development of economic cooperation to fight against three evils of extremism, separatism and terrorism. After a year in 2005, India, Pakistan and Afghanistan were also included in SCO and its mandate was expanded to include organized crime, weapons & drugs smuggling, terrorist financial flows &

¹⁴⁵ Russia's New Foreign Policy Concept: Key Aspects. *News Time*, March 12, 2013, <http://newtimes.az/en/politics/1465/#.UWJFraLimVN>.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid

¹⁴⁷ Zaib- Un-Nisa, Gul-e- Zehra and Syed Waqas Ali Bokhari, The Expansion of Shanghai Cooperation Organization: How can it Improve India-Pakistan Relations? *Global Political Review* V, no. III (2020):150-159. Doi:10.31703/gpr.2020(V-III).15

transportation, and cyberterrorism etc. Afghanistan situation brought India and Pakistan to forefront.¹⁴⁸

In 2017, Pakistan obtained premium membership with the help of not only China but by the approval of Russian President Vladimir Putin. The membership in SCO is considered a foreign policy achievement by Pakistan.¹⁴⁹ SCO can help Pakistan to advance its financial crisis especially energy crisis. This platform can also enable Pakistan to attract security support from Russia to fortify its domestic security and counter terrorism.¹⁵⁰

4.2.1.5 CPEC

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a very important part of the Chinese project named Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).¹⁵¹ BRI is seen by Beijing as Silk Road of 21st century that will connect Europe, Africa and Asia.¹⁵² Through CPEC the Gwadar port will become trade hub of Middle East, central Asia and south Asia. As it is long cherished desire of Russian leaders, from Czar Peter to Vladimir Putin, to get access to warm waters of Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea, thus Russia will be ready even to become an auxiliary part of CPEC.¹⁵³

Pakistan can attract huge amount of investments because of Russia's ambition to integrate the Eurasian economic union (EAEU) and BRI as the two project share the same objective of unifying Eurasia via infrastructure and overland trade. In reference to Pan-Eurasian integration of west, central and south Asia, Pakistan was dubbed as zipper state by analyst Andrew Korybko. To achieve Russian geo-economic vision of greater Eurasia, Pakistan can provide stable supply of oil due to its strategic location. Thus, Russia strongly

¹⁴⁸ Muhammad Hanif, "Pakistan-Russia Relations: Progress, Prospects and Constraints" *IPRI Journal XIII*, no.2 (Summer 2013):71.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰ Ibid

¹⁵¹ Farhan Bokhari and Stephanie Findlay, "Pakistan revives Belt-and-Road projects under Chinese pressure." *Financial Time*, December 11, 2019. <https://www.ft.com/content/ab809f2c-1101-11ea-a7e6-62bf4f9e548a>

¹⁵² Asia Maqsood, "CPEC: launch pad for an alliance amongst China, Russia and Pakistan". *Daily Times*, September 23, 2017. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/115726/cpec-launch-pad-for-an-alliance-amongst-china-russia-and-pakistan/>

¹⁵³ Saddam Hussein, "Is a Russia-Pakistan corridor in the making?" *Daily Times*, April 29,2018. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/233748/is-a-russia-pakistan-corridor-in-the-making/>.

supported CPEC and in 2016 discussion were made between Moscow and Islamabad on merger of EAEU and CPEC.¹⁵⁴



Figure 4.1 CPEC Route

4.2.1.6 Energy Cooperation

Russia is referred to as an ‘energy superpower’ as it is world’s 2nd largest exporter of oil and leading exporter of natural gas. It has been a principle exporter of petroleum and natural gas to EU and thus used energy as a tool against EU. To deal with Russian dominance in energy security, EU has not only diversified its external partners and energy corridors but also moved towards renewable energy and decarbonization under the European Green Deal.¹⁵⁵

During most of its 74 years’ existence, Pakistan relied on its indigenous gas reserves. But from past two decades, the country is facing energy crisis. In 2015, Pakistan started importing Liquid Natural Gas (LNG) to reduce oil import and growth in

¹⁵⁴ Claudia Chia and Zheng Haiqi, “Russia-Pakistan Economic Relations: Energy Partnership and the China Factor.” *ISAS Working Paper*, October 6, 2021. <https://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/papers/russia-pakistan-economic-relations-energy-partnership-and-the-china-factor/>.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

consumption. Currently Qatar is major gas supplier of Pakistan and the country is looking for more partners for cooperation in energy sector.¹⁵⁶

Russia being energy rich country can help Pakistan to deal with its energy shortfall. In 2015, a MoU was signed between Russia and Pakistan to lay a gas pipeline from Karachi to Lahore connecting LNG terminals of 12.4 billion m³ /year which was expected to be completed in 2023.¹⁵⁷ In 2017, for potential investment of \$4 billion, a MoU was signed between Pakistan and Russia to aid exploration and development in Pakistan via joint ventures and mutual cooperation. In 2018 MoU was signed for middle to Pakistan offshore gas pipeline of 1500km worth \$10-billion with underground gas storages. In February 2019, during Russian delegation's visit to Pakistan, Russian investment of \$14 billion was announced in energy sector of Pakistan along with synergies with Lukoil, Tatneft and Gazprom.¹⁵⁸

The Pakistan Stream gas pipeline project including launch of virtual LNG pipelines and storages, establishment of oil and gas refineries and investment in gas and oil storages; is likely to be more beneficial to Pakistan than Russia. The facilities and equipment will be provided by Russia whereas supervision of construction process will be provided by Pakistan thus giving Pakistan more influence over development. The major proportion of the gas to be transported via pipeline will be imported from Qatar.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Mifrah Haq "Russia warms to Pakistan after three decades of cold ties." *Nikkei Asia*, July 20,2021. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/Russia-warms-to-Pakistan-after-three-decades-of-cold-ties>.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

¹⁵⁸ Shahbaz Khan, "Synergy with Russia in energy and mineral resources". *The Express Tribune*, April 26,2021. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2296686/synergy-with-russia-in-energy-and-mineral-resources>.

¹⁵⁹ Olga Malik, "Pakistan–Russia Gas Stream: Opportunities and Risks of New Flagship Energy Project." *RIAC*, December 13,2021, <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/columns/asian-kaleidoscope/pakistan-russia-gas-stream-opportunities-and-risks-of-new-flagship-energy-project>.

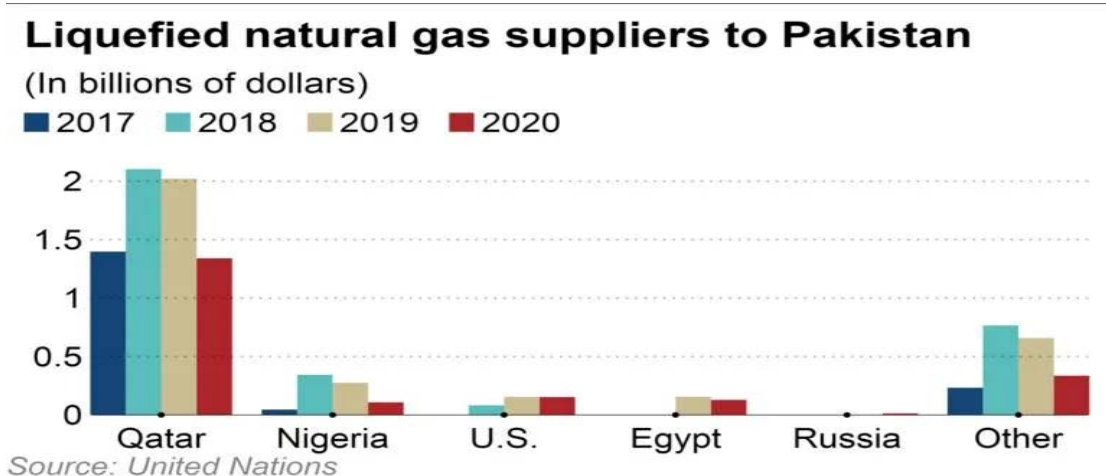


Figure 4.2 LNG Suppliers of Pakistan

Sources: Nikkei Asia

4.3 Pak-Russia Military Cooperation

4.3.1 Hostile Beginning in 1947

Soon after independence, Pakistan's world view was shaped on the basis of its security concerns and hostile geo-strategic environment. To counter the insecurity that resulted from external threat to the independence of the country, defense policy of Pakistan was aimed at search for security. Primarily security augmentation in Pakistan was aimed to counter the threat from India and Afghanistan. Secondly, arrangements were to be made in Pakistan to offset military superiority of India in south Asia by employing various means such as use of diplomacy as countervailing measure. Defense requirements have always been top priority of Pakistan in successive governments as well as depicted by allocation of large proportion of budget to defense.¹⁶⁰

Due to its defense need Pakistan aligned with western bloc, and became a member of South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Baghdad pact which was not appreciated by the communist world. To ensure economic assistance and military aid, Pakistan signed various agreements with USA on February 1951, on February 1952, on

¹⁶⁰ Hasan-Askari Rizvi, "Pakistan's Defense Policy," *Pakistan Horizon* 36, no.1 (1983):32-56.

March 1953, during December 1953, on January 1955 and February 1955. The membership of Pakistan in SEATO and CENTO was alarming for USSR. They were considered as colonial tactics by west which were hostile towards Russia, China and other Asian states. USSR reacted to Pakistan's membership in SEATO and Baghdad pact by supporting India and Afghanistan against Pakistan. During 1955, Asia tour USSR leadership made unfriendly statements against Pakistan.¹⁶¹

4.3.2 Shift of Perspectives

In the 1960s the international politics went through major changes. The defeat of India in Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962 made USSR rethink about its Asian policy which was purely Indian oriented. USSR had also realized that Pakistan was not in the irreconcilably hostile camp as the importance of military pacts was also receding, thus it aimed for cultivating friendship with Pakistan which later become the part of USSR's general strategy of neutralizing the effect of US from the northern tier countries. Another important development in 1963, that impacted Pak-USSR relations, was growing friendship between Rawalpindi and Peking as indicated by civil aviation pact, boundary treaty and trade agreement. Apart from that, the advent of revolutionary regime of Democrats in US in 1958, which considered India as the leader of Asian nations and US military assistance to India to fight against China in 1962, disappointed leadership of Pakistan as they were suspicious that India will use the military power against Pakistan. Thus the foreign policy of Pakistan was reoriented as the country started supporting the regional arrangements such as Indonesian-Pakistan economic and cultural cooperation and regional cooperation for development comprising of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. Pakistan's interest in SEATO and CENTO was also weakened and it refused to uphold US policy in Vietnam War.¹⁶²

4.3.3 Ice Breaking in 60s

In spite of improvement in Pak-USSR relations till 1965, USSR was concerned about Pakistan's military alignment with USA and USSR's role as arms supplier to India was disappointing for Pakistan. In 1962 a deal was reached between India and USSR for

¹⁶¹ Mohammed Ahsen Chaudhri, "Pakistan's Relations with the Soviet Union." *Asian Survey* 6, no.2 (1966):492-500.

¹⁶² Ibid

sale and provision of manufacturing license of MIG-21 supersonic fighters to India by USSR. Although the implementation of the deal was delayed due to SINO-Indian conflict but the first batch of 4 MIG-21s was delivered to India in February 1963. During the era of 1961-65, USSR arms aid to India amounted about \$300 billion and from 1965-1966 USSR become single largest military supplier of India. The deep concern arose in Pakistan especially when in September 1965, USA discontinued its arms supply to both India and Pakistan but India was still receiving the arms from USSR. Pakistan apprised USSR regarding the danger of supplying the arms only to India and there was unconfirmed news in June 1966 that USSR agreed to sell same arms to Pakistan which it was selling to India thus affecting monopoly of China in defense market of Pakistan. In the following month of the same years a delegation led by Commander in chief of Pakistan Air force visited Russia and expressed satisfaction on outcome of visit afterwards, however the expected deal of arms did not materialize.¹⁶³

In April 1968, USSR Prime minister Mr. Kosygin visited Pakistan by availing the long standing invitation of President Ayub Khan that was extended to him in 1965. This visit not only resulted in an agreement that was made regarding delivery of Soviet arms to Pakistan. After a few days, a military mission under the leadership of the General Yahya Khan visited Moscow to finalize the deal. The deal was expected to include transport vehicles, spare parts, helicopters, 135mm guns, and tanks. USSR made this agreement in order to maintain the military balance in subcontinent which was disturbed because of large scale supply of arms to India only.¹⁶⁴ After the agreement several high level visits were exchanged to expand the defense links. In May 1968, naval squadron of USSR visited Karachi for the first time. Deputy Naval Commander in Chief of USSR acknowledged the importance of strong Navy of Pakistan in order to promote stability in Indian Ocean.¹⁶⁵

In March 1969, first ever Soviet defense minister visited Pakistan. During this visit Pakistani defense minister stressed that the subcontinental balanced should must not be allowed to tilt anymore as it is already in the favor of India. Army chief general Yahya also

¹⁶³ Ibid

¹⁶⁴ Zubeida Hasan, "Soviet Arms Aids to India and Pakistan," *Pakistan Horizon* 21, no.4 (1968):344-355.

¹⁶⁵ S.P.Seth, "Russia's Role in Indo-Pak Politics." *Asian Survey* 9, no.8 (1969):614-624.

declared that although Pakistan don't want war but this should not prevent Pakistan to prepare for the defense. The soviet Minister acknowledged the Pakistan's stance and concluded that it is hoped that Pakistan's borders will remain quiet for peace and prosperity of people. According to the statement of Pakistan's defense ministry, this visit developed the bilateral cooperation between two countries satisfactorily. But later the bilateral cooperation between Pakistan and USSR remained focused on economic rather than defense links as USSR wanted to increase its influence in Pakistan without endangering its links with India. USSR had realized that even defense ties with Pakistan will not break Pakistan's links with West and it will also increase the chances of Indian reliance on West as well.¹⁶⁶

4.3.4 Reluctant Cooperation in 80s and 90s

Since 1960s, Pakistan's relations with USSR were shaped by Pakistan's military and political links with US and China and USSR's links with India, but in 1980s Afghanistan factor was also added in the list. Pakistan was frontline state along with western and Islamic efforts for staging guerilla attacks in Afghanistan and end the soviet occupation.¹⁶⁷ After the soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, and government changes in Pakistan there was opportunity for USSR and Pakistan to come close to each other but this did not happen because of defense partnership of USSR with India. Although various regimes in Pakistan tried to develop military relations with Russia after the US military supplies to Pakistan were choked in October 1990, due to Pressler amendment which was imposed on Pakistan as US president G.W. Bush failed to certify Pakistan's nuclear program as peaceful. The military hardware from French and other western sources was unaffordable to Pakistan due to high prices. Thus development of defense relations with Russia was of prime importance to Pakistan as Russia was major producer of defense technology.¹⁶⁸

After the Russian decision to boost its worsening economic conditions by exporting arms, New Delhi became the major buyer of Russian weapons. From 1990-1996, India

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ Rouben Azizian and Peter Vasilieff, "Russia and Pakistan: The Difficult Path to Rapprochement." *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 30, no.1 (Spring 2003):36-55.

¹⁶⁸ Adnan Ali Shah, "Pakistan-Russia relations:Post-cold war era," *Strategic Studies* 21, no.2(2001):31-60.

spent \$3.5 billion in purchasing Russian weapons which included MIG 29, SU-30 MK, Ilyushin -78 aircrafts and in development of its capabilities for night-fighting electronic warfare, thus getting qualitative and quantitative edge over Pakistan. In May-July 1999, during India's action against Pakistan in northern Kashmir, India thanked Russia and Russia attributed Indian success to Russian weapons. The chairman of Pakistan's national assembly's foreign affair committee expressed grave concerns over defense ties between India and Russia as it was considered a threat to security of South Asia.¹⁶⁹

In 1990s, after seeing the success of France in selling weapons to both Pakistan and India, Russia decided to sell dual purpose items such as binoculars, uniforms and boots etc. to Pakistan. But in 1994, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin announced in New Delhi that Russia did not have any such intention. Later, during the visit of Russian deputy foreign minister, Karasin, to Pakistan, it was announced that Russia don't mind discussing the opportunities of military cooperation with Pakistan, but no practical steps were taken in this regard as Pro-Indian lobby in Russia strongly opposed this idea considering India as their strategic partner. Thus this idea of exporting dual purpose items to Pakistan was rejected in May 2000.¹⁷⁰

4.3.5 Improved Military Cooperation after 9/11

9/11 had strongly impacted Pak-Russia relations. After the visit of President Musharraf to Russia in 2003, and Russian prime minister's visit to Pakistan in 2007, the defense relations between two countries gained impetus. In spite of all the difficulties in the ways of Pak-Russia military cooperation, it is believed that Pakistan's armed forces hold a good share of Russian origin equipment. According to SIPRI, USSR exported military hardware of worth \$383 million to Pakistan from 1947 to 1991, and from 1991 onward Pakistan received Russian military equipment of worth \$429 million.

Apart from that Russia also helped Pakistan in developing helicopter overhauling facility. It is believed that Pakistan prefer Chinese military equipment which reverse engineered and fused Russian and western weapons. Another benefit of taking military

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

weapons from China or US is that they transfer their weapons to Pakistan through monetary aid or as transfer of excess defense articles.¹⁷¹

Table 4.2 Russian Weapons in Pakistan

Departments of Pakistan’s Armed Forces	Soviet/Russian Equipment
Pakistan Army’s Armored Formations field	Ukrainian -80 UD Tanks
Pakistan Army Aviation	50 X Mi-17 Helicopters
Pakistan Air force	4XUkrainian supplied IL-78A Aerial refueling aircrafts with Russian UPAZ refueling Pods Passive radar named Vera-E emitter locater systems of Czech origin Russian manufactured RD-93 engines which power JF-17 aircraft which is a joint venture of Pakistan and China.

Source: Financial Express¹⁷²

4.3.5.1 Military Delegations and Advancements

In 2009, Pakistan showed interest in buying Mi-35 assault helicopters from Russia although it had already received Russian Mi-17 transport helicopters in 2002, but they were for rescue aviation in case of disaster.¹⁷³ Russian objection against the supply of RD-93 jet engine to Pakistan was also lifted in 2009. In 2010, Russian Prime Minister, Vladimir Putin, declared military ties between Pakistan and Russia. In 2011, Pakistan’s Army Chief General Kayani visited Russia to convince Russian leadership on reorienting their policy regarding arm sales to Pakistan. The visit of army chief was followed by visit of Pakistan’s Air Chief Marshal in August 2012. Russian foreign Minister during his visit to Pakistan in

¹⁷¹ “Pakistan and Russia: Increasing cooperation?” *Financial Express*, April 19, 2021. <https://www.financialexpress.com/defence/pakistan-and-russia-increasing-cooperation/2235918/>

¹⁷² Ibid

¹⁷³ Hab Aleksander Glogowski, Strategic shift in Pakistan-Russia relations and its influence on security in South Asia”(International Academic Conferencess Proceeding,Budapest,Germany,8 September 2016) 125-130.

2012, stated that it is unlikely that Russia will sell fighter aircrafts or air defense system to Pakistan but the sale of dual use system i.e. Mi-17 helicopters is likely.¹⁷⁴

In April 2013, Russian Air Chief Marshal visited Pakistan to discuss the military deals.¹⁷⁵ It was the very first visit in history from Russia to Pakistan for discussion of military deal. In 2014, all 3 Commander in Chiefs of armed forces of Russia visited Pakistan.¹⁷⁶ .During the visit of Russian defense minister, Sergei Shoigu, to Pakistan in 2014 an agreement was signed between the two countries on enhancing the defense cooperation. Russia also decided to lift embargo from Pakistan. Moreover, two sides decided to strengthen bilateral relations as their views converged on most of the regional and international issues. Russian defense minister appreciated the Pakistan's leap in defense production and fighting expertise of Pakistani armed forces in war against terror.¹⁷⁷ In October 2014, the first counter-narcotics exercise was done between Pakistan and Russia which was followed by the second one in December 2015.¹⁷⁸

A Russian military mission visited the war-torn North Waziristan region near the Pak-Afghan border in 2017.¹⁷⁹ In 2018, foreign minister of Pakistan visited Russia on invitation of Russian counterpart and signed agreement on establishment of a commission on military cooperation to deal with threat of IS in the region. Which had proliferated the region due to US downplaying.¹⁸⁰ In April 2018, Pakistan's army chief Gen Bajwa visited Russia to meet Russian ground forces commander, where Russia expressed keenness to

¹⁷⁴ Besakh Singh, "Pakistan and Russia Relationship: Changing Dynamics in the Post-Cold War Era". Master Thesis, Central University of Punjab, 2016, 1-111.

¹⁷⁵ Feroz Hassan Khan, "Russia-Pakistan strategic relations :An emerging entent," *Journal of Indo-Pacific affair* (January 2021) :42-64.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

¹⁷⁷ "Pakistan-Russia sign Milestone Military Co-Pact." *The Nation*, November 21, 2014 <https://nation.com.pk/21-Nov-2014/pakistan-russia-sign-milestone-military-co-op-pact>.

¹⁷⁸ Ayaz Gul, "Russia, Pakistan Form Anti-Terror Military Cooperation Commission." *VOA*, February 20, 2018, <https://www.voanews.com/a/russia-pakistan-military-cooperation-commission-against-islamic-state/4262801.html>.

¹⁷⁹ Kashif Hussain, "Russia-Pakistan Strategic Convergence: Countering Dash in Afghanistan." *South Asian Voice*, April 11, 2018. <https://southasianvoices.org/russia-pakistan-strategic-convergence-daesh/>.

¹⁸⁰ Foreign minister visits Moscow on invitation of Russian counterpart" *The Express Tribune*, February 19, 2018, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1638714/foreign-minister-visits-moscow-invitation-russian-counterpart>.

expand existing military to military cooperation.¹⁸¹ In the same month, a security meeting was held in Moscow between national security advisors of both countries including officials from Strategic Plan Division, thus indicating the possibility that discussions were made on nuclear and strategic issues. After this meeting, the frequency of exchange of visits increased between Russia and Pakistan.¹⁸²

The first meetings of Joint Military Consultative Committee (JMCC) was held in Rawalpindi in August 2018. In this meeting agreement was signed to allow Pakistani soldiers to get training in military institutes of Russia. In the same month, during the visit of Pakistan Navy vice Admiral Kaleem Shaukat to Russia, MOU was signed between two countries on bilateral naval collaboration.¹⁸³ Due to increased Pak-Russia cooperation, Donald Trump terminated participation of Pakistan in global military education program. Pakistan and Russia signed a security training agreement, in which Pakistani military officers would be trained in Russian institutions.

In 2019, the second meeting of JMCC was held in Moscow where discussions were made on areas of mutual cooperation such as intelligence cooperation, joint exercises, military training and defense industrial cooperation.¹⁸⁴ In September 2021, the third meeting of JMCC was held between Pakistan's defense Secretary and Russia's deputy defense minister where regional stability and evolving situation of Afghanistan also came under discussion. The fourth meeting is planned in 2022 in Russia. JMCC is considered as highest forum between two countries for defense collaboration.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ "Gen Bajwa meets counterpart during official visit to Russia." *Dawn*, April 24, 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1403612>.

¹⁸² Feroz Hassan Khan, "Russia-Pakistan strategic relations :An emerging entent," *Journal of Indo-Pacific affair* (January 2021) :42-64.

¹⁸³ B.M. Jain, *South Asia Conundrum: The Great Power Gambit* (London: Lexington Books, 2019), 1-157.

¹⁸⁴ "Pakistan, Russia reaffirm commitment to enhance military ties." *The Express Tribune*, August 20, 2019. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2037899/pakistan-russia-reaffirm-commitment-enhance-military-ties>.

¹⁸⁵ Ayesha Siddiq, "Pakistan-Russia: Moving Forward to Better Ties." *ISAS Briefs*, October 25, 2021. <https://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/papers/pakistan-russia-moving-forward-to-better-ties/>.

4.3.5.2 *Trade of Military Hardware*

Pakistan's Army Chief, General Raheel Sharif visited Russia in summer 2015. Three months later, a deal was signed between the two countries on sale of Mi-35M Assault helicopters to Pakistan.¹⁸⁶ Pakistan further expressed its interest in a wide range of Russian weaponry such as combat aircrafts particularly SU 35, air defense systems and advanced tanks.¹⁸⁷ In 2017, Pakistan's minister for defense production announced that Pakistan received four Mi-35 M helicopters of USD 153 million.¹⁸⁸ In April 2018, Pakistan's defense minister, Khurram Dastagir revealed in an interview to Sputnik that Pakistan is holding direct talks with Russia to purchase T-90 tanks, air defense systems and Su-35 jets. However, no official confirmation has been made by Russia regarding any such deal so far.¹⁸⁹

4.3.5.3 *Joint Exercises*

1. From 24th September-10th October 2016, the first ever joint military exercise Called Druzhbha (meaning friendship) was conducted in Pakistan's province of KPK to counter the threats of terrorist operations of IS branch at Khorasan province. The exercise continued despite strong objection of India.¹⁹⁰
2. In September 2017, another Druzhbha exercise was held at Minralney Vody, focusing on rescue, hostage and counter-terrorism operations, between special forces of Russian and Pakistani Armies.¹⁹¹
3. In 2018, the third joint military exercise, Druzhbha III, was held in Cherat, KPK; and National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) in Pabbi, KPK in order to tackle the threat of IS in Afghanistan. It involved about 200 troops from Pak Army's special forces and

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

¹⁸⁷ Rashid Siddiqi, "Prospects of Russia- Pakistan Rapprochement," *Strategic studies* 37, no.2 (Summer 2017):58-73.

¹⁸⁸ Gabriel Dominguez, "Pakistan to receive four Mi-35M helos in 2017," *Thai Military and Asian Region*, December 21,2016, <https://thaimilitaryandasianregion.wordpress.com/>.

¹⁸⁹ Shubhankar Basu "Review of Russia –Pakistan defense cooperation: Reflection of emerging geopolitical realities" *Vivekananda International foundation* (2019). <https://www.vifindia.org/>.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid

¹⁹¹ Ibid

Russia's special purpose reconnaissance unit from Karachay-Cherkessia' mountain motorized rifle brigade of southern military district.¹⁹²

4. The fourth joint military exercise was held in Russia at Krasnodar region, involving more than 100 servicemen of Russian and Pakistani armed forces. During this exercise, Pakistan's servicemen were given Russian equipment and were familiarized with them. Apart from that training was done on tactical actions, providing medical assistance, mine demolition, and bridge destruction etc.¹⁹³
5. The fifth joint military exercise was held at Tarbella and Pabbi in Pakistan, focusing on sharing experience in counter terrorism domains. It included hostage rescue operations, sky diving and tactical actions.¹⁹⁴
6. From 28th September to 9th October 2021, the sixth druzhba exercise was held in Krasnodar territory at Molkino training range focused on developing and strengthening military cooperation between two countries.¹⁹⁵
7. In 2014 and 2015, Russia has also been participating in Arabian Monsoon Naval drills along with Pakistan.
8. In 2017, in AMAN Naval exercise constituting 35 countries, which was spearheaded by Pakistan Navy, the largest antisubmarine warship of Russia, named Severomorsk participated.¹⁹⁶
9. The AMAN-19 exercise of Pakistan navy was the first exercise after 10 years when Russia participated in a joint exercise along with NATO countries. This exercise included Malaysia, Italy, Turkey, Australia, UK, US, China and Russia. A naval group of Black Sea Fleet consisting of rescue tug SB-739, the patrol vessel Dmitry Rogachev,

¹⁹² "Friendship 2018 International military exercises close in Pakistan," *Ministry of Defense of Russian Federation*, November 3, 2018, https://eng.mil.ru/en/news_page/country/more.htm?id=12202632@egNews.

¹⁹³ "Friendship 2019 joint Russian-Pakistani exercise of special forces units finishes in Kuban," *Ministry of the Defense of the Russian Federation*, October 11, 2019, https://eng.mil.ru/en/news_page/country/more.htm?id=12256485@egNews.

¹⁹⁴ "Pak-Russia Joint Military Exercise DRUZHBA-V," *Hilal Magazine*, <https://www.hilal.gov.pk/eng-article/detail/NDcxOQ==.html>.

¹⁹⁵ "Druzhiba-2021 ~ Joint Russian-Pakistani Exercise," *Joint -Forces. Com*, October 14, 2021, <https://www.joint-forces.com/exercise-news/47412-druzhiba-2021-joint-russian-pakistani-exercise>.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid

and frigate Admiral Grigorovich along with deck based helicopter represented Russia. After this exercise, Russian and Pakistani navies came closer and they exchanged their experienced and showed determination to promote stability and peace in Arabian Ocean.¹⁹⁷

Apart from these joint exercises, in 2019, Pakistan army participated in Russian hosted multi-national a week long military exercise called Tsentr along with other SCO member countries. The exercise was aimed at promoting regional stability and peace by fighting against international terrorism.¹⁹⁸ In 2020, Pakistan participated in another joint military drill called Kavkaz in Astrakhan, Russia along with Azerbaijan, China and Belarus where participants displayed their skills and technology through war games, joint trainings and military drills. Kavkaz offered a golden opportunity to Pakistan to cultivate friendly relations with central Asian states in the absence of India.¹⁹⁹

Relations between Pakistan and Russia have a history of hostility and missed opportunities. During the Cold War, ties between the two nations were at an all-time low. Despite the fact that the two countries do not have any bilateral disputes, the fundamental difference between the two countries was ideological. The preference of Pakistan to Western block and USSR's inclinations towards India created difference between the two countries. Both countries also took many initiatives to improve their relations but got little success. The end of the cold war paved the way for smooth relations between the two countries. The incident of 9/11 jolted the world and terrorism become a threat for world's peace. Pakistan joined hands with USA against terrorism, which was appreciated by Russia. After 9/11 bilateral relations between two countries flourished and they started cooperation in various domains including military. During cold war Military relations between two countries were negligible. Although Pakistan tried to achieve Soviet defense weapon but

¹⁹⁷ Zamir Ahmed Awan, "Aman-21: Pakistan-Russia in close cooperation for peace." *Russian International Affair Council*, February 26, 2021. <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytcs-and-comments/columns/asian-kaleidoscope/aman-21-pakistan-russia-in-close-cooperation-for-peace/>.

¹⁹⁸ "Pakistan Army Participates in Multinational Military Exercise Tsentr 2019 in Russia," *Pak Defense*, September 9, 2019. <https://www.pakdefense.com/blog/pakistan-army/pakistan-army-participates-in-multinational-military-exercise-tsentr-2019-in-russia/>.

¹⁹⁹ "Pakistan, Russia and the New Central Asian Alliance," *CSPR*, 2020, <https://cspr.pk/pakistan-russia-and-the-new-central-asian-alliance/>.

got little success because Soviet Union was more interested in economic relations with Pakistan as compare to Defense. After 9/11 Pakistan's role in war on terror and changing regional situations, both countries defense relations also improved. They started cooperation with zeal and zest.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter is comprised of discussions made on the finding of research questions, implications of study in theoretical, practical and policy domain, limitations of study, recommendations for future research and conclusion.

5.1 Discussions

5.1.1 Pak-Russia Relations since 1947

Pak-Russia relations are based on common interests of the two countries. At the time of its creation in 1947, Pakistan was faced with many challenges because of the hostile attitude of India, thus it was in dire need of financial and military assistance. After the Second World War, US emerged as very strong economy with powerful military whereas Russia's economy suffered badly in war against Germany. Therefore, among capitalist and communist blocs which were led by US and Russia respectively, Pakistan had chosen the capitalist bloc, and this choice was welcomed by US due to strategic location of Pakistan.²⁰⁰ After joining the capitalist bloc, Pakistan became an active actor in containing communism in the region. USSR reacted to this decision of Pakistan by supporting India. It not only vetoed UN Kashmir resolutions which were in favor of Pakistan, but it also become the largest supplier of military hardware to India. USSR supported India in separation of east and west Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh in 1971, whereas, Pakistan played critical role in disintegration of Russia by supporting Jihadi elements in 1979-1989 war. Throughout the cold war, Pakistan and USSR were working against each other either

²⁰⁰ "Invitation from USSR during 1950s," *History Pak.Com*, Accessed by 24 February, 2022.
<https://historypak.com/invitation-ussr-1950s/>

directly or indirectly. The efforts to maintain friendly relations between the two countries did not bring any long lasting results. This situation continued till 9/11.

According to balance of power theory, the actions of states are driven by their interests. The states either want to preserve their security or seek domination. Same was the case with Pakistan and Russia, as Pakistan wanted to ensure its security in the presence of hostile neighbor, India, and Russia wanted to counter the influence of US by making alliances. Pakistan was seeking financial assistance and military capabilities to maintain balance of power against India, whereas USSR/Russia was trying to balance power against US hegemony by making alliances. During the era of cold war, the two countries aimed for improving their relations multiple times but it did not last long due to lower weightage of their converging interests. Stable relations between two countries were maintained only after 9/11, when principle interests of the two countries converged.²⁰¹

5.1.2 Improvement in Pak-Russia Relations after 9/11

The event of 9/11 brought major changes in the geopolitics of the region. Pakistan abandoned Afghan Taliban after this event and became US ally. Russian president was the first president after the event of 9/11, to call USA and condemn the attacks by assuring support on war on terror. Thus both Pakistan and Russia became allies of US in the war as the both countries were concerned about peace and stability in Afghanistan.²⁰² The visit of president Musharraf to Moscow in 2003 further improved the relations leading to cooperation in various domains as the two countries decided to move past the misunderstandings of past due to their converging views and interests on regional and global issues.²⁰³ Russian Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov also visited Pakistan and held discussions with Pakistan's president and prime minister. During the era of Zardari and

²⁰¹ Petr Topychkanov, Where Does Pakistan Fit in Russia's South Asia Strategy? *Carnegie Moscow Center*, January 16, 2017. <https://carnegiemoscow.org/2017/01/16/where-does-pakistan-fit-in-russia-s-south-asia-strategy-pub-67696>.here Does Pakistan Fit in Russia's South Asia Strategy

²⁰² Mark Katz, Less-Than-Great Expectations: The Pakistani-Russian Rapprochement, *Current History* 104, no.680 (2005):137-141.

²⁰³ Ibid

Gilani Pak-Russia relations improved efficiently although Russia prioritized ties with India over Pakistan.²⁰⁴

The year 2010-2012 witnessed transformation in foreign policy of Pakistan due to various incidents such as Abbottabad Operation, Salala post and incident of Raymond Davis Foreign policy of Pakistan was reoriented after these events as Pakistan decided to decrease its dependence on US and maintain its sovereignty. Relations between Pakistan and Russia were improved as the two countries started collaborating in various field such as energy, politics, scientific & technical, defense and cultural. Although Russia is not economically as strong as militarily, it still managed to help Pakistan boost its dwindling economy by various means such as currency swap, free trade agreements and enhancement in production capacity of Steel Mill of Pakistan and by financing energy projects etc. Other major reasons of improvement of Pak-Russia relations are deteriorating Pak-US relations due to Afghanistan issue, and growing estrangement between India and Russia as India is preferring Israel, US and other western countries for procurement of high-tech defense products when Russia need an Asian market the most due to low oil prices and western sanctions.²⁰⁵

The scenario after 9/11 not only caused the convergence of interests between Pakistan and Russia, but due to shift in international politics, the two countries are trying to maintain the balance of power by using external and internal means. Due to shifting balance, many important developments have emerged recently:

- *China-Russia-Pakistan Triangle*: US influence in the South Asia and its partnership with the India is against the interest of Pakistan, China and Russia.²⁰⁶ Due to convergence of their interests a new alliance of the trio has emerged. The three nuclear

²⁰⁴ “Interests of great powers in Pakistan,” *Stu Docu*, <https://www.studocu.com/in/document/quaid-i-azam-university/subjects-of-international-law/interests-of-great-powers-in-pakistan/5987547>.

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ Polina Tikhonova, “China, Russia and Pakistan: New Superpower Triangle”. *South Asia Journal*, October 19, 2016. <http://southasiajournal.net/china-russia-and-pakistan-new-superpower-triangle/>.

powers, with 7620 warheads combined, have been supporting each other on various issues to challenge US hegemony.²⁰⁷

- *Withdrawal of US from Afghanistan:* After the withdrawal of US and NATO forces from Afghanistan and collapse of internationally recognized government, geopolitical realignments are anticipated in south Asia. Pakistan, Russia, China and Central Asian states can be directly affected by this new development although their interests can be varied. From the perspective of China and Russia, US withdrawal indicates weakening of western alliance although US accounted this withdrawal to the need of focusing more attention on competition with China. Takeover of Taliban in Afghanistan offer a strategic advantage to Pakistan over India. It is believed that Taliban led government can be influenced by Islamabad.²⁰⁸ Along with Pakistan, China and Russia also welcomed Taliban government. The two countries can further their interests in Afghanistan through Pakistan although their interests are diverging. China is interested in integrating the region economically through its BRI project, whereas Russia want to be a primary security provider of the Eurasian region via Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) led by Russia Russian. Moreover, peace and stability in Afghanistan is in interest of both Pakistan and Russia, thus the two countries want to work together on this agenda.²⁰⁹
- *Ukraine Crisis:* Another current development in international politics is Ukraine crisis. Putin declared that Russian security is at threat because of Ukraine joining NATO alliances. Although it has been made clear that NATO is not planning to send combat troops to Ukraine rather just advisers, field hospitals and weapons will be offered. However, several thousand troops have been deployed in Poland and Baltic states for the first time which can go to Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. After the

²⁰⁷ Shabir Ahmad Khan and Vikas K.Jambhulkar, "China-Russia-Pakistan Strategic Nexus: A Beginning of New Great Game in South Asia," *IMPACT Journal* 6, no.9 (Sep 2018):105-114.

²⁰⁸ Ron Synovitz, "Regional Powers Seek to Fill Vacuum Left by West's Retreat from Afghanistan." *RadioFree Europe Radio Liberty*, December 25, 2021.

²⁰⁹ Nilofar Sakhi, "How Russia, China, and Iran will shape Afghanistan's future." *Atlantic Council (Blog)*. June 18, 2021. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/how-russia-china-and-iran-will-shape-afghanistans-future/>

Russian attack on Ukraine, the economy and financial institutions of the country are constantly targeted by west.²¹⁰ Under these circumstances, Pakistan's PM Imran Khan visited Russia when Russian troops were invading Ukraine. According to Pakistan's foreign minister the implications of visit were well discussed beforehand with the stakeholders. This decision in Pakistan has raised eyebrows in west but from Pakistan's part it is a big investment as it can be bracketed once again in one of the two blocks in great power rivalry.²¹¹ According to balance of power theory, as states are rational actor and their priority are their national interests, it seems that Pakistan has some greater advantage in mind from relations with Russia that worth the current investment.

5.1.3 Pak-Russia Military Cooperation

In pre-9/11 era, sustainable defense relations could not be achieved between Pakistan and Russia although Pakistan showed interest in Russian weapons in numerous times in history. But Pakistan did not achieve much success in this domain, except 1969 Maverick helicopter deal, due to Russian inclination towards India. After the event of 9/11, Pakistan and Russia's relations have improved leading to cooperation between two countries in various domains including military. The coming years witnessed visit of General Kayani (Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan) to Moscow in 2009 and meeting of Russian and Pakistani leadership in 2010. Both countries negotiated to boost economic and trade relations. The year 2014 revolutionized the relations between Pakistan and Russia as Russia lifted self-imposed arm embargo from Pakistan and signed defense deal. As a result, friendship exercises started between two countries in 2016. Apart from this, Russia signed a deal with Pakistan to sell Mi-35 Hind-E assault helicopters three months after the visit of then chief of Pakistan's army in summer 2015. Four of these helicopters were received by Pakistan in August 2017.²¹²

The military relationships between Pakistan and Russia are focused primarily on joint exercises, training programs and cooperation in areas of mutual interests. As far as

²¹⁰ Paul Kirby, "Why is Russia invading Ukraine and what does Putin want?" *BBC News*, February 27, 2022. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-56720589>.

²¹¹ "Position on Ukrain," *Dawn*, February 27, 2022. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1677329/position-on-ukraine>

²¹² Ibid

trade of military weapons is concerned it has not progressed much, although Pakistan's main interest in Russia has always been the military arms of the country as Russia did not have strong enough economy like other powers to provide financial assistance to Pakistan.²¹³ But Russia has always been reluctant in selling its weapons to Pakistan. In past, Russia relied on third countries for supplying defense technology to Pakistan. For example, T-80 battle tanks were supplied to Pakistan through Ukraine, and RD-93 engines of JF-17 reached Pakistan via China.²¹⁴ Despite Pakistan's interest in Russian air defense system and tanks, Russia is hesitant to selling these to Pakistan probably due to Indian factor.

From the balance of power theory, it has been implied that the relations between countries are not based on emotions rather they are derived from their needs and understanding of uncertainty of international politics. Due to terrorism threats and other converging interests, Russia is willing to cooperate with Pakistan thus joint exercises and trainings are conducted so that two countries learn from each other's experience to deal with the menace of terrorism effectively. But owing to uncertainty of international politics, Russia is still careful in extending its military relations with Pakistan. The country doesn't seem to stake its relations with its old strategic ally.

Table 5.1 Pakistan's Arm Suppliers

	China	USA	Sweden	Italy	Russia
2007-11	42%	36%	5%	-	-
2011-15	63%	19%	-	4.6%	-
2014-18	70%	8.9%	-	-	6%

Sources: SIPRI²¹⁵

Pakistan –Russia military cooperation, which started after 9/11 in general and intensified after 2014 specifically, has had a great impact on the region. The reconciliation between Pakistan and Russia indicates a shift in the South Asia. Russia is an important country, due to its geopolitical influence and great power stature, whereas Pakistan is a

²¹³ Haris "Pakistan in the Era of Great Power Competition,"75.

²¹⁴ Ibid

²¹⁵ Nivedita Kapoor, "Russia-Pakistan relations and its impact on India." *ORF*, July 3,2019.

<https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/russia-pakistan-relations-impact-india-52715/>

crucial player in international relations, due to its geostrategic position, population and possession of nuclear arsenals.²¹⁶

- *China*: China is the main defense partner of Pakistan. It has had nearly a monopoly in the Pakistani defense market. As relations of Pakistan are improving with Russia, it can compete with China for defense sales to Pakistan. Although Pak-Russo growing military rapprochement is creating concerns for china but now three countries are collaborating in many regional and global issues. China, Russia and Pakistan will create a balanced strategy in region.²¹⁷
- *India*: India is the largest defense partner of Russia. India and Russia are sharing good relations since cold war. But in the 21st century, due to changing nature of global politics, India has moved towards USA. This step created a serious concern in Moscow. Moscow realigned its foreign policy and moved toward Pakistan. India is deeply concerned about Pak-Russia growing Military cooperation and defense deal. Although, it moved towards US, India still own a considerable number of Russian arsenal. If Russia provides an arsenal to Pakistan, it would threaten the regional balance of power. Manohar Parrikar, Indian defense minister, has also expressed concerns about media report of possible sale of Russian modern military equipment to Pakistan and joint military exercises between two countries. Skepticism in India grew especially after Moscow chose to hold its first joint military exercise with Pakistan, shortly after the URI attack.²¹⁸
- *Afghanistan*: The major reason behind Pak-Russia military cooperation was also Afghan situation. Moscow's strategy demonstrates that it relies on Islamabad's involvement to stabilize Afghanistan. Afghanistan stability would also contribute to Central Asian region peace. Russia is looking for large market in the region to sell its

²¹⁶Misbah Arif, "Pak-Russia Rapprochement." *Daily Times*, August 6, 2018.
<https://dailytimes.com.pk/278689/pak-russia-rapprochement/>.

²¹⁷ Lisa Curtis, "China's Military and Security Relationship with Pakistan", *The Heritage Foundation*, May 20, 2009. <https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/5.20.09Curtis.pdf>.

²¹⁸ Himani Pant, "India-Russia in Testy Waters?" *South Asian Voices*, March 10, 2017.
<https://southasianvoices.org/india-russia-testy-waters/>

goods. Russia can also use Pakistan's assistance in the long run to boost its business ties in the area.²¹⁹

- *Central Asia*: Central Asian region would positively impact Pak-Russia military relations. It is also possible that these states would become the part of CPEC. They further enhanced China, Russia and Pakistan triangulation axis. In Central Asia both Russia and China are involved through many projects. Both Countries have serious concerns over increasing terrorism. Apart from that, Central Asian states under the umbrella of SCO are cooperating with each other. It is also possible that Pak-Russia cooperation would negatively impact these states. As these States want to counter Russian influence in their internal problems and to maintain balanced foreign policy.²²⁰
- *US-India Alliance*: South Asia is an essential part of US security strategy. The United States remains concerned about the threat of terrorism and views this region as a safe haven and stronghold for terrorist activities. The United States' entire approach is to achieve its regional goals after deteriorating relations with Pakistan and aligning itself with India. He considered India as a major power in region to counter Chinese influence. New Delhi's military alignment with Washington provided sufficient for Pakistan-Russia strategic ties and let the two-sided government officials from Islamabad and Moscow strengthen their collaboration in the fields of security and defense.²²¹ Both US and India are unhappy due to Russia- Pakistan military cooperation. As Russia is world's largest weapon supplier, its military relations with Pakistan create imbalance in region. Pak-Russia with the help of China is countering US role in region. India and USA have consistently showed concerns over Pak-Russia military cooperation and joint exercises. According to them, this type of exercises can create imbalance in region. It is also possible that, these exercises may bring hostile

²¹⁹ Adarsh Vijay, "Russia's Search for New Ground in Pakistan." *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*, December 26, 2016. http://www.ipcs.org/comm_select.php?articleNo=5210

²²⁰ Yury Daneykin, Elisey Andreevsky, Mikhail Rogozhin and Oleg Sernetsky, "Threats and Challenges to the Regional Security in Central Asian Region (the Example of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan)." *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 166 (2015): 86 – 91. doi: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.12.488.

²²¹ Attiq Ur Rehman, "Pakistan-Russia Strategic Collaboration and India Factor." *Strafasia*, April 14, 2021, <https://strafasia.com/pakistan-russia-strategic-collaboration-and-india-factor/>

countries on one table, as in naval exercise Aman 2021 in which both US and Russia participated.

5.2 Implications of Study

5.2.1 Theoretical Implications

This study used Balance of power theory to explain Pak-Russia relations, which is very powerful in explaining behavior of states in international politics. According to this theory, states are rational unitary actors which tend to ensure their survival at minimum and try to achieve universal domination at maximum. They strengthen their economy, advance military and make clever strategies on internal level and seek strong alliances for them and weaken the alliances of their opponents at external level. In anarchic international system, the decisions are made by states on the basis of distribution of power. If one state increase its capabilities the other will also does so to maintain the balance of power.²²² According to this theory, implications of this study are:

- Pakistan is a small state that want to ensure its survival and it will keep on shifting its alliances based upon the dynamics of global politics and its interests. If Russia failed to provide anticipated military technology or financial assistance to Pakistan, then the two countries might end up in opposite camps again.
- Russia is big power that seek domination thus it may tend to control Pakistan in the same way as US did to further its interests.
- Russia, China and India are three big powers of the region that will try to seek domination as per the theory of balance of power, which will create arm race and instability in the region.

5.2.2 Practical Implications

After a long history of mistrust and antagonism, Pakistan and Russia are getting close to each other amid global politics transformation from unipolar to multipolar. After

²²² Rahat Shah, "Pakistan's quest for balance in the context of the Indo-Pacific strategy." *Australian Journal of Maritime & Ocean Affairs*, May 7, 2021.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/18366503.2021.1925467>

the withdrawal of NATO forces and US from Afghanistan, Indian inclination towards US and Russian and west resurgence, Pakistan and Russia are provided with opportunity to translate their improved relations into tangible outcomes²²³. As a result of this study following steps are suggested:

- Two countries should share their counter terrorism experiences with each other through seminars, joint trainings and other programs.
- Joint intelligence sharing mechanisms should be established between two countries to curb terrorism and other evils such as drugs and arm trafficking in the region.
- Instead of emphasizing on procurement of military hardware, Pakistan should aim for transfer of critical technology and focus on indigenization as in shifting global politics, alliances are not reliable.
- Along with training of soldiers, Pakistan should train its engineers and scientists as well through exchange programs with Russia to achieve self-reliance in military technology.
- By inclusion of Russia in CPEC, its stakes in Pakistan will increase which can enhance the chances of military cooperation between two countries especially of naval forces.
- Pakistan China and Russia need to work together in order to deal with the issues that emerged after withdrawal of USA from Afghanistan and balance the India-US axis.

5.2.3 Policy Implications

It can be implied from the findings of this study that:

- Pakistan need to adopt balanced foreign policy without becoming part of any bloc as opposed to cold war period.
- Pakistan need to be careful in risking its relations with west for Russia as Russia is still reluctant to export military hardware to Pakistan, it prioritizes India over Pakistan and it does not have strong enough economy to provide financial assistance to Pakistan.
- Pakistan can rely on China for financial assistance and on Russia for military technology instead of relying completely on USA.

²²³ Almas Haider Naqvi and Yasir Masood "Rejuvenating Pakistan-Russia relations: Discernable trends and future." *Strategic Studie* 37, no .4 (Winter 2017):18-38.

5.3 Limitations of Study

This study was based on secondary resources. Due to which, it was not possible to take interviews of policy makers of Russia and Pakistan. Another constraint was data availability. As this topic was confidential so in-depth data regarding arm supplies was not available. Time constraint and COVID restriction also imposed limitations on the study.

5.4 Future Research Recommendations

Future Research can be directed on following topics:

- To explore the possibilities of Pak-Russia relations through interviews of policy makers and senior analysts of both countries.
- To evaluate the idea of replacing US with Russia by Pakistan in the domain of military cooperation by comparing the capabilities of both US and Russia in defense technology
- To explore the possibilities of Arms race as a result of Pak-Russia military rapprochement.

5.5 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to analyze military cooperation between Pakistan and Russia in the context of their fluctuating relations in past and transformative improvements in their relation after 9/11. It was found that in the pre-9/11 era, the nature of relations between Pakistan and Russia remained fluctuating. The countries tried to cooperate in various domains such as economy, politics and culture but the military cooperation between the two was scarce. In spite of Pakistan's interest in Russian defense technology, the effort of military cooperation between two countries resulted in little or no success due Russia's close defense relations with India and Pakistan's alliance with West. After 9/11, as Pakistan abandoned afghan Taliban and became US ally on war on terror, interests of Pakistan and Russia were converged, thus their relations witnessed a warmth and the two countries

started collaborating in various fields. Their military relations also improved due to joint threat of terrorism and turning away of their old defense allies. The improved military relations between two countries are depicted by increased exchange of defense related delegations and joint exercises which are being held consistently since 2016. But as far as trade of military hardware is concerned, it has not shown any significant progress although the primary interest of Pakistan in Russia has always been Russia's defense weaponry. But Russia is cautious probably due to its relations with India. The recent developments i.e. withdrawal of US from Afghanistan, convergence of interests of Pakistan and Russia in Afghanistan, their support for each other and visit of Pakistan's prime minister to Russia amid Ukraine crisis indicate that the Pak-Russia relations are steadily rising to new heights where extensive military cooperation will become inevitable.

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ANNEXURES

Annexure A: Codes

CODES	CATEGORIES	THEMS
Diplomatic relations, Turning of Pakistan, Cultural Ties b/w USSR and Pakistan, Pakistan's joining of Western block, Positive gesture from Soviet Union,	Background of relations	Nature of Pak-Russia relations
Military control of power, New government effort to contain communism, Strained relations, Back of USA, Bilateral foreign policy, Flourish Cooperation, Ayub Khan visit of USSR, Mediating role of USSR.	Changes in internal politics in Pakistan. Positive attitude of USSR.	
Foreign policy, Separation of East Pak, Indo -Soviet friendship treaty, Bhutto regime, Bhutto visit of USSR, Improvement of relations,	Uneven relations between two countries, Improvement in bilateral Relations	
1977 crises, Pro-western government, Soviet appreciation, Intervention of USSR in Afghanistan, Pakistan reaction, Geneva Talks, Soviet	Afghan crises and pro-western regime	

withdrawal, Disintegration of USSR, Thaw in Pak-Russia relations, Nawaz Sharif visit of Russia,		
Event of 9/11 Changes in Pakistan's policy, Institutionalization of relationship, Betterment in bilateral relationship, Structural dialogue,	Regional politics, Visit of Russian prime minister and Pervaiz Musharraf	Improvement of Pak-Russia relation after 9/11
Diversification of Pakistan's foreign policy, Assistance in different fields, Bilateral visits, Cancellation of Putin Visit, Russian foreign minister visit, visit of Pakistani parliamentary delegation,	Rapprochement in Different Fields	
Tangible economic cooperation, Inter-governmental deal, Warmness of relations, Bilateral trade, Natural disaster and Pak-Russia relations, Russo-Pak foreign ministers meeting, Direct air service, Telephonic conversation b/w Putin and Khan.	Improvement of Relations	
Security, Pakistan's hostile foreign policy towards USSR, Membership of western security pacts, USSR concerns, Asian tour of Soviet	Pakistan security Threats, USSR Inclinations towards Afghanistan and India	
		Pakistan-Russia military Cooperation

leadership,		
Changes in international politics, Pakistan withdrawal from western security pacts, Pak-China friendship, Reorientation in Pak-foreign policy, Pakistan military alignment, Soviet arm sale to India, USA suspension of military aid, Bhutto visit of USSR and arm supply, Air Marshall Nur Khan visit of USSR, Kosygin visit of Pak, Visit of General Yayha Khan, Soviet arm supply to Pakistan, Military imbalance in sub-continent, High level defense visits, Limited defense cooperation.	International Political Environment, USSR defense aid toward India Pakistan political leadership visit of USSR and military aid	
Dynamic nature of relations, Priorities of regime and Pressler amendment, Russian arm supply to India, Russian refusal to arm supply to Pakistan,	Pakistan and USSR political conflicts Russian inclinations towards India and strained defense	
Improved defense relations, Military relations of Pakistan with other countries, Putin endorsement of military relation with Pakistan, Bilateral military visits, Defense agreement, arm embargo, counternarcotic	Improvement of defense relations Military cooperation	Improved Military Cooperation after 9/11

exercise, Joint military exercise, Naval cooperation, foreign minister visit of Moscow, Commission on military cooperation, Meeting of national security advisors, Trump administration,		
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